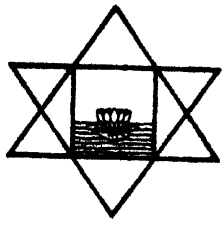
SRI AUROBINDO



Supplement

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SUPPLEMENT

VOLUME 27

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BIRTH

August 15, 1872

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MAHASAMADHI

December 5, 1950

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CENTENARY

August 15, 1972

Sayaji Rao Gaekwar, the Maharaja of Baroda with the members of his family and some of the officers of the State. Sri Aurobindo is reported to be standing third from the right.

NOTE

As the present publication of Sri Aurobindo's Collected Works progressed, a considerable amount of new material came to light. Wherever it was possible some of this material was included in the volumes assigned to the concerned subject. However, even after this a good deal remained and to accommodate it some of the volumes had to be re-arranged. Volume 27 was renamed 'Supplement' and reserved for new-found material.

This supplementary material has now been arranged subjectwise and mentioned as 'Supplement' to the concerned volumes to facilitate references.

It may be noted that all these writings are reproduced as they were found, and have not been edited except for obvious misprints. Where the manuscripts could not be deciphered, blank spaces are left or tentative readings given in square brackets with a question mark.

In some of the early letters to "M" Sri Aurobindo signed himself "Kali" or "K". He followed this practice in general for the first few years in Pondicherry.

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VOLUME 1

BANDE MATARAM

Some more articles from the *Bande Mataram* are reproduced here as recent information allows us to consider them Sri Aurobindo's.

It is evident from an article[1] of Suresh Chandra Deb, a worker in the *Bande Mataram* office, that Sri Aurobindo wrote every day for the Daily from the 8th or 9th August 1906 till the last week of September when Bepin Chandra Pal, the Editor, returned from his tour of East Bengal. All the issues of this period are not available, but from the few we have in our possession we have selected some of the Editorials and Notes which seem to us to be from Sri Aurobindo's pen.

A few others included here are based on their identification by Hemendra Prasad Ghose and Upendranath Bannerji, close associates of Sri Aurobindo.

[1] Sri Aurobindo as I Knew Him, *Mother India*, August 15, 1950

The Constitution of the Congress

CONSIDERABLE misconception seems still to exist in many quarters regarding the character of the constitution that is being demanded for the Congress by those who hold that a reform of the methods and ideals of that great national movement has become absolutely imperative owing to the altered conditions of public life in the country. A constitution for the Congress has been wanted for some time past; but the main idea of those who had hitherto been crying for it was clearly to secure a due recognition of the views and opinions of the general body of Congressmen in the country in the management of its affairs, and to ensure regularity and continuity of its work between one session and another. All that they wanted was to formulate the different authorities and organisations that would be responsible for the different branches of the work of the Congress. It was with this view that a standing committee was appointed at the Lahore Session of the Congress, and directed to meet at least twice during the succeeding year, to discuss important matters affecting the movement; and the failure of that scheme, to whatever cause or causes it might be due, has lent considerable support to the view propounded by more than one Congress leader, that to formulate any hard and fast constitution for the Congress would be bound to burden it with an unworkable machinery, such as would be sure to hinder instead of to help its work. And it will have to be admitted that there is considerable force in this objection. To try to give any rigid constitution to the Congress, and encumber it with a number of more or less complicated organs would surely weaken instead of strengthening the movement, — as long as its central idea and ideals have not been reconsidered and readjusted to suit the altered circumstances of the country.

The new demand for a constitution of the Congress is, however, dictated by the very need of such a reconsideration of its ideals and methods. Those who have recently put forward this

demand, want at the same time also a reconsideration of the whole programme of the Congress. Their main idea is that the Congress should give up more or less completely its old mendicant methods and apply itself to the organisation of the forces and resources of the nation. And a constitution is wanted, first and foremost of all, for this very work itself.

The constitution that is wanted now for the Congress will, therefore, have to build itself up from the lowest units of our national life. In some places these units will be, perhaps, the villages; in others, where education is less advanced, they will be only the subdivisional towns; and in others the districts will have to be taken as the unit of our organisation. These village organisations will combine and form district organisations composed of their own representatives and these district organisations will combine into one large and comprehensive provincial organisation; and it is on these provincial organisations that the final Congress organisation will have to be built up, on some carefully considered lines of federal union and government. This is the sort of constitution that is now demanded for the Congress. It is no mere organisation of general and executive committees of the Congress that will adequately meet this demand. The very methods of the election of the delegates will have to be changed; and regular constituencies, with a register of qualified voters, will have to be organised for the due exercise of the Congress-practice; and the whole organisation will have to be worked up on a scheme of self-taxation; for self-taxation is the very soul of that practical self-government which it ought now to be the one central aim of the Indian National Congress to set up in the country. This is the real meaning of the new demand for a constitution for the Congress, and the objections urged against the old cry cannot, therefore, be urged against it; though to meet this demand, the whole plan and programme of that great national movement will have to be reconsidered and recast.

Bande Mataram, August 20, 1906

Reconstitution of the Congress

THE new demand for a constitution for the Indian National Congress is, — as we pointed out yesterday, — only a necessary corollary to that other and more radical demand for a thorough reconsideration and reconstruction of the entire plan and programme of that great national movement which has, since some time past, been so persistently urged upon the attention of the leaders by a large and increasing body of Congressmen almost in every part of the country. The Congress originally came into being with the express object of helping the Government by furnishing it with an unauthorised, but therefore none the less useful, instrument for ascertaining the trend and strength of educated public opinion in the country. This was the view evidently which Lord Dufferin took of it. This was the logic also of the attitudes and ideals of almost every Congress leader in the early years of the life of this institution from Hume downwards, as it is clearly that of most, if not of all of our Anglo-Indian friends at Palace Chambers. To urge the will of the people, or more correctly speaking the will of their educated leaders, upon the governors of the country, and thus to make the administration more popular than what it was and could otherwise ever expect to be, this was clearly the object of even the most radical Congressmen in the country twenty years ago. All the reforms that the Congress urged upon the attention of the Government were directed towards this end. The reform and expansion of the Legislative Councils along popular lines by the introduction of some measure of election in their constitution; the reform of the Indian Civil Service with a view to make room for a larger number of Indians in it; the reconstitution of the public services with the same purpose; the development of local self-government through existing Local and District Boards; — all these were urged upon the tacit acceptance of the absolute sovereignty of the British people in India as both desirable and unalterable. The Congress wanted to make England's yoke in India easy, and its

burden light, but not to remove that yoke altogether. Indian politicians then, played really the part of British statesmen, working together, in the Congress, to secure the permanence of the present subjection, by placing England's rule in India "broad-based upon the wishes of the people". The idea that India shall always occupy a subordinate and dependent position in world-politics, and play, even in her most advanced stage, only second fiddle to her British masters, was not repellent to the patriots of the Indian National Congress in those days, as it is not repellent to some of the Congress leaders even now. But the attitude of the country has undergone a more or less radical change in course of these twenty years. A new patriotism, more sensitive than the patriotism of the old days, has commenced to grow in the country. The conflict of colour has become keener between the people and the Government than what it was before; and the conviction has taken a deep root in many minds, even in the ranks of old Congressmen, that British Liberalism will never be strong or sincere enough to accept India as a co-sharer in the great British Empire, standing on terms of perfect equality with its other parts; but that so long as this British connection lasts, India must hold a subordinate and more or less dependent position in the federation of that Empire. The representatives of Government have themselves become more outspoken in these matters than they were before, and not only did Lord Curzon put a new interpretation on the Queen's proclamation, and openly declare that so long as the Government in India continued to be British, the highest and most responsible positions in the State must be the absolute monopoly of the Britisher, but even a Liberal statesman like Lord Reay, — who had hitherto been regarded as almost friendly to India and as sympathetic towards the political aspirations of her people as Lord Ripon, — repeated the same sentiments only the other day at the meeting of the East India Association when Mr. Gokhale read his paper there on self-government in India. Radicals and Conservatives are thus alike anxious to perpetuate the present despotism in this country. Indian reformers can expect absolutely no help from either party in their struggles for political freedom. This conviction is fast growing among our people, and it has, naturally, commenced to

turn our eyes away not only from the Government of India, but also simultaneously from the British nation across the seas.

If India ever attains political freedom it will be by her own unaided effort, — this is the new idea in the country. And the history of the last twelve months, the sudden awakening of the nation that is being witnessed on all sides, the sudden and miraculous union between the masses and the classes in the pursuit of a common patriotic end, such as has been seen in the present Boycott Movement, all these have evolved a new faith out of this new idea, — a new faith in the capacity of the people to work out their own destiny, — and have opened up immense possibilities before this ancient and suffering nation. The demand for a reconsideration of the plan and programme of the Congress has been prompted by this new faith, and a constitution for the Congress is wanted to organise these new ideas in the country, and furnish adequate organs and instruments for the application of the combined activities of the people to the work of nation-building that lies before us just now.

Bande Mataram, August 21/22, 1906

The New Situation

THE circular letter addressed to the leaders of public opinion in East Bengal by Babu Ananda Chandra Roy of Dacca, on the new situation created by the dismissal of Sir B. Fuller, which has been noticed already in the last two issues of this paper, does not seem to have at all grasped the real significance of this situation, which therefore cannot be properly met by the policy which is suggested in that letter. The Partition of Bengal is a settled fact; and we agree with Babu Ananda Chandra Roy that we cannot refuse to accept it as such, though we do not see how, consistently with this view, he can say that our protest against it must still be kept up, or what in the face of this practical acceptance of Partition by us, this verbal protest can really be worth. But though we must practically accept the Partition, we may, however, at the same time, keep up a standing protest against, not merely that particular measure, but the very system that made the carrying out of it, in the teeth of the opposition of the entire community, possible, — by keeping aloof from every voluntary association with Government, and refusing to render them any help whatever except what they can compel us to give by their lawful authority. They can compel us to pay rates and taxes and we shall pay these; they can compel us to serve as jurors, and this service also we shall render whenever summoned to do so; they can compel our attendance at their law-courts as witness or accused, and we shall do so when required. But they cannot compel us to go to their court as plaintiffs or complainants, and we may well refuse to do so. They cannot compel us to serve as Honorary Magistrates, and we must refuse to accept such honours. They cannot compel us to vote at Municipal elections or to act as Municipal Commissioners, neither can they compel us to vote at Council-elections or stand as candidates for such elections and we should, as a protest against Partition, continue our present boycott of the Legislative Council in East Bengal, and extend it to the Legislative Council in West Bengal also.

These are the only methods by which while in a sense accepting the Partition of Bengal as a settled fact, that is by submitting to revenue and executive authority of the Government at Dacca, we may yet keep up a most vigorous and effective protest against that obnoxious measure, and if we do so, and can thereby gradually bring, as may not be altogether impossible, the administration of the Province by the present despotism to an absolute deadlock, by extending the boycott, from voluntary and honorary, even to paid offices under that despotism, we may hope some day to bring out a *repeal* of the Partition even, as we have already brought about the downfall of Sir B. Fuller. But Babu Ananda Chandra Roy does not seem to advocate this policy; and, indeed, we do not know of any single leader of the old school, who has yet consistently advocated, much less themselves followed, this policy. They advised the leaders of East Bengal to refuse to participate either as voters or candidates at the Council-elections in the New Province, but are themselves still members of the Legislative Council in Calcutta, and those that are not are anxious to get in there as quickly as possible, and this difference in their attitude towards the two Councils seems to show that their objection against the Council in East Bengal was due entirely to a personal hostility to Sir B. Fuller. That such hostility would be absolutely without justification, we cannot honestly say; but at the same time to allow such personal feelings, however justifiable these might be, to influence the nation's public policy in a matter like this is to misread, as we have repeatedly pointed out in these columns, the whole situation, and considerably to weaken the whole movement, which is directed not against any individual ruler but against the present vicious system. Babu Ananda Chandra Roy has sought to put this personal interpretation upon the policy that had been enunciated by Calcutta, in the matter of Sir B. Fuller's Council; and he has his justification in the attitude and action of the Calcutta leaders themselves. If the East Bengal leaders had been asked to boycott the Council at Dacca on any general policy of boycott, as a standing protest against Partition, the Council in Calcutta would also have been boycotted. But Babu Bhupendranath Bose is still there, and so is Babu Jogesh Chandra Choudhuri — and they

are among those who have been advising, we take it, the East Bengal leaders to boycott the Legislative Council in the New Province. Babu Surendranath Banerji has been directing the boycott we know; and both Babu Bhupendranath and Jogesh Chandra are identified with him in the present public life of this country; and since they had not resigned their own place in the Bengal Council, the instruction to boycott the East Bengal Council could be rightly interpreted only in the way in which Babu Ananda Chandra Roy has interpreted it, namely, that this boycott was directed personally against the late Lieutenant Governor of East Bengal and Assam; and therefore, as a new ruler has succeeded him, this boycott should now be withdrawn.

But whatever may be the attitude of some of the leaders and whatever be their meaning and motive, the people at large have from the very beginning refused to take any narrow view of the present situation in the country. The boycott of British goods was originally proposed temporarily, as a protest against Partition, but when the people took it up they openly declared that, Partition or no Partition, they would keep this boycott up to the utmost of their powers, until both economic freedom and political autonomy had been attained and they had a State of their own, which could protect home-industries by a well-considered tariff. Similarly they proposed a much larger boycott — the boycott of the present officialised schools and colleges — and set up National institutions with a view to assert the Swadeshi principle in the matter of education, and they also proposed to boycott every honorary office, and every form of voluntary association with the present despotism in the administration of the country. And those who proposed the boycott of the East Bengal Council as part of this general scheme of passive resistance will naturally regard the interpretation that has, evidently, been put on it by Babu Ananda Chandra Roy as wrong, and even positively mischievous and calculated to weaken the whole movement, and to them the soul of the new situation in East Bengal is not to be found in the retirement of Sir B. Fuller and in the character of his successor, but in the failure of the policy of regulation lathis that had been set up under Sir B. Fuller's regime, and the complete success of the resistful attitude and policy that the people of East

Bengal has adopted as a protest against the illegal excesses of the last few months. The aim of the recent change in the personnel of the Administration of East Bengal is to quietly lead the people to abandon this resistful and forceful attitude and policy, and it will be fatal folly on our part, and the complete undoing of what has been achieved during these last twelve months, to accept the policy that Babu Ananda Chandra Roy has suggested in his present circular letter. This is why we are forced to characterise it as exceedingly unwise and mischievous.

Bande Mataram, August 27, 1906

Loyalty and Disloyalty in East Bengal

THE *Englishman* and those who are evidently anxious to set the machinery of relentless state prosecutions against the leaders of the present national movement in this province, need not take so much trouble to prove that there is considerable disaffection and disloyalty in East Bengal which ought at once to be put down with a strong hand. Our contemporary must be far more simple-minded than what one should expect him to be, judging both from his general education and experience and his position as an intelligent observer and critic of current affairs, if he ever thought that there could be any real affection and loyalty to an alien despotism, such as the present Government in this country undoubtedly is, in the minds of the subject populations of India. Lord Curzon once declared that though differing in colour and culture, the Indians were as much human as the Britishers, and had the same sentiments and susceptibilities that the British people had. If the *Englishman* and his friends believe in this common humanity of the Indian, they have simply to place themselves mentally in the position of their "native fellow-subjects", to realise the kind of affection and loyalty for the present Government that can ever be felt by the people of this country. Indeed, loyalty as a feeling of personal love and regard for the Sovereign is an extinct virtue in civilisation, and if it is not found in countries where the Sovereign belongs to the people, and lives and stands among them as the head of their State and the fountain of all social honour, and where the people always participate in his glory, his magnificence and his wealth, — each according to his status and qualification, — how much more rare must it be in a country like India, whose Sovereign belongs to a distant country and an alien race, who professes an alien religion, who is not related to the people by any ties of tradition or past historical associations, and in the glories and prerogatives of whose throne, as well as in the wealth and magnificence of whose empire, these people have

neither lot nor part. To believe the barest possibility of any true loyalty in India is really to take the Indians to be very much less than human. But, in truth, nobody ever honestly believed in it. Loyalty has ever been a mere convenient tie in this country, — convenient to the ruler because the reputation for profound loyalty of the Indian people keeps foreign enemies away; convenient to the ruled because like charity it covered a multitude of political sins. But in truth no one ever really believed in this much-proclaimed virtue. No Englishman ever honestly believed in the truth of it. No Indian ever cherished it honestly himself. Both the rulers and the ruled have been playing at blind-man's-bluff all these years with this great civic virtue, each seeking to make some political capital out of it.

That the British Government in India never set a two-pence value on the loyalty of their Indian subject, — though they are always anxious to proclaim it from the housetops, as a magnificent charm to keep away the evil eye, — is proved by the entire history of their past transactions with us. The Arms Act surely does not prove England's faith in India's loyalty. The Frenchman, the German, the American, nay, even the Negro and the Hottentot, — indeed every foreigner can possess arms and bear them in India without a licence, the man who belongs to the country and who is most interested in its prosperity and peace, alone cannot do so. The systematic exclusion of the people of the land, however qualified they may be, from all positions of exceptional trust and responsibility in what ought, by the law of God and nature alike, to be their own Government, surely does not prove that English Statesmen ever honestly believed in the allegiance of the Indian people to their rule. The methods of State-regulated education, which carefully eschew every training or text-book or instruction that is calculated to quicken any genuine love of freedom or any noble patriotism in the pupils; the extreme anxiety of the authorities to train the youths of this country in habits of gentleness and subordination, while in their own country every form of manliness and even rowdyism, as long as it does not strike against the very soul of social and civic orders, are not only tolerated but frequently encouraged by the leaders of public opinion and the custodians of public morals;

the denial of the commonest right of free citizenship, — the right of free participation in public meetings, having for their object the reform of the Administration, — to the commonest of public servants; the crusade against every form of patriotic efforts on the part of the people, such as are calculated to inspire them with devotion to their nation, all these go distinctly to prove at what value the much proclaimed loyalty of the people of this country is really rated by their foreign masters. The fact really is that loyalty in the sense in which the term is usually used, — either in the old sense of loving attachment to the person or throne of the sovereign, or even in the new and higher sense of devotion to the State which reveals and realises the highest civic ideals and aspirations of the subjects, — cannot naturally exist or grow in a country that is subject to the domination of another. No Englishman therefore honestly believes in it in India, however much he may be anxious to conjure it up in times of trouble or difficulty as a saving magic working for his safety and salvation. Loyalty, in the general acceptance of the term, has been a mere myth in British India; and the *Englishman* need not be at so much pains to disprove the presence of a thing in East Bengal that has never as yet existed in any part of the country subject to British rule. Disloyalty is want of loyalty, and there cannot be anywhere an absence of a thing, — as a new fact, — where that thing has never existed before.

But if loyalty is not possible in India in its present condition of servitude, what then is the secret of that unquestioning obedience to the authority of the present alien Government in the country, which alone makes it easy and possible for them to rule so vast a population with such slender means? The answer is plain and obvious; it is not affection, neither is it disaffection, both of which are active sentiments, but mere indifference, mere listlessness, the fatuous fatalism of the Hindu and the Mohamedan populations of India that keeps them so easily under British subjection. Not loyalty, not allegiance, but mere passive acquiescence, — that is the word which sums up the real attitude of the Indian people towards their foreign master and the outlandish civic order they have established in the country. This acquiescence is due to a general belief, — now rapidly being

undermined and destroyed by the open excesses and repressions of recent administrations, — in the benevolence of the British despotism, itself the result of a strange hypnotic spell that British politicians and statesmen of the earlier generations had cast over the people. If by loyalty is meant this passive acquiescence to the existing civic order in the country, there is still considerable loyalty in the country, though the events of the past five or six years have done much to disturb even this passive sentiment in the people.

But there has always been another kind of loyalty also in this country, and that species of loyalty exists still among us, both in East Bengal and West Bengal, though it has been subjected during the last eight or nine months to a strain which would kill it altogether in any other country, and most of all in that country to which the *Englishman* himself belongs, and this kind of loyalty will last as long as the Government and those whose views the *Englishman* represents, do not themselves destroy it with their own hand. Loyalty in the radical sense of the term, derived from *lex*, law, — and meaning obedience to law, — has always been a cordial characteristic of our people; and in this sense people have always been loyal in this country. This loyalty, — this extreme regard for law of the Indian population, — has been the strongest bulwark of the present foreign despotism in this country. We are still loyal, as we have been in the past, in the sense of law-abiding. Had we not been loyal in this, the truest sense of the term, the history of British Administration in every part of India would have had to be very differently written indeed. In fact, the *Englishman* ought not to forget that it is this extreme loyalty of the people that saved the situation created in Barisal and elsewhere by the lawless excesses of the executive Government during the last nine or ten months. Had our people been less law-abiding than they are, the whole country would have long ago been completely given over to riots and mob-rule, which it would tax the entire strength and resources of the Government to grapple with and conquer. The lawless excesses of the Executive and the Police in East Bengal during the last eight or nine months, are matters of common knowledge; and the *Englishman* knows it full well that there is no other country in the world where

such wanton oppression and injustice would have been so quietly borne by the people as these have been borne in the New Province. To attribute this to the cowardice of the people would be an act of fatal folly on the part of the Government or their advisers. East Bengal, at least, has never been noted for such cowardice. It is not fear, but self-restraint due to considerations of larger and higher interests, and the command of their leaders that kept East Bengal so quiet under all these enormities during the last nine or ten months. But this loyalty also seems apparently to be giving way now, for it is useless to conceal the fact that a grim determination has gradually grown among the people to no longer suffer any illegal excesses, in the way they have been suffered for so long. But even in this new spirit of resistance in the people there is no lack of regard for law, for this new determination means not to outrage but to protect the honour and dignity of the law itself, when both are openly outraged by those whose duty it is to protect them. If this be disloyalty, we freely admit this disloyalty exists, and is growing to great proportions in every part of the country; and the threats of the *Englishman* or the setting of the sedition law in motion will not kill, but only increase this disloyalty the more.

Bande Mataram, August 30, 1906

Partition and the Government

THE situation in the country is such that the Government will be bound before long to devise some effective means to meet it, and what can that means be, except the revocation or some material modification of the Partition of Bengal which is the apparent cause of the present crisis. The Government must have seen already that without some such revocation or modification of the administrative arrangements in Bengal, as will reunite at least the Bengalee-speaking populations of the Province under one local Government, the present discontent will not be allayed. They have tried many things during the last twelve months; — persecution of school boys, application of regulation lathis, the prostitution of British justice and British administration for saving British prestige and British trade in the country, have all been tried and all have equally failed to create the least impression upon the grim determination of the people to boycott British goods; and it must have, by this time, become clear even to the habitually purblind Indian Bureaucracy that the obnoxious Partition measure must be revoked or substantially modified to meet the irresistible demands of Indian opinion which, unlike what it was before, is now not an empty, wordy thing, but has a new and growing force behind it. The Government cannot be blind to the fact that the boycott of British goods, which has already affected British trade to some extent, will not only increase in volume, inflicting greater injury day by day on England's commercial interests in India, but will also be extended to other things than mere goods and chattels. The many strikes in various parts of the country, the organisation of working men's unions, and the general upheaval which these indicate, are an ominous thing. It shows the new-born capacity of the people of this country for combined and organised opposition to the will of their employers and oppressors; and the day may not be very distant when these strikes and combinations will be organised in mercantile concerns and Government

offices, and even in the Police and other State Departments on which the British in India have, naturally, to so entirely depend for the peaceful and uninterrupted discharge of their functions both as rulers of the people and as exploiters of the resources of their country; and if this comes about, who will prevent the people from literally paralysing the whole foreign machinery, both of administration and exploitation in the country, almost any moment they like? This is the prognosis of the present situation; and neither the Government nor the foreign mercantile community who, according to Lord Curzon, discharge the second of the dual functions of the British Government of India, — the function, namely, of exploitation, — can by any means view this situation without the gravest concern.

And the difficulty of meeting this situation lies in the very nature of the opposition that the people have resolved to offer to the Government, and the foreign exploiters. Open violence is easy to meet and conquer; especially by a Government which is armed with despotic powers and has immense resources both of the Police and the military at its command. But passive resistance is not to be so easily fought and conquered; least of all can it be conquered by an alien authority when this resistance is offered by a people whose civic life, though destroyed, has found some slight compensation in the larger and more bold and powerful organisation of their social life, and with whom the social boycott is an instrument before which the mightiest political power must ultimately bend its knee and confess its impotence. Passive resistance is the more difficult to fight among a people who have been trained by their religion, as well as by the miseries they have been subjected to for many centuries, under endless vicissitudes of fortune, to bear all ills and deprivations with a more-than-stoic quiet and determination. The conditions of life in a warm climate, which make hunger and cold far easier to bear than these are in colder countries, are also a great and almost invaluable asset on the side of the passive resisters and strikers in this country. And when the day comes, as it is bound to come, if the present agitation continues, that will see the clerks in the Government offices and the foreign mercantile

firms simultaneously refusing work, for political reasons, the British authorities and their kinsmen will both find themselves suddenly so hopelessly stranded that both administration and exploitation will become equally impossible at once. Bengal, at any rate, is fast moving towards this contingency, and the very thought of it must paralyse the stoutest and most optimistic official in the country.

Nor are the authorities in England altogether blind to these dangers. The Liberals, whether they are juster and more really sympathetic towards the civic aspirations of subject races or not, have, however, it must be admitted, a much clearer perception of the dangers of refusing to give people a legitimate field for civic expansion than the Tories; and the present Liberal Government are, therefore, likely to realise the dangers ahead more vividly than the conservatives were likely to do; and it may be taken for granted that they will be, — if they are not already, — sincerely anxious to calm down the present unrest and allay the present discontent in India; and as a first step in this direction they will naturally be willing to reopen the Partition question and probably to revoke it altogether, or adopt some such modification of it as will keep the Bengalee-speaking peoples together, under the same administration. This they must already be seriously thinking of doing, or Babu Ramesh Chandra Dutt would not have been so hopeful about the repeal of the Partition as he is reported to be. But it would, as we pointed out yesterday, be a grave tactical blunder for our people to present any fresh petition to the Secretary of State for India, and thus help him and his colleagues to undo the Partition without any humiliating confession of defeat and failure. Our future progress in civic life depends a good deal upon our ability to wring out these humiliating confessions from the present despotism. Every such confession of failure to carry out their irresponsible and despotic measures, in the face of popular opposition, means an immense accession of fresh strength to that opposition, and an increase in the saving sense of the subject population to regulate and control the action of the Government by the force of their own organised public opinion. Half the

battle of freedom in India will be won the day when a measure that the Government had set their hearts on, as they clearly had done in the present case, is subverted and repealed by pressure of organised and resistful popular opinion in the country. It seems surprising that there is such precious little political sense in the old leadership of our political life that this elementary fact is not recognised by it, but has to be so persistently hammered into its head. We can well understand why Sir William Wedderburn, or Sir Henry Cotton, or even Mr. A. O. Hume and other British friends should suggest, if they have not distinctly advised, the presentation of another petition to the Indian Secretary to give him a decent plea for reopening the question, for such a petition will save his dignity and the prestige of the Government while at the same time granting them all an excuse for going back upon their old proclamations regarding administrative urgency and settled facts. But why should we, whose distinct interest clearly is to increase the power of the people and weaken the unholy prestige of the Government, agree to such a course? If the old leaders in Calcutta are able to read the trend of public opinion in Bengal they must see how strongly opposed people are to the idea of approaching the authorities with any fresh prayer or petition. The way in which this suggestion was considered at the recent conference of delegates at the Bengal Landholders' Association, — and formally rejected, — is a very clear indication of the trend of popular sentiment in the country in regard to this matter. The Comilla Resolution wired by our Comilla Correspondent day before yesterday is extremely significant. This Resolution is a distinct proof of the birth of a new political force and the quickening of true political wisdom in the community. The reality of this new force is proved by the very form in which the Comilla Resolution has been cast. It is not a mere statement of opinion, unsupported by arguments and facts such as our Resolutions both at the Congress and elsewhere have hitherto been. It is framed after the Resolutions that are usually discussed and adopted at public meetings and conferences in Europe and America where there is an intense reality in political work and agitation and honest desire in the leaders to take the people into

their fullest confidence in regard to every matter of public interest, and educate them up to an intelligent understanding of all public questions. In the face of the Comilla Resolution it will be sinful, we hold, on the part of the Calcutta clique even to send in any suggestions to the Indian Secretary in regard to the Partition of Bengal.

Bande Mataram, September 3, 1906

Partition of Bengal

IT SEEMS strange that few of our old leaders are able to realise the very simple fact that the bearings of this question have undergone a most radical change in the course of the last few months. We objected so strongly to this measure because it was calculated to strike a serious blow at the political power of the Bengalee-speaking race. Our second objection was that it was professedly wanted by the Government to create a Mahomedan province with Dacca as its capital, and the evident object of it was to sow discord between the Hindus and the Mahomedans in a Province that had never known it in the whole history of the present British connection. The first object of the Government has failed most egregiously. The political power of the Bengalee people is a hundred times greater today, divided though they are administratively now, than it was before the Partition of their Province, and the continuance of the Partition will increase instead of in any way abating this power. Those who fear that the present ferment will soon settle down as people become accustomed to the new order, have misread the whole situation. The present agitation has clearly touched much deeper grounds than these men seem to have any idea of. There is in this agitation a consciousness of a new strength, the quickening of a new life, the inspiration of a new ideal. This agitation is not an agitation merely against Partition or against any other particular measure of the Government; it is an agitation for the coming of the people to their own in the political life of their country. Not the revocation of Partition or any modification of it such as will place the Bengalee nation under one administration, but the attainment of absolute national autonomy, — it is this alone that will settle down this movement. This is the one absolutely unquestionable fact that stands out clearly of the history of Bengal for the last twelve months; and it proves the complete failure of one at least of the evil objects with which the Partition of Bengal was effected. And the other object is also bound to fail as egre-

giously. The Government has, to some slight extent, succeeded in creating a breach between the Hindus and the Mahomedans in the New Province; but signs are not wanting of the total and early collapse of this evil endeavour also. In some places, as at Comilla for instance, the Mahomedan populations misled just for a while by interested leaders, have already come to recognise the identity of their political interests with those of the Hindu populations, and they have, therefore, already joined the present agitation almost in full force. At Dacca and other places the folly of their present anti-Hindu attitude is being brought home to them by sterner means, and it will not be long before they too come to realise that they must sink or swim with their Hindu fellow-countrymen and that isolation from or opposition to the present movement will necessarily spell their serfdom and subordination in the coming era of India's national autonomy and national progress. The fatal folly of the Anglo-Indian Press who are trying to incite racial animosities will also be discovered to their own authors as it has already been to the general intelligent public all over India. The idea that by encouraging Mahomedan rowdyism, the present agitation may be put down, is preposterous; and those who cherish this notion forget that the bully is neither the strongest nor the bravest of men; and that because the self-restraint of the Hindu, miscalled cowardice, has been a prominent feature of his national character, he is absolutely incapable of striking straight and striking hard when any sacred situation demands this. Nor has it been proved even in recent British-concocted disputes between Hindus and Mahomedans in different parts of India, that the mild Hindu is so absolutely helpless and incapable of defending his rights and liberties as he is painted to be by his foreign enemies. Even in Bengal, and more particularly in East Bengal, it must not be supposed that the fighting capacity of the Mahomedan is greater than that of the Hindu. The upper classes, both among Mahomedans and Hindus, are equally weak and they do not constitute anywhere the rowdiest element of society. It is the lower classes alone who find its rowdyism to every society; and the lower class of Hindus, notably the *Namasudras*, than whom a finer set of fighting materials can hardly be found anywhere, are as strong and as brave as the

lower class of Mahomedans, and in the frequent fights between rival Zemindars these Hindus form as strong an element as the Mahomedans. There is no desire among any responsible Hindu leader in Bengal or elsewhere to set up the Hindu against the Mahomedan, and the influence of educated leadership has always been exerted in the past, as it is being done even now, on the side of amity and peace; but if the larger interests of the nation, which means the larger interests of both the Hindus and the Mahomedans alike, ever demand that the Hindu should show his hand, if only to take the conceit of superior physical courage or physical force out of any opposing faction in the country, there will be no hesitancy to do it. The Anglo-Indian publicist who harps constantly on the weakness of the Babu, forgets that the Babu stands no longer by himself, but has the whole country, and more particularly the whole of the Hindu population, at his back. The present movement has welded the masses and the classes together; and it is therefore not likely to be cowed down by any threat of violence from any quarter. And all these tend to show that both the evils which the Partition was designed to work, have no chance of being realised, whether the Partition is kept up or it is revoked and modified.

But still we want the revocation of this Partition, because such a revocation will prove the helplessness of the Government in the face of the present agitation, and a practical confession of their defeat. The fall of Sir B. Fuller has partly proved this, and the revocation of the Partition will only complete this proof. But to reap this precious result out of the reversal of the Partition, we must leave the Government to climb down from their present unfortunate position absolutely by themselves, without any help, either direct or indirect, from us. In this view, we think it would be the height of folly to send in any fresh petition or representation to the Indian Secretary on the subject, even though the wire-pullers at Palace Chambers should instruct us to do it.

Bande Mataram, September 4, 1906

Partition and Petition

THERE seems to be a recrudescence of the old and decadent praying mood once again in certain quarters, and attempts, we understand, are being made to induce the leaders of public opinion in the mofussil to join the Calcutta clique for sending a fresh representation to the Secretary of State for India for the revocation or modification of the Partition of Bengal. The recent reply of the British Prime Minister to a question put to him by Mr. O'Donnell seems to be partly responsible for this recrudescence, which, we understand, however, is mainly due to wire-pulling from Palace Chambers. Some of our own countrymen now in England also seem to be playing into the hands of our Parliamentary friends, who are clearly anxious to help their own Government out of a very uncomfortable and undignified position in which the present agitation in Bengal has clearly placed them. Similar hopes were held out by some of our British friends, about six months ago, and it was in consequence of these that people were induced to join the last Town Hall demonstration against Partition; and it was practically stipulated that that would be our last prayer on this subject to the Government. The same game, however, is going to be played over again. We do not know if a Town Hall meeting will be convened for this purpose; but advices from England seem to hold that no public meeting would at all be necessary, a carefully drawn-up petition signed by a few leading men, and submitted, not through the local Government, because the matter affects two Provinces, and the Government of any of these would not be competent to receive it, but through the Government of India, would equally serve the purpose; as the Government in England is said to be favourably inclined to a reconsideration of the Partition, and a representation from Calcutta would be very helpful at this moment.

We have no doubt that it will be so; but why, in the name of commonest political wisdom, we ask, should we be so anxious

to offer this help to the Government that is clearly seeking an honourable means of retreat from a very difficult and untenable position wherein its own perversity and folly have placed it? We are all anxious to have the Partition revoked, but we are so anxious not because Partition actually works irreparable ill to the country, for the ends of the authors of this evil measure have been completely frustrated already, and the political life of Bengal which it was their avowed intention to weaken or kill, has been made almost infinitely stronger than it ever was before or could possibly be in the near future, — by this very Partition itself. The outraged sentiments of the country have found relief in the consciousness of a new power among the people. Outrages wound only because they are a proof of the weakness and incapacity of the outraged; if this weakness is not felt, and this incapacity fails to be established, the wound also ceases to exist. This has happened in Bengal, and more particularly in East Bengal in connection with this Partition outrage; and there is a growing indifference in the country as regards the fate of this measure. People have found a larger and a more profitable object for their public life. They have commenced to grow into a vivid consciousness of their own strength; and they are, accordingly, growing more and more indifferent to what the Government may or may not do either in regard to this cr to any other matter. They know and feel that their fate lies in their own hands, and in the hands of God, who guides the destinies both of individuals and nations.

Bande Mataram, September 4, 1906

The Pro-Petition Plot

IT IS impossible, we think, to condemn too strongly the attempt that is being made, by means of confidential circulars from Calcutta, to get up a fresh memorial to the Secretary of State for India for the revocation or modification of the Partition of Bengal. We are strongly opposed, it is well known, to sending any fresh memorial on this subject, but this general objection apart, the methods that have been adopted to get up this new memorial are open to serious objection, and it is to these that we desire to call public attention today. A telegraphic message was received in Comilla about the middle of last month from one of the Calcutta leaders, asking the local leaders to send a delegate to a Conference that was proposed to be held on some urgent matters the following Sunday. What these urgent matters were was left to the imagination of the addressees to discover for themselves. Comilla strongly objected to be worked upon in this mysterious, if not masterly way from Calcutta, and wired back asking for definite and detailed information. No wire, we understand, was received in reply, but about a week later, just a few hours before the time fixed for the Conference, a printed letter, marked confidential, was received by Babu Ananga Mohan Ghosh, from the *Bengalee* office, containing excerpts from certain letters secured from London, which suggested that a fresh memorial should be sent to the Secretary of State for India for a reconsideration of the Partition of Bengal. One of these extracts said: "What appeared *absolutely hopeless* four weeks ago appears *hopeful* now. There are indications that the Cabinet are willing to reconsider the Partition Question on its merits. There are indications that in due time the question, if properly urged, will be reopened. I am not at liberty to speak about conferences I had just before leaving London. All that I can tell you is to advise you to have an influential and representative meeting, say, early in September, to adopt a strong, well-

reasoned memorial, suggesting alternative schemes of Partition based on racial and linguistic grounds and to submit it to the Secretary of State through the Indian Government. Bengal has worked splendidly during the last eleven months, — Bengal will have to work a little longer, — not hysterically, but rationally and strongly, — making it clear that she will not accept the present Partition. I believe redress is at hand."

Later on the writer, after quoting Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's reply to Mr. O'Donnell, modified his previous advice regarding public meeting and said : "On second thoughts, a simple memorial seems to be enough if influentially signed, — a meeting is unnecessary."

This letter came from a high authority. But it is clear on the face of it that that high authority was playing into the hands of the Liberals interested in India. The enforced retirement of Sir B. Fuller was a distinct confession on the part of the Government of the failure of the policy which prompted the Partition scheme, and which subsequently came to be so closely associated with the late Lieutenant-Governor of East Bengal and Assam. This failure is distinctly due to the resistful attitude that has been assumed by the people of late, and in view of the complications with which the Government is threatened by the present anti-Partition and boycott agitation in Bengal, the authorities in England, as well as in this country, are evidently anxious to get out of the unpleasant and risky position wherein their own perversity has placed them. To do this honourably and without any loss of prestige they want a plea for reopening the discussion of Mr. Morley's settled fact, and a fresh memorial from Bengal would find them this plea. This, it seems clear, is the meaning of the excerpts quoted by us above from the London letter, on the strength of which the Calcutta leaders want a fresh memorial to be got up. They might make the attempt, there is no reason why, if they are convinced that it is their duty to send a fresh memorial, they should not make this attempt. But what we object to is the secretiveness of the whole thing. Why have they tried to keep this new proposal from the public? Why should they arrogate to themselves the right of deciding, in consultation with a handful of men, as to what should be done in this matter? The Conference

held in the Landholders' Association should have been an open conference. But even at this closed conference, the general opinion, if the reports that have reached us be correct, was decidedly against sending any fresh petition or memorial. It is said that Babu Motilal Ghosh and others were distinctly opposed to the idea; and the words petition and memorial had to be dropped under pressure of this general opinion, especially among the mofussil delegates; all that was conceded by the Conference was that some suggestions might be sent. We do not know if the questions of the channel through which the suggestions were to be sent was raised at all. But whatever was decided by the conference we find that a secret attempt is being made to send not suggestions, but a live, real memorial again to the Secretary of State for India on the Partition Question. We do not respect official secrets, but, when public interests demand it, widely publish them, and there is no reason why we should respect non-official secrets when their publication is called for in the interests of the public good. We, therefore, make no apology for publishing the following letter that has been addressed from the *Bengalee* Office, to the leaders of public opinion in the mofussil:

Confidential

Bengalee Office
70, Colootola Street, Calcutta
29th August, 1906

My dear .....,

At a Conference held in the Rooms of the Landholders' Association on Sunday last, at which several delegates from the mofussil were present, it was resolved to submit a representation to the Secretary of State for reviewing the Partition of Bengal. It was agreed that the representation, if possible, should be forwarded early in September. The representation is being drawn up, and in the meantime I beg you will forward to the *Bengalee* Office as many signatures (including of course the signatures of the leading inhabitants in your District). The representation would ask for Bengal (old and new Province) being placed under a Governor and Council, or in the alternative, the Bengalee-speaking

population being placed under one and the same administration. I beg you will consider the matter as very urgent.

Yours sincerely

It is clear thus, that a secret memorial is being got up to be sent again to the Indian State Secretary; and as this memorial will clearly be sent in the name and on behalf of the public, the public have just cause for complaint that in regard to such a vital question of policy they should have been left so entirely in the dark. There was a time when the people in general took really little or no interest in public questions of this kind; and in those days the getting up of such memorials in consultation with a few lawyers in the different districts, might have been justified; because they were about the only persons who took any interest in these public and political questions. The present Swadeshi agitation has, however, changed all this. We have called up the real nation out of its ancient slumber, and the masses have commenced to take a keen, and possibly a more earnest interest in public questions than even the so-called educated classes. They have joined our meetings in their thousands and their tens of thousands, and have taken, during the last twelve months, an intelligent interest in our movements. What right have we now to ignore them in such momentous matters as the submission of a fresh memorial to the Secretary of State, which may radically change the face of the whole agitation? The tactics adopted by the Calcutta clique seem, therefore, to be absolutely vicious. They strike at the very root of those principles of Democracy upon which the national movement in India and especially in Bengal is professedly based. Democracy must have its leaders, and the leaders must exercise the right of guiding and shaping the opinions and activities of the Democracy. But to guide, to train, to shape and to control public opinion and public activities is one thing but to ignore or suppress the views and sentiments of the public is another. It is the autocrat alone who does or attempts to do so. And this pernicious autocratic tendency in the leaders of Bengal must at once be knocked relentlessly on the head, if the present movement is to realise the high

promise that is in it. The old leaders in Calcutta and those who dance in the mofussil to their tune, must be made to understand this distinctly that they will not be permitted to speak and act in the name of the public without fully and frankly taking that public into their confidence in regard to all important public questions. Signs are not, indeed, wanting that the people will not suffer the tyrannies of their own leaders more patiently than they are prepared to suffer those of their foreign masters. The Comilla Resolution on this very subject of sending a fresh memorial to Government is significant as we pointed out yesterday. A similar Resolution, published in our telegraphic columns last Wednesday, has been adopted at a gathering of 20,000 men at Chittagong, in spite of the attempt made by some people to refer the matter to the local leaders. The question was asked whether a larger vote could be taken on this topic at any meeting of the local Association, and it was frankly answered in the negative. There were many men at this gathering who had come from the villages, and they all seemed clearly flattered by the fact that they were given such an opportunity of expressing their views on so important a matter, and this sense of satisfaction is a distinct guarantee of their future interest in public questions. Henceforth they will not look on our movements with their old listlessness and indifference. Is this a small gain? Are we to neglect such a result for small favours from the Government? What even if the Partition continues, if only we can arouse a real interest in the masses in our public and political agitations? If the masses once awake from their present torpor, they will be able to undo a thousand evil and obstructive measures like the Partition of Bengal. True statesmanship would prefer this quickening of public life and public spirit in the people to the revocation, as a favour, of even the most obnoxious and pernicious Government measure. But autocracy whether in the Government or in the governed, has no eye for the people; and it is, therefore, the greatest enemy of human progress everywhere, and should be ruthlessly exposed and knocked on the head by those who care for the advancement of the people and for their civic salvation.

Bande Mataram, September 10, 1906

A Point of Honour

IT IS a point of honour in more senses than one, to stoutly refuse to approach the Secretary of State with a fresh petition for the reopening of the Partition Question. Mr. Morley has publicly said his last word. He has repeatedly refused to listen to our prayers; and it cannot be consistent with our dignity as a civilised and ancient people to go a-begging to him once more on this very subject. But Mr. Morley, it is suggested, is himself willing to reopen the question. The confidential letter from London upon which this proposal for a fresh memorial is professedly based, bears internal evidence of this fact. "I am not at liberty," the writer says, "to speak about conferences I had just before leaving London. All that I can tell you is to advise you to have an influential and representative meeting, say, early in September, to adopt a strong, well-reasoned memorial, suggesting alternative schemes of Partition based on racial and linguistic grounds etc., etc." "There are indications," he says again, "that the Cabinet are willing to reconsider the Partition Question on its merits." The writer had "conferences in London", evidently with the Indian Secretary and other members of the Government. He is not at liberty to say what he heard; but he advises us to send a memorial, and holds out the hope that it will be successful. It does not take much intelligence to see that the suggestion of a fresh memorial must have come thus from the Government themselves. It happened last year also. When Mr. Morley was asked by Mr. Gokhale to reconsider the Partition Question, he raised a preliminary objection asking how a settled matter could be reconsidered. Mr. Gokhale replied that if a memorial came from Bengal, that would justify a reopening of the question. Mr. Morley said that that, of course, was a feasible plan. A great deal of inspiration for the submission of the last memorial was drawn from the report of this conversation of Mr. Gokhale with the new Secretary of State for India. That memorial has been rejected, we think. If it has not been rejected as yet,

but has simply been thrown away silently, it may easily be taken up now by the Secretary of State, and thus find a decent plea for a reconsideration of his settled fact. That memorial was our last word on this subject. The alternative scheme suggested by the London writer was there, we believe. What better arguments can we give in a fresh memorial today? The fact seems, indeed, to be as clear as daylight that if what the writer of the confidential London letter says be true, the Government want a fresh petition from us to save their prestige. Would it be politic for us to help them in this? There is a conflict of forces in the country. It is a moral conflict. The issue is: who is the stronger, morally, the Government or the people? Our future depends on our capacity to prove our superior strength. Our relations with the Government are such that every increase in their prestige means so much loss of strength to us. It is, therefore, that we consider this attempt to send such a fresh petition to Government on this Partition Question, an act of fatal folly, and are so bitterly opposed to it.

It is not a mere matter of sentiment, but of sound and far-reaching policy, whether we should go again to Government with a prayer for the revocation or modification of the Partition Question; and those who are secretly working for getting up a fresh memorial to the Secretary of State do not seem to have grasped the nature of the problem they have been called upon to solve.

But the most serious objection to this new memorial comes from the boycott movement. How shall we keep up the boycott, how can we honourably do so, if, in response to this fresh petition, the Partition of Bengal is removed or modified to suit our wishes? Babu Surendranath Banerji says in his confidential circular-letter:

"Knowing as we do how careful and cautious a man X is, I think we should act wisely in following his advice. Of course the rigours of the boycott are not to be relaxed in the smallest degree. We must continue the boycott as before. It is our great weapon and will help our representation."

The language here is not very clear. Mr. Banerji asks us not to relax the rigours of the boycott; he urges us to continue the boycott as before. But he does not say if we are not only to do it while sending our petition, and while this petition is being considered by the Indian State Secretary, or we are also to do so even after this prayer is granted and the Partition is removed. This confusion is increased by his last sentence: — "It is our great weapon and will help our representation." Are we to take it, then, that we are to keep the boycott up as a great weapon, to help our representation? The weapon then must be laid down after the fight is over, the objective is gained; the boycott is to be given up after the representation has succeeded. This is the logic of what Babu Surendranath says. Is this his real opinion? The public have a right to get a definite statement of policy from him on this question. We have a right to know if, after our representation succeeds and the Partition is revoked, Babu Surendranath will still lead the boycott, keep up its rigours, extend and strengthen it, as he is doing now. We want a clear, definite, unequivocal statement on this point from him.

But, as we have already pointed out in these columns, we fail to see how Babu Surendranath or any one else who subscribes to this new memorial, can, after, — and if, — it is granted, honestly keep the boycott up, or press for its expansion. The boycott-vow has always been associated in Babu Surendranath's propaganda, though not in the opinion of the people, with the Partition Question, — until Partition is removed, is one of its conditions. How, then, can it be kept up when Partition is removed? There is such a thing as honour among thieves: shall there be no honour between a subject people and their rulers? If we send a memorial again, and in consequence of this memorial, the Partition is revoked or modified accordingly as we ourselves suggest in this memorial, and we still refuse to withdraw the present boycott of British goods, with what face shall we, in the future, condemn the Government for their broken pledges?

Indeed, Babu Surendranath is, we know, very strong on the boycott, and if it is bluntly put to him whether he wants the boycott to be given up or the Partition of Bengal to be removed, we

are confident that he will prefer to have the continuance of the boycott, to the removal of the Partition. But it is more than what can, perhaps, be said of those who are pulling the wires from London, whether they are our own men, Mr. Gokhale or Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt, or whether they are our British friends like Sir Henry Cotton or Sir William Wedderburn and other Liberals. The School to which Mr. Gokhale belongs, — the Mehta-Wacha school of Indian politics, — has never expressed much sympathy with the boycott. Messrs. Mehta and Wacha are known to be dead against it. Mr. Wacha, it is notorious, would not help us in our sorest hour of need, this time last year when the Bombay Mills pushed up prices most greedily in view of the increased demand for country-goods in Bengal, and when Mr. Tilak went from door to door trying to induce the Bombay Millers to help the Bengal boycott, and succeeded in arranging a meeting of them; the meeting was rudely dispersed, our informant told us, by the General Secretary of the Congress. For some years past attempts have been made, especially by Babu Baikunthanath Sen of Berhampur, to pass a Resolution recommending the use of Swadeshi goods, but Mr. Mehta has always managed hitherto to prevent its inclusion in the agenda of the Congress. Mr. Gokhale's pronouncement on the boycott, in his Benares address, is very halting and, from our point of view, extremely unsatisfactory. He spoke in an apologetic tone about it, justifying it, not on larger economic grounds as a protective tariff; nor on larger political grounds, as an effective instrument for awakening self-consciousness in the people; but simply as a protest against the injustice of the Partition and as a last means left to a subject people to arouse the conscience of their rulers to their duties and responsibilities towards them. Mr. Gokhale would surely not support the continuance of the boycott if Partition is revoked, or if British conscience is awakened, — whatever that may mean, — to the duties and responsibilities in India. The writer of the London letter on which this proposal for sending a fresh memorial is based, himself does not seem to view the boycott with much favour; and this is indicated by a sinister sentence given parenthetically in his letter: —

"Bengal will have to work a little longer — *not hysterically, but rationally and strongly* — making it clear that she will not accept the present Partition."

The italics are ours, and this sentence shows that, in the opinion of the writer, our agitation during the last year has been hysterical and irrational to some extent. If so, where and how? Our own suspicion is that even this writer would recommend a withdrawal of the boycott as soon as Partition is withdrawn. Are we prepared to do so? If not, how can we send in a fresh memorial to the Indian Secretary of State on this subject, knowing and believing that if he reopens it and revokes the Partition, he will do so not out of regard for our feelings, but out of fear for the awful complications that the present boycott agitation has created in the administration of this country; and that if, in response to our prayer, the Partition is revoked, it will be a point of honour with us to withdraw the boycott at once. We do not care to argue with those who hold that truth and honour are not obligatory on us in our dealings with the Government.

Bande Mataram, September 11, 1906

Congress and Democracy

THE principles of Democracy, so difficult to learn everywhere, are the most difficult to imbibe in a country that has been, like ours, for so many centuries under foreign despotism. We are not, therefore, surprised at the autocratic ways of our own democratic leaders. Ever since the birth of the Congress, those who have been in the leadership of this great National Movement have persistently denied the general public in the country the right of determining what shall and what shall not be said or done on their behalf and in their name. The delegates have been gathered from all parts of the country, not to deliberate upon public matters, but simply to lend their support to the decisions that had already been arrived at by secret conclaves of half a dozen men. In the earlier years, the practical work of the Congress was done in an absolutely hole-and-corner way, and the general body of the delegates had nothing else to do but to dance to the tune of Messrs. Hume and Company, and the very birth of the institution now known as the Subjects Committee was due to a threat held out twenty years ago at the First Madras Congress by a young delegate, to publicly defy the decisions of the coterie which prepared the programme of the Congress by asserting his right to move any resolution he liked, before the Congress, leaving it to the delegates to accept or reject it as they pleased. It was to avoid the possibility of such scenes that the old coterie had to abdicate their right to dictate to the Congress as to what it shall discuss and to accept the suggestion of leaving the settlement of the Congress programme to a representative Committee duly elected by the delegates present. This Subjects Committee is the only constitutional safeguard provided so far by the Congress against the exercise of autocratic power by any individual Congressman or any clique or coterie of the delegates. But it has proved during the last twenty years to be more or less a paper safeguard and sometimes through impatience, occasionally even by open bullying, half a dozen men, led by the masterful perso-

nality of Pherozshah Mehta, have converted the Congress into practically a private concern. Presidents are selected from year to year without the slightest regard for the feelings and sentiments of the general body of Congressmen in the country, topics for discussion are selected and rejected just as they suit the wishes or offend the susceptibilities of these half a dozen men. It was thus that Babu Surendranath Banerji came to be nominated for the Presidency of the Congress a second time, while Babu Kali Charan Banerjee, another distinguished leader of Bengal, was kept out of it altogether. It was thus again that a younger and much less influential man in his own community like Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale came to be called to the President's chair of the Congress, while a man like Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak who holds a unique position in the country, both as a scholar and a leader of his people, than whom no man among us has made greater sacrifices or suffered more cruelly for his love of his people, has not yet been thought of as a fit man for the Congress Presidency. Those who have attended the meetings of the Subjects Committee know from bitter personal experience how almost impossible it is for any man to get even a decent hearing from his colleagues on that Committee if his views do not fall in completely with those of the three or four gentlemen who have all these years usurped the guidance of the Congress. Neither so universally respected a leader like Babu Baikunthanath Sen of Berhampur, nor a man so universally loved of his people as Babu Aswinikumar Dutt of Barisal, nor so thoughtful a politician as Pandit Bishnu Narayan Dhar could get oftentimes a decent hearing from the three or four men who have practically kept the Congress apron-strings since Mr. Hume's departure from India. It is these men who, accustomed to run the show according to their sweet will and pleasure, have constantly obstructed every attempt to give a proper constitution to this great National Institution. Every year, for some time past, this proposal has been pressed on the Subjects Committee and every year it has been shelved by being referred to a Committee whose want of ability or inclination to do the work entrusted to them had always been a foregone conclusion. In consequence of this autocracy, public interest in the actual work of the Congress has rapidly declined almost everywhere.

Meetings for organising the work of the Congress can no longer be held for want of people willing to attend them. Delegates are, in most places, elected, if it may be called an election at all, by moribund and sometimes even defunct organisations and it does not infrequently happen that half a dozen lawyers, meeting in a casual way at the local Bar Library, elect thirty delegates from their district for the Congress and the superhuman feat is recorded by wire in the daily papers as a crowded meeting where public enthusiasm for the Congress cause rose to white heat. The sham has continued for too long, the deceit has been practised upon the people far too frequently and shamelessly, and the time has come when a new departure must be made if the Congress is to realise in any measure the promises of its early days. One of the most hopeful signs of the times is the quickening of new ideals of civic life and patriotic duty in the country, and there is a desire among thinking people everywhere and more particularly in the mofussil districts of Bengal, to utilise the Congress for the organisation of the new democratic spirit in the country and to do this work properly and well, the existing autocratic habits and tendencies in the present leadership of the Congress will have to be put down with a strong hand by means of an organised effort on the part of those who believe in democracy and have too sincere and strong a love for their country to hesitate to do the cruellest work for its sake.

That there is a growing desire in the country to place the Congress upon a sounder and more democratic and popular basis is evidenced by the meetings that are being held all over the country to have Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak elected as President of the coming session of the Congress in Calcutta. It will be the merest affectation to deny that these meetings are organised by the friends of the New Party in this province; we have no desire to conceal that fact. At the same time, though the articulation of the sentiments that stand at the back of these demonstrations is due to outside stimulus, the genuineness of these sentiments cannot be honestly questioned, and the fact that these sentiments have been articulated in the face of a most disingenuous attempt by some people to thwart Mr. Tilak's nomination, speaks a great deal for the intensity of the feelings of the people towards Mr.

Tilak. Baffled in secretly "appointing some harmless" man as President of the coming Congress the old leaders have been playing a new trick. The only man who could keep Mr. Tilak out is Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. Mr. Naoroji being asked, by whomsoever it may be, to come and guide our deliberations this year, in place of Mr. Tilak, whom it would be difficult in any case to induce to accept the President's chair, would himself stoutly refuse to be nominated. It is clear from Babu Bhupendranath Bose's letter that the invitation to Mr. Naoroji has been given, not in order to get Mr. Naoroji in but to keep Mr. Tilak out. We wonder what Mr. Naoroji's feelings will be when he learns, as he certainly will, to what an unworthy use he has been put by the Calcutta autocracy.

Bande Mataram, September 13, 1906

The Conspirators at Work

THERE is a conspiracy to thwart the desire of the country to have Mr. Tilak as President of the coming Congress in Calcutta. This is due to the natural nervousness of the coterie that have been ruling the Congress all these years, and that recognise in the sudden awakening of active interest in the masses of the country in the work of the Congress a serious menace to their old and autocratic authority; and the object of this conspiracy is not merely to keep Mr. Tilak out of the Congress Presidency, but also to kill at its very birth this new, and in their view, dangerous democratic movement in the Congress. This is almost the first time that the message of the Congress has been delivered to large numbers of the rural population in Bengal. In Chittagong, the meeting which accepted the two resolutions concerning the coming Congress, was attended by many thousands of people; and the learned critic who tried in the columns of the *Bengalee* to throw discredit on the estimate of our Chittagong Correspondent by referring to the total population of that town, forgot that the crowds that gathered to hear Babu Bepin Chandra Pal had come in large numbers from the interior of the district. Many came by train, a much larger number came on foot from neighbouring villages, and many more came by boats. The Swadeshi Samaj at whose instance these meetings were held, had, from the day that Babu Bepin Chandra Pal's presence in the Division came to be known, worked up the whole district, inviting the mofussil people to come and hear him; and when Babu Bepin Chandra Pal failed to be at Chittagong on the first date that they had fixed for his visit, the Secretary sent an urgent wire to him at Comilla, saying that "thousands" had come to the station to receive him and had gone away disappointed, and when Babu Bepin Chandra Pal went at last to Chittagong he was expressly detained there longer than he had intended to do, on the ground that information had been sent again to the interior and people could not gather before Sunday, and not in full force

even before Monday. Maulavi Kazimali Khan, a local Mahomedan Zemindar, while commenting on Bepin Babu's address on Saturday, distinctly said that more than ten thousand Mahomedans were present there, and Maulavi Kazimali must have had some idea as to the number of his own people who had come to the meeting. The Chittagong Resolution recommending Mr. Tilak for the Presidency was adopted by at least twelve to fifteen thousand men. The same thing happened in Dacca; over ten thousand people, on a most moderate computation, must have adopted this Resolution at the meeting at Swamibag last Friday. In Mymensingh the meeting was held in the premises of the Gauripore house which were fully covered by the crowd, and large numbers stood on the public road. It is a new thing, — this awakening of interest in the public movements of the country, in her rural population; and autocracy, whether official or non-official, cannot bear this encroachment, as it thinks, upon its preserve by the man in the street. It is not, therefore, Mr. Tilak alone, the idol of his people, whose elevation to the leadership of the Congress the autocrats in Bombay and Calcutta so much dread, but the invasion of their preserve by the people, that has led them to join in a conspiracy to defeat his nomination.

Tilak must not be made the President of the Congress, for Bombay objects to him, Madras objects to him, and the Central Provinces and the United Provinces would not have him. But is it true? Does Bombay really object to have the one man who has made her own public life so strong, so organised, and so respected all over India, nominated as President of the Congress? Babu Bhupendranath Basu says so, the *Sanjibani* drawing infallible inspiration from the same source proclaims it; there must, then, be some truth in it. But we have a right to know on whose authority Babu Bhupendranath and his *confrères* are making these declarations? That the autocrats of Bombay would object to Tilak's nomination was known even without a message from Hastings Street or College Square. The Metropolitan Press of Bombay which is ruled by Mr. Mehta and the Parsees, has never been friendly to Tilak and that they would also oppose Tilak's nomination was a foregone conclusion. But what about the great Maharashtra? Do they too object to have Tilak nominated

for the Presidency of the Congress? And if Maharashtra cannot speak in the name of Bombay, who, pray, can do so? Are we reduced to such a pass that we must resign our national cause, which has received a new and unprecedented strength and inspiration from the present boycott and Swadeshi movement to the hands of a coterie of importers of foreign goods in the city of Bombay, who have opposed all these years every measure that contained the least fear of risk to their trade and their profits? When the whole country supported the principle of the Counter-ruling Duty on bounty-fed sugar it was Bombay City alone that opposed and condemned it. When Babu Baikunthanath Sen wanted to commit the Congress to a very mild and permissive declaration to encourage the use of indigenous products as encouragement to home industry, it was Bombay City again that saw in it a menace to her profitable trade in foreign goods and violently opposed it. And, lastly, what has been Bombay's attitude towards the present Swadeshi and Boycott Movement? Has Bombay supported it, — that Bombay, we mean, by which Babu Bhupendranath and the *Sanjibani* are so piously swearing today? On the contrary, has not Bombay, that is, the Mehta-Wacha clique, have they not offered a most determined hostility to the Bengal Movement? When Bengal was in distress this time last year, over the question of supply, and went a-begging to Bombay to help her in her trial by just keeping down the price of their Mill produce to its normal level, did the Mehta-Wacha clique raise even their little finger to help her? On the contrary, when Tilak went beseeching the Mill-owners from door to door not to use Bengal's calamity as their opportunity and induced a large number of Gujarati Mill-owners to meet at a Conference and devise some reasonable way to help Bengal, who was it, we ask, who prevented that Conference being held and actually dispersed it by bullying? Was it not Mr. Wacha, the General Secretary of the Congress, the right-hand man of Mr. Mehta, the uncrowned king, as a Madras rhapsodist proclaimed him, of India? Is Bengal now to bow down to the dictate of this clique, who have no more right to speak in the name of Bombay than Babu Bhupendranath has to speak in the name of Bengal? Is not Babu Bhupendranath aware of the part that the Mehta-

Wacha clique played in regard to the Boycott movement during the past year? And if Bombay objects to Tilak's nomination today, did not Bengal also, in the same sense, object to Lalmohan Ghose's nomination to the Presidency three years back? Have Babu Bhupendranath and his friends such conveniently short memories that they forget that little and illuminating incident about a telegram having been sent from Calcutta saying, — Bengal will not have Lalmohan?

These are ugly revelations, and we have been reluctant to make them. There are black sheep in every fold. There are selfish, unscrupulous, designing men in every country, and they are found in every movement. They have their good points, for human nature is not essentially bad but good, and the bad is always accidental, the good alone is necessary and permanent. We are anxious not to emphasise, but to ignore the dark side of every man and every party, but when advantage is taken of reticence to defeat the cause of the country or the nation, such reticence becomes almost sinful and our autocrats must know this that if they conspire to defeat the present movement in secret, we shall not hesitate to expose them in public.

It is, however, said that not Bombay alone, but Madras and the Central Provinces, and Allahabad and Oudh also would not have Mr. Tilak. We do not know who are the men in Madras who are speaking, — if they have spoken at all, — in the name of Madras in this matter. It must be the same story everywhere. If anybody has actually opposed Mr. Tilak's nomination from Madras, it must be the autocrats there, and it will have to be seen whether the people of Madras actually support this metropolitan clique. Babu Bhupendranath speaks of the Central Provinces also, we learn, as opposed to Tilak; will Dr. Moonje of Nagpur and Mr. Khaparde of Amraoti say if it is really so? They ought to have some slight knowledge of the state of public feeling in their own parts. The fact really is, Babu Bhupendranath knows no Calcutta or Bengal outside what is covered by himself and his friends, the rest are uninstructed, unillumined, without power and without influence, having no right to be counted in such high national affairs as belonging to the nation except as a faithful following of Babu Bhupendranath and his friends. So

Mr. Mehta and his friends constitute the only Bombay; perhaps Mr. Mudholkar and Mr. Chitnavis constitute the only C.P.; Pandit Madanmohan Malavya constitutes the only United Provinces that Babu Bhupendranath knows. The *Sanjibani*, the organ of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, which professes democracy even in the determination of divine truths, might have been expected to know better. But even the *Sanjibani* when it speaks of Bombay or the Central Provinces or the United Provinces means, evidently, the old autocrats of the Congress in those places. This autocracy must be knocked on the head. This is the meaning and message of the movement that has found expression in the proposals to have Tilak elected as President of the new Congress, and the latent forces of democracy must be aroused to activity in every Province to defeat or punish the conspiracy that has been secretly hatched to prevent the nomination of Mr. Tilak to the Presidential chair of the coming session of the Congress in Calcutta.

Bande Mataram, September 14, 1906

Last Friday's Folly

EVEN at the risk of being branded as social reactionaries, we must, we feel, enter our protest against the notions and ideals that lay, evidently, under the so-called national dinner, celebrated at the Albert Hall on Friday last. The function, in itself, was too insignificant to deserve any notice. Two hundred and fifty men and boys meeting and dining together in public, regardless of caste-restrictions and old orthodoxy, is not even a new thing in Calcutta Society. Hindus and Mahomedans had dined publicly in Calcutta, on special occasions, before now. Dinners had repeatedly been given at the India Club in honour of prominent members in which members of all castes and creeds joined. Subscription dinners had been organised in honour of prominent public men, even outside that Club, the last one being less than two years old, when the friends of Sir Henry Cotton met him at a dinner at the Calcutta Town Hall. Babu Narendranath Sen organised a public dinner some years back, to celebrate the birthday of Buddha, where people of all castes and more than one creed, sat down on mats and dined together on simple *loochie* and *dal*. These dinners had all been publicly announced and publicly reported; but no one cared to publicly condemn them. Had last Friday's dinner been associated with some specific public functions, or been held in honour of any particular public men, no one would have, we believe, taken any serious notice of it. The folly of it lay in the idea that interdining was a necessary condition of nation-building in India; and it deserves condemnation for propounding the foolish and suicidal ideal that social and religious differences must first of all be destroyed before India can ever hope to realise her own true civic life.

This is the Anglo-Indian and the British idea. It is the main plea upon which the present despotism supports and justifies itself. It is the plea upon which even our own old-school patriots proclaim the fatal doctrine that India is not, and will never for a very long period be, fitted for self-government and, therefore,

the strong hand of the foreigner must be over her, to prevent her various castes and creeds flying at each other's throat, and thus falling a prey to some other and infinitely worse foreign yoke, if the present one is removed; and that, therefore, the highest political wisdom demands that we should, as long as there are diversities of creeds and castes among us, cultivate with care the present servitude, trying to make it easy to bear for the nation, and profitable for the individual, by adopting the policy of "association with and opposition to the Government." This plea must be knocked on the head, therefore, before we can expect to make out a reasonable case for that propaganda of national freedom and autonomy which has been taken up by the New Party in the country.

Those who say that caste and religious differences must first of all be destroyed before India can ever rise to the status of a nation, have very hazy and confused notions regarding the character and constitution of that nation. Our history has been different in many respects from the history of other peoples. The composition of the Indian people has been unique in all the world. Nations grew in the past by the accretion and assimilation of different tribes. This is an earlier process. But India has not been a mere meeting-place of tribes; but a meeting-place of grown up nations with developed social and religious lines of their own, and with original castes and types of cultures peculiar to them. The character and composition of the coming Indian Nation, therefore, will differ very materially from those of the European Nations, the process of unification among whom took place at a much earlier and comparatively more nebular stage of their growth. This is a fact which our old school politicians and social reformers do not seem as yet to have had any time to think of, and we are not hopeful that even now, after it is pointed out to them, in the plainest language possible, they will have the patience to do so and recognise this essential peculiarity of our infant national life. The nation-idea in India will realise itself in all its departments, along what may be called federal lines, — it will be a union of different nationalities, each preserving its own specific elements both of organisation and ideal, each communicating to the others what they lack in either thought or

character; and all moving together towards one universal end, both in civic and social life, progressively realising that end along its own historic and traditional lines, and thus indefinitely drawing near to each other without, for an equally indefinite period, actually losing themselves in any one particular form of that life, whether old or new. The Mahomedan, the Hindu, the Buddhist, the Christian in India will not have to cease to be Mahomedan, Hindu, Buddhist, or Christian, in any sense of the term, for uniting into one great and puissant Indian Nation. Devotion to one's own ideals and institutions, with toleration and respect for the ideals and institutions of other sections of the community, and an ardent love and affection for the common civic life and ideal of all, — these are what must be cultivated by us now, for the building up of the real Indian Nation. To try to build it up in any other way will be impossible, whether that way be the way of the Brahmo, the Christian, or the propagandist Mahomedan. To make any attempt along any of these lines, will not make for but work against national unity; and the reckless men who organised this so-called national dinner will, if they persist in their folly, instead of bringing the different races and religions together, only help to arouse the opposition of orthodoxy everywhere, and drive the great forces that range always with orthodoxy, to an attitude of open hostility to the great national movement, and bring about a reaction that will seek to accentuate those very differences and tighten those very bonds of caste and custom, which in their unphilosophic and unscientific zeal they are trying by these wrong and obtrusive methods to obliterate and loosen. It is in this view that we condemn the folly that was perpetrated on Friday last under the name of a National Dinner.

Bande Mataram, September 17, 1906

More Lessons from Comilla

THE fresh disturbances in Tipperah are only so many more arguments for an organised League of Mutual Defence throughout Bengal. Mere individual or local self-protection will not meet the exigencies of the situation. In the towns where the educated community is strong and compact and there are a number of active and spirited young men, the nationalist may be able to hold his own against riot and outrage, official or unofficial, though even here help from outside may become increasingly necessary; but in villages where the educated class is not represented, the need for immediate assistance from outside is imperative. The educated classes have now in Swaraj an idea for which men can fight and, if need be, die without fear and even with joy; and the possession of such an idea gives a moral strength which more than compensates for inferiority in numbers. But we have not had time as yet to instil this sentiment deeply into the hearts of the masses. If we are to carry the peasant and the shop-keeper with us, we must give them a ready support and protection against attack which will accustom them to look up to their educated compatriots as their natural protectors and leaders. Otherwise the sense of helplessness under such organised oppression as is being practised in Comilla will be too strong for the nascent spirit of patriotism and we shall be seriously hampered in our future work. We must have such an organisation that the first news of such incidents may be taken as a cry for help and sufficient assistance proceed to the scene of action without a moment's delay. In the stirring address of the President of the Berhampur Conference, defence was included as a necessary part of our programme in Bengal. We look to the young men to lay the foundations for such an organised League. The physical training and self-defence movement which we started three or four years ago has borne admirable fruit, and we rejoice to find its wisdom so entirely justified; but it must now be given a far wider and more thorough realisation and become national

and universal instead of local and sporadic. Wherever ten or twelve young men can gather together let them form an institution, however small and unpretentious, for the training of the body, discipline and the habit of physical courage and activity. Let them put themselves in communication with similar bodies near them, form local leagues and send out preachers and organisers to create such institutions in neighbouring places where they do not exist. Let every youth who is not an active member of these institutions and leagues be looked down on as deficient in manhood, patriotism and his duty as a citizen. In this way the foundation may be laid for a National League of Defence. Older men may give ideas and advice; it is the young who in these days of revolution must lead in action; for on their foreheads is the light of the new dawn and theirs are the million arms of the awakened Mother. The work to which we call them is not less pressing and urgent than the maintenance of Boycott and Swadeshi; for without it neither Swadeshi nor Boycott can endure.

Bande Mataram, April 2, 1907

Lala Lajpatrai Deported

THE sympathetic administration of Mr. Morley has for the present attained its records; — but for the present only. Lala Lajpatrai has been deported out of British India. The fact is its own comment. The telegram goes on to say that indignation meetings have been forbidden for four days. Indignation meetings? The hour for speeches and fine writing is past. The bureaucracy has thrown down the gauntlet. We take it up. Men of the Punjab! Race of the lion! Show these men who would stamp you into the dust that for one Lajpat they have taken away, a hundred Lajpats will arise in his place. Let them hear a hundred times louder your war-cry — *Jai Hindusthan.*

Bande Mataram, May 10, 1907

Lala Lajpatrai

We publish elsewhere the last letter we received from Lala Lajpatrai previous to his sudden deportation. Great has been the good fortune of the Punjab leader in being selected as the first and noblest victim on the altar of Motherland. But for our part, we may be pardoned if we indulge a feeling of regret and grief at the sudden parting from a friend. We have not been acquainted with Lajpatrai for very long but even these brief months of acquaintance and increasing friendship have been enough to feel the charm of his personality. There was always in Lajpatrai a singular union of tenderness with strength, of quietness with fervour, a ready sympathy in kindly feeling which could not fail to attract. This sympathy and kindliness is evident in the warm phrases of appreciation he wrote to us. And there is a touch in his subscription to the letter which subsequent events have brought startlingly home to us — "An humble servant of the Motherland, Lajpatrai." Happy is he, for his Mother has accepted his service and given it the highest reward for which a

patriot can hope, the privilege of not merely serving but suffering for her. When India raises statues to the heroes and martyrs of her emancipation, it will inscribe on his the simple and earnest phrase which remains behind to us as his modest boast and his sufficient message.

Bande Mataram, May 11, 1907

Government by Panic

ONE does not know precisely how to take the extraordinary accounts of the charges against Lala Lajpatrai and the panic among Europeans which have been reaching us from the North. We used to think the English deficient in imagination, but the vivid and fluorescent powers of fancy which this panic has revealed, puts all our preconceived ideas to rout. Not only have the Government given vent to an outburst of poetical fancy beyond all parallel but they have insisted on staging and enacting their dramatic creation in real life. Sir Denzil Ibbetson reminds us of that great aesthetic realist, Nero, who made slaves and prisoners enact the parts of classic tragedy and had them actually stabbed or crucified or torn by real wild beasts to embody his mimic imaginations. Sir Denzil has conceived a splendid melodramatic tragedy called *The Rebellion Forestalled* or *British Empire Saved* and the Punjab Bar have been obliged to play the leading parts. The conception is admirable. An inoffensive pleader sitting among his briefs, to all appearance harmless, unmilitary, civilian, but in reality a masked Tamerlane, Napoleon or Shivaji, full of dark and tremendous schemes; a disarmed and helpless mob of workmen and peasants who are really a dangerous, well-equipped and well-organised army of a hundred thousand Jats capable of overthrowing the British Empire; a widespread and diabolically complex plot on the bursting point, Lahore Fort to be seized and, we presume, Lajpat to be crowned the first Punjabi Emperor of India, — when suddenly, lo and behold! the glorified and splendiferous figure of Sir Denzil Ibbetson appears, hurling lightnings and clothed in majesty, catches up the arch-conspirator in his mighty hand and a motor-car tosses him over the continent to Rangoon or the Andamans, envelops the rebel province in a cloud of cavalry and siege-guns and the British Empire, — and incidentally Lahore Fort, — is saved. A most admirably dramatic denouement! And to add the right Shakespearian touch of grotesque humour, we are told that this

phantom army foreshadows its attack by throwing stones at the gate of Lahore Fort, whose feelings must have been deeply hurt by such contumelious behaviour, — either as a sort of chivalrous warning to the garrison or as a symbolic rehearsal of the intended storm!

Are these the imaginations of sane men, or the diseased and distorted phantasmagoria which presents itself to bemused intellects in a Chinese opium-den? If it had been a little more plausible, we might have thought it a Machiavellian invention of Anglo-Indian statesmen to justify their instituting a Russian policy of repression. But a lawyer militarist leading an army of Indian peasants, Lahore Fort to be stormed by an unarmed mob with their fists, — or with stones, the British Empire to be overthrown by this extraordinary army, — the whole is a wild nightmare of panic-stricken brains. We are told that the Europeans were so panic-stricken, many of them passed the night on the railway platform, ready for flight. *The Civil and Military Gazette* also solemnly affirms that Lajpatrai was an arch-rebel with a hundred thousand men under his orders and hints pretty plainly that the prompt action of Sir Denzil Ibbetson saved the British from a rebellion. And these are the men who think that they can go on ruling a nation of three hundred millions by mere repression and the terror of the sword, after the moral bases of their supremacy are gone! The great strong successful despots of the world were not men who started at every shadow and took every bush in the darkness for an enemy. Government by panic has never yet been a success and we doubt whether it will be any more successful in India than elsewhere. But here we find panic initiating a policy, bewilderment approving of it and alarm sanctioning it. Not only the Punjab Government, not only the "level-headed" Lord Minto, but even the austere and philosophical Mr. Morley has committed himself to government by panic. It is for us to take full advantage of the mistakes of our political adversaries.

Bande Mataram, May 13, 1907

The Bagbazar Meeting

WE DO not clearly understand what has been gained by the Bagbazar meeting held on Sunday under the auspices of the leading lights of Bengal. There were one or two speeches made which said certain obvious things and there were certain resolutions passed in which we condoled, sympathised, demanded and protested. But when the meeting dispersed, we were not one whit more forward than we had been a few hours before. What we want to know, what the country wants to know, is not what we think, — there is no doubt or difference of opinion about that, everybody is thinking the same thing, — but what are we going to do? The right of public meeting is to be allowed to us in future only on sufferance; students of schools are not to be permitted to think about politics; students of colleges, schoolmasters, professors are to be suffered to take interest in politics only so long as they do not do or say anything unpleasant or objectionable to the authorities; nationalist agitation has been practically forbidden on penalty of arrest, deportation or exposure to police or Mahomedan goondaism. What the Government means to do is plain enough. It intends to put down nationalism with the high hand and crush every attempt of the nation to raise its head, every aspiration to breathe, to grow and to live. The question now is, what do we mean to do in reply?

There were four subjects before the meeting on Sunday. The deportation of Lajpatrai came first in importance, because it shows to what extremes the bureaucracy is prepared to go in order to crush nationalism. Merely to express indignation and sympathy in answer to such a step is absurd; it has all the bathos and futility of a foreseen commonplace. Of course we are indignant, of course we sympathise, but what afterwards? Have we no duty to perform except the expression of these very natural, unavoidable and entirely useless emotions? Yes, we *demand* that the charges against Lajpatrai should be formulated

and proved. From whom do we make this demand? In the case of the Natu brothers it was just possible that pressure in Parliament might induce the Government in England to undo what the Government in Bombay had done in a moment of panic. Here there is no such possibility. Mr. Morley has publicly identified himself with this act of arbitrary oppression and his mind is too stiff and rigid with age to change. The deportation of Lajpatrai is therefore an action for which the Liberal Government has become responsible and, as such, is bound to have the support of almost the whole Liberal Party, while it will certainly have the support of the whole Conservative Party. Who then is likely to listen to this empty "demand"? We could have understood it, if the demand had been coupled with a resolution that the campaign of Boycott, Swadeshi and Swaraj should be pursued with tenfold vigour, that Srijut Bepin Chandra Pal should be asked to return to Madras and complete his programme with additions, and Srijut Surendranath Banerji should proceed at once to the North for the same purpose and should take in Gujerat and the Central Provinces in his return journey, and that meanwhile every nerve should be strained to promote and organise the movement in Bengal. The resolution would then have had a meaning and the nation would have been inspirited to draw fresh resolve and energy from what would otherwise be a national calamity. As it stands, this "demand" rings hollow and savours of empty braggadocio.

The second question before the meeting was the state of things in Eastern Bengal, and here again the meeting dispersed after passing an utterly empty and unpractical resolution. There are various ways in which the situation might be met. It might have been resolved to arrange a meeting with the leading Mahomedans of Bengal and call upon them to dissociate themselves publicly from Nawab Salimullah and take active steps in order to put a stop to anti-Hindu ferment which its misbegetters are now attempting to spread westward. Or, we might have decided in consultation with the Hindu Zemindars in the East to arrange adequate self-defence at every defensible point of the affected areas and withdraw the Hindu element from villages where they were too few to render a good account of themselves. This would

either have compelled the hooligans to throw themselves upon well-defended points and meet the risk of a salutary defeat which they have hitherto avoided, or else left the conflagration to die for want of material to prey upon, — unless it turned upon those who had kindled it. But merely to lament the situation and express an astonishment which nobody really feels at the action of the local authorities, is neither helpful nor sincere.

A third subject for consideration was the University Coercion Circular. This was a crucial point; from the way in which it was dealt with, the country could understand how far the sincerity and resolution of its leaders would go. It would perhaps be too much to expect of these gentlemen that they would respond to the insult that has been put upon them by a dignified resolution to sever connection with an enslaved and degraded University and take the education of the country into their own hands. In the present development of public feeling this would be perfectly practicable and we believe it would be welcomed with enthusiasm by the whole of Bengal; but it requires an amount of enthusiasm and courage which we have ceased to expect from the men who lead us. Surely, however, they might at least have definitely assured the public that they would offer a firm passive resistance to the provisions of the Circular and leave the Government, if it dared to inflict the penalty of disaffiliation with or without the consent of the Senate. Even this was not done. "We protest", and there is an end of the matter.

The same course was followed with regard to the Ordinance restricting the right of public meeting. Under this Ordinance the Government reserves to itself the power of putting an extinguisher on the Nationalist agitation whenever and wherever it pleases. The agitation has been a public one and had nothing in it secret or underground; but if we submit to the Ordinance, it must lose its public character and adopt other methods. Are we prepared to accept this eventuality? We had given up petitioning as proved by experience to be futile and cannot return to it without acknowledging defeat and enslaving India forever to the bureaucracy. Passive resistance has become our chosen weapon and this it is sought to strike out of our hands. We must, therefore, either oppose an organised passive resistance to this Ordi-

nance, a resistance in which leaders like Srijut Surendranath must court imprisonment and deportation, or we must find other methods. It was light on this question that we expected from Sunday's meeting, but it has left us only darkness visible. It seems to be the policy of our leaders to "protest", — and submit.

Bande Mataram, May 14, 1907

A Treacherous Stab

WE HAVE seldom read anything more disgraceful, more unpatriotic, more opposed to all ideas of decency, than the sneering and ill-natured attack on Lala Lajpatrai which the *Tribune* has chosen this particular moment to deliver. It is a time when all over India men of all shades of opinion, except the worshippers of the bureaucracy, are putting aside their differences with this modest and self-sacrificing patriot in order to express their unanimous fellow-feeling with him in his hour of trial. It is precisely this moment that the *Tribune* chooses for its stab at Lala Lajpatrai who is no longer there to speak for himself. If this unseemly conduct is dictated by a desire to dissociate itself from the exiled patriot in order to save its own skin, it can only be characterised as the basest cowardice. If by envy, party spirit and secret jubilation at the removal of a powerful Nationalist, it is indecent and unpatriotic. In ordinary times the *Tribune* was free to criticise and abuse Lajpatrai and nobody would have cared, but when a man is suffering for his country, no one pretending to be a patriot has a right to vent on him either private spleen or a dislike on public grounds. We have our own differences with Mr. Gokhale and Srijut Surendranath Banerji, but were either of these leaders to become the objects of official persecution, we should consider ourselves eternally disgraced if we remembered anything but the one fact that he was suffering for the sake of our common Motherland. The sneers of the *Tribune* would not in themselves be worth noticing; it is as an example of the utter want of true patriotism that it calls for condemnation.

Bande Mataram, May 14, 1907

Not to the Andamans!

IT IS evidently with a sigh of relief that the *Indian Mirror* learns the news that Lala Lajpatrai is to be sent not to the Andamans but to Mandalay. It says: — "Soon after his arrest, it was reported widely that Lala Lajpatrai was going to be taken to the Andamans. But instead of being sent to that penal settlement, he has been conveyed as a State prisoner to Mandalay, in Upper Burma where there is a large fort. Mandalay is certainly a far better place than the Andamans." To those like us outside the esoteric circle, — and they by no means form a microscopic minority, — the distinction between the two places, on the present occasion, seems immaterial. Of course it needs no ghost to tell us that Mandalay is not the Andamans. But are not both places equally suited to the requirements of the Government? It was not the intention of the Government to remove Lajpatrai to a particular place with a view to subject him to a particular kind of climate. In Mandalay in Upper Burma "where there is a large fort", the Punjab leader will not be allowed to do as he likes. The object of the Government in deporting him was to remove him from the scene of his labours and thus attempt to put a stop to his career of usefulness, — call it political activity if you like. The first object the Government has succeeded in accomplishing by removing him to Mandalay. And it would have been equally accomplished by removing him to the Andamans. But the second object cannot be accomplished by such a removal. If the people are ready to carry on his work, — which since his deportation it has become their sacred duty to do, — the object of the Government will be frustrated. The work of an individual often becomes the work of a people, and such work reaches its glorious culmination only when it is taken up by the people at large from whom come the energy and the character of a nation. If the people are prepared to take up his work, then his deportation, which has given them an impetus, will prove but a blessing in disguise.

Bande Mataram, May 16, 1907

No Common Ideal

THE surcharged state of the political atmosphere is not favourable to the growth of Moderate politics; and the present policy of the Government has made many mild Moderates realise the utter impossibility of securing our political rights by following the old course of the so-called constitutional agitation. And we are glad to note that some of our Moderate contemporaries have begun to show a distinct liking for what they used to abhor as "Dangerous Extremist politics." The *Indian Patriot* of Madras, so well known for its opposition to the New Thought, has the following: —

"The fight between Moderates and Extremists, which has been going on now for over a year and a half, and which seemed to strain the feelings between the two to the breaking point at the last Congress, seems no longer destined to be a marked feature of Indian politics; for in the face of the danger which threatens law and liberty in the land, the fight will cease, and both will join in self-defence. Whatever may be their differences as regards principles and methods, and even as regards their aims, both will readily agree that the liberty of the subject should be respected, and that we should have freedom even in the midst of servitude. It is the interest of both to secure law and liberty against the aggression of the executive. All other considerations, every difference as regards opinions and principles, will be subordinated to this one end; for most educated Indians will recognise that liberty of persons and liberty of discussion are the chief safeguards of all other liberties, and these it is impossible to maintain if the executive can by their mere will arrest and deport persons and prohibit public meetings. Hitherto the Moderates and the Extremists have been pulling violently in opposite directions, the one believing in the possibility of a remedy being found for every evil within the constitution itself, the other relying on dissociation with Government and quasi-Government institutions.

In other words, the vast majority of educated Indians have believed in no progress except by means of association with the rulers of the land, while a growing minority have been urging methods of boycott as the only means of compelling reform."

But afraid lest the words quoted above should be taken as an expression of Extremist opinion by Anglo-India, the *Patriot* hastened to disown any faith in the "unpractical" remedy recommended by the Extremists. But contradictory opinions are hard to reconcile, and in the very next sentence the *Patriot* again said, more in sorrow than in anger, that the Government had by its recent action allowed the Extremists to score a point. "The power," it admitted, "which the Government have exercised is a sort of dispensing power; they have for the time being dispensed with the laws of the land." This admission that the laws of the land have been dispensed with by the Government, — together with the opinion expressed by our contemporary on the "unexpected proceedings of the Government" which it calls "aberrations of authority", — should have convinced at least our contemporary that it is not possible to get our political rights as gifts from a Government which has "dispensed with the laws of the land" and indulged in "aberrations of authority".

Our contemporary's comments on the attitude of the Anglo-Indian Press towards the present agitation are even more hopeful. And though our contemporary's firm but misplaced faith in the Englishman's love of liberty and liking for the right of public discussion has made him express his surprise at the fact "that Englishmen should so largely approve of the liberty of the subject and of the right of public discussion being placed at the mercy of the executive", yet even to our contemporary "it shows, if anything, that there can be no common ideal for Indians and Englishmen in India; and the language used by the London *Times*, that the aims of the Congress are inconsistent with the fundamental principles of British rule, conclusively establishes that progress according to the ideals of English-educated Indians is impossible of realisation". Exactly so. While the ideal of the Englishman in India is to keep the people here in perpetual servitude for his own benefit, the ideal of the Indian is to secure for himself those

rights which alone make national existence worth enjoying.

We wish our Moderate contemporary had stopped here. But the sudden flash that had revealed to him the real situation dies out as suddenly and he goes back to the old superstitions which they say die hard. What, asks our contemporary, —

"Is then the hope for India and Indians? If we accept the dictum of the *Times*, there is none. We hope, however, that this is only a passing phase of political thought and not a deliberate declaration of an immutable principle. The Extremists would welcome nothing more cheerfully than such a declaration; for it gives strength to their theories, and sustenance to their opinions. They have no faith in appeals to authority; they are against submitting petitions to Government. The idea may be chimerical. Still it is their idea, and they cherish it with hope. Amidst such a conflict of opinions, we can regard nothing as more unfortunate than such a declaration as that which the *Times* has made."

Is it too much to hope that in the light of Mr. Morley's Budget speech and the spirit which pervaded it, Moderate publicists like the *Patriot* will get rid of this last lingering delusion that "this is only a passing phase of political thought"? The *Patriot* is very sorry that facts should be justifying the Extremist theories. Why? Surely, what we want in India is a sound and sensible policy based upon the truth, and if it turns out that the English professions of liberalism in which the *Patriot* put faith were delusions and that the Extremist view is the right one, the discovery of the truth, however unexpected and momentarily unpalatable, should be welcomed by every sincere patriot. Least of all should the *Patriot* think it deplorable that the *Times* and Mr. Morley should throw off the mask. What would have been deplorable was the continued resort to the mask and undue delay in the inevitable awakening.

Bande Mataram, June 11, 1907

Poona Speech

Babu Aurobindo Ghose, Editor of *Bande Mataram*, arrived privately in Poona on Saturday evening. On Monday afternoon, he was entertained at Pan Supari Parties, at Prof. S. M. Paranjape's (Kal) at Swadeshi Vakhar, then Godse's Swadeshi Stationery Shop and at Narayandas Chhabildas Shop. Babu Aurobindo addressed a Meeting on Monday (January 13, 1908) evening at Gayakawad Wada (Tilak's premises) where people thronged from 4 o'clock. Mr. S. K. Damle, Pleader, proposed Dr. Anna Saheb Patwardhan, the Maharshi of Poona, to the Chair. Dr. Patwardhan, introducing the Lecturer observed that Aurobindo Babu was the fourth Bengali leader to address the Poona public. The first two, Kesab Chandra Sen and Babu Pratap Chandra Roy, had preached the new doctrines of the Brahmo Samaj. The third had been Surendranath, the President of the 11th. I.N.C., in 1895. The fourth or the present one was their friend and brother, the leader of the new spirit in Bengal. Then Dr. Patwardhan asked the Babu to begin the speech.

Babu Aurobindo Ghose addressed the audience thus:

DR. Patwardhan, and fellow-countrymen, when I came here I did not expect that I would be sought out and commanded to lecture; I intended to slip in to see my friends and slip out. But now I have been commanded to address you. I must confess that making speeches is not my vocation. My weapon is the pen and not the tongue. The People who make themselves prominent are those who are made prominent by a benevolent Government and have two calls to obey, the first from His Majesty's Hotel and the second from the Public, to lecture whenever commanded to do so. I was staying back all the while, but I could not disobey the command of my friend and fellow-countryman. Until now I was thinking of what I was to speak. As I am not a speaker I will not be able to arrange my thoughts readily but I shall just put before you our experiences in Bengal. You must excuse me for my thoughts being at random, or rather thank me that I will not tax your patience too long. The year 1907 was an eventful year; many unusual and unfortunate things happened during that year. The new movement was exposed to severe and fierce trials. In Bengal we had to suffer many difficulties and trials and the last of the trials was

the storm at Surat this year. A number of people asked the question: "What next?" Our answer is: "Let us see how much more happens and how much more we suffer". By our education and circumstances, a negative and doubting temperament is created in us. Men of that temperament are always asking, "Why are you going so fast and so far? Where is the strength in you to take up such a programme?" We are charged with being very superstitious and I admit the charge. I myself am very superstitious and my superstition is that we have sufficient strength and we should succeed in whatever we undertake. I propose to expound the creed of thought that is preached in the *Bande Mataram*. The nationalistic movement, which began with Swadeshi and boycott, was not adopted by the leaders' exhortations. The Congress movement was very strong in Bengal, but after the repressive policy of the Government, which began even before Lord Curzon, people lost hope in the Congress. The Congress believed that by education and petitions, by rousing the British public and the bureaucrats, success would be achieved, but when people found all this was of no use and a mere loss of money and energy, they became despondent about the Congress. This feeling of despondency and apathy towards the Congress was gaining ground in the public mind three or four years before the Swadeshi movement. People became more and more convinced that their efforts were doomed to failure and the Nation doomed to decay, if the methods that had failed were to continue. Lord Curzon came and he hastened the reactionary movement of the Government. He passed several Acts, the Municipal Act floated by the previous Lt. Governor of Bengal and the Universities Act. In spite of strong protest from Bengal, where private schools and colleges were started, these Acts were imposed. Then came the Partition of Bengal, which struck a blow at the heart of the Bengali Nation. Some Indians did not understand at first why the Partition was a grievance. But the Bengali people are a people fond of ideas and sentiments. They were a provincial unity and did not like Partition. They were wounded to their hearts and could not keep going along with it. They petitioned and protested from every quarter but met with nothing except failure. Then there arose the question: what to do next? Three or four years before

the Partition, the Swadeshi idea had been gaining ground in Bengal but it was not accepted by the Leaders. The first shout of boycott came from Kishoregunj, an insignificant town, which had taken no part in any movement till then; a second shout came from Malgura (Jessore) then from Calcutta. Previously people had seen the effect of the Chinese boycott of American goods and the leaders of Calcutta accepted the idea of boycott and Swadeshi. Swadeshi was first started in Poona and offered to the Bengali leaders, who at that time said that Swadeshi was a mere wild dream, an impracticable idea. Secondly, at the time of the Age of Consent Bill, the orthodox papers preached boycott and Swadeshi but the nation was not strong enough to take them up then. Even recently when Swadeshi and boycott were preached it was again put forward that Swadeshi was impracticable and boycott was still more so and against the principle of political economy. It was also urged that our circumstances were different. We were wanting in strength of character, we would make ourselves a laughing stock. But people with a new spirit in their hearts did not listen to such doubts; they said, "We will not hear these scepticisms. We want to do something and we will do this, — namely, Swadeshi and boycott, and we insist on you that you should lead the way." Then the leaders said, "All right, let us use them temporarily and see what we can do." It was resolved to boycott British goods for six months and then, if the step was found useful, to continue it. If it succeeded, well and good. If it failed, it would be dropped. So long we were on the wrong path. We were thinking we were weak, we had many national defects, we were hypnotising ourselves or allowing others to hypnotise us. If we went on thinking that we were weak, we should ever remain so. Let us believe in our strength and let us take the idea from Vedanta, think that we are strong and divine and powerful. Never mind the difficulties but proceed. Don't try boycott as a temporary measure but take it as a method of policy and carry it through. The leaders opposed this; they began to declare their opposition publicly but people were not willing to hear them. They resolved to make boycott a permanent measure. The people then discovered their strength. They found that they were not weak but strong. They could carry it out and

would carry it out. They were able to carry it out. The doubters were amazed to see the boycott successful. After the first year of boycott, though it did not redress the Partition grievances, yet it gave a blow to the Manchester cotton trade. Now the boycott became an accepted and permanent fact. People's strength is justified now. Another charge that was thrown at the doors of the Indians was that they were not capable of sacrifice. Bengal in especial would never make any sacrifice. The Bengali people would just begin a hunt and leave it. Another thing that was done in Bengal was the Swadeshi movement. The doubters put it forth that Swadeshi cloth was inferior and less fine than English cloth and dearer. "How can you expect under these circumstances the people to follow Swadeshi permanently?" The people did not believe in them and they proceeded and even poorer people, educated, uneducated and totally ignorant people also began to buy Swadeshi cloth. Young men from Bengal came forward and volunteered for the spread of Swadeshi; they undertook picketing in spite of police troubles; they carried the gospel to every distant corner and in the beginning sold Swadeshi cloth at cost price without taking any profits; both the demand for and supply of Swadeshi cloth were increased by the efforts of the young volunteers. In the end the prices became equalised and ultimately English cloth became dearer. By self-reliance we proved boycott and Swadeshi a success. The third thing that we have done is national education. The people were for a long time dissatisfied with the British system of education. After the success of boycott and Swadeshi, a cry was raised for national schools and colleges. After much discussion, people resolved to make national education a fact. The Rangpur students were the first to leave the Government school and demand a national school. Then at Rangpur was established the first national school, after which a National University became necessary. Voluntary contributions came from Zemindars. Now a scheme for National primary education is being planned.

The lecturer next explained how the Bengali people found that they were strong, bold and capable of doing things. He alluded to the teachings of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda and gave the fable of the cub of a lion in a sheep-fold. The lecturer

strongly preached self-reliance. Then coming to show the difference between the Moderates and the Nationalists, he remarked that all those who were self-diffident were Moderates and all who were self-confident were Nationalists. The Moderates would always make preparations and say, "We are not yet ready", and they would never be ready. Then he exhorted the audience to depend upon themselves and make themselves successful, great, prosperous and free.

Mr. Tilak proposing a vote of thanks to the Lecturer remarked that one would never learn to swim unless one threw oneself in the water, and he requested Babu Aurobindo to lecture more often in Poona than he intended.

The vote of thanks was carried with loud acclamation.

Babu Aurobindo was garlanded and, after the concluding remarks from the chair, the gathering dispersed amid loud shouts of "Bande Mataram, Shivaji ki Jai, Aurobindo Babu ki Jai."

January 13, 1908

National Education*

THE meaning of national education is now well understood in Bengal, but the case seems to be quite otherwise in this part of the country. Even the Honourable Mr. Gokhale showed his ignorance of the matter by tampering at Surat with the wording of the resolution on national education passed at the Calcutta Congress. Some of these people appear to think that there can be no "national" education for India, where, according to them, the existence of various conflicting creeds and races makes the growth of a feeling of nationality an impossibility. This view is utterly wrong. The very geographical position of the country, isolating it from other parts of the world, argues its separate national existence. Italy, which is isolated like India, achieved national independence within a space of thirty years. Shivaji, Akbar, Ashoka as well as the Rishis of old are amongst the component parts of the Indian nation. Let us learn from Japan how to awaken the national spirit among the people by a contemplation of the heroic deeds of our ancestors. Let us bear in mind that we have a debt to discharge not only towards our ancestors but also to our posterity. If such a noble ideal is steadily kept before our mental vision, we shall see that our nation will give birth to great philosophers, statesmen and generals. This ideal has been kept in view in guiding the movement for national education in Bengal. In teaching geography we impress upon the minds of our students that India is their Motherland, that Maharashtra produced Shivaji, that the Punjab was once ruled by Ranjitsingh, and that the Himalaya gave shelter to our ancient Rishis. History and philosophy, too, are taught in a similar manner with a view to awaken the spirit of nationality amongst the pupils. Nothing that is useful or important is neglected in the scheme, and instruction is, as far as possible, imparted in the vernacular. This is not the case with the education imparted in Government schools where the tender

* Speech delivered on January 15, 1908 at Girgaum, Bombay.

minds of students are uselessly burdened with Western ideas utterly antagonistic to their own modes of living and thinking. In profiting by our contact with Western civilisation, we should be careful not to cut ourselves adrift from our original moorings, but should at the same time imitate the Japanese in taking the fullest advantage of modern scientific discoveries. In political matters we have much to learn from the Western nations, and we should also turn to them for lessons in popular Government. In our scheme of national education, we teach students how to take an active part in politics, as we believe that without such training their education will not be complete. As we teach them some handicrafts, they find it easy to obtain moderately remunerative employment on leaving our schools, which is not the case with the pupils attending Government institutions. Our seventh standard equals the intermediate course of the Indian Universities. Self-reliance forms the guiding principle of our scheme of education. We do not look to Government for help as we think that State assistance will destroy our national stamina. We challenge those who have been harping upon the alleged impracticability of imparting education "on national lines", to visit Bengal and see what is being done there in that direction. Some of the Zemindars have given us substantial aid in carrying out our plans on condition that we accept no assistance from Government.

(The same paper gives the following report of a second lecture delivered by Mr. Aurobindo Ghose at the Halai Lohana Mahajanwadi at Bombay on 19th January. Though the handbills announcing the lecture were published only four hours before the time fixed for the lecture, over three thousand people gathered to hear Babu Aurobindo Ghose. He alluded to the heavy sentence passed upon the printer of the *Yugantar* and remarked that the secret of the new awakening in Bengal lay in a firm belief in the justice of the national cause and an abiding faith in God. Our helplessness, he continued, when contrasted with the might of the ruling class, gave rise to a feeling of despondency in ordinary people and made them look upon the efforts of the National Party as those of lunatics. But the national movement in Bengal was

based on the fact that what seemed impossible to ordinary minds was easy to those who had unshakable faith in God. It is feelings like these that enabled the Bengalis to disregard harassments, floggings and incarceration. The people of Maharashtra would be able to experience the effect of these feelings when the national movement took root among them.)

January 15, 1908

SUPPLEMENT TO

VOLUME 2

KARMAYOGIN

The following two speeches are reproduced as reported in the *Times of India*, Bombay of October 11, 1909 and October 15, 1909 respectively.

Swadeshi Meeting*

MR. Aurobindo Ghose next rose amid loud cheers and cries of "Bande Mataram". He said that the meeting was the last they could hold before the Partition Day, which was approaching, and so he could speak a few words about that illustrious day which should be observed with great national enthusiasm. The 16th October had become a memorable day, not only in the history of India, but in that of the world. The 7th of August was the day of the awakening of the nation and the 16th October was the day when that awakened nation publicly declared its individuality and indestructible vitality. A time might come when the future generation would have an occasion to celebrate that day as one of national rejoicing. The speaker then dwelt upon the several aspects of Partition Day, when Bengal was split up, and said he did not recognise the Separation and would not do so. It was on that day that they declared through the leaders of the nation, and by a national proclamation, that the unity of Bengal remained intact and that there was no power strong enough to break it. He explained the true meaning of the Swadeshi and boycott movements and went on to say that they should have a separate existence. They had a past and a future and should assert their individuality. He emphasised the fact that every country in the world was more or less Swadeshi. So Bengal must learn the value of self-help. The Partition Day should also be associated with national determination to revive the commerce and industry of the country and to regain that prosperity which once prevailed in India. Bengal must remain united.

Mr. Ghose proceeded to say that the national movement was beset with manifold difficulties. Holding up before the audience a piece of Manchester cloth, stamped with the words "Bande Mataram", he exclaimed that the great cause of sufferings was on

* Speech delivered at a Swadeshi meeting held in College Square, Calcutta, on October 10, 1909, as reported in the *Times of India* the following day.

account of certain unprincipled men who were trying to assail the Swadeshi movement from all sides. The speaker had learnt with great sorrow that foreign cloths were still pouring into the market and having a large sale. The more the difficulties in the way, he declared, the stronger would the movement be. He concluded his address by asking his countrymen to observe the 16th of October with due mourning.

October 10, 1909

Swadeshi in Calcutta*

A SWADESHI meeting was held on Wednesday evening at which Mr. Aurobindo Ghose delivered a lengthy speech, in the course of which he said:— The 16th of October has become the chief landmark of the year, not only the chief landmark of the year, but the landmark of the progress of our movement, the movement of Swadeshi and boycott, which we undertook in the year when the Partition was effected. We see on that day how far it has progressed; or if it has receded, how far it has receded. Every kind of obstruction is being thrown in our way. You know efforts have been made to mar the attendance at meetings. It is supposed that the meetings are mainly composed of students. It is a delusion which the authorities cannot get rid of. Our associations have been suppressed. We are carrying on this Swadeshi movement without organisation, without proper instruments and without proper equipment. We have to face any number of temptations and obstacles and also intimidation. In spite of all that we cling to the movement, and we go on with it. One message we can give you under such circumstances. It is to hold firm. Remember this, that whether we look to our own efforts to raise the nation or whether we look to our rulers nothing can be done by the weak and nothing is given to the weak. Remember that the people of England do not understand weakness. They only understand strength. Remember this, they do not understand those who aspire to height and yet flinch. They only understand resolution, steadfastness and determination. If we are defeated, it is in order to learn how to conquer. If we are suppressed, it is in order to learn how to rise irresistibly, and if we for a moment recoil, it is that we may leap forward more swiftly further on.

October 13, 1909

* Report of a Speech delivered on October 13, 1909 in Calcutta as reported in the *Times of India* of October 15.

SUPPLEMENT TO

VOLUME 3

THE HARMONY OF VIRTUE

1. The problem of the Mahabharata, The Political Story : The new passage found in Sri Aurobindo's manuscripts seems to be the last passage in The Political Story and should be read in continuation of page 196 of Volume 3. Two more passages from Udyogaparva have also been appended here.

2. Sri Aurobindo's essay 'On Translating Kalidasa' is reprinted here, rearranged, with a few more passages found in his manuscripts.

3. Medical Department : This seems to be a speech prepared for the Maharaja Gaekwar. During the Baroda State Service Sri Aurobindo often wrote such speeches. The present one is reproduced in the form in which it was found in Sri Aurobindo's manuscripts.

The Problem of the Mahabharata

THE POLITICAL STORY

BUT the empire of Yudishthira enforced by the arms of Matsya and Panchala or even by their armed threats meant to Bhishma and Kripa something very different from a Kuru Empire; it must have seemed to them to imply rather the overthrow and humiliation of the Kurus and a Panchala domination under a Bharata prince. This it concerned their patriotism and their sense of Kshatriya pride and duty to resist so long as there was blood in their veins. The inability to associate justice with their cause was a grief to them, but it could not alter their plain duty. Such, as I take it, is the clear political story of the Mahabharata. I have very scantily indicated some of its larger aspects only; but if my interpretation be correct, it is evident that we shall have in the disengaged Mahabharata not only a mighty epic, but a historical document of unique value.

What I wish, however, to emphasise at present is that the portions of the Mahabharata which bear the high, severe and heroic style and personality I have described, are also the portions which unfold consecutively, powerfully and without any incredible embroidery of legend this story of clashing political and personal passions and ambitions. It is therefore not a mere assumption, but a perfectly reasonable inference that these portions form the original epic. If we assume that the Ramayanistic portions of the epic or the rougher and more uncouth work precede these in antiquity, we assume that the legend was written first and history added to it afterwards; this is a sequence so contrary to all experience and to all accepted canons of criticism that it would need the most indisputable proof before it could command any credence. Where there is a plain history mixed up with legendary matter written by palpably different hands, criticism judges from all precedents that the latter must be later work embodying the additions human fancy always, and most in coun-

tries where a scrupulous historic sense has not been developed, weaves round a great event which has powerfully occupied the national imagination. Moreover in judging the relative genuineness of different styles in the same work, we are bound to see the hand of the original writer in the essential parts of the story as we have it. It makes no difference to this question whether there was an original ballad epic or not, or whether it was used in the composition of the Mahabharata or not. We have a certain poem in a certain form and in resolving it to its original parts we must take it as we have it and not allow our judgment to be disturbed by visions of a poem which we have not. If the alleged ballad epic was included bodily or in part in the Mahabharata, our analysis will find it there without fail. If it was merely used as material just as Shakespeare used Plutarch or Hall and Holinshed, it is no longer germane to the matter. Now the most essential part of a story is the point from which the catastrophe started; in the Mahabharata this is the mishandling of Draupadi and the exile of the Pandavas; but this again leads us back to the Rajasuya sacrifice and the Imperial Hall of the Pandavas from which the destroying envy of Duryodhana took its rise. In the Sabhaparva therefore we must seek, *omissis omittendis*, for the hand of the original poet; and the whole of the Sabhaparva with certain unimportant omissions is in that great and severe style which is the stamp of the personality of Vyasa. This once established we argue farther from the identity of style, treatment and personality between the Virataparva and the Sabhaparva, certain passages being omitted, that this book is also the work of Vyasa. From these two large and mainly homogeneous bodies of poetical work we shall be able to form a sufficient picture of the great original poet, the drift of his thought and the methods of his building. This we shall then confirm, correct and supplement by a study of the Udyogaparva which up to the marching of the armies presents, though with more but still separable alloy breaking in, the same clear, continuous and discernible vein of pure gold running through it. Thus armed we may even rely on resolving roughly the tangle of the Adi and Vanaparvas and it is only when the war begins, that we shall

have to admit doubt, faltering and guesswork; even here however we shall not be without some light even in its thickest darkness. That the poem can be disentangled, I hold then to be beyond dispute, but it can only be done by a long and voluminous critical analysis, and even this must be supported by a detailed edition of the whole Mahabharata in which each canto and chapter shall be discussed on its own merits. At present therefore I propose to pass over the method after once indicating its general nature and present certain definite results only. I propose solely to draw a picture, in outline merely, of the sublime poetical personality which an analysis of the work reveals as the original poet, the Krishna Dwaipayana who wrote the Bharata of the 24,000 Slokas, and not the other Vyasa, if Vyasa he was, who enlarged it to something approaching its present dimensions. And let me express at once my deep admiration of the poetical powers and vast philosophic mind of this second writer; no mean poet was he who gave us the poem we know, in many respects the greatest and most interesting and formative work in the world's literature. If I seem to speak mainly in dispraise of him, it is because I am concerned here with his defects and not with his qualities, for the subject I wish to treat is Krishna of the Island, his most important characteristics and their artistic contrast with those of our other greater, but less perfect epic poet, Valmeki.

I have said that no foreigner can for a moment be trusted to apply the literary test to a poem in our language, the extraordinary blunders of the most eminent German critics in dealing with Elizabethan plays have settled that question once for all. Educated Indians on the other hand have their own deficiencies in dealing with Vyasa; for they have been nourished partly on the curious and elaborate art of Kalidasa and his gorgeous pomps of vision and colour, partly on the somewhat gaudy, expensive and meretricious spirit of English poetry. Like Englishmen they are taught to profess a sort of official admiration for Shakespeare and Milton but with them as with the majority of Englishmen the poets they really steep themselves in are Shelley, Tennyson and Byron and to a lesser degree Keats and perhaps Spenser. Now the manner of these poets, lax, voluptuous, artificial, all outward

glitter and colour, but inwardly poor of spirit and wanting in genuine mastery and the true poetical excellence, is a bad school for the appreciation of such severe and perfect work as Vyasa's. For Vyasa is the most masculine of writers....

Udyogaparva

BUT the mighty-armed Keshava when he heard these words of Bhima, packed with mildness, words such as those lips had never uttered before, laughing a little, — for it seemed to him as the lightness in a mountain or coldness in fire, to him the Showrian, the brother of Rama, the wielder of the bow of horn, — thus He spake to Bhima even as he sat submerged with sudden pity, awoke the heat and flame of him with his words as wind the fire hearteneth.

The Mahabharata, Udyogaparva, 75. 1-3
(Insert the above passage on page 151,
Vol. 3 after the second para.)

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But when Sanjaya had departed, thus spake the just King, Yudhishthira to the Dasarhan, the Bull of all the Satvatas. "Now is that hour arrived of friends, O lover of thy friends; nor see I any but thee who may deliver us in calamity. For in thee reposing our trust fearlessly we challenge Dhritarashtra's son with his councillors, knowing his arrogance to be but froth. For even as thou protectest the Vrishnis in all their calamities, so too the Pandavas claim thy guardian care; protect us from peril vast. Krishna sayeth: Behold me, O great-armed. Tell what thou has to tell, since whatsoever thou sayest, O Bharata, I will do it utterly.

The Mahabharata, Udyogaparva, 72. 1-5
(This new passage may be read after
page 209, Vol. 3 and page 60, Vol. 8.)

On Translating Kalidasa

SINCE the different tribes of the human Babel began to study each other's literature, the problem of poetical translation has constantly defied the earnest experimenter. There have been brillant versions, successful falsifications, honest renderings, but some few lyrics apart, a successful translation there has not been. Yet it cannot be that a form of effort so earnestly and persistently pursued and so necessary to the perfection of culture and advance of civilisation is the vain pursuit of a chimera. Nothing which mankind earnestly attempts is impossible, not even the conversion of copper into gold or the discovery of the elixir of life or the power of aerial motion, but as long as experiment proceeds on mistaken lines, based on a mistaken conception of the very elements of the problem, it must fail. Man may go on fashioning wings for himself for ever but they will never lift him into the empyrean: the essence of the problem is to conquer the attraction of the earth which cannot be done by any material means. Poetical translation was long dominated by the superstition that the visible word is the chief factor in language and the unit which must be seized on as a basis in rendering; the result is seen in so-called translations which reproduce the sense of the original faultlessly and yet put us into an atmosphere which we at once recognise to be quite alien to the atmosphere of the original; we say then that the rendering is a faithful one or a success of esteem or a makeshift or a *caput mortuum* according to the nature of our predilections and the measure of our urbanity. The nineteenth century has been the first to recognise generally that there is a spirit behind the word and dominating the word which eludes the "faithful" translator and that it is more important to get at the spirit of a poet than his exact sense. But after its manner it has contented itself with the generalisation and not attempted to discover the lines on which the generalisation must be crystallised in practice, its extent and its limitations. Every translator has been a law to himself;

and the result is anarchic confusion. As the sole tangible benefit there has been discovered a new art not yet perfected of translation into prose poetry. Such translation has many advantages; it allows the translator to avail himself of manifold delicacies of rhythm without undergoing the labour of verse formation and to compromise with the orthodox superstition by rendering the word unit yet with some show of preserving the original flavour. But even in the best of these translations it is little more than a beautiful show. Poetry can only be translated by poetry and verse forms by verse forms. It remains to approach the task of translation in a less haphazard spirit, to realise first our essential aim, to define exactly what elements in poetry demand rendering, how far and by what law of equivalent values each may be rendered and if all cannot be reproduced, which of them may in each particular case be sacrificed without injuring the essential worth of the translation. Most of the translations of Kalidasa here offered to the public[1] have been written after the translator had arrived at such a definite account with himself and in conscientious conformity to its results. Others done while he yet saw his goal no more than dimly and was blindly working his way to the final solution, may not be so satisfactory. I do not pretend that I have myself arrived at the right method, but I am certain that reasoned and thoughtful attempts of this sort can alone lead to it. Now that nations are turning away from the study of the great classical languages to physical and practical science and resorting even to modern languages, if for literature at all then for contemporary literature, it is imperative that the ennobling influences spiritual, romantic and imaginative of the old tongues should be popularised in modern speech; otherwise the modern world vain of its fancied superiority and limiting itself more and more to its own type of ideas with no opportunity of saving immersions in the past and re-creative destructions of the present will soon petrify and perish in the mould of a rigid realism and materialism. Among their influences the beauty and power of their secular and religious poetry is perhaps the most potent and formative.

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[1] See *The Hero and the Nymph* (*Vikramorvasie*), Centenary Library Vol. 7, p. 911.

[1]The mere quantities are but the most mechanical and outward part of metre. A fanciful mind might draw a parallel between the elements of man and the elements of metre. Just as in man there is the outward food plasm and within it the vital or sensational man conditioned by and conditioning the food plasm and within the vital man the emotional or impressional man similarly related and again within that the intellectual man governing the others and again within that the delight of the spirit in its reasoning existence and within that delight like the moon within its halo the Spirit who is Lord of all these, the sitter in the chariot and the master of its driving, so in metre there is the quantitative or accentual arrangement which is its body and within that body conditioning and conditioned by it the arrangement of pauses and sounds, such as assonance, alliteration, composition of related and varying letters, and again within it conditioning and conditioned by this sensational element and through it the mechanical element is the pure emotional movement of the verse and again within these understanding and guiding all three, bringing the element of restraint, management, subordination to a superior law of harmony, is the intellectual element, the driver of the chariot of sound; within this again is the poetic delight in the creation of harmonious sound, the august and disinterested pleasure of the really great poet which has nothing in it of frenzy or rather has the exultation and increased strength of frenzy without its loss of self-control; and within this even is the spirit, that unanalysable thing behind metre, style and diction which makes us feel, "This is Homer, this is Shakespeare, this is Dante."

All these are essential before really great verse can be produced; everyone knows that verse may scan well enough and yet be very poor verse; there may beyond this be skilful placings of pause and combinations of sound as in Tennyson's blank verse, but the result is merely artificially elegant and skilful technique; if emotion-movement is superadded, the result is melody, lyric sweetness or elegiac grace or flowing and sensuous beauty, as in Shelley or Keats or Gray, but the poet is not yet a

[1] The following passage found in the MS. of *On Translating Kalidasa* is given here as it stands. It is not certain where it would have been placed if the author had revised the essay.

master of great harmonies; for this intellect is necessary, a great mind seizing, manipulating and moulding all these by some higher law of harmony, the law of its own spirit. But such management is not possible without the august poetical delight of which I have spoken, and that again is but the outflow of the mighty spirit within, its sense of life and power and its pleasure in the use of that power with no ulterior motive beyond its own delight.

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The choice of metre is the first and most pregnant question that meets a translator. With the growth of Alexandrianism and the diffusion of undigested learning, more and more frequent attempts are being made to reproduce in poetical versions the formal metre of the original. Such attempts rest on a fundamental misconception of the bases of poetry. In poetry as in all other phenomena it is spirit that is at work and form is merely the outward expression and instrument of the spirit. So far is this true that form itself only exists as a manifestation of spirit and has no independent being. But just as the body of a man is also soul, has in each of its cells a portion of spirit, so it is with the mechanical form of a verse. The importance of metre arises from the fact that different arrangements of sound have different spiritual and emotional values, that is to say, tend to produce by virtue of the fixed succession of sounds a fixed spiritual atmosphere and a given type of emotional exaltation, and the mere creative power of sound though a material thing is yet near to spirit, is very great on the material but ascending in force through the moral and intellectual, it culminates on the emotional plane. It is a factor of the first importance in music and poetry. In these different arrangements of syllabic sound metre forms the most important element, at least the most tangible. When we speak of the Homeric hexameter we are speaking of a certain spiritual force working through emotion into the material shape of a fixed mould of rhythmical sound which obeys both in its limiting sameness and in its variations the law of the spirit within. Every poet who has sounded his own consciousness must be aware that management of metre is the gate of his inspiration and

the law of his success. There is a double process, his state of mind and spirit suggesting its own syllabic measure, and the metre again confirming, prolonging and re-creating the original state of mind and spirit. Inspiration itself seems hardly so much a matter of ideas or feelings, as of rhythm. Even when the ideas or the feelings are active, they will not usually run into the right form, the words will not take their right places, the syllables will not fall into a natural harmony. But if one has or succeeds in awaking the right metrical mood, if the metrical form instead of being deliberately created, creates itself or *becomes*, a magical felicity of thought, diction and harmony attends it and seems even to be created by it. When the metre comes right, everything comes right. Ideas and words come rapidly and almost as rapidly take their places, as in a well-ordered assembly where everyone knows his seat. When the metre has to be created with effort, everything else has to be done with effort, and the result has to be worked on over and over again before it satisfies.

This supreme importance of the metrical form might seem at first sight to justify the transplanters of metre. For if it be the aim of good translation to reproduce not merely the mechanical meanings of words, the corresponding verbal counters used in the rough and ready business of interlingual commerce, but to create the same spiritual, emotional and aesthetic effect as the original, the first condition is obviously to identify our spiritual condition, as far as may be, with that of the poet at the time when he wrote; and then embody the emotion in verse. This cannot be done without finding a metre which shall have the same spiritual and emotional value as the metre of the original. Even when one has been found, there will be no success unless the mind of the translator has sufficient kinship, sufficient points of spiritual and emotional contact and a sufficient basis of common poetical power not only to enter into, but to render the spiritual temperament and the mood of that temperament, of which his text was the expression; hence a good poetical translation is the rarest thing in the world. But conversely even if all these requisites exist, they will not succeed to the full without the discovery of the right metre. Is the right metre then the metre of the original? Must an adequate version of Homer, a real *translation*, be couched in

the hexameter? At first it would seem so. But the issue here is complicated by the hard fact that some arrangement of quantities or of accents has very seldom the same spiritual and emotional value in two different languages. The hexameter, however skilfully managed in English, has not the same value as the Homeric, the English Alexandrine does not render the French; the terza rima in Latinised Saxon sounds entirely different from the noble movement of the *Divina Commedia*, the stiff German blank verse of Goethe and Schiller is not the golden Shakespearean harmony. It is not only that there are mechanical differences, a strongly accentuated language hopelessly varying from those which distribute accent evenly, or a language of ultimate accent like French from one of penultimate accent like Italian or initial accent like English, or one which courts elision from one which shuns it, a million grammatical and syllabic details besides fundamental differences of sound-notation; beyond and beneath these outward differences is the essential soul of the language from which they arise, and which in its turn depends mainly upon the ethnological type always different in different countries because the mixture of different root races in two types even when they seem nearly related is never the same. The Swedish type for instance which is largely the same as the Norwegian is yet largely different, while the Danish generally classed in the same Scandinavian group differs radically from both. This is that curse of Babel, after all quite as much a blessing as a curse, which weighs upon no one so heavily as on the conscientious translator of poetry; for the prose translator, being more concerned to render precise the idea than emotional effects and the subtle spiritual aura of poetry, treads an immeasurably smoother and more straightforward path. For some metres at least it seems impossible to find adequate equivalents in other languages. Why has there never been a real rendering of Homer in English? It is not the whole truth to say that no modern can put himself back imaginatively into the half-savage Homeric period; a mind with a sufficient [fund] of primitive sympathies and sufficient power of imaginative self-control to subdue for a time the modern in him may conceivably be found. But the main, the insuperable obstacle is that no one has ever found or been able to create an

English metre with the same spiritual and emotional equivalent as Homer's marvellous hexameters.

That transmeterisation is a false method, is therefore clear. The translator's only resource is to steep himself in the original, quelling that in him which conflicts with its spirit, and abide on the watch for the proper metrical mood in himself. Sometimes the right metre will come to him, sometimes it will not. In the latter case effort in this direction will not have been entirely wasted; for spirit, when one gives it a chance, is always stronger than matter and he will be able to impose something of the desired spiritual atmosphere even upon an unsuitable metrical form. But if he seizes on the right metre, he has every chance, supposing him poetically empowered, of creating a translation which shall not only be classical, but shall be *the* translation. Wilful choice of metre is always fatal. William Morris' Homeric translation failed hopelessly, partly because of his affected "Anglosaxon" diction, but still more because he chose to apply a metre good enough possibly for the Volsungsaga to the rendering of a far more mighty and complex spirit. On the other hand Fitzgerald might have produced a very beautiful version in English had he chosen for his Rubaiyat some ordinary English metre, but his unique success was his reward for discovering the true equivalent of the quatrain in English. One need only imagine to oneself the difference if Fitzgerald had chosen the ordinary English quatrain instead of the rhyme system of his original; his Rubaiyat will in spite of the serious defects of unfaithfulness remain the final version of Omar in English, not to be superseded by more faithful renderings, excluding therefore the contingency of a superior poetical genius employing the same metre for a fuller and closer translation.

In Kalidasa another very serious difficulty meets the unhappy translator beyond the usual pitfalls. Few great Sanskrit poems employ the same metre throughout. In the dramas where metrical form is only used when the thought, image or emotion rises above the ordinary level, the poet employs whatever metre he thinks suitable to the mood he is in. In English, however, such a method would result in opera rather than in drama. I have therefore thought it best, taking into consideration the poetical

feeling and harmonious flow of Kalidasa's prose to use blank verse throughout varying its pitch according as the original form is metrical or prose and the emotion or imagery more or less exalted. In epic work the licence of metrical variation is not quite so great, yet there are several metres considered apt to epic narrative, and Kalidasa varies them without scruple in different cantos, sometimes even in the same canto. If blank verse be, as I believe it is, a fair equivalent for the *anuṣṭubh*, the ordinary epic metre, how shall one find others which shall correspond as well to the "thunderbolt" Sloka (*indravajrā*) or the "lesser thunderbolt" Sloka, (*upendravajrā*), the "gambolling-of-the-tiger" Sloka (*śārdūlavikrīḍita*) and all those other wonderful and grandiose rhythmic structures with fascinating names of which Kalidasa is so mighty a master? Nor would such variation be tolerated by English canons of taste. In the epic and drama the translator is driven to a compromise and therefore to that extent a failure; he may infuse good poems or plays reproducing the architecture and idea-sense of Kalidasa with something of his spirit, but it is a version and not a translation. It is only when he comes to the *Cloud-Messenger* that he is free of this difficulty, for the *Cloud-Messenger* is written throughout in a single and consistent stanza. This *mandākrāntā* or "gently stepping" stanza is entirely quantitative and too complicated to be rendered into any corresponding accentual form. The arrangement of metrical divisions is as follows: spondee-long, dactyl, tribrach, two spondee-shorts, spondee; four lines of this build make up the stanza. Thus

śabdāyān|tē mādhu|rāmāni|laiḥ kīcā|kāḥ pūrya|māṇāḥ|
sāṁsāktā|bhīstrīpu|rāvīja|yō gīya|tē kīnnā|rībhīḥ,|
nīrhādī | tē mūrā|jā īvā | cēt kāndā|rēṣū dhvā|nīḥ syāt|
sāṅgītār|thō nānū | paśūpā|tēstātrā | bhāvī sā|māgrām.|

In casting about for a metre I was only certain of one thing that neither blank verse nor the royal quatrain stanza would serve my purpose; the one has not the necessary basis of recurring harmonics; in the other the recurrence is too rigid, sharply defined and

unvarying to represent the eternal swell and surge of Kalidasa's stanza. Fortunately, by an inspiration and without deliberate choice, Kalidasa's lines, as I began turning them, flowed into the form of triple rhyme and that necessarily suggested the terza rima. This metre, as I have treated it, seems to me to reproduce, with as much accuracy as the difference between the languages allows, the spiritual and emotional atmosphere of the *Cloud-Messenger*. The terza rima in English lends itself naturally to the principle of variation in recurrence which imparts so singular a charm to this poem, recurrence in especial of certain words, images, assonances, harmonies, but recurrence always with a difference so as to keep one note sounding through the whole performance underneath its various harmony. In terza rima the triple rhyme immensely helps this effect, for it allows of the same common rhymes recurring but usually with a difference in one or more of their company.

It is a common opinion that terza rima does not suit the English language and cannot therefore be naturalised, that it must always remain an exotic. This seems to me a fallacy. Any metre capable of accentual representation in harmony with the accentual law of the English language, can be naturalised in English. If it has not yet been done, we must attribute it to some initial error of conception. Byron and Shelley failed because they wanted to create the same effect with this instrument as Dante had done; but terza rima in English can never have the same effect as in Italian. In the one it is a metre of woven harmonies suitable to noble and intellectual narrative; in the other it can only be a metre of woven melodies suitable to beautiful description or elegiac sweetness. To occasional magnificence or sublimities it lends itself admirably, but I should doubt whether it could even in the strongest hands sustain the burden of a long and noble epic of the soul and mind like the *Divina Commedia*. But it is not true that it cannot be made in English a perfectly natural, effective and musical form. It is certainly surprising that Shelley with his instinct for melody did not perceive the conditions of the problem. His lyric metres and within certain limitations his blank verse are always fine, so fine that if the matter and manner were equal to the melody, he would have been one of the

few great poets instead of one of the many who have just missed being great. But his *Triumph of Life* is a metrical failure. We feel that the poet is aiming at a metrical effect which he has not accomplished.

The second question, but a far simpler one, is the use of rhyme. It may be objected that as in the Sanskrit there is no rhyme, the introduction of this element into the English version would disturb the closeness of the spiritual equivalent by the intrusion of a foreign ornament. But this is to argue from a quantitative to an accentual language, which is always a mistake. There are certain effects easily created within the rich quantitative variety of ancient languages, of which an equivalent in English can only be found by the aid of rhyme. No competent critic would declare Tennyson's absurd experiment in *Boadicea* an equivalent to the rushing, stumbling and leaping metre of the *Attis* with its singular and rare effects. A proper equivalent would only be found in some rhymed system and preferably I should fancy in some system of unusually related but intricate and closely recurring rhymes. Swinburne might have done it; for Swinburne's work, though with few exceptions poor work as poetry, is a marvellous repertory of successful metrical experiments. I have already indicated the appropriateness of the triple rhyme system of terza rima to the *Cloud-Messenger*. English is certainly not a language of easy rhyming like the southern tongues of Europe; but given in the poet a copious command of words and a natural swing and felicity, *caeta* rather than *curiosa*, it is amply enough provided for any ordinary call upon its resources. There are, however, two critical superstitions which seriously interfere with the naturalness and ease rhymed poetry demands, the superstition of the perfect rhyme and the superstition of the original rhyme. It is no objection to a rhyme that it is imperfect. There is nothing occult or cryptic in rhyme, no divine law compelling us to assimilate two rhymed endings to the very letter such as the law of the Vedic chant by which a single letter mispronounced sterilises the Mantra. Rhyme is a convenience and an ornament intended to serve certain artistic purposes, to create certain sound-effects, and if the effect of a perfect rhyme is beautiful, melodious and satisfying, an imperfect rhyme

has sometimes its own...effect far more subtle, haunting and suggestive; by limiting the satisfaction of the ear, it sets a new chord vibrating in the soul. A poem with an excessive proportion of imperfect rhymes is unsatisfactory because it would not satisfy the natural human craving for regularity and order, but the slavish use of perfect rhyme only would be still more inartistic because it would not satisfy the natural human craving for liberty and variety. In this respect and in a hundred others the disabilities of the English language have been its blessings; the artistic labour and the opportunities of calling a subtler harmony out of discord have given its best poetical literature a force and power quite out of proportion to the natural abilities of the race. There are of course limits to every departure from rigidity but the degree of imperfection admissible in a rhyme is very great so long as it does not evolve harshness or vulgarism. Mrs. Browning's rhymes are bad in this respect but why? Because "tyrants" and "silence" is no rhyme at all, while "candles" and "angels" involves a hideous vulgarism; and in less glaring instances the law of double rhymes generally requiring closer correspondence than single, is totally disregarded. But it is also no objection to a rhyme that it is "hackneyed". The right use of imperfect rhymes is not to be forbidden because of occasional abuse. A hackneyed thought, a hackneyed phrase there may be, but a hackneyed rhyme seems to me a contradiction in terms. Rhyme is no part of the intellectual warp and woof of a poem, but a pure ornament, the only object of which is to assist the soul with beauty; it appeals to the soul not through the intellect or imagination but through the ear. Now the oldest and most often used rhymes are generally the most beautiful and we ought not to sacrifice that beauty merely out of an unreasoning impatience of what is old: common rhymes have a wonderful charm of their own and come to us laden with a thousand beautiful associations. The pursuit of mere originality can only lead us to such unpardonable extravagances as "haunches stir" and "Manchester". Such rhymes any poet can multiply who chooses to prostitute his genius to the amusement of the gallery, or is sufficiently unpoetic to prefer the freedom of barbarous uncouthness to that self-denial which is the secret of grace and beauty. On the other

hand if we pursue originality and beauty together, we end in preciosity or an artificial grace, and what are these but the spirit of Poetry lifting her wings to abandon that land or that literature for a long season or sometimes for ever? Unusual and peculiar rhymes demand to be sparingly used and always for the definite object of setting in relief common rhymes rather than for the sake of their own strangeness.

The question of metre and rhymes being satisfactorily settled there comes the crucial question of fidelity, on which every translator has to make his own choice at his own peril. On one side is the danger of sacrificing the spirit to the letter, on the other the charge of writing a paraphrase or a poem of one's own under the cloak of translation. Here as elsewhere it seems to me that rigid rules are out of place. What we have to keep in mind is not any rigid law, but the object with which we are translating. If we merely want to render, to acquaint foreign peoples with the ideas and subject matter of the writer, as literal a rendering as idiom will allow will do our business. If we wish to give a poetical version, to clothe the general sense and spirit of the writer in our own words, paraphrase and unfaithfulness become permissible; the writer has not intended to translate, and it is idle to criticise him with reference to an ideal he never entertained. But the ideal of a translation is something different from either of these. The translation seeks first to place the mind of the reader in the same spiritual atmosphere as the original; he seeks next to produce in him the same emotions, the same kind of poetic delight and aesthetic gratification, and lastly he seeks to convey to him the thought and substance of the poet in such words as will create, as far as may be, the same or a similar train of associations, the same pictures, or the same sensuous impressions. This is an ideal to which one can never do more than approximate, but the nearer one approximates to it, the better the translation. How it shall be done, depends upon the judgment, the sympathetic instinct of the poet, the extent to which he is imbued with the association of both languages and can render not merely word by word but shade by shade, not only signification by signification, but suggestion by suggestion. There is one initial stumbling-block which can never be quite got over; the mytho-

logy, fauna and flora of Indian literature are absolutely alien to Europe. (We are in a different world; this is no peaceful English world of field or garden and woodland with the cheerful song of the thrush or the redbreast or the nightingale warbling in the night by some small and quiet river, the lark soaring in the morning to the pale blue skies; no country of deep snows and light suns and homely toil without spiritual presences save the borrowed fancies of the Greeks or shadowy metaphysical imaginations of the poet's brain that haunt thought's aery wildernesses, no people homely, matter-of-fact, never rising far above earth or sinking far below it. We have instead a mother of gigantic rivers and huge sombre forests under a burning sun or a magical moonlight; the roar of the wild beasts fills those forests and the cry of innumerable birds peoples those rivers; and in their midst lives a people who have soared into the highest heavens of the spirit, experienced the grandest and most illimitable thoughts possible to the intellect and sounded the utmost depths of sensuous indulgence; so fierce is the pulse of life that even trees and inanimate things seem to have life, emotions, a real and passionate history, and over all move mighty presences of gods and spirits who are still real to the consciousness of this people.)

The life and surroundings in which Indian poetry moves cannot be rendered in the terms of English poetry. Yet to give up the problem and content oneself with tumbling out the warm, throbbing Indian word to shiver and starve in the inclement atmosphere of the English language seems to me not only an act of literary inhumanity and a poor-spirited confession of failure, but a piece of laziness likely to defeat its own object. An English reader can gather no picture from and associate no idea of beauty with these outlandish terms. What can he understand when he is told that the *atimukta* creeper is flowering in the grove of *kesara* trees and the *mullica* or the...is sending out its fragrance into the night and the *chacravaque*[1] is complaining to his mate amid the still ripples of the river that flows through the *jambous*? Or how does it help him to know that the scarlet mouth of a woman is like the red *bimba* fruit or the crimson *bandhoul* flower? People who know Sanskrit seem to imagine that

[1] *cakravāka*

because these words have colour and meaning and beauty to them, they must also convey the same associations to their reader. This is a natural but deplorable mistake; this jargon is merely a disfigurement in English poetry. The cultured may read their work in spite of the jargon out of the unlimited intellectual curiosity natural to culture; the half-cultured may read it because of the jargon out of the ingrained tendency of the half-cultured mind to delight in what is at once unintelligible and inartistic. But their work can neither be a thing of permanent beauty nor serve a really useful object; and work which is neither immortal nor useful what self-respecting man would knowingly go out of his way to do? Difficulties are after all given us in order that we may brace our sinews by surmounting them; the greater the difficulty, the greater our chance of the very highest success. I can only point out rather sketchily how I have myself thought it best to meet the difficulty; a detailed discussion would require a separate volume. In the first place, a certain concession may be made but within very narrow and guarded limits to the need for local colour, a few names of trees, flowers, birds etc., may be transliterated into English, but only when they do not look hopelessly outlandish in that form or else have a liquid or haunting beauty of sound; a similar indulgence may be yet more freely permitted in the transliteration of mythological names. But here the licence ends; a too liberal use of it would destroy entirely the ideal of translation; what is perfectly familiar in the original language must not seem entirely alien to the foreign audience; there must be a certain toning down of strangeness, an attempt to bring home the association to the foreign intelligence, to give at least some idea to a cultured but not orientally erudite mind. This may be done in many ways and I have availed myself of all. A word may be rendered by some neologism which will help to convey any prominent characteristic or idea associated with the thing it expresses; blossom of ruby may, for instance, render *bandhoula*, a flower which is always mentioned for its redness. Or else the word itself may be dropped and the characteristic brought into prominence; for instance, instead of saying that a woman is lipped like a ripe *bimba*, it is, I think, a fair translation to write, "Her scarlet mouth is a ripe fruit and red". This device

of expressingly declaring the characteristics which the original only mentions, I have frequently employed in the *Cloud-Messenger*, even when equivalent words exist in English, because many objects known in both countries are yet familiar and full of common associations to the Indian mind while to the English they are rare, exotic and slightly associated or only with one particular and often accidental characteristic.[1] A kindred method, especially with mythological allusions, is to explain fully what in the original is implicit; Kalidasa, for instance, compares a huge dark cloud striding northwards from Crouncharundhra to "the dark foot of Vishnou lifted in impetuous act to quell Bali", *śyāmaḥ pādo baliniyamanābhyudyatasyeva viṣṇoḥ*. This I have translated,

> "Dark like the cloudy foot of highest God
> When starting from the dwarf-shape world-immense
> With Titan-quelling step through heaven he strode."

It will be at once objected that this is not translation, but the most licentious paraphrase. This is not so if my original contention be granted that the business of poetical translation is to reproduce not the exact words but the exact image, associations and poetical beauty and flavour of the original. There is not a single word in the translation I have instanced which does not represent something at once suggested to the Indian reader by the words of the text. Vishnou is nothing to the English reader but some monstrous and bizarre Hindu idol; to the Hindu He is God Himself, the word is therefore more correctly represented in English by "highest God" than by Vishnou; *śyāmaḥ pādaḥ* is closely represented by "dark like the cloudy foot", so the word cloudy being necessary both to point the simile which is not apparent and

[1] It is an unfortunate tendency of the English mind to seize on what seems to it grotesque or ungainly in an unfamiliar object; thus the elephant and peacock have become almost impossible in English poetry, because the one is associated with lumbering heaviness and the other with absurd strutting. The tendency of the Hindu mind on the other hand is to seize on what is pleasing and beautiful in all things and turn to see a charm where the English mind sees a deformity and to extract poetry and grace out of the ugly. The classical instances are the immortal verses in which Valmikie by a storm of beautiful and costly images and epithets has immortalised the hump of Manthara and the still more immortal passage in which he has made the tail of a monkey epic.

natural to the English reader as to the Indian and to define the precise sort of darkness indicated by the term *śyāmaḥ*; "Bali" has no meaning or association in English, but in the Sanskrit it represents the same idea as "Titan"; only the particular name recalls a certain theosophic legend which is a household word to the Hindu, that of the dwarf-Vishnou who obtained from the Titan Bali as much land as he could cover with three steps, then filling the whole world with himself with one stride measured the earth, with another the heavens and with the third placing his foot on the head of Bali thrust him down into bottomless Hell. All this immediately arises before the mental eye of the Hindu as he reads Kalidasa's finely chosen words. The impetuous and vigorous term *abhyudyatasya* both in sound and sense suggests images, the sudden starting up of the world-pervading deity from the dwarf shape he had assumed while the comparison to the cloud reminds him that the second step of the three referred to is that of Vishnou striding "through heaven". But to the English reader the words of Kalidasa literally transliterated would be a mere artificial conceit devoid of the original sublimity. It is the inability to seize the associations and precise poetical force of Sanskrit words that has led so many European Sanskritists to describe the poetry of Kalidasa which is hardly surpassed for truth, bold directness and native beauty and grandeur as the artificial poetry of an artificial period. A literal translation would only spread this erroneous impression to the general reader. It must be admitted that in the opposite method one of Kalidasa's finest characteristics is entirely lost, his power of expressing by a single simple direct and sufficient word ideas and pictures of the utmost grandeur of shaded complexity; but this is a characteristic which could in no case be possible in any language but the classical Sanskrit which Kalidasa did more than any man to create or at least to perfect. Even the utmost literalness could not transfer this characteristic into English. This method of eliciting all the values of the original of which I have given a rather extreme instance, I have applied with great frequency where a pregnant mythological allusion or a striking or subtle picture or image calls for adequate representation, more especially perhaps in pictures or images connected with birds and animals unfamiliar

or but slightly familiar to the English reader. (At the same time I must plead guilty to occasional excesses, to reading into Kalidasa perhaps in a dozen instances what is not there. I can only plead in apology that translators are always incorrigible sinners in this respect and that I have sinned less than others; moreover, except in one or two instances, these additions have always been suggested either by the sound or substance of the original. I may instance the line

A flickering line of fireflies seen in sleep,

Kalidasa says nothing equivalent to or suggesting "seen in sleep", but I had to render somehow the impression of night and dim unreality created by the dreamy movement and whispering assonances of the line

alpālpabhāsaṁ, khadyotālivilasitanibhāṁ vidyudunmeṣadṛṣṭim

with its soft dentals and its wavering and gliding liquids and sibilants. Unable to do this by sound I sought to do it by verbal expression, in so far made a confession of incompetence, but in a way that may perhaps carry its own pardon.

There is yet another method which has to be applied far more cautiously, but is sometimes indispensable. Occasionally it is necessary or at least advisable to discard the original image altogether and replace it by a more intelligible English image. There is no commoner subject of allusion in Sanskrit poetry than the passionate monotoned threnody of the forlorn bird who is divided at night by some mysterious law from his mate, divided if by a single lotus leaf, yet fatally divided. Such at least was the belief suggested by its cry at night to the imaginative Aryans. Nothing can exceed the beauty, pathos and power with which this allusion is employed by Kalidasa. Hear, for instance, Pururavas as he seeks for his lost Urvasie,

Thou wild-drake when thy love,
Her body hidden by a lotus-leaf,
Lurks near thee in the pool, deemest her far

And wailest musically to the flowers
A wild deep dirge. Such is thy conjugal
Yearning, thy terror such of even a little
Division from her nearness. Me thus afflicted,
Me so forlorn thou art averse to bless
With just a little tidings of my love.

And again in the *Shacountala*, the lovers are thus gracefully warned:

O Chacravaque, sob farewell to thy mate,
The night, the night comes down to part you.

Fable as it is, one who has steeped himself in Hindu poetry can never bring himself wholly to disbelieve it. For him the melancholy call of the bird will sound for ever across the chill dividing stream and make musical with pity the huge and solemn night. But when the Yaksha says to the cloud that he will recognise her who is his second life by her sweet rare speech and her loneliness in that city of happy lovers, "sole like a lonely Chacravaque with me her comrade far away", the simile has no pathos to an English mind and even when explained would only seem "an artificiality common to the court-poetry of the Sanskrit age". I have therefore thought myself justified by the slightness of the allusion in translating

Sole like a widowed bird when all the nests are making,

which translates the idea and the emotion while suggesting a slightly different but related image.

I have indicated above the main principles by which I have guided myself in the task of translation. But there still remains the question, whether while preserving the ideals one may not still adhere more or less closely to the text. The answer to this is that such closeness is imperative, but it must be a closeness of word-value, not oneness of word-meaning; into this word-value there enter the elements of association, sound and aesthetic beauty. If these are not translated, the word is not translated, however

correct the rendering may be. For instance, the words *salila*, *āpaḥ* and *jala* in Sanskrit all mean water, but if *jala* may be fairly represented by the common English word and the more poetic *āpaḥ* by "waters" or "ocean" according to the context, what will represent the beautiful suggestions of grace, brightness, softness and clearness which accompany *salila*? Here it is obvious that we have to seek refuge in sound-suggestions and verse-subtleties to do what is not feasible by verbal rendering. Everything therefore depends on the skill and felicity of the translator and he must be judged rather by the accuracy with which he renders the emotional and aesthetic value of each expression than brought to a rigid ... for each word in the original. Moreover the idiom of Sanskrit, especially of classical Sanskrit, is too far divided from the idiom of English. Literal translation from the Greek is possible though sometimes disastrous, but literal translation from the Sanskrit is impossible. There is indeed a school endowed with more valour than discretion and more metaphor than sense who condemn the dressing up of the Aryan beauty in English clothes and therefore demand that not only should the exact words be kept but the exact idiom. For instance, they would perpetrate the following: "Covering with lashes water-heavy from anguish, her eye gone to meet from former pleasantness the nectar-cool lattice-path-entered feet of the moon and then at once turned away, like a land-lotus-plant on a cloudy day not awake, not sleeping." Now quite apart from the execrable English and the want of rhythm, the succession of the actions and the connexions of thought which are made admirably clear in the Sanskrit by the mere order of the words, is here entirely obscured and lost; moreover the poetic significance of the words *prītyā* (pleasantness) and *abhre*, implying here rain as well as cloud and the beautiful force of *salilagurubhiḥ* (water-heavy) are not even hinted at, while the meaning and application of the simile quite apparent in the original needs bringing out in the English. For the purpose of immediate comparison I give here my own version: "The moon-beams...."

This I maintain though not literal is almost as close and meets without overstepping all the requirements of good transla-

tion. For the better illustration of the method, I prefer however to quote a more typical stanza:

Śabdāyante madhuramanilaiḥ kīcakāḥ pūryamāṇāḥ
Saṁsaktābhistripuravijayo gīyate kinnarībhiḥ,
Nirhādī te muraja iva cet kandareṣu dhvaniḥ syāt
Saṅgītārtho nanu paśupatestatra bhāvī samagram.

Rendered into literal English this is:

The bamboos filling with winds are noising sweetly, the Tripour-conquest is being sung by the glued-together Kinnaries, if thy thunder should be in the glens like the sound on a drum — the material of the concert of the Beast-Lord is to be complete there, eh?

My own translation runs,

Of Tripour slain in lovely dances joined
  In linkèd troops the Oreads of the hill
Are singing and inspired with rushing wind
  Sweet is the noise of bamboos fluting shrill;
Thou thundering in the mountain-glens with cry
  Of drums shouldst the sublime orchestra fill.

The word Tripura means the "three cities", and refers to the three material qualities of *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*, light, passion and darkness, which have to be slain by Shiva the emancipator before the soul can rejoin God; but there is no reference here to the theosophic basis of the legend, but possibly to the legend itself, the conquest of the demon Tripura by Mahadeva. There was no means of avoiding the mythological allusion and its unfamiliarity had simply to be accepted. *Tripuravijayo gīyate*, "of Tripour slain are singing", requires little comment. *Saṁsaktābhiḥ*, meaning "linked close together in an uninterrupted chain", is here rendered by "joined in linkèd troops"; but this hardly satisfied the requirement of poetic translation, for the term suggests to an Indian a very common practice which does not, I think, exist in Europe, women taking each other's hands and dancing as they

sing, generally in a circle; to express this in English, so as to create the same picture as the Sanskrit conveys, it was necessary to add "in lovely dances". The word Kinnaries presents a serious initial difficulty. The Purana has, mythologising partly from false etymology, turned these Kinnaras into men and women with horse faces and the description has been copied down into all Sanskrit dictionaries. But the Kinnaries of Valmikie have little resemblance with these Puranic grotesques; they are beings of superhuman beauty, unearthly sweetness of voice and wild freedom who seldom appear on the earth, their home is in the mountains and in the skies; he speaks of a young Kinnar snared and bound by men and the mother wailing over her offspring; and Kekayie lying on the ground in her passion of grief and anger is compared to a Kinnarie fallen from the skies. In all probability they were at first a fugitive image of the strange wild voices of the wind galloping and crying in the mountain-tops. The idea of speed would then suggest the idea of galloping horses and by the usual principle of Puranic allegory which was intellectual rather than artistic, the head, the most prominent and essential member of the human body, would be chosen as the seat of the symbol. Kalidasa had in this as in many other instances to take the Puranic allegory of the old poetic figure and new-subject it to the law of artistic beauty. In no case does he depart from the Puranic conception, but his method is to suppress the ungainly elements of the idea, often preserving it only in an epithet, and bring into prominence all the elements of beauty. Here the horse-faces are entirely suppressed and the picture offered is that of women singing with unearthly voices on the mountain-tops. The use of the word Kinnarie here would have no poetic propriety; to the uninstructed it would mean nothing and to the instructed would suggest only the ungainly horse-face which Kalidasa here ignores and conflict with the idea of wild and divine melody which is emphasised. I have therefore translated "the Oreads of the hills"; these spirits of the mountains are the only image in English which can at all render the idea of beauty and vague strangeness here implied; at the same time I have used the apparently tautologous enlargement "of the hills", because it was necessary to give some idea of the

distant, wild and mystic which the Greek "Oreads" does not in itself quite bring out. I have moreover transposed the two lines in translation for very obvious reasons. The first line demands still more careful translation. The word *śabdāyante* means literally "sound, make a noise", but unlike its English rendering it is a rare word used by Kalidasa for the sake of a certain effect of sound and a certain shade of signification; while therefore rendering by "noise" I have added the epithet "shrill" to bring it up to the required value. Again, the force and sound of *pūryamāṇāḥ* cannot be rendered by its literal rendering "filled", and *anila*, one of the many beautiful and significant Sanskrit words for wind, — *vāyu, anila, pavana, samīra, samīraṇa, vāta, prabhañjana, marut, sadāgati*, — suggests powerfully the breath and flowing of wind and is in the Upanishad used as equivalent to Prana, the breath or emotional soul; to render adequately the word "inspired" has been preferred to "filled" and the epithet "rushing" added to wind. *Kīcakāḥ pūryamāṇāḥ anilaiḥ* in the original suggests at once the sound of the flute, because the flute is in India made of the hollow bamboo and the shrillness of the word *kīcakāḥ* assists. The last two lines of the stanza have been rendered with great closeness, except for the omission of *nanu* and the substitution of the epithet 'sublime' for *paśupateḥ*. *Nanu* is a Sanskrit particle which sometimes asks a rhetorical question but more often suggests one answered; the delicate shades suggested by the Sanskrit particles cannot be represented in English or only by gross effects which would be intolerably excessive and rhetorical. The omission of Pasupati, the name of Shiva as the Lord of Wild Life, though not necessary, is, I think, justified. He is sufficiently suggested by the last stanza and to those who understand the allusion, by the reference to Tripura; the object of suggesting the wild and sublime which is served in Sanskrit by introducing this name is equally served in English by the general atmosphere of wild remoteness and the insertion of the epithet 'sublime'.

This analysis of a single stanza, — *ex uno disce omnes*, — will be enough to show the essential fidelity which underlies the apparent freedom of my translation. At the same time it would be disingenuous to deny that in at least a dozen places of each

poem, — more perhaps in the longer ones, — I have slipped into words and touches which have no justification in the original. This is a literary offence which is always condemnable and always committed. In mitigation of judgment I can only say that it has been done rarely and that the superfluous word or touch is never out of harmony with or unsuggested by the original; it has sprung out of the text and not been foisted upon it.

The remarks I have made apply to all the translations but more especially to the *Cloud-Messenger*.[1] In the drama except in highly poetical passages I have more often than not sacrificed subtlety in order to preserve the directness and incisiveness of the Sanskrit, qualities of great importance to dramatic writing, and in the epic to the dread of diffuseness which would ruin the noble harmony of the original. But the *Cloud-Messenger* demands rather than shuns the careful and subtle rendering of every effect of phrase, sound and association. The *Meghadutam* of Kalidasa is the most marvellously perfect descriptive and elegiac poem in the world's literature. Every possible beauty of phrase, every possible beauty of sound, every grace of literary association, every source of imaginative and sensuous beauty has been woven together into a harmony which is without rival and without fault; for amidst all its wealth of colour, delicacy and sweetness, there is not a word too much or too little, no false note, no excessive or defective touch; the colouring is just and subdued in its richness, the verse movement regular in its variety, the diction simple in its suggestiveness, the emotion convincing and fervent behind a certain high restraint, the imagery precise, right and not overdone as in the *Raghuvamsha* and yet quite as full of beauty and power. The *Shacountala* and the *Cloud-Messenger* are the *ne plus ultra* of Hindu poetic art. Such a poem asks for and repays the utmost pains a translator can give it; it demands all the wealth of word and sound effect, all the power of literary beauty, of imaginative and sensuous charm he has the capacity to extract from the English language. At the same time its qualities of diction and verse cannot be rendered. The diffuseness of English will not thus lend itself to the brief suggestiveness of the Sanskrit

[1] This translation was never published. About it Sri Aurobindo once wrote : "I did translate the *Meghadut*, but it was lost by the man with whom I kept it." (Vol. 26, p. 236)

without being so high-strung, nervous and bare in its strength as to falsify its flowing harmony and sweetness; nor to its easy harmony without losing close-knit precision and falsifying its brevity, gravity and majesty. We must be content to lose something in order that we may not lose all.

The prose of Kalidasa's dialogue is the most unpretentious and admirable prose in Sanskrit literature; it is perfectly simple, easy in pitch and natural in tone with a shining, smiling, rippling lucidity, a soft carolling gait like a little girl running along in a meadow and smiling back at you as she goes. There is the true image of it, a quiet English meadow with wild flowers on a bright summer morning, breezes abroad, the smell of hay in the neighbourhood, honeysuckle on the bank, hedges full of convolvuluses or wild roses, a ditch on one side with cress or forget-me-nots and nothing pronounced or poignant except perhaps a stray whiff of meadow-sweet from a distance. This admirable unobtrusive charm and just observed music (Coleridge) makes it run easily into verse in English. In translating one has at first some vague idea of reproducing the form as well as the spirit of the Sanskrit, rendering verse stanza by verse stanza and prose movement by prose movement. But it will soon be discovered that except in the talk of the buffoon and not always then Kalidasa's prose never evokes its just echo, never finds its answering pitch, tone or quality in English prose. The impression it creates is in no way different from Shakespeare's verse taken anywhere at its easiest and sweetest:

> Your lord does know my mind. I cannot love him,
> Yet I suppose him virtuous, know him noble,
> Of great estate, of fresh and stainless youth;
> In voices well divulged, free, learned and valiant;
> And in dimension and the shape of nature,
> A gracious person; but yet I cannot love him.
> He might have took his answer long ago.[1]

[1] *Twelfth Night*, Act I, Sc. 5.

Or again, still more close in its subtle and telling simplicity:

Ol. What is your parentage?
Vi. Above my fortunes, yet my state is well.
I am a gentleman.
Ol. Get you to your lord,
I cannot love him; let him send no more;
Unless perchance you came to me again
To tell me how he takes it.[1]

There is absolutely no difference between this and the prose of Kalidasa, since even the absence of metre is compensated by the natural majesty, grace and rhythmic euphony of the Sanskrit language and the sweet seriousness and lucid effectiveness it naturally wears when it is not tortured for effects.

[1] *Twelfth Night*, Act I, Sc. 5.

SRI AUROBINDO, 1915

Medical Department

INTRODUCTORY

ONE of the peculiarities of administration in India is the extent to which the provision of medical aid for the people rests on the shoulders of the Government. In a healthy community the sphere of Government action outside certain recognised spheres tends always to contract; in one which is feeble or unsound it tends always to expand. Judged from this standpoint there are few if any countries which show such a miserable lack of robustness as India. Normally Government action is limited to the management of only such affairs as cannot be conducted by local or private enterprise either at all or with sufficient efficiency and organised power. Foreign affairs and the maintenance of national defence, legislation and the administration of justice and maintenance of order, the imposition and raising of the revenues necessary for public administration comprised under the old theory of politics the main sphere of Government. In our own times all matters of public or national concern are held to be a fit province for Government action; but chiefly in the way of assistance, general regulation or the maintenance of a certain standard of efficiency or public morality. Government for instance assists national trade and industry by a bureau of statistics and information, protects it by tariffs, regulates it by seeing fair play in essential matters between employers and employed or by enactments regulating navigation. Similarly it may exercise a watch and light general control over all forms of local self-government. In one sphere especially State action is being everywhere more and more imperatively called for, in all civilised nations; it has become an axiom of modern politics that the provision of universal education is the duty of the State. Yet even here the necessity is rather a result of the circumstances of modern national life than a permanent principle. The action of certain nations driven by their comparative weakness to find a counteracting force to the superior individual energy of other nations in

the universal education of the community by the State and the success with which they have used this lever to raise themselves to preeminence in commerce and politics has made it an essential condition of self-preservation to all civilised countries. Without universal education a nation nowadays is self-condemned to stagnation and decay. But it is conceivable that when all the great nations stand on an equal level in this respect, the grip of the State on education may again relax and the duty of Education will again gradually devolve on local and private effort, the State confining itself to its fundamental duty in all matters of public concern, assistance, general regulation and the maintenance of a high standard. Even now a large element of private and voluntary enterprise is a healthy element in the provision of education, as necessary for variety, life and progress as State control for generality and a high standard of efficiency.

There are at least two departments of medical activity in which the State may claim a predominating voice, Sanitation and Medical Education. But the peculiar circumstances of this country have enforced it to take up a third burden which in wealthier, better-educated or more advantageously circumstanced countries is undertaken by individual enterprise and private charity, the provision of medical assistance. The utmost that could usually be expected of the Government in this line, would be the establishment of State Hospitals in large towns where there existed a large and congested mass of poverty. But in India the State provides not only these but covers the land with skilled medical help and dispensaries, bringing assistance to the doors of the people gratis or at a nominal price. The reason of this state of things does not lie altogether in the poverty or helplessness of the people.

Previous to the British rule medicine was practised in India as in Europe by a class of skilled physicians using their knowledge as a means of independent livelihood. The princes and nobles of the land might maintain a family Hakim or Vaidya, but there was no idea and probably no great necessity of providing State or charitable help in any systematic shape to the mass of the population. The fees of the local physicians were not beyond the means of an ordinary income, and the great mass of

the people living healthy open-air lives and observing rules of life which the experience of generations had established as suitable to the climate, enjoyed greater immunity than in these days from ordinary diseases and trusted more with justification to the vigour of their natural constitutions for recovery when attacked. The great epidemics which sanitation and prophylactic measures combat with so large a measure of success, were regarded, in India as in mediaeval Europe, as divine visitations borne with terror perhaps, but without any idea of organised resistance.

With the British rule came a marked change. There was in this country an ancient and indigenous system of medicine, which had shared the fate of the other Hindu arts and sciences both in the comparatively high degree of scientific knowledge and intelligent practice it had reached in astonishingly early times and in the premature blight which had subsequently come over it. In surgery, in pharmacy and in sanitation its knowledge was sound and masterly; it conducted successfully surgical operations which would have been far beyond contemporary science in Europe; it had amassed a pharmacopoeia from indigenous drugs, which, however imperfect, was possessed of considerable merit and efficacy; and its rules of sanitation were exhaustive, sound and in consonance with the scientific opinion of today. Its theory of the human body was, it is true, rather in agreement with ancient opinion than the more enlightened modern ideas, but its practical science was superior to its theory. Upon this promising science as upon almost everything else in India there fell a curse of stationariness and decay. Its practice became mechanical; its science fell into desuetude; the old authorities couched in the learned tongue came to be repeated by rote; its pharmacopoeia was ministered without intelligence or original research and analysis and therefore with only a fitful efficacy; surgical knowledge ceased to exist except in a rudimentary form, and sanitary rules once invested with a religious sanction came to be flagrantly violated in the daily practice of the people. Mahomedan medicine, a mediaeval science based on the Greek, did not tend to correct this state of things; it only added another imperfect system to the existing one. To a country thus circumstanced, Western civilisation came with a medical science which, recovered

from its old stagnation, was making immense strides, with a vastly superior pharmacy, an ever bolder and more subtle surgery and organised and living grasp of sanitation.

When the British Government finally established itself throughout the country, its enlightened and benevolent instincts left only one course open to it. The epidemics which yearly devastated filthy and insanitary towns and villages, must be in some measure combated. A population scattered through the country in innumerable small villages without any means of adequate medical assistance, must be familiarised with the more advanced science of the West. But there was no body of men in the country itself who could replace as an independent profession the old Vaidyas, Kavirajas and Hakims by the application of the new science, nor could the Government wait for the necessarily far-off time when such a class, in sufficiently large proportions, could be elaborated. The necessary consequence was the development of the Indian Medical Service, one of the most beneficent institutions of the British rule; and with this development came, as an obvious corollary, the establishment of Government dispensaries all over the country. One of the latest minor developments in this line, the action by which small quantities of quinine are sold at the Government Post Offices as a remedy for malarious fever, is a characteristic instance alike of the curiously paternal nature of the British rule and of the unique state of things prevailing in this country. Of this state of things great poverty is a necessary feature, otherwise Government assistance might be gradually replaced by the class of professional men with diplomas from the Indian Universities who are now to be met with in increasing numbers in every considerable town. But such men have small chance of success in the rural districts among a population too poor to pay for efficient medical assistance. The great bulk of the population must for long depend upon the gratuitous assistance which the Government has placed at their doors.

In Baroda the old system prevailed almost until the year of my accession. At that time the only public provision of medical aid on modern lines was one hospital at Baroda under the Residency Surgeon, two small military hospitals in Kathiawar and

three dispensaries in various parts of the State. At the same time a number of Vaidyas and Hakims, about 25 in all, were maintained by the State for the benefit of the Troops, the prisoners in the jail and the State officials. These had their charges in a manner farmed out to them, for they were expected in lieu of a regular remuneration to provide drugs and other medical necessaries from their own resources. One State Hakim drew the immense salary of Rs. 5000 a month; the others, though not so fortunate, had certain advantages within their grasp. These physicians were attached to different Departments and in some cases the same man held charges in two, three or more departments, thus drawing a multifold salary and farming out each branch of his work to someone else at perhaps a third of the stipend attached to it. These easy and profitable posts descended in practice from father to son, and often had privileges attached to them of considerable pecuniary value. The medical expenditure on their salaries amounted to about £20,000, and their privileges to at least 10,000 more. In 1876-77 this system was swept away, the whole staff being pensioned off for an aggregate sum of Rs. 545 per month and a regular Medical Department instituted. Dr. Cody, a medical officer of the British service, was appointed Chief Medical Officer and 4 hospitals and 9 dispensaries were opened in Baroda, Nowsari, Sidhpur, Kadi, Pattan and other important places in the territory. These were added to in successive years and in 1880-81 there existed 11 hospitals, 23 Dispensaries and one Veterinary Hospital. A Vaccination Department had been organised under the supervision of the Residency Surgeon several years before and this under the new regime was greatly strengthened; 3 inspectors, 31 vaccinators, 6 probationers and 34 peons formed the staff. The strength of the regular Department numbered besides the Chief Medical Officer, 10 Medical Officers, 46 Hospital Assistants and 34 Medical pupils; the Veterinary Hospital was in the charge of a Surgeon and one veterinary pupil; a midwife was also maintained by the State for the city of Baroda. During the five years from 1875-1880, Rs. 858,550-5-6 had been expended by the State on its Medical Department.

The work done up to this date could only suffice for the most urgent and immediate needs of the principal towns of the Raj.

The twenty years from 1880 to 1900 have accordingly been devoted not only to expansion on the lines already laid down, but to the inception of larger work in the sphere of Sanitation and the introduction of improved methods and organisation in the Department. Of the 35 institutions already existing, several have been discontinued owing to the cessation of the special need for which they were created; for instance the military dispensaries at Deesa and Manekwada came to a natural end with the cessation of the contingents there stationed. On the other hand, 24 new institutions have been established, 20 dispensaries, 2 veterinary dispensaries, and one Lunatic and one Leper Asylum, raising the total number to 54. Most of the towns of the Raj which are at all considerable have therefore been provided with these facilities for medical assistance.

It has not been found necessary to increase the number of Hospitals, the provision already made being sufficient for the present and liberal in proportion to the extent and needs of the territory. In the city of Baroda itself there are as many as three Hospitals. The oldest, once known as the State Hospital, dates back to the times of the Maharaja Ganpatrao and was from its inception till 1881 under the supervision of the Residency Surgeon. So long as there was a lack of qualified medical talent in the country, such an arrangement was no doubt advisable and necessary, but by this time the conditions which necessitated it had ceased to operate, and after assuming powers I appointed Dr. R. H. Nanavati to be in charge of the Hospital; it has since been under the management of different State Medical Officers. The housing and accommodation had ceased to be sufficient for what was intended to be the first Hospital in the State; accordingly in 1882-83 the old building was pulled down and a new one erected in its place, the Hospital being temporarily transferred elsewhere. The new building is a fine red brick building just outside the city, graceful in architecture and sufficient in accommodation. It is now called the Countess of Dufferin Hospital as a compliment to a lady whose name will always be remembered in India in association with high benevolence, active sympathy with suffering and an earnest desire to ameliorate the condition of Indian women. Another and smaller building was added to the

Hospital in 1898-1899 for the accommodation of women of respectable families and styled the Victoria Jubilee Ward and a final addition for the use of patients from the army, called the Sayajirao Military Ward, completed the building as it now stands. The hospital is well equipped with instruments and appliances; in 1893-1894 Rs. 5000 worth of instruments were ordered out from England and in 1900 after visiting the Paris Exhibition I sent many of the latest scientific appliances from Europe to be kept for use in this Hospital. Besides the Medical Officer in charge who daily visits the Hospital and the Hospital Assistants working under him, there is a House Surgeon in constant attendance upon the sick and, since 1899 a Lady Doctor with a nurse to assist her, in charge of the Victoria Jubilee Ward. A Lady Doctor was first appointed in 1893 at the Jumnabai Hospital to attend to female out-patients; but the appointment has, I believe, benefited the public of the city more widely than the sphere of her purely official duties would indicate, as many families are glad to secure skilled female assistance for their ladies when it is available. There is a greater field in India than in other countries for the services of female physicians and nurses, but the supply is insignificant. The abundant provision of trained nurses is a great element in the comfort and efficiency of hospitals in Europe. The State has made some attempt to supply the need of nurses for women in sickness by sending four female students to the Cama Hospital in Bombay to learn midwifery and nursing; two of these returned after passing their final examination in 1887-1888 and were appointed to the State Hospital and the Jumnabai Hospital. The other two also were entertained in the State service in the next year. A regular midwife has also been maintained whose duty it is to attend cases of childbirth in the city.

Of the other hospitals in Baroda the Jumnabai Hospital named after H.H. the Maharani Jumnabai is confined to out-cases; it was originally a dispensary afterwards turned into a Hospital, by attaching a girls' school building in the vicinity as a ward. For in-cases the accommodation in the Dufferin Hospital is sufficient and the site healthier, accordingly since 1899 the admission of in-patients into the Jumnabai Hospital has been discontinued. The Sayajirao Military Hospital was, as its name

implies, meant not for the use of the general public but for the Army, of which by far the larger part is stationed at the capital; originally built to accommodate 40 people, it was increased as necessity arose by two further wards. In 1899, it was amalgamated with the State Hospital by the addition of the Sayaji Military Ward to that building and placed under the same supervision. In spite of the superior development and scientific accuracy of Western medicine, a great portion of the people of this country still cling to their belief in the old systems, and it has been thought advisable to make a certain concession to their preferences. Two Hakims have been appointed by the State to treat cases at the Hospitals in which patients might express a greater confidence in the Mahomedan system of treatment and the State Balvaid was attached to the Countess of Dufferin Hospital in 1899-1900 for the benefit of those who preferred the Ayurvedic treatment.

The city of Baroda has therefore been amply supplied with medical facilities; nor have the districts been neglected. There are Hospitals in the chief town of each Division, the large division of Kadi having two to its share; besides this several of the district dispensaries are in all essential respects hospitals, admitting in- and out- patients as well as dispensing medical aid to out-patients and being placed under the supervision of an Assistant Civil Surgeon, notably Mehsana, Petlad, Dabhoi and Visnagar. There are also Assistant Civil Surgeons at Sidhpur, Anusuya and Dwarka. This large development of medical aid in the districts has taken place mainly since 1887. The regular strength of the Medical Establishment numbered, in 1899, 21 Medical Officers, 62 Hospital Assistants and 75 medical pupils, besides the Hakims, Balvaid, midwife and nurses already mentioned.

SUPPLEMENT TO

VOLUME 4

WRITINGS IN BENGALI

The following writings in Bengali, except the last one, are from Sri Aurobindo's manuscripts of the Baroda Period. The last one, "Korea and Japan", is from the *Dharma* of November 8, 1908 and is now identified as Sri Aurobindo's. It should be read after page 157 of Volume 4.

করোতোয়ার বর্ণনা

বঙ্গদেশের পশ্চিমপ্রান্তস্থ পর্ব্বতপ্রদেশে দুইটি নিবিড়বনাবৃত পর্ব্বতশ্রেণীর মধ্যস্থানীয় উপত্যকায় ক্ষিপ্রগামিনী বহুকলকলস্বরমুখরিতা করোতোয়া নদী ক্ষুদ্র চঞ্চলগতি বালিকার ন্যায় হেলিতে দুলিতে হাসিতে খেলিতে দক্ষিণ দিকে অগ্রসর হয়। এই উপলে উঠিয়া বসিল, এই এক লম্ফে নামিল, এই তটস্থ বৃক্ষের শ্যামচরণে চড় মারিয়া পালাইল, এইরূপ অশেষ বাল্যসুলভ ক্রীড়া কৌতুকের পরে শেষে যেন দূরে জননীর মধুর আবাহন শুনিল। হঠাৎ উপত্যকা হইতে নিঃসরণ করিয়া মা গঙ্গার পবিত্র স্নেহময় ক্রোড়ের উদ্দেশ্যে গাইতে গাইতে ছুটিয়া যায়।

করোতোয়ার উপত্যকা অনেক পরিমাণে নিকটবর্ত্তী সমান ভূমি হইতে স্বতন্ত্র জগৎ বলা যায়। উচচ পর্ব্বতপ্রাচীরে আবদ্ধ প্রকৃতির নির্ঝর সংযুক্ত [?] রমনীয় ক্রীড়াস্থল, পবনপূত স্বচ্ছসলিলসিক্ত পূজা গৃহ। বিলম্বে সূর্য্যোদয়, অকালে অস্ত। অতিদীর্ঘ প্রভাতকালে জগতের যুগব্যাপী আবির্ভাব, অতিদীর্ঘ গোধূলিসময় সেই বৃদ্ধ যোগমগ্ন জগতের যুগব্যাপী শান্ত অবসান যেন প্রতিদিন উপলব্ধি হয়। অহোরাত্রী বনের উচ্ছ্বাসমর্ম্মরপূর্ণ হরিতপত্রনিবিড় অন্তঃস্থলে পবনের গম্ভীর মহৎ-শান্তভাবাত্মক অবিরাম ব্রহ্মগাথা, অহোরাত্রী নিম্নভূমির স্বচ্ছ উপলে নির্ঝরিণীর মর্ম্মব্যাপী অথচ স্নিগ্ধ সুখকর নিনাদ, অহোরাত্র উপত্যকার মধ্যভাগে করোতোয়ার মৃদুতরঙ্গসঙ্কুল বিশ্রামহীন হাসিখেলা। উপত্যকার জীবন শব্দময় অথচ কোলাহল নাই। সেই উচচ অচল পর্ব্বতশ্রেণী ও নিবিড় রহস্যধ্যানমগ্ন বনরাজীর গাম্ভীর্য্য চঞ্চল সলিল ও মুখর পবনকেও মহৎ শান্তিতে অভিভূত করিয়া তুলিয়াছে। এই স্থানের রমনীয়তায় জীবনমুক্ত চরিত্রের সুন্দর আদর্শ প্রতিফলিত। বাহিরে সংসারের চঞ্চলতা হাসিকান্না খেলা প্রেম কলহ পুনর্ম্মিলন ভিতরে শুদ্ধ গম্ভীর ঈশ্বরধ্যান নিরপেক্ষ প্রাণীহিত-কামনা চিত্তপ্রসাদ সমতা ও অচল অদ্বৈতভাব।

ঐক্য ও স্বাধীনতা

গত ডিসেম্বর মাসে মাদ্রাজে জাতীয়সভার উনবিংশ অধিবেশনের উপলক্ষে সভাপতি বঙ্গের প্রধান বক্তা শ্রীযুক্ত লালমোহন ঘোষ যে বক্তৃতা দিয়াছিলেন, তাহাতে একটী নূতন রাজনৈতিক যুগপরিবর্ত্তনের অতিশয় অস্পষ্ট আভাস পাওয়া যায়। শ্রীযুক্ত ঘোষ মহোদয়ের বলিবার ... অন্য অন্য অধিবেশনের সভাপতিদিগের বক্তৃতা সকল হইতে অনেকটা স্বতন্ত্র ধরণের হইয়াছে। তাঁহার কথার সুর সেই চিরপরিচিত একতানের মিল সহিত ঠীক মিলিতে পারে নাই। সাবেকের [?] সভাপতিগণ প্রায়ই ভিক্ষুকবেশে রাজদুয়ারে উপস্থিত কেহ কেহ রূক্ষভাষী দুর্দ্দান্ত ভিক্ষুক গৃহস্থের কর্ণকুহরে চেঁচামিচিতে ঝালাপালা করিয়া দান বের করিবার চেষ্টা করেন—কেহ ভদ্রলোক ভিক্ষুক মৃদুস্বরে অথবা অতি ক্ষীণ কান্নার সুরে গৃহস্বামীকে ভুলাইয়া স্বীয় মনোরথ সিদ্ধ করিবার চেষ্টা করেন। কিন্তু শ্রীযুক্ত ঘোষ মহোদয়ের বক্তৃতায় একটি নূতন ভাবের অবতারণা লক্ষিত হয়, অর্দ্ধজাগ্রত মনুষ্যত্বের প্রথম সেই একটু ধ্বনি এখনও ক্ষীণ ও অস্পষ্ট তথাপি কবি Wordsworth-এর তেজস্বী সারগর্ভ মহৎ উক্তির প্রতিধ্বনি যেন দূর হইতে শোনা যায়—Who would be free themselves must strike the blow. স্বাধীনতা চাও ত, আপনিই আপনার শিকল কাটিবে, আর কেহ তোমার হইয়া কাটিতে পারিবে না।

এখন স্বাধীনতা কি—অন্তত অধুনাতন ভারতবর্ষের পক্ষে কি পরিমাণে স্বাধীনতা প্রয়াসলভ্য ও শ্রেয়স্কর, এই সম্বন্ধে কোন পরিপক্ক ও নিশ্চিত ধারণা দৃঢ়রূপে মনে অঙ্কিত [?] করা নিতান্তই প্রয়োজনীয়। রাজনৈতিক ক্ষেত্রে বাহ্যিক আড়ম্বরপূর্ণ অনিশ্চিত ও অস্পষ্ট উক্তিগুলি বারবার আওড়ান ভারতবাসীদিগের একটি রোগ হইয়া দাঁড়াইয়াছে। ইহাতেই আমাদিগের বল অর্থ ও সময় নষ্ট হয়। এই রোগ যেমন বুদ্ধির তীক্ষ্ণতা, প্রগাঢ় চিন্তার অভ্যাস, মনের স্বভাবলব্ধ প্রাঞ্জল ভাব ও ... নষ্ট করে, তেমনই কার্য্যসিদ্ধির বিলম্ব ও সময়ে সময়ে সম্পূর্ণ লোপই ঘটাইয়া শেষে নৈরাশ্য ও নিশ্চেষ্ট আলস্যের কারণ হয়। আজকাল বঙ্গদেশে সেই শেষ অবস্থাই কতক পরিমাণে অনুভব করিতেছি।

এই সম্বন্ধে দুইটি বিভিন্ন উদ্দেশ্যের দিকে দুটী চিন্তার স্রোত জাতীয় মনে বহিতেছে। একটি প্রাচীন, দিন দিন শুষ্ক হইয়া যাইতেছে কিন্তু দেশের অধিকাংশ রাজনৈতিক নেতাগণ এখনও সেই স্রোতে ভাসিয়া সমস্ত জাতিকেও ভাসাইবার চেষ্টায় রত। অপরটি নূতন। যদিও দুই চারিজন সম্ভ্রান্ত ও বিখ্যাত পুরুষ ভিন্ন কোন সর্ব্বজনসম্মত নেতা সেই দিকে অগ্রসর হন নাই, তথাপি তাহারা যে ভাগীরথীর পথ প্রস্তুত করিতেছে জাতীয় জীবন যে সেই পথেই বহিবে, এমন সম্ভাবনা অধিক। প্রাচীনেরা বলেন, আমাদের রাজনৈতিক জীবনের

এই চরম উদ্দেশ্য থাকা উচিত যে ক্রমে ক্রমে অধিকারস্বত্ব পাইতে পাইতে শেষে অনেক চেষ্টা ও পরিশ্রমের ফলস্বরূপ বৃটিশ সাম্রাজ্যের অধীনে স্বাধীনতা পাইব। ভারতবর্ষের রাজ-পুরুষ যতই নিষ্ঠুর হৌক না কেন, কিন্তু ইংরেজ জাতি মহৎ ও সহৃদয় জাতি—তাঁহাদের মধ্যে Wilberforce, Howard, Gladstone প্রভৃতি মহাত্মারা জন্মগ্রহণ করিয়াছে। তাহারা আমাদিগের দুঃখ জানে না, কাঁদিলে শুনিবে।

(খণ্ডাংশ)

অরুণকুমারীর হরণ

রাজকন্যার হাতী মন্দির হইতে বাহির হইতে লাগিল। চারিদিকে অশ্বারোহী সৈন্যের তেজস্বী অশ্ববৃন্দ বিলম্বে অধীর হইয়া নাচিতে নাচিতে চলিল। গর্ব্বসার [?] লৌহকঠিন অশ্বক্ষুর ধ্বনি মন্দির প্রাঙ্গণের পাষাণময় ভূমির উপর নিনাদিত হইল। তূরীরব নির্গমন ঘোষণা করিল।

রাজমার্গে মুখর জনতার অযুতস্বরঘন বিরামহীন সীমাহীন কোলাহল কর্ণ বধির করে। চক্ষুর অমাপ্য লোকসাগর,—মহাসাগরের ন্যায় সহস্রতরঙ্গজাত অসীম কল্লোল, মহাসাগরের ন্যায় সহস্রতরঙ্গ-চূড়া-ধবল উরুচারী হিল্লোল। ভীড় অভেদ্য, হস্তী চলিতে পারে না। অশ্বারোহীগণ জনতাকে সরাইতে সরাইতে চারিদিকে বিকীর্ণ হইতে লাগিল, যাহারা হাতীর কাছে রহিল, তাহাদেরও মাহুত ইঙ্গিত করিয়া এইদিকে ওইদিকে পাঠায়। রাজকন্যার হস্তী ...

(খণ্ডাংশ)

কোরিয়া ও জাপান

স্বাধীনতার প্রবল আকাঙ্ক্ষা সমস্ত আসিয়াখণ্ড ব্যাপ্ত করিয়া অপূর্ব্ব লীলা করিতেছে। অঘটনঘটনপাটিয়সী মহাশক্তির পক্ষে কিছুই অসাধ্য, কিছুই অসম্ভব নহে। আমরা যাহাকে অসাধ্য বলি, মহাশক্তির প্রেরণায়, মহাশক্তির অভ্রান্ত উপায় প্রয়োগে তাহা সহজসাধ্য হয়। আমরা যাহাকে অসম্ভব বলি, মহাশক্তির ইচ্ছায় তাহা সম্ভব ও অবশ্যম্ভাবী হয়। দুর্ব্বল পারস্য দুই প্রকাণ্ড আসুরিক শক্তির পেষণে পড়িয়াও সহসা উঠিয়াছে, অসংখ্য বিঘ্ন অতিক্রম করিয়া ধীর নিশ্চয় গতিতে বল সংগ্রহ করিতেছে। মুমূর্ষু তুর্ক কোথা হইতে সঞ্জীবনী সুধা পান করিয়া নূতন বলে বলীয়ান, নূতন যৌবনাবেগে প্রফুল্ল, য়ুরোপের বিস্ময় ও ভয়ের কারণ হইতেছে! প্রাচীন চীনের স্বেচ্ছাচারী রাজতন্ত্র আপনি আগ্রহ করিয়া প্রজাতন্ত্রে পরিণত হইতেছে। আরবিস্তানে, তুর্কিস্থানে, ভারতে, যে সকল আসিয়াবাসী পরাধীন, সে সকল দেশে দেশে স্বাধীনতার অদম্য আকাঙ্ক্ষা জাগিয়া দেশকে আলোড়িত করিতেছে। আফগানিস্থানেও অশান্তির প্রথম চিহ্ন দেখা দিয়াছে। একমাত্র ব্রহ্মদেশে ও শ্যামদেশে এই স্রোত এখনও বহিতে আরম্ভ করে নাই। সমস্ত আসিয়াখণ্ড জীবিত, জাগ্রত, স্বাধীনতা সংগ্রামে জয়লিপ্সু।

দুঃখের কথা, এই উত্থানের মধ্যেই আসিয়াবাসীতে আসিয়াবাসীতে বিরোধ উপস্থিত। তুর্কসাম্রাজ্যে যে অশান্তি বর্ত্তমান, তাহা সুলতান আবদুল হামিদের পূর্ব্বকৃত পাপের প্রায়শ্চিত্তরূপে নূতন প্রজাতন্ত্রকে ভোগ করিতে হইয়াছে; সেই প্রজাতন্ত্রের উদার, প্রতিভাশালী ও তীক্ষ্ণবুদ্ধি রাজনীতিবিদ্ নেতাগণ যে এই অশান্তি শীঘ্র প্রশমিত করিবেন, তাহাতে সন্দেহ নাই। কিন্তু পূর্ব্ব আসিয়ায় জাপানের সাম্রাজ্যলিপ্সায় ও বাণিজ্য বিস্তারের আকাঙ্ক্ষায় যে বিরোধ সৃষ্ট হইয়াছে, তাহার নির্ব্বাণোপায় তত সহজ নহে। সম্প্রতি জাপানের প্রধান ও পূজ্যতম নেতা, নব্য জাপানের স্রষ্টা, পাতা ও বিস্তারকর্ত্তা হিরোবুমি ইতো পরাধীন কোরিয়াবাসীর হস্তে নিহত হইয়াছেন। যে জাতি পরের স্বাধীনতায় হস্তার্পণ করে, সে যে মহাপাপ করে, তাহাতে সন্দেহ নাই; কিন্তু সমস্ত আসিয়ার আবশ্যকীয় হিতকার্য্যের জন্য ভগবানের ইচ্ছায় জাপান কোরিয়ায় প্রবেশ করিয়াছে এবং যতদিন তাহার আগমনের উদ্দেশ্য সিদ্ধ না হয়, ততদিন কোরিয়ার সহস্র চেষ্টায় এই বন্ধন ঘুচিবে না। সেই উদ্দেশ্য রুষের হস্ত হইতে উত্তর ও পূর্ব্ব আসিয়ার পরিত্রাণ। এই উদ্দেশ্য কোরিয়া দ্বারা সম্পন্ন হইতে পারে না, জাপানকেই ভগবান সেই উদ্দেশ্য সাধনের উপযোগী শক্তি, সামর্থ্য, জনবল, ধনবল ও উপকরণ দিয়াছেন। অথচ কোরিয়াই উত্তর আসিয়ার কেল্লা—যে কোরিয়া অধিকার করিতে পারিবে, সে উত্তর আসিয়ার প্রভু হইয়া বিরাজ করিবে। রুষ যদি কোরিয়ায় প্রবেশ করে—রুষ-জাপানের যুদ্ধের পূর্ব্বে রুষ প্রবেশ করিয়াছিল—জাপানের স্বাধীনতা দুই দিনও স্থায়ী হইবে না। এই অবস্থায় কোরিয়া অধিকার করা জাপানের আত্মরক্ষার আবশ্যক উপায়; ইহাকে পাপকার্য্য বলা যায় না। কেবল আত্মরক্ষা নহে, ইহা ঈশ্বরনির্দ্দিষ্ট পুণ্যকার্য্যের আবশ্যক অঙ্গ। যতদিন

সাইবিরিয়া আবার আসিয়াবাসীর করতলগত না হয়, যতদিন ক্রূর, অত্যাচারী ও পরস্বাপহারী রুষরাজ্য সেই প্রদেশে বিনষ্ট না হয়, ততদিন আসিয়াখণ্ডের স্বাধীনতা কখন নিরাপদ হইতে পারে না। সাইবিরিয়া জাপানের প্রাপ্য, জাপানই রুষকে সাইবিরিয়া হইতে হটাইতে পারে। কোরিয়া অধিকার না করিলে হারবিন ও ব্লাডিবস্তক অধিকার করা যায় না। অতএব ভগবানের ইচ্ছায় এবং তাঁহার উদ্দেশ্যসিদ্ধির জন্য কোরিয়ায় জাপানীর আবির্ভাব হইয়াছে, সেই উদ্দেশ্য বিফল হইবার নহে। যতদিন ব্লাডিবস্তক জাপানীর হস্তগত না হয়, ততদিন কোরিয়ার স্বাধীনতালিপ্সা ও চেষ্টা বিফল হইবে।

কিন্তু এই আবশ্যক কার্য্যে জাপানীরা অনাবশ্যক কঠোরতা ও অত্যাচার প্রয়োগ করিয়াছে—সে যে কতকটা কোরিয়াবাসীর দোষে, তাহা অস্বীকার করা যায় না; কিন্তু সম্পূর্ণ দোষ কোরিয়াবাসীর নহে। নীচশ্রেণীর, নীচপ্রকৃতির জাপানীদের লোভ, জয়মত্ততা ও পাশবিক প্রবৃত্তি তাহার কারণ। যখন এই অত্যাচারে কোরিয়াবাসীর ক্রোধবহ্নি প্রজ্বলিত হইয়াছিল, তখন জাপানের নেতা হিরোবুমি ইতো স্বয়ং কোরিয়ায় গিয়া এই কঠিন ও বিপজ্জনক মহৎ কার্য্যের ভার গ্রহণ করিলেন। তিনি ব্যক্তিগত অত্যাচার বন্ধ করিলেন, কিন্তু স্বয়ং কোরিয়াবাসীর উপর আরও ভীষণ অত্যাচার আরম্ভ করিলেন। কোরিয়ার স্বতন্ত্র জীবন, স্বতন্ত্র শিক্ষা, স্বতন্ত্র আচার ব্যবহার, স্বতন্ত্র অস্তিত্বের প্রত্যেক চিহ্ন দৃঢ় নির্দ্দয় পেষনে চূর্ণ বিচূর্ণ করিয়া কোরিয়াকে জাপানের অন্তর্গত প্রদেশ করিয়া জাপানী শিক্ষা, জাপানী সভ্যতা, জাপানী আচার ব্যবহার, জাপানী কর্ম্মদক্ষতা, কর্ম্মপ্রণালী ও শৃঙ্খলা, জাপানী মন্ত্র, জাপানী তন্ত্র, কোরিয়াবাসীর মনে প্রাণে শরীরে অঙ্কিত করিয়া দিবার চেষ্টা আরম্ভ করিলেন। ইতো সামান্য রাজনীতিবিদ্ ছিলেন না, তাঁহার তুল্য মহাপুরুষ উনবিংশ শতাব্দীতে রাজনীতি ক্ষেত্রে অবতীর্ণ হন নাই। নেপোলিয়নের পরে তাঁহাকেই জগতের শ্রেষ্ঠ কর্ম্মবীর বলা যায়। এইরূপ ব্যক্তি কেন এইরূপ নৃশংস উপায়ে এই কঠোর কার্য্য সমাধান করিবার চেষ্টা করিলেন? কতক পরিমাণে অতিরিক্ত দেশহিতৈষীতায় ও সাম্রাজ্যলিপ্সায়। ভগবানের বিভূতিও মানব-শরীরে অবতরণ করিলে মানব স্বভাব নিজ নির্ম্মল বুদ্ধির উপর আরোপ করিয়া জগতের কার্য্য করেন। ইতো জাপানী, যেমন জাপানীর গুণ তেমনই জাপানীর দোষ তাঁহার শরীরে বিদ্যমান ছিল। কোরিয়া যদি চিরকাল জাপান-সাম্রাজ্যের অন্তর্গত হইয়া থাকে, তাহা হইলে জাপানের গৌরব ও বলবৃদ্ধি হইবে এবং উত্তর আসিয়ায় তাহার প্রতিষ্ঠা ও বিস্তারের পথ নিষ্কণ্টক হইবে। কিন্তু আর এক কারণ নির্ণয় করা যায়—স্বকৃত পাপের ফলে কোরিয়া-বাসীকে এই লাঞ্ছনা ভোগ করিতে হইল। যখন বিজাতীয় বিদেশীয় বিধর্ম্মী রুষরাজ্য কোরিয়ায় তাহার সর্ব্বনাশী বিস্তার আরম্ভ করিল, তখন কোরিয়াবাসীর স্বাধীনতালিপ্সা জাগে নাই, তাহারা স্বাধীনতানাশের ভয়ে আশঙ্কিত হয় নাই, বরং চীনের বিদ্বেষে, জাপানের বিদ্বেষে রুষের সহিত সন্ধি ও সখ্যস্থাপন পূর্ব্বক নিজের বিনাশ, জাপানের বিনাশ, চীনের বিনাশ, সমস্ত আসিয়াখণ্ডের স্বাধীনতার বিনাশে জানিয়া বুঝিয়া সাহায্য করিতেছিল। এই পাপ সামান্য পাপ নহে; কতকাল কোরিয়াকে তাহার প্রায়শ্চিত্ত ভুগিতে হইবে, তাহার ইয়ত্তা নাই। আবার যখন জাপান আসিয়ার রক্ষক ও পরিত্রাতা হইয়া কোরিয়ায় অবতরণ করিল, রুষকে উত্তর আসিয়ার কেল্লা হইতে অল্পদিনে বিদূরিত করিল, কোরিয়াবাসী তাহার শ্বেতবর্ণ বন্ধুর দুঃখে দুঃখী হইয়া জাপানের বিরুদ্ধাচরণ করিল। শেষে যখন জাপানের অত্যাচারে অধীর হইল, তখনও স্বীয় মনুষ্যত্ব বলে উঠিবার চেষ্টা না করিয়া প্রথম রুষের

সহিত ষড়যন্ত্র, পরে তাহাতেও বিফল মনোরথ হইয়া য়ুরোপের দ্বারে কাঁদিবার জন্য পাশ্চাত্য-দেশে প্রতিনিধি পাঠাইল। কি আশ্চর্য্য প্রভেদ! শত্রুনিপীড়িত হইয়া জাপান ও চীন যখন য়ুরোপে প্রতিনিধিসঙ্ঘ (Commission) পাঠাইল, সে কি উদ্দেশ্যে গেল? শত্রুর মধ্যে কি বিদ্যা, কি গুণ, কি প্রণালী ও শৃঙ্খলা আছে যাহা দ্বারা তাহারা অজেয় দুর্দ্ধর্ষ ও পরাক্রমশালী হইয়াছে, তাহা জানিয়া স্বদেশে সেই বিদ্যা, গুণ, প্রণালী ও শৃঙ্খলা সংস্থাপন করিয়া স্বাধীনতা রক্ষা ও শত্রুর বিনাশের পথ উন্মুক্ত করিবার জন্য সেই প্রতিনিধি-সঙ্ঘ পাঠাইবার উদ্দেশ্য। আর সেই অবস্থায় কোরিয়াবাসীর প্রতিনিধিসঙ্ঘ কেন য়ুরোপে ছুটিল? অর্থলোলুপ, পরদেশলোলুপ পাশ্চাত্য জাতির নিকট কাঁদিয়া তাঁহাদিগকে জাপানের বিরুদ্ধে উত্তেজিত করিবার জন্য সেই ভিক্ষুকযাত্রার উদ্দেশ্য। মুর্খও জানে যে কতকার্য্য হইলে জাপানের সর্ব্বনাশ হইত, কিন্তু কোরিয়ার স্বাধীনতালাভ হইত না। এই নীচতা, এই বারবার মহাপাতক আচরণের ফলে কোরিয়াবাসী এখন ক্ষিপ্তপ্রায় হইতেছে। হিরোবুমি ইতো দেখিলেন যে কোরিয়াবাসী জাপানী হইতে স্বতন্ত্র থাকিলে এই দুর্ব্বলের স্বাধীনতা-চেষ্টায় একদিন পাশ্চাত্য শত্রু জাপানের, আসিয়াখণ্ডের বিনাশ করিবার সুবিধালাভ করিবেনই, পলাশীর কাণ্ড পূর্ব্ব আসিয়ায় পুনরভিনীত হইবে, সেই জন্য কোরিয়ার স্বাতন্ত্র্য বিনাশ করা আত্মরক্ষার শ্রেষ্ঠ উপায়। একবার কৃতনিশ্চয় হইয়া কর্ম্মবীর আর নির্দ্দিষ্ট পথ হইতে টলেন না। ইতো তাঁহার সমস্ত শক্তি, প্রতিভা, বিদ্যা প্রয়োগ করিয়া নীরব নিষ্পেষণ দ্বারা কোরিয়ার স্বাতন্ত্র্য বিনাশে নিযুক্ত হইলেন।

পাপের প্রায়শ্চিত্ত হইবেই। আবার পাপের মধ্যে দুই পাপ বিশেষ ঘৃণ্য ও অমার্জনীয়, ক্রূরতা ও নীচতা। জাপানের ক্রূরতার ফলে নব্য জাপানের নির্ম্মাতা, পৃথিবীর শ্রেষ্ঠ কর্ম্মবীর ইতো হত্যাকারীর গুলিতে নিহত হইয়াছেন। কোরিয়ার নীচতায় তাহার স্বাধীনতা ও স্বাতন্ত্র্য-বিনাশ অবশ্যম্ভাবী হইয়াছে। এই হত্যায় কোরিয়ার স্বাধীনতা লাভের কোনও সুবিধা হইবে না। জাপানী মৃত্যুভয় জানে না, দৃঢ়ভাবে ইতোর রাজনীতি শেষ পর্যন্ত অনুসরণ করিবে। কোরিয়ার স্বাতন্ত্র্য বিনষ্ট হইবে। ভারতবাসীর পক্ষে কোরিয়ার পরিণামে এক আবশ্যক শিক্ষালাভ হয়। যে পাতকে কোরিয়া বিনাশোন্মুখ হইয়াছে, আমরা সহস্র বৎসর ধরিয়া সেই পাপ করিয়া আসিতেছি, তাহার ফলও ভুগিতেছি। অথচ এখনও জ্ঞানোদয় হয় নাই। পরের উপর নির্ভর করিলে কোনও জাতির কল্যাণ হইতে পারে না, ভ্রাতৃবিরোধে পরের আশ্রয় গ্রহণে নিজের বিনাশ, ভ্রাতার বিনাশ অবশ্যম্ভাবী। এই নিয়মই জাতীয়তার প্রথম নিয়ম যে স্ববলে বলীয়ান্ হওয়া আবশ্যক, ভিতরের বিরোধ ভিতরেই সমাধা করিব, যে এই নিয়ম লঙ্ঘন করে, সে হিন্দু হউক, মুসলমান হউক, নরমপন্থী হউক, চরমপন্থী হউক, তাহার পাপের প্রায়শ্চিত্ত হইবেই।

SUPPLEMENT TO

VOLUME 5

COLLECTED POEMS

The following poems have all been taken from Sri Aurobindo's manuscripts. The Fragments are culled from the earliest manuscript in our possession, dating from the later part (1890 - 1892) of his student days in England; the sonnets and the lyric are from the author's Baroda Period.

FRAGMENTS

Blue lotus of the sea, on her large eyes
Ocean the tincture of nocturnal seas
Bestowed, the sweetness of her summer voice,
The flow of her green-rippling noonday laugh:
Night envied her long tresses and her cheeks
Were wild autumnal olives lightly flushed
With the shadow of a dying rose.

*

We are no wizened hermits.....
.....whose fumbling hands
Turn pale religious leaves, forgetting earth
And this sweet natural light, this common air
That yet is precious, who with idiot scorn
And lunatic austerity repulse
The emparadising virtue of the soft
And roseate circle of a girl's embrace.
Nor know they lofty pride, nor golden words
Of wisest poets, nor to wield a spear,
To loose the silent wingèd snake of war,
To wrestle knee to knee with grisly death.

By meditation and insipid sweets
Of piety and goodness, they aspire
To passionless perfection, death in life
Pale nothingness. But we the stormy brood,
Whom Ocean to imperious incest bore,
Were in the waste and ruinous conflict rocked
Of warring seas, and with thy nurturing milk
We drank the joy of battle, high disdain
That spurns obedience and the thirst unslaked
Indulgence prompts from sin to fiery sin.

*

He passed the unbridged seas whose waters lap
The utmost promontories and escarped
Immobile cliffs; he passed the desolate drifts,
The solitary sands, the antres wild,
Memorials of a mute, unstoried age;
He passed the secret woodland, whence the palm
Aspired, albeit of origin obscure,
To kiss high heaven, and the banyan spread,
Land-hungering tyrant, o'er full many a rood
His bannered pomp; the pestilent fens he passed,
The salt and unplumbed marshes, direful nest
Of unkempt fever and malarious plague,
And that swan-cradling pool, blue Kolar called
Set like a jewel in the earth's brown throat.
All these he passed...

The heady rout of Maruts rode amain
Ratri the Ethiope handmaid of the Moon.

SONNETS

O face that I have loved until no face
Beneath the quiet heaven such glory wear,
They say you are not beautiful, — no snare
Of twilight in the changing mysticness
Or deep enhaloed secrecy of hair,
Soft largeness in the eyes I dare not kiss!
Unreal all your bosom's dreadful bliss.
Too narrow are your brows they say to bear
The temple of vast beauty in its span
Or chaste cold bosom to house fierily
Beauty that maddens all the heart of man.
I know not, this I know that utterly
My soul is by some magic curls surprised,
Some glances have my heart immortalised.

II

I cannot equal those most absolute eyes,
Although they rule my being, with the stars,
Nor floral rich comparisons devise
To detail sweetness that your body wears.
Nor in the heavens hints of you I find.
Nor dim suggestions in this thoughtful eve;
The moonlight of your darker grace is blind
Who can with such pale delicacies deceive
A naked burning heart. Only one place
Satisfies me of you, where the feet
That I shall never clasp, with beauty press
The barren earth in one place only sweet,
One face in the wide world alone divine,
The only one! that never can be mine.

III

O letter dull and cold, how can she read
Gladly these lifeless lines, no fire that prove,
When others even their passionate hearts exceed
Caressing her sweet name with words of love?
O me that I could force this barrier, turn
My heart to syllables, make all desire
One burning word, then would my letters yearn
With some reflection of that hidden fire.
Ah! if I could, what then? This fiery fate
Within for human eyes was never meant.
All hearts could view with horror or with hate
A picture not of earthly lineament.
Yourself even sweet, would start with terror back
As at the hissing of a sudden snake.

IV

My life is wasted like a lamp ablaze
Within a solitary house unused,
My life is wasted and by Love men praise
For sweet and kind. How often have I mused
What lovely thing were love and much repined
At my cold bosom moved not by that flame.
'Tis kindled; lo, my dreadful being turned
Round one whom to myself I dare not name.
I cannot quench the fire I did not light
And he that lit it will not; I cannot even,
Although my heart between his burning hands,
Drive out the guest I never did invite;
Although the soul he dwells with lose its heaven,
I burn and know not why; I sink to hell
Fruitlessly and am forbidden to rebel.

V

Because thy flame is spent, shall mine grow less,
O bud, O wonder of the opening rose?
Why both my soul and love it would disgrace
If I could trade in love, begin and close
My long account of passion, like a book
Of merchant's credit, given to be repaid,
Or not returned, struck off with lowering look
Like a bad debt uncritically made.
What thou couldst give, thou gav'st me, one sweet smile
Worth all the sunlight that the years contain,
One month of months when thy sweet spirit a while
Fluttered o'er mine half-thinking to remain:
What I could give, I gave thee, to my last breath
Immortal love, immovable by death.

VI

Thou didst mistake, thy spirit's infant flight
Opening its lovely wings upon the sun,
Paused o'er the first strong bloom that met thy sight
Thinking perhaps it was the only one.
But all this fragrant garden was beyond,
Winds came to thee with hints of honey, day
Disclosed a brighter hope than this unsunned
Thought-sheltered heart and called thee far away.
Thou didst mistake, must I then rage, grow ill,
With tortured vanity and think it love,
Miscall with brutal names my lady's will,
Fouling thy snow-white image, O my dove?
Is not thy kiss enough, though only one,
For all eternity to live upon?

VII

Rose, I have loved thy beauty, as I love
The dress that thou hast worn, the transient grass,
O'er which thy happy careless footsteps move,
The yet-thrilled waysides that have watched[1] thee pass.
Soul, I have loved thy sweetness as men love
The necessary air they crave to breathe,
The sunlight lavished from the skies above,
And firmness of the earth their steps beneath.
But were that beauty all, my love might cease
Like love of weaker spirits; were't thy charm
And grace of soul, mine might with age decrease
Or find in Death a silence and a term,
But rooted to the unnameable in thee
Shall triumph and transcend eternity.

VIII

Still there is something that I lack in thee
And yet must find. There is a broad abyss
Between possession and true sovereignty
Which thou must bridge with a diviner kiss.
I questioned all the beauty of other girls,
Thinking thou hadst it not to give, indeed
But not Giannina's breasts nor Pippa's curls
Contained it; thou alone canst meet my need.
Deniest thou some secret of thy soul
To me who claim thee all? Nay, can it be
Thy bosom's joys escape from my control?
Forbid it Heaven Hell should yawn for thee.
Deny it now! let not sweet love begun
End in red blood and awful justice done.

[1] seen

IX

I have a doubt, I have a doubt which kills.
Tell me, O torturing beauty, O divine
Witchcraft, O soul escaped from heaven's hills
Yet fed upon strange food of utter sin,
Why dost thou torture me? Hast thou no fear?
My love was ever like my hate a sword
To search the heart and kill however dear
The joy that would not own me for its lord.
Yet must I still believe that thou art true
If thou wilt say it and smile, knowest thou not then
I have purchased with my passion all of you
And wilt thou keep a nook for other men?
Deny it now! let not sweet love begun
End in red blood and awful justice done.

World's Delight

World's delight, spring's sweetness, music's charm
Lie within my arm.
Earth that is and heaven to come are here with me
Mastered on my knee.
Open thy red petals, shrinking rose,
And thy heart disclose.
Pant thy fragrance up to me, O my delight,
All the perfumed night.
Thou possessed and I possessing, earth
Opened for our mirth.
Flowers dropping on us from delighted trees,
Revels of the breeze,
All for me because I hold their Circe, white
Queen of their delight.
Wanton, thou shalt know at last a chain
Golden to restrain.
Not a minute of thee shall escape my kiss,
Captive made to bliss,
Not a wandering breath but love shall seize
With his ecstasies.
All thy body be a glorious happy lyre
Played on by desire
And thy soul shall be my absolute kingdom still
To misrule at will.
Wast thou hoping to escape at last?
Nay, I held thee fast.
Thou shalt know what love is, all his bliss and pain,
Fondling and disdain.
Jealousy and joy shall seize on thee by turns
Till thy whole heart burns.
I will learn now all that is to know
In this golden show.
I will gather all there is of sweets to take
In this scented brake.
All the soul's reserves of honied shame
Seized as by a flame

Shall be mine and falter naked to the light
And discovered quite.
I will burn thee up as with a fire
Of unquenched desire.
I will ravage like a conqueror all thy soul
And annex the whole.
To escape from joys too fierce that burn
Thou in vain shalt turn.
Puissant Fate shall rescue not thy soul from mine
Nor decree divine.
Nor shall Death release thy hunted heart from fear,
I shall still be near.

SUPPLEMENT TO

VOLUME 7

COLLECTED PLAYS

The beginning of a play from Sri Aurobindo's manuscripts.

Act One

SCENE I

Mathura

A Street in Mathura: Ocroor House

OCROOR — SUDAMAN

SUDAMAN

Who art thou?

OCROOR

One that walks the night.

SUDAMAN

No Ogre,
But Ocroor by thy voice.

OCROOR

Sudaman? The children
Of Surasegn, hadst thou made such reply,
Would otherwise have answered.

SUDAMAN

So they would.
An Ogre, I? Yes, one to eat all up.
Ocroor, I have a belly to digest
Much more than Mathura.

OCROOR

So Ravan had
And yet he perished. Walk not thus alone
When the black night has draped the cowering earth,
Lest one of those whose brothers, fathers, sons
Thy word destroyed, should rip that belly through
And laugh, "So dies Sudaman."

SUDAMAN

I am shielded.

OCROOR

Not by the gods at least.

SUDAMAN

A greater god
That's Fear. By her I rule this Mathura
And she walks by me in the eyeless night
Protecting. The peoples! Danger is easily cowed
By men like me who do not fear to die
More than they fear to slay. But what dost thou
There lonely in our Mother's shadow black,
Ocroor? Her shades embrace the lover and the thief
Two kindred trades — but which of these is thou?

OCROOR

Why both, Sudaman.

SUDAMAN

If thou turnst girl-stealer,
Pray, let it be from one of Yadu's stock.

(*Incomplete*)

SUPPLEMENT TO

VOLUME 8

TRANSLATIONS

These Sayings from the Mahabharata appeared in the daily *Bande Mataram* of September 1, 1906. They are given here as probably from Sri Aurobindo's pen.

Sayings from the Mahabharata

IN THAT inexhaustible treasure-house of wisdom, the Mahabharata, sayings of profoundest wisdom are scattered with a lavish hand. Some are worldly-wise, others show how highly Truth was valued, others again for tenderness and the spirit of forgiveness would compare favourably with the wise sayings of any language in the world. As specimens we translate a few at random:—

Men full of guile and guileless people, good and bad men, may all become friends; therefore, friendship is no measure of equality.

Desire is endless; contentment is the best happiness.

Death is to me less fearful than the Untruth.

The four Vedas carefully studied are equal to a single Truth.

The earth and the sky are full of life; there is no space in which living creatures are not.

The control of the senses is a wholesome fast.

Ignorant people mistake anger for strength; he who keeps himself free from all anger is, of a truth, strong.

If spent ceaselessly even the Himalayas would be exhausted.

Doubt is the source of all mischief; all work undertaken without any hesitation or doubt is crowned with success.

If a man kill another by whom he has been deceived and goes to hell for his sin, even hell is to him as welcome as heaven.

Gather wisdom from the ravings of the insane and the babble of children even as gold is gathered from rocky ore.

He who is aware of his own faults and is ashamed of them is qualified to be the teacher of the world.

As age deprives woman of her beauty so the absence of humility deprives man of his attractiveness.

If one man were to possess all the grain, all the gold, all the cattle and all the women in the world yet he would not be content.

Error is death and freedom from error is life.

As dogs fight over meat so kings fight for the possession of the world.

The wise mourn neither the living nor the dead.

So long as a man's good deeds are remembered on earth, so long is he esteemed in heaven.

Each separate burning brand emits smoke, but when put together they burst into a blaze.

Anger towards children, the old, and the suffering should be controlled.

If one who is the lord of wealth happen to be the slave of his senses he and his wealth soon part company.

Jealousy is the strength of the wicked, punishment of evil-doers is the strength of kings, ministration to suffering is the strength of women, and forgiveness is the strength of the wise.

When the wealth, beauty, heroism, birth, happiness, good fortune, and hospitality of one man excite the envy of another the pain and trouble of the envious man are endless.

The seeker after pleasure must abandon knowledge and the seeker after knowledge must abandon pleasure.

It is in the nature of men to fancy that they are respected by all men.

No one can quench indolence by sleep, fire by fuel, and thirst by wine.

What can be more wonderful than the fact that in spite of deaths happening every day before their eyes the survivors think that for them there is no death!

There are many gateways of religion. In whatsoever manner the path of religion is earnestly followed it always leads to the same result.

The man who applies sandal-paste to my right hand and he who cuts off my left hand with an axe are equal in my eyes.

Bande Mataram, September 1, 1906

SUPPLEMENT TO

VOLUME 9

THE FUTURE POETRY

LETTERS ON POETRY, LITERATURE AND ART

This letter addressed by Sri Aurobindo to his poet-brother Manmohan Ghose, was found in a typewritten form among his manuscripts.

The spellings of proper names have been maintained as found in the typed copy.

Purāṇamityeva na sādhu sarvaṁ,
Na cāpi kāvyaṁ navamityavadyam:
Santaḥ parikṣyānyatarad bhajante:
Mūḍhaḥ parapratyayaneyabuddhiḥ.

Kalidasa

Not everything that is old is good,
Nor is a poem therefore faulty because it is new:
Good critics examine and prefer:
The fool follows in the beaten track of opinion.

To My Brother

ONLY a short while ago I had a letter from you — I cannot lay my hands on the passage, but I remember it contained an unreserved condemnation of Hindu legend as trivial and insipid, a mass of crude and monstrous conceptions, a lumber-room of Hindu banalities. The main point of your indictment was that it had nothing in it simple, natural, passionate and human, that the characters were lifeless patterns of moral excellence.

I have been so long accustomed to regard your taste and judgment as sure and final that it is with some distrust I find myself differing from you. Will you permit me then to enter into some slight defence of what you have so emphatically condemned and explain why I venture to dedicate a poem on a Hindu subject, written in the Hindu spirit and constructed on Hindu principles of taste, style and management, to you who regard all these things as anathema maranatha? I am not attempting to convince you, only to justify, or at least define my own standpoint; perhaps also a little to reassure myself in the line of poetical art I have chosen.

The impression that Hindu Myth has made on you, is its inevitable aspect to a taste nourished on the pure dew and honey of Hellenic tradition; for the strong Greek sense of symmetry and finite beauty is in conflict with the very spirit of Hinduism, which is a vast attempt of the human intellect to surround the universe with itself, an immense measuring of itself with the infinite and amorphous. Hellenism must necessarily see in the greater part of Hindu imaginations and thoughts a mass of crude fancies equally removed from the ideal and the real. But when it condemns all Hindu legend without distinction, I believe it is acting from an instinct which is its defect, — the necessary defect of its fine quality. For in order to preserve a pure, sensitive and severe standard of taste and critical judgment, it is compelled to be intolerant; to insist, that is, on its own limits and rule out all that

exceeds them, as monstrous and unbeautiful. It rejects that flexible sympathy based on curiosity of temperament, which attempts to project itself into differing types as it meets them and so pass on through ever-widening artistic experiences to its destined perfection. And it rejects it because such catholicity would break the fine mould into which its own temperament is cast. This is well; yet is there room in art and criticism for that other, less fine but more many-sided, which makes possible new elements and strong departures. Often as the romantic temperament stumbles and creates broken and unsure work, sometimes it scores one of those signal triumphs which subject new art forms to the service of poetry or open up new horizons to poetical experience. What judgment would such a temperament, seeking its good where it can find it, but not grossly indiscriminating, not ignobly satisfied, pronounce on the Hindu legends?

I would carefully distinguish between two types of myth, the religious-philosophical allegory and the genuine secular legend. The former is beyond the pale of profitable argument. Created by the allegorical and symbolising spirit of mediaeval Hinduism, the religious myths are a type of poetry addressed to a peculiar mental constitution, and the sudden shock of the bizarre repels occidental imagination the moment it comes in contact with Puranic literature, reveals to us where the line lies that must eternally divide East from West. The difference is one of root-temperament and therefore unbridgeable. There is the mental composition which has no facet towards imaginative religion, and if it accepts religion at all, requires it to be plain, precise and dogmatic; to such these allegories must always seem false in art and barren in significance. And there is the mental composition in which a strong metaphysical bent towards religion combines with an imaginative tendency seeking symbol both as an atmosphere around religion, which would otherwise dwell on too breathless mountaintops, and as a safeguard against the spirit of dogma. These find in Hindu allegory a perpetual delight and refreshment; they believe it to be powerful and penetrating, sometimes with an epical daring of idea and an inspiration of searching appropriateness which not unoften dissolves into a strange and curious beauty. The strangeness permeating these legends is a vital part

of themselves, and to eliminate the bizarre in them — bizarre to European notion, for to us they seem striking and natural — would be to emasculate them of the most characteristic part of their strength. Let us leave this type aside then as beyond the field of fruitful discussion.

There remain the secular legends; and it is true that a great number of them are intolerably puerile and grotesque. My point is that the puerility is no essential part of them but lies in their presentment, and that presentment again is characteristic of the Hindu spirit not in its best and most self-realising epochs. They were written in an age of decline, and their present form is the result of a literary accident. The Mahabharata of Vyasa, originally an epic of 24,000 verses, afterwards enlarged by a redacting poet, was finally submerged in a vast mass of inferior accretions, the work often of a tasteless age and unskilful hands. It is in this surface mass that the majority of the Hindu legends have floated down to our century. So preserved, it is not surprising that the old simple beauty of the ancient tales should have come to us marred and disfigured, as well as debased by association with later inventions which have no kernel of sweetness. And yet very simple and beautiful, in their peculiar Hindu type, were these old legends with infinite possibilities of sweetness and feeling, and in the hands of great artists have blossomed into dramas and epics of the most delicate tenderness or the most noble sublimity. One who glances at the dead and clumsy narrative of the Shacountala legend in the Mahabharata and reads after it Kalidasa's masterpiece in which delicate dramatic art and gracious tenderness of feeling reach their climax, at once perceives how they vary with the hands which touch them.

But you are right. The Hindu myth has not the warm passionate life of the Greek. The Hindu mind was too austere and idealistic to be sufficiently sensitive to the rich poetical colouring inherent in crime and sin and overpowering passion; an Oedipus or an Agamemnon stands therefore outside the line of its creative faculty. Yet it had in revenge a power which you will perhaps think no compensation at all, but which to a certain class of minds, of whom I confess myself one, seems of a very real and distinct value. Inferior in warmth and colour and quick life and the

savour of earth to the Greek, they had a superior spiritual loveliness and exaltation; not clothing the surface of the earth with imperishable beauty, they search deeper into the white-hot core of things and in their cyclic orbit of thought curve downward round the most hidden foundations of existence and upward over the highest, almost invisible arches of ideal possibility. Let me touch the subject a little more precisely. The difference between the Greek and Hindu temperaments was that one was vital, the other supra-vital; the one physical, the other metaphysical; the one sentient of sunlight as its natural atmosphere and the bound of its joyous activity, the other regarding it as a golden veil which hid from it beautiful and wonderful things for which it panted.[1] The Greek aimed at limit and finite perfection, because he felt vividly all our bounded existence; the Hindu mind, ranging into the infinite tended to the enormous and moved habitually in the sublime. This is poetically a dangerous tendency; finite beauty, symmetry and form are always lovely, and Greek legend, even when touched by inferior poets, must always keep something of its light and bloom and human grace or of its tragic human force. But the infinite is not for all hands to meddle with; it submits only to the compulsion of the mighty, and at the touch of an inferior mind recoils over the boundary of the sublime into the grotesque. Hence the enormous difference of level between different legends or the same legend in different hands, — the sublimity or tenderness of the best, the banality of the worst, with a little that is mediocre and intermediate shading the contrast away. To take with a reverent hand the old myths and cleanse them of soiling accretions, till they shine with some of the antique strength, simplicity and solemn depth of beautiful meaning, is an ambition which Hindu poets of today may and do worthily cherish. To accomplish a similar duty in a foreign tongue is a more perilous endeavour.

I have attempted in the following narrative to bring one of

[1] O fostering Sun, who hast hidden the face of Truth with thy golden shield, displace that splendid veil from the vision of the righteous man, O Sun.

O fosterer, O solitary traveller, O Sun, O Master of Death, O child of God, dissipate thy beams, gather inward thy light; so shall I behold that splendour, thy goodliest form of all. For the Spirit who is there and there, He am I.

The Isha Upanishad, 15 & 16.

our old legends before the English public in a more attractive garb than could be cast over them by mere translation or by the too obvious handling of writers like Sir Edwin Arnold; — preserving its inner spirit and Hindu features, yet rejecting no device that might smooth away the sense of roughness and the bizarre which always haunts what is unfamiliar, and win for it the suffrage of a culture to which our mythological conventions are unknown and our canons of taste unacceptable. The attempt is necessarily beset with difficulties and pitfalls. If you think I have even in part succeeded, I shall be indeed gratified; if otherwise, I shall at least have the consolation of having failed where failure was more probable than success.

The story of Ruaru is told in the very latest accretion layer of the Mahabharata, in a bald and puerile narrative without force, beauty or insight. Yet it is among the most significant and powerful in idea of our legends; for it is rather an idea than a tale. Bhrigou, the grandfather of Ruaru, is almost the most august and venerable name in Vedic literature. Set there at the very threshold of Aryan history, he looms dim but large out of the mists of an incalculable antiquity, while around him move great shadows of unborn peoples and a tradition of huge half-discernible movements and vague but colossal revolutions. In later story his issue form one of the most sacred clans of Rishies, and Purshurama the destroyer of princes was of his offspring. By the Titaness Puloma this mighty seer and patriarch, himself one of the mind-children of Brahma had a son Chyavan, — who inherited even from the womb his father's personality, greatness and ascetic energy. Chyavan too became an instructor and former of historic minds and a father of civilisation; Ayus was among his pupils, the child of Pururavas by Urvasie and founder of the Lunar or Ilian dynasty whose princes after the great civil wars of the Mahabharata became Emperors of India. Chyavan's son Pramati, by an Apsara or nymph of paradise, begot a son named Ruaru, of whom this story is told. This Ruaru, later, became a great Rishi like his fathers, but in his youth he was engrossed with his love for a beautiful girl whom he had made his wife, the daughter of the Gundhurva King, Chitroruth, by the sky-nymph Menaca;. an earlier sister therefore of Shacountala.

Their joy of union was not yet old when Priyumvada perished, like Eurydice, by the fangs of a snake. Ruaru inconsolable for her loss, wandered miserable among the forests that had been the shelter and witnesses of their love, consuming the universe with his grief, until the Gods took pity on him and promised him his wife back, if he sacrificed for her half his life. To this Ruaru gladly assented and, the price paid, was reunited with his love.

Such is the story, divested of the subsequent puerile developments by which it is linked on to the Mahabharata. If we compare it with the kindred tale of Eurydice, the distinction I have sought to draw between the Hindu and Greek mythopoetic faculty, justifies itself with great force and clearness. The incidents of Orpheus' descent into Hades, his conquering Death and Hell by his music and harping his love back to the sunlight, and the tragic loss of her at the moment of success through a too natural and beautiful human weakness, has infinite fancy, pathos, trembling human emotion. The Hindu tale, barren of this subtlety and variety is bare of incident and wanting in tragedy. It is merely a bare idea for a tale. Yet what an idea it supplies! How deep and searching is that thought of half the living man's life demanded as the inexorable price for the restoration of his dead! How it seems to knock at the very doors of human destiny, and give us a gust of air from worlds beyond our own suggesting illimitable and unfathomable thoughts of our potentialities and limitations.

I have ventured in this poem to combine, as far as might be, the two temperaments, the Greek pathetic and the Hindu mystic; yet I have carefully preserved the essence of the Hindu spirit and the Hindu mythological features. The essential idea of these Hindu legends, aiming, as they do, straight and sheer at the sublime and ideal, gives the writer no option but to attempt epic tone and form, — I speak of course of those which are not merely beautiful stories of domestic life. In the choice of an epic setting I had the alternative of entirely Hellenising the myth or adopting the method of Hindu epic. I have preferred the course which, I fear, will least recommend itself to you. The true subject of Hindu epic is always a struggle between two ideal forces universal and opposing, while the human and divine actors, the Supreme Triad excepted, are pawns moved to and fro by immense world-

impulses which they express but cannot consciously guide. It is perhaps the Olympian ideal in life struggling with the Titanic ideal, and then we have a Ramaian. Or it may be the imperial ideal in government and society marshalling the forces of order, self-subjection, self-effacement, justice, equality, against the aristocratic ideal, with self-will, violence, independence, self-assertion, feudal loyalty, the sway of the sword and the right of the stronger at its back; this is the key of the Mahabharata. Or it is again, as in the tale of Savitrie, the passion of a single woman in its dreadful silence and strength pitted against Death, the divorcer of souls. Even in a purely domestic tale like the Romance of Nul, the central idea is that of the spirit of Degeneracy, the genius of the Iron age, — overpowered by a steadfast conjugal love. Similarly, in this story of Ruaru and Priyumvada the great spirits who preside over Love and Death, Cama and Yama, are the real actors and give its name to the poem.

The second essential feature of the Hindu epic model is one which you have selected for especial condemnation and yet I have chosen to adhere to it in its entirety. The characters of Hindu legend are, you say, lifeless patterns of moral excellence. Let me again distinguish. The greater figures of our epics are ideals, but ideals of wickedness as well as virtue and also of mixed characters which are not precisely either vicious or virtuous. They are, that is to say, ideal presentments of character-types. This also arises from the tendency of the Hindu creative mind to look behind the actors at tendencies, inspirations, ideals. Yet are these great figures; are Rama, Sita, Savitrie, merely patterns of moral excellence? I who have read their tale in the swift and mighty language of Valmekie and Vyasa and thrilled with their joys and their sorrows, cannot persuade myself that it is so. Surely Savitrie that strong silent heart, with her powerful and subtly-indicated personality, has both life and charm; surely Rama puts too much divine fire into all he does to be a dead thing, — Sita is too gracious and sweet, too full of human lovingness and lovableness, of womanly weakness and womanly strength! Ruaru and Priyumvada are also types and ideals; love in them, such is the idea, finds not only its crowning exaltation but that perfect *idea* of itself of which every exis-

ting love is a partial and not quite successful manifestation. Ideal love is a triune energy, neither a mere sensual impulse, nor mere emotional nor mere spiritual. These may exist, but they are not love. By itself the sensual is only an animal need, the emotional a passing mood, the spiritual a religious aspiration which has lost its way. Yet all these are necessary elements of the highest passion. Sense impulse is as necessary to it as the warm earth-matter at its root to the tree, emotion as the air which consents with its life, spiritual aspiration as the light and the rain from heaven which prevent it from withering. My conception being an ideal struggle between love and death, two things are needed to give it poetical form, an adequate picture of love and adequate image of death. The love pictured must be on the ideal plane, and touch therefore the farthest limit of strength in each of its three directions. The sensual must be emphasised to give it firm root and basis, the emotional to impart to it life, the spiritual to prolong it into infinite permanence. And if at their limits of extension the three meet and harmonise, if they are not triple but triune, then is that love a perfect love and the picture of it a perfect picture. Such at least is the conception of the poem; whether I have contrived even faintly to execute it, do you judge.

But when Hindu canons of taste, principles of epic-writing and types of thought and character are assimilated there are still serious difficulties in Englishing a Hindu legend. There is the danger of raising around the subject a jungle of uncouth words and unfamiliar allusions impenetrable to English readers. Those who have hitherto made the attempt, have succumbed to the passion for "local colour" or for a liberal peppering of Sanscrit words all over their verses, thus forming a constant stumbling-block and a source of irritation to the reader. Only so much local colour is admissible as comes naturally and unforced by the very nature of the subject; and for the introduction of a foreign word into poetry the one valid excuse is the entire absence of a fairly corresponding word or phrase in the language itself. Yet a too frequent resort to this plea shows either a laziness in invention or an unseasonable learning. There are very few Sanscrit words or ideas, not of the technical kind, which do not admit of being approximately conveyed in English by direct

rendering or by a little management, or, at the worst, by coining a word which, if not precisely significant of the original, will create some kindred association in the mind of an English reader. A slight inexactness is better than a laborious pedantry. I have therefore striven to avoid all that would be unnecessarily local and pedantic, even to the extent of occasionally using a Greek expression such as Hades for the lord of the underworld. I believe such uses to be legitimate, since they bring the poem nearer home to the imagination of the reader. On the other hand, there are some words one is loth to part with. I have myself been unable or unwilling to sacrifice such Indianisms as Rishi, Naga, for the snake-gods who inhabit the nether-world; Uswuttha, for the sacred fig-tree; Chompuc (but this has been made familiar by Shelley's exquisite lyric); coil or Kokil, for the Indian cuckoo; and names like Dhurma (Law, Religion, Rule of Nature) and Critanta, the ender, for Yama, the Indian Hades. These, I think, are not more than a fairly patient reader may bear with. Mythological allusions, the indispensable setting of a Hindu legend, have been introduced sparingly, and all but one or two will explain themselves to a reader of sympathetic intelligence and some experience in poetry.

Yet are they, in some number, indispensable. The surroundings and epic machinery must necessarily be the ordinary Hindu surroundings and machinery. Properly treated, I do not think these are wanting in power and beauty of poetic suggestion. Ruaru, the grandson of Bhrigou, takes us back to the very beginnings of Aryan civilisation when our race dwelt and warred and sang within the frontier of the five rivers, Iravatie, Chundrobhaga, Shotodrou, Bitosta and Bipasha, and our Bengal was but a mother of wild beasts, clothed in the sombre mystery of virgin forests and gigantic rivers and with no human inhabitants save a few savage tribes, the scattered beginnings of nations. Accordingly the story is set in times when earth was yet new to her children, and the race was being created by princes like Pururavas and patriarchal sages or Rishies like Bhrigou, Brihuspati, Gautama. The Rishi was in that age the head of the human world. He was at once sage, poet, priest, scientist, prophet, educator, scholar and legislator. He composed a song, and it became

one of the sacred hymns of the people; he emerged from rapt communion with God to utter some puissant sentence, which in after ages became the germ of mighty philosophies; he conducted a sacrifice, and kings and peoples rose on its seven flaming tongues to wealth and greatness; he formulated an observant aphorism, and it was made the foundation of some future science, ethical, practical or physical; he gave a decision in a dispute and his verdict was seed of a great code or legislative theory. In Himalayan forests or by the confluence of great rivers he lived as the centre of a patriarchal family whose link was thought-interchange and not blood-relationship, bright-eyed children of sages, heroic striplings, earnest pursuers of knowledge, destined to become themselves great Rishies or renowned leaders of thought and action. He himself was the master of all learning and all arts and all sciences. The Rishies won their knowledge by meditation working through inspiration to intuition. Austere concentration of the faculties stilled the waywardness of the reason and set free for its work the inner, unerring vision which is above reason, as reason is itself above sight; this again worked by intuitive flashes, one inspired stroke of insight quivering out close upon the other, till the whole formed a logical chain; yet a logic not coldly thought out nor the logic of argument but the logic of continuous and consistent inspiration. Those who sought the Eternal through physical austerities, such as the dwelling between five fires (one fire on each side and the noonday sun overhead) or lying for days on a bed of swordpoints, or Yoga processes based on an advanced physical science, belonged to a later day. The Rishies were inspired thinkers, not working through deductive reason or any physical process of sense-subdual. The energy of their personalities was colossal; wrestling in fierce meditation with God, they had become masters of incalculable spiritual energies, so that their anger could blast peoples and even the world was in danger when they opened their lips to utter a curse. This energy was by the principle of heredity transmitted, at least in the form of a latent and educable force, to their offspring. Afterwards as the vigour of the race exhausted itself, the inner fire dwindled and waned. But at first even the unborn child was divine. When Chyavan was in the womb, a Titan to whom his

mother Puloma had been betrothed before she was given to Bhrigou, attempted to carry off his lost love in the absence of the Rishi. It is told that the child in the womb felt the affront and issued from his mother burning with such a fire of inherited divinity that the Titan ravisher fell blasted by the wrath of an infant. For the Rishies were not passionless. They were prone to anger and swift to love. In their pride of life and genius they indulged their yearnings for beauty, wedding the daughters of Titans or mingling with nymphs of Paradise in the august solitudes of hills and forests. From these were born those ancient and sacred clans of a pre-historic antiquity, Barghoves, Barhaspathas, Gautamas, Kasyapas, into which the descendants of the Aryan are to this day divided. Thus has India deified the great men who gave her civilisation.

On earth the Rishies, in heaven the Gods. These were great and shining beings who preserved the established cosmos against the Asuras, or Titans, spirits of disorder between whom and the Hindu Olympians there was ever warfare. Yet their hostility did not preclude occasional unions. Sachi herself, the Queen of Heaven, was a Titaness, daughter of the Asura, Puloman; Yayati, ally of the Gods, took to himself a Daitya maiden Surmishtha, child of imperial Vrishopurvan (for the Asuras or Daityas, on the terrestrial plane, signified the adversaries of Aryan civilisation), and Bhrigou's wife, Puloma, was of the Titan blood. Chief of the Gods were Indra, King and Thunderer, who came down when men sacrificed and drank the Soma wine of the offering; Vaiou, the Wind; Agni, who is Hutaashon, devourer of the sacrifice, the spiritual energy of Fire; Varouna, the prince of the seas; Critanta, Death, the ender, who was called also Yama (Government) or Dhurma (Law) because from him are all order and stability, whether material or moral. And there were subtler presences; Cama, also named Modon or Monmuth, the God of desire, who rode on the parrot and carried five flowery arrows and a bow-string of linked honey-bees; his wife, Ruthie, the golden-limbed spirit of delight; Saraswatie, the Hindu Muse, who is also Vach or Word, the primal goddess, — she is the unexpressed idea of existence which by her expression takes visible form and being; for the word is prior to and more real, because

more spiritual, than the thing it expresses; she is the daughter of Brahma and has inherited the creative power of her father, the wife of Vishnou and shares the preservative energy of her husband; Vasuquie, also, and Seshanaga, the great serpent with his hosts, whose name means finiteness and who represents Time and Space; he upholds the world on his hundred colossal hoods and is the couch of the Supreme who is Existence. There were also the angels who were a little less than the Gods; Yukshas, the Faery attendants of Kuvere, lord of wealth, who protect hoards and treasures and dwell in Ullaca, the city of beauty,

> the hills of mist
> Golden, the dwelling-place of Faery kings,
> And mansions by unearthly moonlight kissed:—
> For one dwells there whose brow with the young moon
> Lightens as with a marvellous amethyst —

Ullaca, city of beauty, where no thought enters but that of love, no age but that of youth, no season but that of flowers. Then there are the Gundhurvas, beautiful, brave and melodious beings, the artists, musicians, poets and shining warriors of heaven; Kinnaries, Centauresses of sky and hill with voices of Siren melody; Opsaras, sky-nymphs, children of Ocean, who dwell in Heaven, its songstresses and daughters of joy, and who often mingle in love with mortals. Nor must we forget our own mother, Ganges, the triple and mystic river, who is Mundaquinie, Ganges of the Gods, in heaven, Bhagirathie or Jahnavie, Ganges of men, on earth, and Boithorinie or coiling Bhogavatie, Ganges of the dead, in Patala, the grey under-world and kingdom of serpents, and in the sombre dominions of Yama. Saraswatie, namesake and shadow of the Muse, preceded her in her sacredness; but the banks of those once pure waters have long passed to the barbarian and been denounced as unclean and uninhabitable to our race, while the deity has passed to that other mysterious under-ground stream which joins Ganges and Yamouna in their tryst at Proyaga.

Are there not here sufficient features of poetical promise, sufficient materials of beauty for the artist to weave into immor-

tal visions? I would gladly think that there are, that I am not cheating myself with delusions when I seem to find in this yet untrodden path,

> via...qua me quoque possim
> Tollere humo victorque virum volitare per ora.

Granted, you will say, but still *Quorsum haec putida tendunt*? or how does it explain the dedication to me of a style of work at entire variance with my own tastes and preferences? But the value of a gift depends on the spirit of the giver rather than on its own suitability to the recipient. Will you accept this poem as part-payment of a deep intellectual debt I have been long owing to you? Unknown to yourself, you taught and encouraged me from my childhood to be a poet. From your sun my farthing rush-light was kindled, and it was in your path that I long strove to guide my uncertain and faltering footsteps. If I have now in the inevitable development of an independent temperament in independent surroundings departed from your guidance and entered into a path, perhaps thornier and more rugged, but my own, it does not lessen the obligation of that first light and example. It is my hope that in the enduring fame which your calmer and more luminous genius must one day bring you, on a distant verge of the skies and lower plane of planetary existence, some ray of my name may survive and it be thought no injury to your memory that the first considerable effort of my powers was dedicated to you.

SUPPLEMENT TO

VOLUME 10

THE SECRET OF THE VEDA

1. This draft of "The Origins of Aryan Speech" seems to be an earlier one. It was found in this incomplete form in Sri Aurobindo's manuscripts.

2. "A System of Vedic Psychology" is an incomplete study written probably in the early days at Pondicherry, 1910-14.

The Origins of Aryan Speech

IN THAT pregnant period of European knowledge when physical Science, turned suddenly towards its full strength was preparing to open for itself the new views, new paths and new instruments of discovery which have led to the astonishing results of the nineteenth century, an opportunity was offered to the European mind for a similar mastery of sciences other than physical. The Sanscrit language was discovered. It was at first imagined and expected that this discovery would lead to results as important as those which flowed from the discovery of Greek literature by Western Europe after the fall of Constantinople. But these expectations have remained unfulfilled. European knowledge has followed other paths and the seed of the nineteenth century has been Newton's apple and not Sir William Jones' Shakuntala or the first edition of the Vedas. The discovery of Sanscrit has, it is true, had a considerable effect on the so-called sciences of Comparative Philology, Comparative Mythology, Science of Religion, ethnology and sociology; but these branches of knowledge are not sciences, they are systematised speculations. Their particular conclusions often change from generation to generation and none of them, not even the most certain, have the same cast of certainty as a scientific generalisation in the domain of physical enquiry. The law of gravitation is a permanent truth of science; the law that all myths start from the sun, the law of Solarisation, if I may so call it, is an ingenious error which survives at all because it pleases the poetic imagination.

So great has been the failure that the possibility, even, of a Science of speech has been too readily scouted. But this is an excessive deduction, the reaction of disappointed expectation has exaggerated the meaning of the failure. To say that there can be no science of speech is to say that the movements of the mind are not governed by intelligible processes, but rather by an incalculable caprice — a supposition that cannot be admitted.

Intelligible processes there are for all natural action, and therefore also for mind and its instrument speech; the difficulty is to discover their precise lines of action. We need sufficient material and the right material; we need also the right way of approaching the material. Once that is discovered, the processes also will be discovered and the Science of speech founded.

In this volume I give the result of certain attempts I have made to approach the problem from a new standpoint. Sanscrit, I hold, is the key to the problem. In most other languages, we have a secondary or tertiary speech formation; we have to go beyond the actual form before us and reconstruct its parent tongue, to find again perhaps that the parent tongue has to be subjected to a similar reconstructive process. We have not sufficient materials for such a task; no instruments we possess can go deep enough. But Sanscrit, by a peculiar fidelity to its origins, presents us with a true primary form of speech, in which the vocabulary indeed is late — a new structure of word flesh and tissue, but the bases of the structure is primitive, and reveals the roots of its being and betrays the principles of its formation. The failure of the comparative philologists to make use of their opportunity has been signal; it has even obscured the issue by creating a false system; but it is no more fatal or final than the failure of Aristotle to discover the law of gravitation, although he must have seen many fruits falling from many boughs. Sanscrit still stands there offering to us its secrets.

The fundamental mistake of the philologists is contained in their famous original formula, *pitā, patēr, pater, Vater, father*, and the hasty conclusions they have drawn from it, which have prevented a deeper scrutiny of the root of language. An identity of words between various languages can never in itself lead to any fundamental discovery. It does not even prove that the languages thus agreeing are of a single stock. In many of the most common domestic terms, Tamil and Sanscrit agree but they are still held to be of different families. All therefore that is proved is that not the identity of these terms but their contact — so close a contact of one with the rest that a number of the commonest ideas and relations came in all to be expressed by terms borrowed from one. Nothing more is proved: we have not advanced a single step

towards a science of languages. Even the classification of tongues as Aryan, Dravidian, Semitic cannot be called scientific; it is empirical and depends upon identities which may not be fundamental. We must go deeper. European philology has started from word-identities and identities of final word-meaning. I propose to start from root-identities and identities of original and derivative root-meaning and even from sound-identities and identities of fundamental and applicatory sound-meaning. It is, I believe, possible in this way to establish the unity of the Aryan tongues and some at least of the laws governing the birth and development of Aryan speech. My enquiry does not carry me farther. I do not pretend as yet to make out the laws of speech — but only to establish from data, some facts of Aryan speech which may eventually help in solving the wider problem.

In another respect also the philologists seem to me to have misunderstood the conditions of their enquiry. They have been not rigid enough and yet too rigid. They have been too rigid in not allowing for the flexibility of mind movements. They have sought for the same invariable sequence which we observe in the physical world and admitted a law only where such sequence seemed to occur. The laws of physical formation follow a fixed line and their variations even are...a fixed fashion. But with the growth of life in matter there comes a growing element of freedom, of a more elusive principle and a more elastic variation; for this reason science has found life more difficult to fathom and analyse than matter and her triumphs here have been far less notable than in the pure physical domain. Mind brings with it a still freer play, a still more elusive principle and flexible application. A general law always obtains, but the application, the particular processes...more subtly and are more numerous. Science, not taking into account this law of increasing freedom, has in the domain of mind accomplished little or nothing. When we deal with the laws of speech, we must remember this flexibility of all mind processes. We must ourselves keep a flexible mind to follow it and an open eye for all variations. It is for regularity in irregularity that one must always be on the watch, not for a fixed or a continuous regularity. On the other hand the few laws which Philology has admitted have been, by a sort of false com-

pensation for their original narrowness, used with too free and even lax a play of fancy. Often indeed instead of working as a law, the philological principle presents itself as an ingenious means for inventing word-identities.

I have disregarded as any other error of imperfect enquiry the rigid philological divorce of the Dravidian and Aryan languages. Whether there be a separate Dravidian stock or no, it is to me a certainty that Tamil owes not only many of its most common terms but whole families of words to the original Aryan speech. Its evidences cannot be neglected in such an enquiry as I have undertaken, for they are of the greatest importance. Indeed the theory worked out by us took its rise originally not from any analysis of the Sanscrit word-system, but from an observation of the relations of Tamil in its non-concretised element to the Greek, Latin and North Indian languages. At the same time it is on an analysis of the Sanscrit word-system that I have chiefly relied. I have omitted from that system most of its Vedic elements. The meanings of Vedic words are often extremely disputable and it would be unsafe to rely whether on the significances fixed by the European scholars or on those fixed centuries ago by Sayana or even by Yaska. It is better, and quite sufficient for the immediate purpose, to rely upon the classical tongue with its undoubted and well-ascertained meanings.

These are the lines upon which I have conducted my enquiry. The full proof of the results arrived at depends upon a larger labour of minute classification both of root-families and word-families in all the greater Aryan tongues, — a labour which is already in process, but is not yet complete. What I have written in this book, will, I hope, be judged sufficient for a secure foundation. If it does no more, it may possibly lead to a deeper and freer approach to the problem of the origin of speech, which, once undertaken in the right spirit and with an eye for the more subtle clues, cannot fail to lead to a discovery of the first importance to human thought and knowledge.

Chapter II

In an ordinary language which has not preserved the evidence of its origins, we are compelled to start with the full formed word as our first and earliest document. We then find words existing in very small, unconnected families, little individualistic groups which seem to have started life on their own account without any observable growth from a common stock with other words that have, physically, a race-resemblance to them. We can all see that *doceo*, *doctrina*, *doctor*, *docilis*, *documen*, *doctus*, *docte* are one family. They acknowledge their kinship openly. From this acknowledged kinship we can draw certain important conclusions, — especially the law of development from a common root and certain fixed forms by the accretion of which to the root this development was effected. It is a beginning, but it does not carry us beyond the surface-strata of our subject of enquiry.

For when we look farther we are confronted with a serious difficulty. We find a certain number of words which, in their formation, would seem to be connected like the family we have glanced at above, though not so strictly connected — *doleo*, I grieve, *dolenter*, painfully, *dolor*, grief, are obviously so interconnected; *dolus*, fraud, *dolosus*, deceitful, *dolose*, deceitfully, are so interconnected; *dolo*, I hew, cut or break, *dolabra*, an axe, are so interconnected. But between these three families we have in Latin itself no proof of any connection. In languages which have so far worn away their original phonetic moulds that entirely unconnected words wear the same or a similar dress, this want of connection would not lead to any farther conclusion beyond our mere inability to establish a connection. But Latin is a language which has preserved its phonetic moulds to a considerable extent. If then these three little families are entirely unconnected, then any hope of establishing or effecting Science of Speech-Origins or even a science of Aryan Speech-Origins, must be abandoned. For by the supposition to which we would then be inevitably led, there must have been three original roots, *dol* to grieve, *dol*, to cut or split, and *dol* to deceive, unconnected

with each other in origins. How then did their significances come to be attached to them? By chance? by caprice? by arbitrary choice? by some obscure psychological law we cannot trace?. We can no longer hope to decide.

The hypothesis I shall start from, — and my attempt to connect the superficially unconnected without which there can be no science must start with hypotheses, — is that there can be no such want of connection, that *dol*, to grieve, *dol*, to split and *dol*, to deceive must have been and are one root and not three, and the three different significances attached to them, have been developed not by caprice, chance or arbitrary selection but have a natural connection and were developed in intellect by an intelligible psychological movement behind intellect from an original common meaning or mind-impression created in the Aryan mind by the sound *dol*. For I hold it to be obvious that speech must have started from what we in India would call the Guna of sound, some natural property of particular sounds to create under given conditions a particular kind of impression on the mind which constantly associated with that sound, became the basis of a number of special intellectual significances, called by us the meaning of words, much more variable, much less fixed than the basic mind-significance. Afterwards the intellect playing consciously with the sound by association, by analogy, by figure, by metaphor and simile, by transference, by a number of means, may carry the intellectual significance far outside the bounds of the original mental impression. Still if we have some evidence, clues may be found and then the vagrant word may be traced back to its parent mind-impression. For this reason we have to catch a primitive language when it is young or else find one which even in its maturity is more faithful than others to its primitive mould and preserves on its face much of its ancient history. Such a language is Sanscrit; it is, in fact, almost the only language which at all answers to our need.

But a sound like *dol* is not and cannot be a pure, primary and isolated sound. It has congeners, at least in form, brothers, cousins, more distant relatives. Does this kinship in form involve an original kinship in mind-impression and therefore in history of significance? If the theory of Guna is correct there must be some

such kinship. Turning from Latin to the more fruitful field, the more copious evidence of Sanscrit, we find this root *dol* in the form *dăl* (*a* sounded like the English *u* in 'dull' and represented both in Greek and Latin by either *ă*, *ŭ*, or *ŏ*) meaning also to split, break and then to bloom, open. We find *dala*, a fragment; a blade, petal or leaf, or find *dalapa*, a weapon, that which splits, just as we have *dolabra*, an axe from *dolo*; *dalmi*, Indra's thunderbolt, also the god Shiva, *dalika*, a piece of wood, that which is split. We find also *dalbha* meaning fraud, dishonesty, sin, and we have thus established that in Sanscrit also, the root *dal* meant to deceive as well as to split. We find also the reason why *dal* came to mean to deceive, for the word *dala* means, not only the blade of a weapon, but the sheath of a weapon. In other words, *dal* must have borne the significance, to cover or to contain. We find from other Sanscrit instances that the idea of covering or hiding leads naturally in the Aryan mind to the idea of fraud or deceit, as in *chad*, to cover, *chadman*, a disguise, pretext, fraud, dishonesty, trick. But how are the two significances, cover and split, connected? That they are connected, is established, as a strong probability at least by the word, *cha*, cutting, dividing, a fragment or part, which in its feminine form *chā* means covering, concealing and the neuter *cham*, a house, that which covers. If they are connected, the idea of cutting must have led to that of cutting off, separating, screening and thence to the significance we find in *chadman*, covering, disguise, fraud. There is no distinct significance of pain attached to the root *dal* either in Sanscrit or Greek; but we do find that the word *dabdha* in Sanscrit meant crushed, oppressed, trampled, and more curiously and significantly we find *dālanam* in the sense of tooth-ache. It is easy to see how the idea of cutting, tearing, rending must have led easily to the sense first of a special kind of pain and then by detrition of force to that of pain generally. But we find more. We find not only *dal*, we find other words kindred in sound, having something of the same history. For instance, *dambh* means to kill, destroy, strike down; but *dambha*, the noun proper to this verb, means deceit, fraud, trickery, sin, ostentation, pride (we see how starting from the idea of fraudulent intention or hypocrisy we come to the very different idea of ostentation without fraud or pride,

— again by detrition of special force); we find *dambha* and *dambholi* meaning like *dalmi* Indra's thunderbolt, and *dambha* means also like *dalmi*, the god Shiva. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that to the Aryan mind *dambha* and *dalmi* were words so closely akin that they carried easily the same impression to the mind and the same significance to the intellect. But what is there common to these two roots? It is the sound *da*, which must, therefore, by my theory, have had a Guna or mind-impression which naturally adhered in common to the two roots *dal* and *dambh*.

It is the second step of my theory, therefore, that not only must the three *dal* families be one family, not only must one root-sound have had originally one root-meaning, but that all kindred root-sounds must also be of one family and have proceeded from the simple sound, consisting of consonant and vowel, which is common to all of them, and the Guna or natural mind-impression belonging to that simple sound must have been the basis not only of the intellectual significances common to its progeny, but of those even which vary most from each other. *Da* is the simple root-sound, — the primary root; *dal*, *dambh*, *dabh*, *daś*, *dah*, *dakṣ*, *danś*, *das*, *dans*, *dagh*, *daṅgh*, *daṇḍ*, *dad*, *dadh*, *dan*, *dam*, *day*, roots which we find or can trace in Sanscrit are its derivatives, its secondary or tertiary root-sounds. The simple sound contains in itself the seed-significance which it imparts to its descendants, whether some grandsons or remote progeny. We have thus immensely widened our basis and approached much nearer to a scientific consideration of language.

Let us see whether the hypothesis finds any further support in the facts of the Sanscrit language. We take the senses to split, burst open, cut, tear, crush, destroy, cheat, belonging to *dal*; we find the same sense, or the kindred sense, such as of hurting, as in *dolor*, *doleo*, not only in *dambh*, but in *dabh*, to injure, hurt, deceive, cheat, and its Vedic derivatives *dabdhi*, hurt, and *dabha*, fraud, — if these be the right senses. We find them in *dam*, to crush, afflict, and so to subdue, overpower, tame, conquer, restrain and its derivatives *dama*, *damaka*, *damathu*, *damana*, *damin*, *damya*, *dānta*; the last containing a lengthening of the vowel, to which we shall have occasion to return. We also find in

dama, *damathu*, *damana*, *damya* the kindred sense of punishment, and we find in the Vedic sense of *dama* the significance house, as in Latin *domus*, Greek *domos*, *dōma* (again we notice the lengthening of the vowel), from which at once we return to the idea of covering which we had to infer in *dal*. All these are evidently kindred roots belonging to the labial variety of the *da* family, formed that is to say by accretion of the sounds *p*, *ph*, *b*, *bh* (labio-nasal) or any combination of which they are the base to the simple sound.

We turn to other subfamilies. We find in the guttural subfamily *dakṣ*, to hurt or kill, *dākṣāyya*, a vulture (tearer of carrion); *dagh*, to kill, hurt, *dāgha*, burning; *daṅgh*, to abandon or leave, which I trace to the sense of cutting off, separating, casting away, an association of ideas we shall find again in Sanscrit. We find in the cerebral subfamily, *daṇḍ*, to punish, fine or chastise, *daṇḍa*, a cudgel, staff or sceptre, — afterwards, any trunk, stalk or thing standing; fine, chastisement; as in *dama*, *damathu*, *damana*; assault, subjection, control, restraint, as in *dama*; pride, as in *dambha*; a corner or angle, apparently from the sense of cutting off, separating and so containing which mates it in its root to *dama*, a house, and *dala* to feign or deceive. A number of derivatives from the *daṇḍ* and *daṇḍa* repeat the same sense. We find also *dāḍaka*, a tooth or tusk and *dāḍhā*, a large tooth or tusk. We find in the dental subfamily *danta*, a tooth; also bower, arbour (to cover), screen, shelter; *dān*, to cut or divide, and its derivatives *dānava*, a Titan, *dānu*, a demon, also supposed to mean conquering or destroying, like *damana*, *dadhi*, a garment (to cover). We find in the liquid subfamily, along with *dal*, *day*, to hurt, and in *dāya*, loss, destruction, a part, share or gift. We find in the sibilant subfamily *das*, to destroy, bite, overpower (*dam*); to decay, waste, perish; to cast away (cf. *daṅgh*, to abandon); and its derivatives, notably *dasyu*, an enemy; *daśana*, tooth and *daṣṭa*, bitten; *danś*, to bite, sting; *danśa*, bite, sting, cutting, tearing, tooth, pungency; a limb or joint; *dandaśa*, a tooth; *daṁṣṭrā* and other derivatives varying these senses; *daśā*, a division, or period of time, afterwards a state or condition, age, etc. but we find also *danśana*, *danśa* and *daśana* in the sense of armour; *danśita*, mailed or pro-

tected, — *dantura*, covered, overspread; which bring us back to the sense of covering. The idea of protection once ascertained and traced, we turn back and find it recur in *dagh*, *daṅgh*, in *dānam*, protection (as well as gift), *day*, to protect, have pity, with its derivatives. The sense of giving which we find in *dayā* and can trace to the idea of cutting up, distribution or casting away, abandoning, handing over, but it can be shown to result really from the former; we get in *dā*, to give, *dānam*, a gift and many other derivatives; *dakṣiṇā*, a gift; in *dad* and *dadh*, to give, *dasma*, a sacrificer, and in *day*, to grant, divide, allot. We have, in addition, *dah*, to torment, grieve, burn; and its derivatives in the same sense; *dahara*, small, fine, young (cf. *dabhra*), a mouse or rat (the former), *dahra*, small, fine, thin, a fire. Lastly we have proven the previous existence of an obsolete root *da*, the adjective *da* in the sense of giving, destroying, cutting off, the noun *da* a gift or donation and the feminine *dā* in the sense of heat (*dah*) and of repentance (*dolor*). The evidence is almost of an oppressive inclusiveness. It is a family of words which bear the same or kindred meanings and seem all to go back to the root-meaning, to divide, usually with some idea of completeness, force or even violence.

There are, we must note, a certain number of significances which do not at once trace themselves to or apparently connect themselves with the original sense. Some of these can on a moment's reflection be so traced and evidence of the particular association of meaning on which we have to proceed, can be found in other root-families. Thus we have *daśā* in the sense of mind, or understanding, *dakṣ*, to be competent or able; *dakṣa* and *dakṣiṇa*, expert, able, fit; which connect themselves with the Latin *doceo*, to teach, the Greek *dokeō*, I think, seem and *doxa*, opinion, idea, judgment; but the sense here is evidently that of discrimination or analysis as in the Sanscrit roots *ci* and *cit*, *cetas* mind, *citta*, etc.; and this brings us back to the idea of division and distribution. We may compare *dambh*, to arrange and so collect and *ci* bearing the same sense as well as to heap up, increase which we find again in *dakṣ*, to grow, increase (cf. *dānam*, addition). There are other common senses, mostly connected with the idea of moving or of shining, *daṅś*, to shine

(also to speak?); *dakam*, water (to flow), *dakṣ*, to go or move; *dagh*, to go, leap, flow, attain; *dānu*, a fluid or drop; *dabh*, to go, push, impel; *dabhram*, the ocean (to flow); *das*, to shine, *dasma*, beautiful (bright, shining). These dissociated meanings are very few in number and rare in occurrence. Such as they are they occur in different parts of the family, guttural, labial, dental and sibilant, and their presence and distribution proves yet more powerfully the now apparent and established truth that all Sanscrit words having for their basis the sound *da* are of one family, go back to the simple sound *da* as their simple root of being and derive from it all their varying senses. We have to add this important fact, important for the particular root family and as we shall see for the whole theory, but not affecting our general conclusion, that we must seek in the original mind-impression of the sound *da* some force of Guna which gives rise directly to the idea of dividing with force or completeness and also can enter into ideas of motion and shining.

But we have not yet finished with this sound *da*. For just as the derived sound *dal* had its congeners, sounds kindred to it in form, so has the simple sound *da* other simple sounds by its side which are kindred to it in forms and ought therefore to be congeners. These sounds are *dā*, *di*, *dī*, *du*, *dū*, *dṛ*, *dṝ*. The vowel sounds *e* and *o*, *ai* and *au* are in Sanscrit merely modifications of *i* and *u*, so that these seven roots with the lost root *da* form the whole original family of simple sounds depending on and having for their common base and element, the consonant sound *d*. If these roots are found to be one original family, we have gained another step and come yet nearer to the foundations of speech. My third step in the hypothesis is to accept this supposition and to lay down the rule that all simple roots, formed in sound by the accretion of a vowel to the consonant sound *d* are one family having the Guna of that sound as their seed of meaning, just as they themselves are separately the seed of meaning to their own descendants. We get therefore a seed-sound in addition to the primitive root-sound and their descendants the secondary and tertiary root-sounds.

Let us see how this hypothesis fares, when confronted with the facts of the Sanscrit language. We have seen in passing that

da and *dā* are the same root, one a short form, the other the long form. *Dā* has the same sense as *da*, *dāś*, like *daś*, means to hurt, kill, it means also to give. There are no senses of the *dā* root which are not shared by or traceable to the *da* root. We must therefore proceed to the other vowels as forming three and not six classes of roots; we may treat in the absence of any opposing facts *dī* as a lengthening of *di*, *dū* of *du*, *dṝ* of *dṛ*. From the *da* family I have omitted the words which have for their bases the syllables *dar* and *dār*, yet these words are of great interest. For we find *dara*, the sense of tearing, rending; and also, like *dabhra* and *dahara*, of little, small. This sense of tearing, breaking, hurting we get again in *daraṇam*, *daraṇi*, *darita*, *dardara*, *darma*, *darva* (injury, mischievous person, goblin, as in *dānu*), in *dāra*, a rent, hole, ploughed field extending itself to *dārāḥ*, a wife, *dāraka* (also a child, infant, young animal, sense belonging also to *dahara*), *dāraṇam*, *dārikā*, *dāri*, *dārī*, *dārita*, *dārin*, *darbha*, the sharp Kusha grass, *dardura*, a district, province; *dāru*, tearing, rending, also a piece of wood, wood or pine tree, and *dāruṇa*, terrible, rough, cruel, frightful, sharp, severe, violent or agonising (of grief and pain), a word of great interest as it shows us how moral senses developed from the physical idea. We find too *dara*, a cave, *daratha* and *darī* (also a valley) in the same sense from the idea of cleft or hole which we have already had in *dāra*, *dāraka*. Again we have the same word *dara* in the sense of a stream, *daraṇi*, an eddy, current, or surf, *daratha*, fleeing, flight, scouring for forage, *dārdura*, water. Connected perhaps with this sense of flight, but really expressing the oppressive troubling feeling of fear we have *dara*, *darad* and *darada*, fear, *daratha*, *darita*, timid, frightened. We have *daridra*, to be poor or needy, with its derivatives connecting the family with the sense of suffering, oppression, distress, wretchedness, burning (cf. *dagdha*, distressed, famished, dry, insipid, wretched, vile, accursed) we find in the *da* family. We have again *dāru* in the sense of liberal, a donor, kind (cf. *dakṣiṇa*, also meaning kind). There are more curious identities. *Darad* means among other senses, heart; now *dahara* and *dahra* also mean the cavity of the heart or the heart itself. *Darad* means also a mound, mountain or precipice; *dardura* likewise means a mountain; but in the *da* family we have also

da, a mountain, *daśana*, the peak of a mountain; *danta*, the peak, side or ridge of a mountain. The identification in sense of this *dar* basis in its stock with the *da* family is complete. Their only senses, not traceable to the common original meanings, which find no parallel in that family, are those which spring from the idea of sound, *dardara*, *dardarīka*, a musical instrument; but we have in the Aryan vernacular the word *ḍamaru*, a kind of drum, which may represent an original Aryan word not preserved in the literary language.

Now the question arises; do all these words belong to the roots *dṛ* and *dṝ*, or are they from an original root *dar*? There can be no doubt as to the answer, nearly all, if not all, are avowedly children of the *dṛ* stock. It follows then that the roots of the *dṛ* family are one race with the roots of the *da* family, cousins perhaps, but members of a joint family who hold the same property in common and use it with a more than socialistic indiscriminateness. *Dṛ* itself means to hurt or kill, *dṝ* means to tear, rend, split, separate, disperse, and to fear; *dṛti*, a skin, hide, or bag; *dṛka*, a hole or opening; *dṛnphū*, a snake, thunderbolt (*dambha*, *dambholi*, *dalmi*), wheel (*dalbha* also means a wheel); the shining or burning sun. *Dṛp* is to inflame, kindle or to pain, torture; *dṛmp* also means to torture, afflict, distress, *dṛbh*, to fear, and *dṛbdham*, fear; finally *dṛś*, to see with all its derivatives. That this sense of seeing which we find also in *dṛp* (*darpaṇa*, a mirror, *darpaṇam*, the eye) comes not from the idea of light in reflection but from the original physical idea of discerning, separating with the eyes, is evident from the fact that *das* also means to see. There are two sets of associations in this word which are of considerable help to us in fixing the exact history of certain developments in this family. The word *dṛp* expresses only violent trembling emotion; it means to be greatly delighted, wild, extravagant, mad or foolish, proud or arrogant (without any of that idea of ostentation attached to *dambha*); *darpa* means pride, insolence, haughtiness, heat, musk (from the strong oppressive scent); *dṛpta* means proud. *Dṛ* again means to care for, mind, desire, and so to worship or respect, — its root-sense is evidently care, anxiety or excitement of love or other favourable feelings. We see more clearly now why words of this root bear the sense

of grief, fear, pain. The mind-impression of the seed-sound carries with it this possibility of expressing any emotion or sensation, which is oppressive, troubling, disintegrating to the peace of the mind. To the pervasive root-idea of strong division, we have to add the idea of oppression tending to division which is thus revealed to our observation.

But *dṛpta* also means strong and this sense is found again in *dṛṁh*, to strengthen, fortify, fasten, be firm, grow or increase; *dṛḍha* is firm, fixed, solid, dense, strong, hard; *dṛḍham* means iron, a fortress or abundance; *dṛbh*, to tie, fasten, arrange, string together; *dṛṣad*, a stone or rock; *dṛh*, to be fixed or fasten, to grow, increase or prosper. We have met some of these meanings in the *da* family. We have found words there which mean a mountain, and these may now be attributed to this root-meaning of firmness, solidity, size and density. We may notice a group of words which we have hitherto omitted; *dāman*, string, thread or rope, a bandage, a girdle, which also means a line or streak (from the idea of cutting); *dāmanī*, a foot-rope, *dāmā*, a string or cord and *dāminī*, lightning, from the idea of shining. We may also note, as it now appears, that the kind of light indicated by this family is only an oppressive or a sharp piercing light as in *dāminī*, *dṛnphū*, *das*, to shine, and the words which mean fire or to burn. I have to suggest that this idea of firmness, solidity, compactness, comes primarily from a sense of close heavy contact, pressing things together into firm cohesion.

What, then, is the result of this detailed examination of the *dṛ* family of roots? Always the same; first, that, whatever their varieties of meaning, there is no sense the words of this household bear which cannot be paralleled from the words of the *da* and *dā* household, do not either explain or get explained by them and, secondly, that these varieties resolve themselves to and derive from a common Guna or mind-impression variously applied.

Again, there are a certain number of compound roots with a base combined of *d* and *r* which it would be as well to examine here as possibly kindred to the *dṛ* roots. We find *drakaṭa*, a kettle-drum, *drāṅkṣ*, to croak; *druṇa*, a scorpion (to sting); *dru*, wood, tree or branch (*dāru*); *druma*, a tree; *druha*, a deep

lake; *drāgh*, beat, torment, to exert oneself, be weary, stretch, also to be able (cf. *dakṣ*, दक्ष), *drākh* to be able, to become dry (*dagdha*; *dal* to wither), to adorn, grace (to shine); *drāḍ*, to split, divide or be pulled to pieces; *drāpa*, mud, mire (which is really a meaning of *dama*, mud, mire), a small shell (*dara* also means a conch-shell); (ग्रम, heat) *drāva*, heat; *druḍ*, to sink or perish; *druṇ*, to hurt, injure, twist, bend; *druṇa*, a scorpion, or rogue; *druṇam*, a sword or bow; *druh*, to hurt, bear malice; *drū*, to hurt or injure; *drū* gold, from the idea of brilliance; *drek*, to sound (originally, a discordant sound as in *drāṅkṣ*), to grow or increase, to be exhilarated (*dṛp*); *droṇa*, a scorpion, a tree, a bucket. We have the idea of desire, wish or longing in *draviṇam*, wish, desire;... We have the idea of solidity or density in *dravya*, substance, material, wealth, strength, *draḍhiman*, tightness, firmness and heaviness in *drākh*, to obstruct. All these form a goodly array of evidences, showing the family-identity of these roots with the *da* and *dṛ* groups.

There are a few isolated meanings whose connection is not so immediately clear, such as *drā* or *drai*, to sleep, *drāṇam*, sleep (cf. *nidrā*); but this is probably connected in sense with *drāgh* to be weary or heavy from exertion, and will then contain the common idea of heaviness or oppression; *drāh*, to wake; *drāpa*, heaven, either from shining or from the idea of covering; and one or two others of the kind. But these may all be traced with a little difficulty to the common significations and are extraordinarily few in number. One would expect in so ancient and long-lived a tongue as Sanscrit a far greater number of meanings which have wandered too far outside or too near to the farthest permissible verges of the country occupied by their race to be easily identifiable or exactly paralleled among their kindred.

Then we have a number of significations resulting from the root-sense of motion which are of some importance to us. They start mainly from the two ideas of running and flowing. *Dru* means to run, flow, rush, attack, melt, ooze or simply by detrition of special force, to go or move. This root also means to hurt and to repent. We have also *druṇ*, to go, move, *drū* in the same sense, *dram*, to go or run about (Gr. *dromos*); *drapsa*, a drop; *dravaḥ*, speed, etc., the noun proper to *dru*, but meaning

also play, *drava*, liquefaction, melting, running, flowing, flight, speed, and *draviṇam*, wealth, amusement (cf. *div*, lake), *dravantī*, a river; *drā*, to run, make haste, fly (the same word which means to sleep), *drutam*, quickly, instantly, *drāgh*, to wander about. We shall find that the idea of motion is common to all Sanscrit root-families but that in each case there are certain special significances kept in the words, where their special form has not suffered detrition, which tend to show that they originally indicated a particular kind of motion. It is possible and probable that swift overcoming forceful motion, "darting, dashing" kindred to the idea of pressure and division, is the proper sense of motion in the roots of this family. It is even possible that the words *drava* and *dravaṇam* from *dru*, distilling, liquefaction by heat, etc., *dakṣ*, to do, go, or act quickly, keep the original force, and treat the other shades of sense under this head, show the gradual force of the influence of detrition, a phenomenon whose study is of as great importance in the history of language as the study of detritions of sound rightly so much insisted on in Comparative Philology.

After such consistent and conclusive results a very cursory examination of the *di* and *du* families might be held sufficient. Nevertheless, in order that the full force of the evidence may be appreciated, I shall devote an equal care to these two households, fortunately not very numerous in their population, as well as to the compound bases, *dy* and *dv*, and the modified forms *de* (*dai*) and *do* (*dau*). We start as in the *dra* roots with *diṇḍi*, a kind of musical instrument, and then come to *dita*, cut, torn, divided; *diti*, cutting, dividing, liberality; *ditya*, a demon (also *daitya*, cf. *dānu*, *dānava*); *dinv*, to gladden, please (*dṛp*); *dimp*, *dimbh*, to accumulate (*dambh*), also to order, direct; *div*, to shine, play, sport (cf. *drava*); squander (from the sense of waste, scatter); to throw, cast; be glad, be sleepy (*drā*, *drai*); be mad or drunk (*dṛp*); to wish; to vex, torment, lament, suffer pain; and two new meanings, to sell and to praise, — the one associated with the idea of giving, delivering, distributing; the other with the idea of love, respect, homage (*dṛ*). Proceeding we find *div*, *diva* and *divan*, heaven, sky (which helps perhaps to solve our former difficulty *drāpa*, though I believe that to be connected with

Vedic *drāpi*, a cloth or robe), *dy* (also *divam*) light, brilliance (the original meaning); *divya*, divine etc.; *deva*, divine, a god, quicksilver, a sense we have also in...a lover; sport, play; *div* to sport, gamble, lament, shine, throw or cast; *devanam* in connected senses, but also meaning praise; motion, beauty, and an affair or business which connects it with *dakṣ* and *dakṣ* perhaps with the Gr. *drassō*, I do[?], *drama*; *dih*, to increase, augment, and to smear, from the idea of rubbing, pressing; *de*, to protect, cherish; *deha*, anointing, body (to....); *dehī*, rampart, wall, to cover or to strengthen; *dai*, to protect, brighten, cleanse, purify; *dī*, to perish, waste; *dīḥ*, decay, ruin; *dīti*, *dīditi*, splendour, lustre; *dīna*, poor (*daridra*), distressed, wretched, sad (*dagdha*), frightened, timid (*dara*, *darita*); *dīp*, to shine and its derivatives; *dīrgha*, long (cf. *drāgh*), *dīrghikā*, a lake, big pond or well. Finally we have *diś*, to give, grant, pay, assign, allot, show, point out, teach, direct or order (cf. *dimp*, above) *dakṣa*, *deśa*, *diśā*, direction, quarter. The last root, identically with Gr. *deiknumi*, at once throws a light on दक्ष, *daśā*, understanding, *dakṣa*, Gr. *doxa*, *dokeō*, Latin *doceo*, I teach. It is the same idea of discernment, discretion or explanation, allotting things to their place, showing, teaching...

(*Incomplete*)

A System of Vedic Psychology

PREFATORY

THE successes of European science have cast the shadow of their authority and prestige over the speculations of European scholarship; for European thought is, in appearance, a serried army marching to world-conquest and we who undergo the yoke of its tyranny, we, who paralysed by that fascination and overborne by that domination, have almost lost the faculty of thinking for ourselves, receive without distinction all its camp followers or irregular volunteers as authorities to whom we must needs submit. We reflect in our second hand opinions the weak parts of European thought equally with the strong; we do not distinguish between those of its ideas which eternal Truth has ratified and those which have merely by their ingenuity and probability captivated for a short season the human imagination. The greater part of the discoveries of European science (its discoveries, not its intellectual generalisations) belong to the first category; the greater part of the conclusions of European scholarship to the second. The best European thought has itself no illusions on this score. One of the greatest of European scholars and foremost of European thinkers, Ernest Renan, after commencing his researches in Comparative Philology with the most golden and extravagant hopes, was compelled at the close of a life of earnest and serious labour to sum up the chief preoccupations of his days in a formula of mesaured disparagement, — "petty conjectural science". In other words, no science at all; for a science built upon conjectures is as much an impossibility and a contradiction in terms as a house built upon water. Renan's own writings bear eloquent testimony to the truth of his final verdict; those which sum up his scholastic research, read much like a mass of learned crudity, even the best of them no longer authoritative or valid; those which express the substance or shade of his life's thinking are of an imperishable beauty and value. The general sentiment of European Science

agrees with the experience of Renan and even shoots beyond it; in the vocabulary of German scientists, the word "philology", "philologist", bears a really disparaging and contemptuous significance and so great is the sense among serious thinkers of the bankruptcy of Comparative Philology that they deny even the possibility of an etymological Science. There is no doubt an element of exaggeration in some of these views; but it is here that Comparative Philology, Comparative Mythology, ethnology, anthropology and their kindred "sciences" are largely a mass of conjectures, — shifting intellectual quagmires in which we can find no sure treading. Only the airy wings of an ingenious imagination can bear us up on that shimmering surface and delude us with the idea that it is the soul which supports our movement and not the wings. There is a meagre but sound substratum of truth which will disengage itself some day from the conjectural rubbish; but the present stage of these conjectural sciences is no better but so far worse than the state of European chemistry in the days of Paracelsus. But we in India are under the spell of European philology; we are taken in by its ingenuity, audacity and self-confidence, an ingenuity which is capable of giving a plausibility to the absurd and an appearance of body to the unsubstantial, an audacity which does not hesitate to erect the most imposing theories on a few legs of disconnected facts, a confidence which even the constant change of its own opinions cannot disconcert. Moreover, our natural disposition is to the intellectuality of the scholar (Pandit): verbal ingenuity, recondite explanations, far-fetched glosses have by far a weight with us which the discontinuity of our old scientific activities and disciplined experimental methods of reaching subjective truth has exaggerated and our excessive addiction to mere verbal metaphysics strongly confirmed. It is not surprising that educated India should have tacitly or expressly accepted even in subjects of such supreme importance to us as the real significance of the Vedas and Upanishads the half patronising and half contemptuous views of the European scholar.

What are those views? They represent the Veda to us as a mass of naturalistic, ritualistic and astrological conceits, allegories and metaphors, crude and savage in the substance of its

thought but more artificial and ingenious in its particular ideas and fancies than the most artificial, allegorical or Alexandrine poetry to be found in the world's literature, — a strange incoherent and gaudy jumble unparalleled by the early literature of any other nation, — the result of a queer psychological meeting of an early savage with a modern astronomer and comparative mythologist.

Is there or can there be a system of Vedic psychology? To us who are dominated today by the prestige of European thought and scholarship, the Vedas are a document of primitive barbarism, the ancient Vedanta a mass of sublime but indisciplined speculations. We may admit the existence of many deep psychological intuitions in the Upanishads; we do not easily allow to an age which we have been taught to regard as great but primitive and undeveloped the possibility of a profound and reasoned system in a subject in which Europe with all her modern scientific knowledge has been unable to develop a real science. I believe that this current view of those Vedic forefathers is entirely erroneous and arises from our application to them of a false system of psychological and intellectual values. Europe has formed certain views about the Veda and the Vedanta, and succeeded in imposing them on the Indian intellect. The ease with which this subjugation has been effected is not surprising; for the mere mass of labour of Vedic scholarship has been imposing, its ingenuity of philological speculation is well calculated to dazzle the uncritical mind and the audacity and self-confidence with which it constructs its theories conceals the conjectural uncertainty of their foundations. When a hundred world-famous scholars cry out, "This is so", it is hard indeed for the average mind, and even minds above the average but inexpert in these special subjects not to acquiesce. Nor has there been any corresponding labour of scholarship, diligence and sound enquiry which could confront the brilliant and hazardous generalisations of modern Sanskrit scholarship with the results of a more perfect system and a more penetrating vision. The only attempt in that direction, — the attempt of Swami Dayananda, — has not been of a kind to generate confidence in the dispassionate judgment of posterity which must be the final arbiter of these disputes; for not only was

that great Pandit and vigorous disputant unequipped with the wide linguistic and philological scholarship necessary for his work, but his method was rapid, impatient, polemical, subservient to certain fixed religious ideas rather than executed in the calm, disinterested freedom of the careful and impartial thinker and scholar. Judgment has focussed on the Veda and Vedanta by default in favour of the scholastic criticism of Europe which has alone been represented in the court of modern opinion.

Nevertheless a time must come when the Indian mind will shake off the darkness that has fallen upon it, cease to think or hold opinions at second and third hand and reassert its right to judge and enquire in a perfect freedom into the meaning of its own Scriptures. When that day comes we shall, I think, discover that the imposing fabric of Vedic theory is based upon nothing more sound or true than a foundation of loosely massed conjectures. We shall question many established philological myths, — the legend, for instance, of an Aryan invasion of India from the north, the artificial and inimical [?] distinction of Aryan and Dravidian which an erroneous philology has driven like a wedge into the unity of the homogenous Indo-Afghan race; the strange dogma of a "henotheistic" Vedic naturalism; the ingenious and brilliant extravagances of the modern sun and star myth weavers, and more ... the hasty and attractive generalisation which, after a brief period of unquestioning acceptance by the easily-persuaded intellect of mankind, is bound to depart into the limbo of forgotten theories. We attach an undue importance and value to the ephemeral conclusions of European philology, because it is systematic in its errors and claims to be a science. We forget or do not know that the claims of philology to a scientific value and authority are scouted by European scientists, the very word, philology, is a by-word of scorn or pseudo-scientific cant. Beyond one or two generalisations of the mutations followed by words in their progress through the various Aryan languages and a certain number of grammatical rectifications and rearrangements, resulting in a more or less arbitrary view of linguistic..., modern philology has discovered no really binding law or rule for its own guidance. It has fixed one or two sure sign-posts; — the rest is speculation and conjecture. We are not, therefore,

bound to worship at the shrine of Comparative Science and Comparative Mythology and offer up on these dubious [?] altars the Veda and Vedanta. The question of Vedic lore [?] and the meaning of Veda still lies open. If Sayana's interpretation of Vedic texts is largely conjectural and likely often to be mistaken and unsound, the European interpretation can make claim to no better certainty. The more lively ingenuity and imposing orderliness of the European method of conjecture may be admitted; but ingenuity and orderliness though good help to an enquiry are in themselves no guarantee of truth and a conjecture does not cease to be a conjecture because it is laboriously justified or brilliantly supported. It is on the basis of a purely conjectural translation of the Vedas that Europe presents us with these brilliant pictures of Vedic religion, Vedic society, Vedic civilisation which we so eagerly accept and unquestioningly reproduce. For we take them as the form of an unquestionable truth, in reality they are no more than brilliantly coloured hypotheses, — works of imagination, not drawings from the life.

When the ancient thinkers of India set themselves to study the soul of man in themselves and others, they, unlike any other nation or school of early thought, proceeded at once.... Their object was to study and arrange and utilise the forms, forces and working movements of consciousness, just as the modern physical sciences study, arrange and utilise the forms, forces and working movements of objective Matter. The material with which they had to deal was more subtle, flexible and variable than the most impalpable forces of what the physical sciences have become aware; its motions were more elusive, its processes harder to fix but once grasped and ascertained, the movements of consciousness were found by Vedic psychologists to be in their process and activity as regular, manageable and utilisable as the movements of physical forces. The power of the soul can be as perfectly handled and as safely, methodically and puissantly directed to practical life-purposes of say, power and light as the modern power of electricity can be used for human comfort, industrial and locomotive power and physical illumination; but the results to which they give room and effect are more wonderful and momentous than the results of motor-power and electric luminosity. For

there is no difference of essential law in the physical and the psychical but only a difference and undoubtedly a great difference of energy, instrumentation and exact process. For, the Supreme Existence which expresses itself equally in soul and matter moves on one fundamental principle on all its seven-fold levels and even one set of medial processes; but it varies their minute arrangement and organic functioning to suit the material which it is using and the objective which it has set before Itself in Its divine movement.

Exact observation and untrammelled yet scrupulous experiment are the method of every true science. Not mere observation by itself, — for observation without experiment, without analysis and new combination leads to a limited and erroneous knowledge; often it generates an empirical classification which does not in the least deserve the name of science. The old European system of psychology was just such a pseudo-scientific system. Its observations were superficial, its terms and classification arbitrary, its aim and spirit abstract, empty and scholastic. In modern times a different system and method are being founded; but the vices of the old system persist. The observations made have been incoherent, partial or morbid and abnormal; the generalisations are far too wide for their meagre substratum of observed data; the abstract, and scholastic use of psychological terms and the old metaphysical ideas of psychological processes still bandage the eyes of the infant knowledge, mar its truth and hamper its progress. These old errors are strangely entwined with a new fallacy which threatens to vitiate the whole enquiry, — the fallacy of the materialistic prepossession.

(*Incomplete*)

SUPPLEMENT TO

VOLUME 11

HYMNS TO THE MYSTIC FIRE

1. The following two versions of Hymns to Agni — Mandala 1 Sukta 74 — were found in Sri Aurobindo's manuscripts, one a translation and the other an interpretative paraphrase.

2. Among Sri Aurobindo's Notes on Vedic Hymns was found this valuable exercise of a translation of a Hymn according to Sayana followed by a rendering of his own.

A HYMN TO AGNI

MANDALA I, SUKTA 74

उपप्रयन्तो अध्वरं मन्त्रं वोचेमाग्नये ।
आरे अस्मे च शृण्वते ॥१॥

1. As we move forward to the path of the sacrifice[1] let us speak out the word of our thought to Agni who hears us from afar and from within.

यः स्नीहितीषु पूर्व्यः संजग्मानासु कृष्टिषु ।
अरक्षद् दाशुषे गयम् ॥२॥

2. He who supreme (ancient, first) in the worlds of our action that pour forth the clarity meeting together (or, when our labours that drip their fruit combine together), protects for the giver his offering (or movement).

उत ब्रुवन्तु जन्तव उदग्निर्वृत्रहाजनि ।
धनंजयो रणेरणे ॥३॥

3. Yea, let *all* creatures born (be able to) say, "Up Agni comes into being, slayer of Vritras, conqueror of our wealth in battle after battle."

यस्य दूतो असि क्षये वेषि हव्यानि वीतये ।
दस्मत् कृणोष्यध्वरम् ॥४॥

4. He whose messenger thou art, to his house thou takest his offerings on thy journey; (or takest his offering on thy journey to be eaten *by the gods* or comest to the offering); thou makest effective his path of sacrifice.

तमित् सुहव्यमङ्गिरः सुदेवं सहसो यहो ।
जना आहुः सुबर्हिषम् ॥५॥

[1] *Alternative reading:* pilgrim

5. Him men call the man blessed[1] in his offering, blessed[1] in his godhead, blessed[1] in his base of sacrifice, O Angiras, O Son of Force.

आ च वहासि तां इह देवां उप प्रशस्तये।
हव्या सुश्चन्द्र वीतये ॥६॥

6. Thou bringest both those gods here that we may express them and bearest, O rich in delight, the offerings on their journey (or, to be expressed and to eat the offerings).

न घोष्यद्विरण्वः शुष्मे रवस्य कच्चन।
यदग्ने यासि दूत्यम् ॥७॥

7. No tramp is heard of the horses of thy chariot in its going when thou goest on thy embassy, O Agni.

त्वोतो वाज्यह्वोऽभि पूर्वस्मादपरः।
प्र दाश्वां अग्ने अस्थात् ॥८॥

8. By thee fostered the horse of life goes undeviating each one after that which preceded it and the giver of sacrifices progresses, O Agni.

उत शुष्मं तुवीर्यं बृहदग्ने विवाससि।
देवेभ्यो देव दाशुषे ॥९॥

9. Yea, and thou lodgest throughout *his being* for the giver and his gods, O God, Agni, vast and luminous completeness of energy.

[1] *Alternative reading:* complete

The Hymn is a hymn of the Adhwara Yajna, the Sacrifice of the Path. Agni, the Divine Will-Force or Power of Consciousness, is the deity.

1. The Gotamas, illumined minds, are to proceed to the path of the sacrifice; let them then give voice to the thought in them which is to be the governing word of their progress for the Divine Will-Force to use; that Force hears the word and responds whether as the deity realised within or as the deity of the universe seated in the highest and most distant worlds.

2. The Divine Will-Force is the first and supreme among divine powers; it protects our movement in the sacrifice from plane to plane and all the planes of our being on which the Work proceeds come together in a conscious harmony and stream forth their reaction in response to our giving.

3. Let this Divine Force manifest itself so that all shall say, "It is born and comes on high, slaying all the hostile powers that obstruct our progress and winning wealth on new wealth for the soul in battle after battle."

4. These results are attained, because the Divine Will-Force becomes a compelling envoy who carries our offerings in their journey to the goal which is our home and the home of the gods, the divine plane of the Truth, thus it makes the sacrifice of the path effective; the worlds meet together and drop their riches under the compulsion of the all-creative, all-manifesting Truth of Surya Savitri.

5. The man then becomes perfect in his sacrifice; the offering is effective, the godheads are completely manifested, the base of sacrifice in the soul includes all the various planes of our being. The Divine Force, the Angiras, the puissance of Seer Will and the Son of Strength overpowering the Panis and Vritras, effects this completeness.

6. He is the envoy and effects the great commerce between earth and heaven, bringing the gods down from the higher planes so that they may be manifested in man in the terrestrial, and taking our offerings, the fruits of our terrestrial life upwards to be divinised, transformed into the divine essence, eaten, in the Vedic image, by the gods. That transformation is effected in the perfect bliss of the Divine Will-Force.

7-8. This great going and coming is effected in a silent spiritual rapidity; there is no rumour or clamour at all of the trampling hooves of the Vital Forces in their swiftness; but the chariot of the movement gallops swiftly.

9. Finally, the Divine Will-Force lodges in all our being for the benefit of the soul itself and of the gods who work in him, a complete and utter heroic energy, vast with the vastness of the Truth and luminous with its light.

A HYMN TO AGNI

MANDALA IV, SUKTA 6

ऊर्ध्व ऊ षु णो अध्वरस्य होतरग्ने तिष्ठ देवताता यजीयान् ।
त्वं हि विश्वमभ्यसि मन्म प्र बाहुभिर्धिषे तिरसि मनीषाम् ॥१॥

1. SAYANA: High, very high for us stand, O summoner (or, performer of offering), O Agni, a great sacrificer in the sacrifice (in which the gods are extended).

SRI AUROBINDO: High, yea, very high, stand, O Flame, O offering priest of the journeying sacrifice, be very mighty for sacrifice in the forming of the gods. For thou comest over every thought and thou carriest on its way the thinking mind of the orderer of the work.

अमूरो होता न्यसादि विक्ष्वग्निर्मन्द्रो विदथेषु प्रचेताः ।
ऊर्ध्वं भानुं सवितेवाश्रेन्मेतेव धूमं स्तभायदुप द्याम् ॥२॥

2. SAYANA: The intelligent offering priest, the enrapturing Agni of great knowledge is settled among the peoples (the priests) in (for) the sacrifices; he resorts upward to his lustre like the sun; like a pillar he supports his smoke above the heaven.

SRI AUROBINDO: The offering priest inspired of mind has taken his seat in the peoples, Agni, the rapturous, the wise thinker in the gettings of knowledge; he has risen high into light like the all-creating sun; like a pillar he holds up his smoke against the heavens.
(The joy, wisdom, knowledge of Agni in men's gettings of knowledge, he is a high creator of knowledge like the sun; he supports the heavens with his smoke.)

यता सुजूर्णी रातिनी घृताची प्रदक्षिणिद् देवतातिमुराणः ।
उदु स्वरुर्नयजा नाक्षः पश्वो अनक्ति सुधितः सुमेकः ॥३॥

3. SAYANA: The ghee-giving flame (or ladle?) controlled and very swift (or very old) is wealthy (i.e. full of ghee); he (Agni or the Adhvaryu) becomes or goes (round from left) to right, widening the sacrifice; and also the new-born post becomes high; approaching, very bright, the axe (?) goes to the animals (or the post excellent etc. and well placed goes to the animals).

SRI AUROBINDO: The clear-shining flame of him is reined and swift and opulent (or, delightful), he on his right hand circling widens the extension of the gods; high like a post of sacrifice, new-born, moving, firm on his base and bright he brings the (seeing) herds.

स्तीर्णे बर्हिषि समिधाने अग्ना ऊर्ध्वो अध्वर्युर्जुषाणो अस्थात् ।
पर्यग्निः पशुपा न होता त्रिविष्टयेति प्रविद्वाँ उराणः ॥४॥

4.* SRI AUROBINDO: The altar spread, the fire kindled, the leader of sacrifice pleasing the gods stands high; the offering priest ancient, greatening (the offering), goes like a herdsman thrice round (the cattle).

परि त्मना मितद्रुरेति होताऽग्निर्मन्द्रो मधुवचा ऋतावा ।
द्रवन्त्यस्य वाजिनो न शोका भयन्ते विश्वा भुवना यदभ्राट् ॥५॥

5. SAYANA: Limited in motion he goes round himself (in his own form), the offerer Agni enrapturing, sweet-voiced, having sacrifice; his lustres run forded (or like horses); all beings fear when he blazes.

SRI AUROBINDO: He encompasses with himself in his measured motion, the Flame, the offering priest, rapturous, honey-worded, master of truth; his lustres run like horses; all the worlds are in awe when he blazes forth.

भद्रा ते अग्ने स्वनीक संदृग् घोरस्य सतो विषुणस्य चारुः ।
न यत् ते शोचिस्तमसा वरन्त न ध्वस्मानस्तन्वी रेप आ धुः ॥६॥

* Sayana's interpretation not found in the MS.

6. SAYANA: O fair-flaming Agni, the delightful, praisable (or auspicious) image of thee terrible, pervading on every side, is full-seen, because they (the nights) do not stop thee with darkness nor the destroyers put (create) sin in thy body.

SRI AUROBINDO: O Thou Flame of great force (or, fire of force), though thou art terrible as thou goest abroad over the regions, happy and beautiful is the vision of thee; for the nights envelop thee not with darkness nor have the destroyers cast sin into thy body.

न यस्य सातुर्जनितोरवारि न मातरा पितरा नू चिदिष्टौ।
अधा मित्रो न सुधितः पावकोऽग्निर्दीदाय मानुषीषु विक्षु ॥७॥

7. SAYANA: Of whom, father (of rain), his giving (or, lustre) is not stopped (by anybody); and in whose sending the father and mother (heaven and earth) do not quickly prevail, the purifier like a well-pleased friend shines among the peoples of Manu.

SRI AUROBINDO: The gettings of this begetter of things (or, the light of this begetter and getter of things) cannot be shut in, nor the Father and Mother when he urges. Then shines the purifying flame as the friend, well-based, in the human peoples.

द्विर्यं पञ्च जीजनन् त्संवसानाः स्वसारो अग्निं मानुषीषु विक्षु।
उषर्बुधमथर्यो न दन्तं शुक्रं स्वासं परशुं न तिग्मम् ॥८॥

8. SAYANA: Whom the ten sisters coming together (the fingers), bore, Agni, among the peoples of Manu, like women, waker at dawn, the eater (of offerings), bright, fair-faced, like a sharp axe (killing the Rakshasas).

SRI AUROBINDO: Twice five sisters who dwell together gave birth to this flame in the human peoples; they like women (?) gave birth to the brighter eater who awakes with dawn, whose face is beautiful; he is like a keen axe.

तव त्ये अग्ने हरितो घृतस्नो रोहितास ऋज्वञ्चः स्वञ्चः।
अरुषासो वृषण ऋतुमुक्षा आ देवतातिमह्वन्त दस्माः ॥९॥

9. SAYANA: These horses of thine, Agni, streaming water, red, straight-moving, well-going, shining young (or, rainers well-formed and beautiful) are called to the sacrifice.

SRI AUROBINDO: These bright steeds of thine, O Flame, who stream clear brightness (ghrita), and are red and straight and fair of motion, shining potent stallions, are called in their power to the extending of the godheads.

ये ह त्ये ते सहमाना अयासस्त्वेषासो अग्ने अर्चयश्चरन्ति।
श्वेनासो न सुवसनासो अर्वा तुविष्वणसो मारुतं न शर्धः ॥१०॥

10. SAYANA: Those rays of thine, overcoming, moving, bright, to be served, go like horses to their goal; they are great-sounding like the Maruts' host.

SRI AUROBINDO: Those illuminings of thee, O Flame, they overpower, they travel, they are keen in brightness, they are active, they move like eagles to the goal, they are many-voiced like the host of the Life-gods.

अकारि ब्रह्म समिधान तुभ्यं शंसात्युक्थं यजते व्यू धाः।
होतारमग्निं मनुषो नि षेदुर्नमस्यन्त उशिजः शंसमायोः ॥११॥

11. SAYANA: O thou who art being kindled, for thee the praise is made; one (the Hota) speaks the praise, one (the Yajamana) sacrifices; give (wealth). Men desiring (wealth) serve worshipping Agni, the caller of the gods, speakable (praisable) of man.

SRI AUROBINDO: The soul-thought is formed, O kindling Flame, for thee; for thee one speaks the word and sacrifices; ordain. Men, the desirers, take refuge in the flame, the priest of sacrifice, with obeisance to the expresser of the human being.

SUPPLEMENT TO

VOLUME 12

THE UPANISHADS

Sri Aurobindo wrote a number of commentaries on Isha Upanishad from different points of view at different times. Of the three included here the last two were left incomplete and the first begins only with Part II which itself is unfinished.

The first and second commentaries seem to belong to Sri Aurobindo's Baroda Period and the third to the early Pondicherry Period.

This supplement is additional to the one already included in Volume 12.

"THE KARMAYOGIN"

A COMMENTARY ON THE ISHA UPANISHAD

PART II

KARMAYOGA: THE IDEAL

CHAPTER IV

The Eternal in His Universe

अनेजदेकं मनसो जवीयो नैतद्देवा आप्नुवन्पूर्वमर्षत्
तद् धावतोऽन्यानत्येति तिष्ठत्तस्मिन्नपो मातरिश्वा दधाति ॥

Isha Upanishad, 4.

I. ETERNAL TRUTH THE BASIS OF ETHICS

"There is the One and It moveth not, yet is It swifter than thought, the Gods could not overtake It as It moved in front. While It standeth still, It outstrippeth others as they run. In It Matariswan ordereth the waters."

I. THE ROOT OF ETHICAL IDEALS

EVERYTHING that has phenomenal existence, takes its stand on the Eternal and has reality only as a reflection in the pure mirror of His infinite existence. This is no less true of the affections of mind and heart and the formations of thought than of the affections of matter and the formations of the physical ether-stuff out of which this material Universe is made. Every ethical ideal and every religious ideal must therefore depend for its truth and permanence on its philosophical foundation; in other words, on the closeness of its fundamental idea to the ultimate truth of the Eternal. If the ideal implies a reading of the Eternal which is only distantly true and confuses Him with His physical or psychical manifestations in this world, then it is a relatively false and impermanent ideal. Of all the ancient nations the Hindus, for this reason only, attained to the highest idea and noblest practice of morality. The Greeks confused the Eternal with His physical manifestations and realised Him in them on the side of Beauty; beauty therefore was their only law of morality which governed their

civilisation. Ethics in their eyes was a matter of taste, balance and proportion; it hinged on the avoidance of excess in any direction, of excessive virtue no less than of excessive vice. The fine development of personality under the inspiration of music and through the graceful play of intellect was the essential characteristic of their education; justice, in the sense of a fine balance between one's obligations to oneself and one's obligations to others, the ideal of their polity; decorum, the basis of their public morality; the sense of proportion the one law of restraint in their private ethics. Their idea of deity was confined to the beautiful and brilliant rabble of their Olympus. Hence the charm and versatility of Greek civilisation; hence also its impermanence as a separate culture. The Romans also confused the Eternal with His manifestations in physical nature, but they read Him on the side not of beauty but of force governed by law; the stern and orderly restraint which governs the Universe, was the feature in Nature's economy which ruled their thought. Jupiter was to them the Governor and great Legislator whose decrees were binding on all; the very meaning of the word religion which they have left to the European world was "binding back" and indicated as the essence of religion restraint and tying down to things fixed and decreed. Their ethics were full of a lofty strength and sternness. Discipline stood as the keystone of their system; discipline of actions created an inelastic faithfulness to domestic and public duties; discipline of the animal impulses an orderly courage and a cold, hard purity; discipline of the mind a conservative practical type of intellect very favourable to the creation of a powerful and well-ordered State but not to the development of a many-sided civilisation. Their type too, though more long-lived than the Greek, could not last, because of the imperfection of the ideal on which it was based. Beauty is not the ultimate Truth of the Eternal but only a partial manifestation of Him in phenomena which is externalised for our enjoyment and possession but not set before us as our standard or aim, and the soul which makes beauty its only end is soon cloyed and sated and fails for want of nourishment and of the growth which is impossible without an ever-widening and progressive activity. Power and Law are not the ultimate Truth of the Eternal but

manifestations of Himself in phenomena which are set within us to develop and around us to condition our works, but this also is not set before us as our standard or aim. The soul which follows Power as its whole end must in the long run lose measure and perish from hardness and egoism and that which sees nothing but Law wither for dryness or fossilise from the cessation of individual expansion. The Chinese seem to have envisaged the Eternal in a higher aspect than these Mediterranean races; they found Him not in the manifested physical Universe itself, but in its origination and arrangement out of the primal materials from which it arose. Heaven, Akasha or the Eternal in the element of Ether, creates in the womb of Earth or formal Matter which is the final element developed out of Ether, this arranged and orderly Universe; — He is therefore the Father, Originator, Disposer and Arranger. Veneration for parents and those who stand in the place of parents became the governing idea of their ethics; orderly disposition, the nice care of ceremony, manners, duties, the law of their daily life; origination and organisation the main characteristics of their intellectual activity. The permanence and unconquerable vitality of their civilisation is due to their having seized on an interpretation of the Eternal which, though not His ultimate truth to humanity, is at least close to that truth and a large aspect of it. It is really Himself in his relation to the Universe but not the whole of Himself. But the ancient Aryans of India raised the veil completely and saw Him as the universal Transcendent Self of all things who is at the same time the particular present Self in each. They reached His singleness aloof from phenomena, they saw Him in every one of His million manifestations in phenomena, God in Himself, God in man, God in Nature were the "ideas" which their life expressed. Their civilisation was therefore more many-sided and complete and their ethical and intellectual ideals more perfect and permanent than those of any other nation. They had in full measure the sense of filial duty, the careful regulation of ceremony, manners and duties, the characteristics of origination and organisation which distinguished the Chinese. They had in full measure the Roman discipline, courage, purity, faithfulness to duty, careful conservatism; but these elements of character and culture which

in the Roman were hard, cold, narrow and without any touch of the spirit in man or the sense of his divine individuality, the. Hindus warmed and softened with emotional and spiritual meaning and made broad and elastic by accepting the supreme importance of the soul's individual life as overriding and governing the firm organisation of morals and society. They were not purely devoted to the worship and culture of beauty like the Greeks and their art was not perfect, yet they had the sense of beauty and art in a greater degree than any other ancient people; unlike the Greeks they had a perfect sense of spiritual beauty and were therefore able to realise the delight and glory of Nature hundreds of years before the sense of it developed in Europe. On the ethical side they had a finer justice than the Greeks, a more noble public decorum, a keener sense of ethical and social balance, but they would not limit the infinite capacities of the soul; they gave play therefore to personal individuality but restrained and ordered its merely lawless ebullitions by the law of the type (caste). In addition to these various elements which they shared with one civilisation or another, they possessed a higher spiritual ideal, which governed and overrode the mere ethics (*mores* or customary morality) which the other nations had developed. Humanity, pity, chivalry, unselfishness, philanthropy, love of and self-sacrifice for all living things, the sense of the divinity in man, the Christian virtues, the modern virtues were fully developed in India at a time when in all the rest of the world they were either non-existent or existent only in the most feeble beginnings. And they were developed because the Aryan Rishis had been able to discover the truth of the Eternal and give to the nation the vision of the Eternal in all things and the feeling of His presence in themselves and in all around them.

CHAPTER I

Brahman

THE first four verses of the Upanishad have given the general principle of Karmayoga; the next four provide its philosophical justification and of these four the first two express in a few phrases the Vedantic philosophy of God and Cosmos as a necessary preliminary to any formation of a true and permanent ethical ideal.

The close dependence of ethical ideals on the fundamental philosophy of the Eternal and Real to which they go back is a law which the ancient Yogins had well understood. Therefore the Upanishad when it has to set forth an ethical rule or ethical ideal or intellectual attitude towards life, takes care to preface it with that aspect of the Eternal Reality on which its value and truth depend. The first principles of Karmayoga arise from the realisation of the Eternal as a great and divine Presence which pervades and surrounds all things, so that it is impossible to direct one's thought, speech or actions to a thing or person without directing them to Him. With the declaration of the Eternal as the Universal and Omnipresent Lord the Upanishad must, therefore begin. Now it is about to take a step farther and set forth the ideal of the Karmayogin and the consummation of his Yoga. It preludes the new train of thought by identifying Isha the Lord with Parabrahman the Eternal and Transcendent Reality. Not only does He surround and sustain as the supreme Will by which and in which alone all things exist, but He is really the immutable and secret Self in all things which is ultimately Parabrahman. This Isha whose Energy vibrates through the worlds, is really the motionless and ineffable Tranquillity towards which the Yogins and the sages strive.

"There is One and It unmoving is swifter than thought; the gods could not reach It moving in front; standing still, It passes others as they run; 'tis in this that Matariswan setteth the waters.

It moves, It moveth not; It is far, the same It is near; It is within every one, the same It is also outside every one."

—There is only One existence, one Reality in apparent multiplicity. The unimaginable Presence which is manifest in the infinite variety of the Universe, is alone and alone Is. The variety of things is in fact merely the variety of forms which the play or energy of the Will only seems, by its rapidity of motion, to create; so when the blades of an electric fan go whirling with full velocity, round and round, there seem to be not four blades or two, but a whole score; so also, when Shiva in His mood begins His wild dance and tosses His arms abroad, He seems to have not two arms but a million. It is the motion of the play of Will, it is the velocity of His Energy vibrating on the surface of His own existence which seems to create multiplicity. All creation is motion, all activity is motion. All this apparently stable universe is really in a state of multifold motion; everything is whirling with inconceivable rapidity in its own orbit, and even thought which is the swiftest thing we know, cannot keep pace with the velocity of the cosmic stir. And all this motion, all this ever-evolving cosmos and universe is Brahman the Eternal. The Gods in their swiftest movements, the lords of the mind and senses cannot reach Him, for He rushes far in front. The eye, the ear, the mind, nothing material can reach or conceive the inconceivable creative activity of this Will which is Brahman. We try to follow Him pouring as light through the solar system and lo! while you are striving He is whirling universes into being far beyond reach of eye or telescope, far beyond the farthest flights of thought itself. तन्मनसो जवीयो. Material senses quail before the thought of the wondrous stir and stupendous unimaginable activity that the existence of the Universe implies. And yet all the time He does not really move. All the time He who outstrips all others, is not running but standing. It is the others, the forms and things His energy has evolved, who are running and because He outstrips them, they think that He too moves. While we are toiling after Him, He is all the time here, at our side, before us, behind us, with us, in us, His presence pervading us like the ether, clothing us like a garment. "Standing still, He outstrips others as they

run." It is our mind and senses that are running, and all this universal motion is the result of the Avidya to which they are subject; for Avidya by persuading us to imagine ourselves limited, creates the conditions of Time, Space and Causality and confines us in them as in a prisoning wall beyond which our thoughts cannot escape. Brahman in all his creative activity is really standing still in His own being outside and inside Time and Space. He is at the same time in the Sun and here, because neither here nor the Sun are outside Himself; He has not therefore to move any more than a man has to move in order to pass from one thought to another. But we in order to realise His creative activity have to follow Him from the Sun to the Earth and from the Earth to the Sun; and this motion of our limited consciousness, this sensitory impression of a space covered and a time spent, we cannot dissociate from Brahman and must needs attribute the limitations of our own thought to Him; just as a man in a railway train has a sensitory impression that everything is rushing past him and the train is still. The stir of the Cosmos is really the stir of our own minds, and yet even that is a mere phenomenon. What we call mind is simply one play of the Will sporting with the idea of multiplicity which is, in form, the idea of motion. The Purusha, the Real Man in us and in the world, is really unmoving; He is the motionless and silent spectator of a drama of which He himself is the stage, the theatre, the scenery, the actors and the acting. He is the poet Shakespeare watching Desdemona and Othello, Hamlet and the murderous Uncle, Rosalind and Jacques and Viola, and all the other hundred multiplicities of himself acting and talking and rejoicing and suffering, all himself and yet not himself, who sits there a silent witness, their Creator who has no part in their actions, and yet without Him not one of them could exist. This is the mystery of the world and its paradox and yet its plain and easy truth.

But what really is this Will which as Purusha watches the motion and the drama and as Prakriti is the motion and the drama? It is the One motionless, unconditioned, inexpressible Parabrahman of whom, being beyond mark and feature, the Upanishad speaks always as It, while of Isha, the Lord, it speaks as He; for Isha as Purusha is the male or spiritual presence which

generates forms in Prakriti, the female or material Energy. The spiritual entity does not work, but merely is and has a result; it is the material Energy, the manifestation of Spirit, which works or ceases from work. Eventually however Spirit and Matter are merely aspects of each other and of something which is behind both; that something is the motionless, actionless It. This which without moving is swifter than thought, is It; this which mind and senses cannot reach, for it moves far in front, is It; this which stands still and yet outstrips others as they run, is It. Will, Energy, Isha, the play of Prakriti for Purusha, are all merely the manifestation of that unmanifested It. What we envisage as the unmanifested Brahman is, in His reality to Himself, the unmanifest Parabrahman. It is only in His reality to us that He is the manifested Brahman. And according as a man comes nearer to the truth of Him or loses himself in Him, so will be his spiritual condition. While we think of Him as Isha, the one in innumerable aspects, the idea of difference remains though it can be subordinated to the idea of Oneness; that is the beginning of Yoga. When we realise Isha as one with Parabrahman, the idea of Oneness has sway and rules; that is the culmination of Yoga. When we realise Parabrahman Itself, that is the cessation of Yoga; for we depart utterly from Oneness and difference and no longer envisage the world of phenomena at all; that is Nirvana.

CHAPTER II

Spiritual Evolution in Brahman

IT IS in this infinitely motionless, yet infinitely moving Brahman that Matariswan or Prana, the great Breath of things, the mighty principle of Life, disposes forms and solidities rescuing them out of the undifferentiated state from which the world arose. To understand these two verses it is necessary to grasp clearly the ideas of creation and evolution which the Upanishads seek to formulate. What in Europe is called creation, the Aryan sages preferred to call *sṛṣṭi*, projection of a part from the whole, the selection, liberation and development of something that is latent and potentially exists. Creation means the bringing into existence of something which does not already exist; *sṛṣṭi* the manifestation of something which is hidden and unmanifest. The action of Prakriti proceeds upon the principle of selection leading naturally to development; she selects the limited out of the unlimited, the particular out of the general, the small portion out of the larger stock. This limited, particular and fractional having by the very nature of limitation a *svabhāva*, an own-being or as it is called in English a nature, which differentiates it from others of its kind, develops under the law of its nature; that is its *svadharma*, its own law and religion of being, and every separate and particular existence whether inanimate thing or animal or man or community or nation must follow and develop itself under the law of its nature and act according to its own *dharma*. It cannot follow a nature or accept a *dharma* alien to itself except on peril of deterioration, decay and death. This nature is determined by the balance in its composition of the three *guṇas* or essential qualities of Prakriti, passivity, activity and equipoise, which reveal themselves under different shapes in the animate as well as the inanimate, in the mind as well as in the body. In matter they appear as passive reception, reaction and retention; in human soul as the brutal animal, the active, creative man and the calm, clear-souled god. It must always be

remembered that Prakriti is no other than Avidya, the great Illusion. She is that impalpable indeterminable source of subtle and gross matter, Matter in the abstract, the idea of difference and duality, the impression of Time, Space and Causality. The limited is limited not in reality, but by walls of Avidya which shut it in and give it an impression of existence separate from that of the illimitable, just as a room is shut off from the rest of the house by walls and has its separate existence and its separate nature, small or large, close or airy, coloured white or coloured blue. Break down the walls and the separate existence and separate nature disappear; the very idea of a room is lost and there is nothing left but the house. The sense of limitation and the consequent impulse towards development and self-enlargement immediately create desire which takes the form of hunger and so of a reaching after other existences for the satisfaction of hunger; and from desire and the contact with other existences there arise the two opposite forces of attraction and repulsion which on the moral plane are called liking and dislike, love and hatred. Thus the necessity of absorbing mental and aesthetic food for the material of one's works; this too is hunger. The instinct of self-enlargement shows itself in the physical craving for the absorption of other existences to strengthen oneself, in the emotional yearning to other beings, in the intellectual eagerness to absorb the minds of others and the aesthetic desire to possess or enjoy the beauty of things and persons, in the spiritual passion of love and beneficence and all other activity which means the drawing of the self of others into one's own self and pouring out of oneself on others. Desire is thus the first principle of things. Under the impulse of attraction and repulsion hunger begins to differentiate itself and develop the various senses in order the better to master its food and to feel and know the other existences which repel or attract it. So out of the primal consciousness of Will dealing with matter is developed form and organism, vitality, receptive mind, discriminating mind, Egoism. Out of this one method of Prakriti, selection, liberation and development, the whole evolution of the phenomenal world arises. Creation therefore is not a making of something where nothing existed, but a selection and new formation out of existing material; not a sudden increase,

but a continual rearrangement and substitution; not an arbitrary manufacture, but an orderly development.

The idea of creation as a selection and development from pre-existing material which is common to the Upanishads and the Sankhya philosophy, is also the fundamental idea of the modern theory of Evolution. (*jatyantaraparinamah prakrtyapurat*). The theory of Evolution is foreshadowed in the Veda, but nowhere clearly formulated. In the Aitareya Upanishad we find a luminous hint of the evolution of various animal forms until in the course of differentiation by selection the body of man was developed as a perfect temple for the gods and a satisfactory instrument for sensational, intellectual and spiritual evolution. When the *Moondaca* sums up the process of creation in the pregnant formula "One seed developed into many forms", it is simply crystallising the one general idea on which the whole of Indian thought takes its stand and to which the whole tendency of modern Science returns. The opening of the Brihadaranyakopanishad powerfully foreshadows the theory that hunger and the struggle for life (*asanaya mrtyuh*) are the principle agents in life-development. But it was not in this aspect of the law of creation that the old Hindu thought interested itself. Modern Science has made it its business to investigate and master the forces and laws of working of the physical world; it has sought to know how man as a reasoning animal developed into what he is, how he is affected in detail by the laws of external nature and what is the rule of his thought and action in things physical and psychophysical whether as an individual or in masses. Outside the limits of this inquiry it has been sceptical or indifferent. Hindu thought, on the contrary, has made it its business to investigate the possibilities of man's escape from the animal and physical condition, from his subjection to the laws of external nature and from his apparent limitations as a mere creature of surroundings and sensational impact from outside. Its province has been the psychical and spiritual world. It has not concerned itself minutely with man's physical sheath, but rather with what is vital and elemental in the matter of which he is made, the law of the workings of the breath and the elemental forces within him, the relation of the various parts of his psychical anatomy to each other, and

the law of his thought and action as a spiritual being having one side of itself turned to phenomena and this transient life in society and the world, the other to the single and eternal verity of things.

Speculating and experimenting on these psychical and spiritual relations, the ancient Rishis arrived at what they believed to be the fundamental laws respectively of spiritual, psychical and elemental evolution. Spiritually, the beginning of all things is the Turiya Atman, spirit in its fourth or transcendental state, intellectually unknowable and indefinable, infinite, indivisible, immutable, and supra-conscious. This Turiya Atman may be imaged as the infinite ocean of spirit which evolves in itself spiritual manifestations and workings by that process of limitation or selection on which all creation or manifestation depends. By this Turiya Atman there is conceived or there is selected out of its infinite capacity a state of spirit less unknowable and therefore less indefinable, in which the conceptions of finity and division pre-exist in a potential state and in which consciousness is self-gathered and as yet inoperative. This state of Spirit is called variously Avyakta, the unmanifestation, or the seed-condition or the condition of absolute sleep, because as yet phenomena and activity are not manifest but pre-exist gathered together and undeveloped, just as all the infinite potentialities of organic life upon earth pre-exist gathered together and undeveloped in the protoplasm; just as leaf and twig, trunk and branches, sap and pith and bark, root and flower and fruit pre-exist, gathered together and undeveloped in the seed. The State of Sleep may be envisaged as Eternal Will and Wisdom on the brink of creation, with the predestined evolution of a million universes, the development of sun and star and nebula and the shining constellations and the wheeling orbits of satellite and planet, the formation of metals and the life of trees, the motions and actions of fish and bird and beast and the infinite spiritual, mental and physical stir and activities of man already pre-ordained, pre-arranged and pre-existent, before Time was or Space existed or Causality began. The Spirit in this state of Sleep is called Prajna, the Wise One or He who knows and orders things beforehand. The next state of Spirit, evolved out of Prajna, is the pure psychical or Dream-State in which Spirit is in a condition of ceaseless psychical activity

imagining, willing, selecting out of the matter with which Prajna provides and creating thought-forms to clothe the abundant variety of its multitudinous imaginations. The Dream-State is the psychical condition of Spirit and operates in a world of subtle matter finer and more elastic than gross physical matter and therefore not subject to the heavy restrictions and slow processes with which the latter is burdened. For this reason while physical workings are fixed, slow and confined by walls within walls, thought, psychical manifestation and other operations in subtle matter are in comparison volatile, rapid and free, reacting more elastically against the pressure of Time, Condition and Space. This State of Dream may be envisaged as Eternal Will and Energy in the process of creation, with the whole activity of the Universe teeming and fructuating within it; it is that psychical matrix out of which physical form and life are evolved and to which in sleep it partially returns so that it may recuperate and drink in a fresh store of psychical energy to support the heavy strain of physical processes in gross matter. Spirit in the middle or Dream-State is called Taijasa or Hiranyagarbha, the Shining Embryon. It is Taijasa, Energy of Light and Hiranya the Shining because in psychical matter luminous energy is the chief characteristic, colour and light predominating over fluid or solid form. It is Garbha, Embryon because out of psychical matter physical life and form are selected and evolved into the final or Waking-State in which Spirit manifests itself as physically visible, audible and sensible form and life, and arrives at last at an appearance of firm stability and solidity in gross matter. Spirit in the Waking-State is called Vaiswanor, the Universal Male, He who informs and supports all forms of energy in this physical universe; for it is a root idea of Hindu philosophy that Spirit is the Male which casts its seed into Matter and Matter the female Energy which receives the seed and with it creates and operates. Spirit and Matter are not different entities, but simply the positive and negative poles in the creative operation of the All-Self or Universal which evolves in Itself and out of Itself the endless procession of things.

All things in the Universe are of one texture and substance and subject to a single law; existence is a fundamental unity

under a superficial diversity. Each part of the Universe is therefore a little Universe in itself repeating under different conditions and in different forms the nature and operations of the wider Cosmos. Every individual man must be in little what the Cosmos is in large. Like the Cosmos therefore each individual man has been created by the evolution of Spirit from its pure essence through the three states of Sleep, Dream and Waking. But this evolution has been a downward evolution; he has descended spiritually from pure Spirit into physical matter, from self-existent, self-knowing, self-delighting God into the reasoning animal. In other words each new condition of Spirit as it evolved, has overlaid and obscured its predecessor. In the physical condition, which is the ultimate term of the downward evolution man realises himself as a body moving among and affected by other bodies and he readily understands, masters and employs physical organs, physical processes and physical forces, but he finds it difficult to understand, master or employ psychical organs, psychical processes and psychical forces, — so difficult that he has come to be sceptical of the existence of the psychical and doubt whether he is a soul at all, whether he is not merely an animal body with an exceptional brain-evolution. In his present state any evolution of the psychical force within is attended with extraordinary disturbances of the physical instruments, such as the development of delusions, hallucinations, eccentricities, mania and disease side by side with the development of genius or exceptional mental and spiritual powers in family or individual. Man has not yet discovered his soul; his main energies have been directed towards realising and mastering the physical world in which he moves. It is indeed, as some are beginning dimly to perceive, the soul within him which has all along been using the body for its own ends on the physical plane, but the soul has been working from behind the veil, unrealised and unseen. The Waking-State has overlaid and obscured the Dream-State. When he has mastered, as in the course of evolution he must master, the psychical world within him, man will find that there is another and deeper self which is overlaid and obscured by the psychical, — the Sleep-world within or as it is called, the causal self. At present, even when he admits the existence of the soul, he sees

nothing beyond his psychical self and speaks of soul and spirit as if they were identical. In reality, there are three spirit-states, spirit, soul and body, the sleep-state, the dream-state and the waking-state. Body has overlaid and obscured soul, soul overlays and obscures spirit, spirit in its turn obscures and overlays the pure self from which and towards which the circle of evolution moves.

Creation, then, has been a downward evolution which has for its object to create a body fit for an upward evolution into the region of pure spirit. It is in this direction that the future of human evolution lies. When man has mastered the physical world and its forces, when the earth is his and the fullness thereof, he must turn his efforts towards mastering the world within himself. Instead of allowing the soul to use the body for its own ends, he must learn to master both soul and body and use them consciously for the purposes of the spirit, that Eternal Will and Wisdom which at present operates in secrecy, veiled with darkness within darkness and seeming even to be blind and hidden from itself. In the end he will be master of spirit, soul and body, a Jivanmukta using them at will for cosmic purposes or transcending them to feel his identity with the Self who is pure and absolute existence, consciousness and bliss.

CHAPTER III

Psychical Evolution

DOWNWARD TO MATTER

IN THEIR inquiry into the spiritual nature of man the ancient thinkers and Yogins discovered that he has not only three spiritual states but three bodies or cases of matter corresponding to the spiritual states. This was in accordance with the nature of phenomenal existence as determined by their inquiries. Spirit and matter, the inner inspiring presence and outward acting substance-energy, are the two necessary terms of this existence. When phenomena are transcended we come to a Self independent of Spirit or Matter; but the moment Self descends into phenomenal existence, it must necessarily create for itself a form or body and a medium in which it manifests and through which it acts. Directly, therefore, the pure transcendent Self evolves one aspect of itself as a definable spiritual condition, it must in the nature of things evolve also a form or body and a medium through and in which Spirit in that condition can manifest itself. Matter, in other words, evolves coevally and coincidentally with Spirit. As soon as the Sleep-State appears, Spirit surrounds itself with matter in that most refined and least palpable condition, to which the name of causal matter may be given, the material seed state, single and elemental in its nature, from which the material universe is evolved. With the evolution of the Dream-State matter also evolves from the causal into the subtle, a condition compound, divisible and capable of definite form but too fine to be perceived by ordinary physical senses. It is only when the Waking-State is evolved that matter concentrates into that gross physical condition which is all that Science has hitherto been able to analyse and investigate.

In man also as in the larger Cosmos each spiritual state lives in and uses its corresponding medium of matter and out of that matter shapes for itself its own body or material case. He has

therefore a causal body for his Sleep-State or causal self, a subtle body for his Dream-State or psychical self and a gross body for his Waking-State or physical self. When he dies, what happens is simply the disintegration of the physical body and the return of the Waking into the Dream-State from which it was originally projected. Death, in the ordinary view, is a delivery from matter; body is destroyed and only spirit or soul remains: but this view is rejected by Hindu philosophy as an error resulting from confused and inadequate knowledge of man's psychical nature. The Waking-State having disappeared into the Dream-State and no longer existing, the physical body must necessarily disintegrate since it has no longer a soul to support it and keep naturally together the gross material atoms out of which it is constructed. But because the physical body is destroyed or dropped off, it does not follow that no body is left. Man goes on existing after death in his Dream-State and moves and acts with his subtle body; it is this Dream-State in the subtle body to which the name soul or spirit is popularly given. Even the disintegration of the subtle body and the return of the Dream-State into the Sleep-State from which it was projected, would not imply a release from all restrictions of matter; for the causal body would still remain. It is only when the Sleep-State is also transcended, that phenomenal existence with its necessary duality of Spirit-Matter is left behind and transcended. Then spirit and body are both dissolved into pure and transcendent self-existence.

In examining and analysing these spiritual conditions in their respective bodies the Rishis arrived at a theory of psychical evolution contained within and dependent on the spiritual evolution already described. The basis of psychical as of spiritual existence is the pure Self called the Paramatman or Supreme Self when it manifests in the Cosmos and the Jivatman or individual Self when it manifests in man. The Self first manifests as Will or as the Rishis preferred to call it Ananda, Bliss, Delight. Ananda is the pure delight of existence and activity and may be identified in one of its aspects with the European Will to live, but it has a double tendency, the Will to be phenomenally and the Will to be transcendentally, the Will to live and the Will to cease from phenomenal life. It is also the Will to know and the Will to enjoy

and in each aspect the double tendency is repeated. The Will to know eternal reality is balanced by the Will to know phenomenal diversity; the Will to absolute delight by the Will to phenomenal delight. Will must be clearly distinguished from volition which is only one of the operations of Will acting in phenomena. The impacts from the external things upon the mind result in sensations and the reaction of the Will upon these sensations when conveyed to it, take the form of desires. Volition is simply the impulse of the Will operating through the intelligence to satisfy or curb the desires created in the medium between itself and the mind. But the Will itself is antecedent to mind and intelligence and all the operations of body, mind and intelligence are ultimately operations of material energy ordained by the Will. Self manifesting as Will or Bliss is, spiritually, the Sleep-State and operates absolutely and directly in the Causal body as the creative force behind Nature, but indirectly and under limitations in the subtle and gross bodies as the cause of all thought, action and feeling.

The next evolutionary form of Will, put forth by itself from itself as an instrument or operative force in the creation of the worlds, is Buddhi or Supra-intelligence, an energy which is above mind and reason and acts independently of any cerebral organ. It is Will acting through the Supra-intelligence that guides the growth of the tree and the formation of the animal and gives to all things in the Universe the appearance of careful and abundant workmanship and orderly arrangement from which the idea of an Almighty Artificer full of fecund and infinite imaginations has naturally grown up in the human mind; but from the point of view of the Vedanta Will and Supra-intelligence are not attributes of an anthropomorphic Deity endowed with a colossal brain but aspects of a spiritual presence manifesting itself cosmically in phenomenal existence. Will, through Buddhi, creating and operating on phenomena in subtle matter evolves Mind, which in reception of external impacts and impressions evolves sensation; by reaction to impressions received, evolves desire and activity; by retention of impressions with their reactions evolves memory; by coordination of impressions and reactions memorised, evolves the sense of individuality; by individual arrangement of impres-

sions and reactions with the aid of memory evolves understanding; and by the action of Supra-intelligence on developed mind evolves reason. Mind and Supra-intelligence with reason as an intermediate link are, spiritually the Dream-State and operate absolutely and directly in the subtle body but indirectly, under limitations and as a governing and directing force in the gross body.

So far spirit and soul only have been evolved; the evolution of the Will has not manifested itself in physical forms. But in Mind Will has evolved a grand primal sense by which it is able to put itself into conscious relations with external objects; before the development of mind it has been operating by methods of self-contained consciousness through the Supra-intelligence. Mind is in a way the one true and real sense; it is Mind that sees, Mind that hears, Mind that smells, Mind that feels, Mind that acts; but for the purposes of varied experience mind evolves from itself ten potencies, five potencies of knowledge, sight, hearing, smell, touch and taste by which the Will receives impressions of external objects and five potencies of action, grasp, locomotion, utterance, emission and ecstasy by which it reacts on what it receives; and for each of these potencies it evolves an instrument of potency or sense-organ, making up the ten *indriyas* with the Mind, which is alone self-acting and introspective, as the eleventh. So far however the Mind acts with rapidity and directness under the comparatively light restrictions of subtle matter in the Dream-State; it is a psychical sense, an instrument of the soul for knowing and dealing with life in the psychical world of subtle matter. Only in the physical evolution of gross matter do the sense-organs receive their consummate development and become of supreme importance; for Will in the Waking-State acts mainly through them and not directly through the Mind. Soul-evolution precedes physical evolution. This theory directly contradicts those conclusions of modern Science which make soul an evolution of physical life and activities, not an all-important and enduring evolution, but merely their temporary efflorescence and dependent on them for its existence. Arguing from the facts of physical evolution which alone it has studied, and excluding all possibilities outside this limit, Science is justified in coming to

this conclusion, and, as a logical corollary, it is justified in denying the immortality of the soul. For if psychical activities are merely a later and temporary operation of physical life, and dependent on the physical for their own continuance, it follows that when physical life ceases with the arrest of bodily operations by the mysterious agency of death, human personality which is a psychical activity must also come to an end. When the body dies, the soul dies also; it can no more outlast the body than the flower can outlast the plant on which it grows or a house survive the destruction of its foundations. Body is the stem, soul the flower; body the foundation, soul a light and temporary superstructure. To all this Hindu thought gives a direct denial. It claims to have discovered means of investigating psychical life as thoroughly as Science can investigate physical nature and in the light of its investigations it declares that soul exists before body and outlasts it. It is physical life that is an evolution from psychical, and no more than a later and temporary operation of psychical activities. Body is the flower, soul the stem; soul is the foundation, body the fragile and transient superstructure.

For the purposes of physical evolution Will evolves a new aspect of itself which is called Prana or vital energy. Prana exists in the physical state also, but there it is simple, undifferentiated, gathered up in mind and not acting as a separate agent. Prana in gross matter is an all-pervading energy which subsists wherever there is physical existence and is the principle agent in maintaining existence and furthering its activities. It is present in what seems inert and inanimate no less than in what is manifestly endowed with life. It lives concealed in the metal and the sod, it begins to emerge in the plant, it reveals itself in the animal. Prana is the agent of Will in all physical evolution. It is the mainspring of every hunger-impulse and presides over every process of alimentation. It creates life, it fills it with vital needs, desires, longings; it spurs it to the satisfaction of its needs and desires; and it evolves the means and superintends and conducts the processes of that satisfaction. In the course of evolution it reveals itself with an ever-rounding fulness, vibrates with an ever-swifter and more complex energy, differentiates and enriches its activity with a more splendid opulence until the crescendo reaches

its highest note in man. In this, the noblest type of physical evolution, Prana manifests itself in five distinct vital powers, to which the names, Prana, Samana, Vyana, Apana and Udana have been given by the ancient writers. Prana, the vital force *par excellence* has its seat in the upper part of the body and conducts all mental operations, the indrawing and the outdrawing of the breath and the induction of food. Samana, seated centrally in the body, balances, equalises and harmonises the vital operations and is the agent for the assimilation of food. Vyana pervades the whole body; on it depends the circulation of the blood and the distribution of the essential part of the food eaten and digested throughout the body. Apana, situated in the lower part of the trunk, presides over the lower functions, especially over the emission of such parts of the food as are rejected by the body and over procreation; it is intimately connected with the processes of decay and death. Udana is the vital power which connects bodily life with the spiritual element in man. As in the purely vital operations, so also in the motional and volitional Prana is still the great agent of Will, and conducts such operations of Mind also as depend on the sense-organs for their instruments. Prana is the regent of the body, ministering to the Mind and through that great intermediary executing the behests of the concealed sovereign of existence, the Will.

As Prana is the first term in the physical evolution of the Self, so Anna, Food or gross visible matter is the second term. "I am food that devours the eater of food," says the Taittiriya Upanishad, and no formula could express more pregnantly and tersely the fundamental law of all phenomenal activity especially on the physical plane. The fundamental principle of vitality is hunger and all gross matter forms the food with which Prana satisfies this, its root-impulse. Hence the universality of the struggle for life. This hungry Prana first needs to build up a body in which it can subsist and in order to do so, it devours external substances so as to provide itself with the requisite material. This body once found, it is continually eating up by the ceaselessness of its vital activity and has to repair its own ravages by continually drawing in external substances to form fresh material for an ever-wasting and ever-renewing frame. Unable to preserve its body for ever

under the exhausting stress of its own activity, it has to procreate fresh forms which will continue vital activity and for the purpose concentrates itself in a part of its material which it throws out of itself to lead a similar but independent life even after the parent form decays. To satisfy its hunger it is ever evolving fresh means and new potencies for mastery and seizure of its food. Dissatisfied with the poor sustenance a stationary existence can supply, it develops the power and evolves various means of locomotion. To perceive its food more and more thoroughly and rapidly it develops the five senses and evolves the organs of perception through which they can act. To deal successfully with the food perceived, it develops the five potencies of action and evolves the active organs which enable them to work. As a centre of all this sensational and actional activity it evolves the central mind-organ in the brain and as channels of communication between the central and the outer organs it develops a great nerve-system centred in seven plexuses, through which it moves with a ceaseless stir and activity, satisfying hunger, satisfying lust, satisfying desire. At the base of all is the impulse of Life to survive, to prolong itself for the purposes of the Will to live of which it is the creature and the servant. Prana and Anna, Vitality and Physical form are, spiritually, the Waking-State and operate entirely in gross matter, — the last term of that downward evolution which is the descent of Spirit from its original purity of absolute existence into the impurity and multiplicity of matter.

CHAPTER IV

Psychical Evolution

UPWARD TO SELF

IN THIS downward psychical evolution, as in the downward spiritual evolution, each succeeding and newly-evolved state of the original Self obscures and overlays that which preceded it, until the last state of the Self appears to be an inert brute and inanimate condition of gross physical matter, devoid of life, mental consciousness or spiritual possibilities. From this state of inert and lifeless matter the upward evolution starts and, as in our spiritual evolution the course set down for us is to recover from a firm footing in the Waking-State mastery over the obscured and latent Dream and Sleep-States and so return into the presence of that pure and unimaginable Self from whom the process of our evolution began, so in our psychical evolution we have to recover out of the inertia of gross physical materiality Life, Mind, Supra-Intelligence, Will until we know our infinite and eternal Self who is one with the Supreme Self of the Universe.

With inanimate matter the world began, says evolutionary Science; but in inanimate matter there is no evidence of life or mind or spirit, no apparent possibility of the evolution of animate conscious existence. In this inanimate world at some unknown period, by some unknown means, perhaps from some unknown source, a mysterious thing called Life entered or began to stir and all this mighty evolution we have discovered became in a moment possible. Grant one infinitesimal seed of life and everything else becomes possible, but life itself we cannot explain nor can we discover as yet how it came originally into being. We can only suppose that life is some chemical process or develops from some chemical process we shall ultimately discover. Even what life is, has not been satisfactorily settled. The term is sometimes rigidly confined to animal life, — surely a crude and unscientific limitation, since the peculiarities of animal life, — consciousness and organic growth, — exist quite as evidently in the highest forms

of plant-life as in the animalcule or the jelly-fish. Or if we confine life to organic growth, we do so arbitrarily, for recent discoveries have shown the beginning of one element of vital activity, the one which forms the very basis of consciousness, viz., reception of and reaction to outward impressions and the phenomena of vigour and exhaustion, in a substance so apparently inanimate as metal. So obscure is the whole subject that many are inclined to regard life as a divine mystery, breathed by God into the world or introduced, as if it were a sort of psychical meteoric dust, from some other planet. Upanishadic philosophy accounts for the appearance of Life in a more calm and rational manner. Life, it would say, is in a sense a divine mystery but no more and no less so than the existence of inanimate matter. God did not breathe it from outside into an inert and created body, neither did it drift hither from some mystic and superior planet. Nor did it come into sudden being by some fortuitous chemical process which marked off suddenly all existences into two rigidly distinct classes, animate and inanimate, organic and inorganic. All such ideas are, when carefully examined, irrational and inconsistent with the unity and harmonious development of the world under fixed and invariable laws. Life is evolved naturally and not mysteriously out of matter itself, because it is already latent and pre-existent in matter. Prana is involved in Anna, matter cannot exist without latent life, and the first step in evolution is the liberation of the latent life out of the heavy obscuration of matter in its grossest and densest forms. This evolution is effected by the three Gunas, the triple principle of reception, retention and reaction to outward impacts; as fresh forms of matter are evolved in which the power of retaining impacts received in the shape of impressions becomes more and more declared, consciousness slowly and laboriously develops; as the power of reacting on external objects becomes more pronounced and varied, organic life-growth begins its marvellous career; and the two, helping and enriching each other, evolve complete, well-organised and richly-endowed Life.

Prana receives its perfect development in animal life and when man, the highest term of animal life, has been reached, there is no farther need for its development. The true evolution of Man

therefore lies not in the farther development of vitality, but in the complete and triumphant liberation of mind out of the overlaying obscuration of the vital energies. Just as Prana is involved in Anna and has to be evolved out of it, so Mind is involved in Prana and has to be evolved out of it. The moment Life begins to liberate itself from the obscuration of gross matter, the first step has been taken towards the evolution of Mind. We see the gradual development of Mind in animal evolution; the highest animal forms below man seem to possess not only memory and individuality, but a considerable degree of understanding and even the rudiments of reason. In man the development is much more rapid and triumphant, but it is by no means, as yet, complete or perfect. Prana still to an immense extent obscures Mind, the gross body dominates the subtle. Mind is dominated by the instruments which Prana has created for it; the body, the nerve-system, the sense-organs, the brain hamper and hinder its operations even more than they help them; for the mind is bound within the narrow circle of their activity and limited by their deficiencies. The continual stir of the vital energies in the brain and throughout the whole system, disturb the Mind, the continual siege of external impressions distract it, the insistent urgency of the senses towards the external world impede the turning of the energies inward; calm and purity, concentration and introspection are rendered so difficult that the majority of men do not attempt them or only compass them spasmodically and imperfectly. Any powerful and unusual development of mind, in its intellectual and spiritual tendencies, is apt to be resented by the vital part of man and to impair or seriously disturb his vital energies and physical health. Along with the intellectual development of the race, there has been a marked deterioration of vital vigour and soundness and of the bodily organs. Moral and spiritual development is continually at war with the needs of our physical life, our hungers, desires, lusts, longings and the insistent urgency of the instincts of self-preservation and self-gratification. It is therefore towards the conquest and control of Prana and the free development of Mind that the energies of man ought in future to be directed. He must arrive at some arrangement of his social and individual life which while satisfying the legitimate

demands of his body and his vital impulses, will admit of the extreme and unhampered perfection of his intellectual, moral and spiritual being. He must discover and practise some method of maintaining the harmony and soundness of the vital and bodily instruments and processes without for a moment allowing the care for them to restrict the widest possible range, the most bold and powerful exercise and the most intense and fiery energisms of which the higher principle in his being is capable. He must learn how to transcend the limitations and errors of the physical senses and train his mind to act even in the physical body with the rapidity, directness and unlimited range proper to a psychical organ whose function is to operate in subtle as well as in gross matter. To see where the physical eye is blind, to hear where the physical ear is deaf, to feel where the physical sense is callous, to understand thoughts unexpressed, are legitimate functions of the mind; but they must be exercised, not as a rare power or in moments of supreme excitation, but as a regular and consciously-willed operation, the processes of which have been mastered and known. Reason, at present fallible, imperfect and enslaved to desire and prejudice, must be trained into its highest possibilities of clarity, sanity and calm energy. The Mind must be tranquillised and purified by control of the senses and the five Pranas, and trained to turn itself wholly inward, excluding at will all outward impressions, so that Man may become master of the inner world no less than of the outer, a conscious soul using the body and no longer a body governed by a self-concealing and self-guiding psychical entity. We think we have done wonders in the way of mental evolution; in reality we have made no more than a feeble beginning. The infinite possibilities of that evolution still lie unexplored in front.

As Mind is involved in Prana, so is Supra-Intelligence involved and latent in all the operations of Mind. With the evolution of the Mind, some rudimentary beginnings have been unconsciously made towards the liberation of this higher and far grander force. As the mental development foreshadowed above proceeds to its goal, man will begin to evolve and realise himself as a mighty and infinite Intelligence, not limited by sense-perception or the laborious and clumsy processes of the reason, but

capable of intuitive and infinite perception. And when the evolution of Mind is complete and the evolution of Supra-Intelligence proceeds, the liberation of the Will involved in its operations will lead man to the highest evolution of all when he realises himself as a potent and scient Will, master of creation and not its slave, whose infinite delight in its own existence is lifted far beyond the thraldom of pain and pleasure and uses them with as unalloyed a pleasure as the poet when he weaves joy and sorrow, delight and pain and love and fear and horror into one perfect and pleasurable masterpiece or the painter when he mixes his colours and blends light and shade to create a wedded harmony of form and hue. This state of unfettered Will and infinite Delight once realised, he cannot fail to know his real Self, absolute and calm, omnipotent and pure, the eternal Brahman in whom this evolution has its root and resting-place.

CHAPTER VII

Elemental Evolution

THE evolution of the Cosmos has not only spiritual and psychical aspects; it has also from the moment of its inception a material element. Spirit exists from the beginning and was before any beginning, infinite and sempiternal; but Matter also is an eternal entity. In the Parabrahman, the absolute inconceivable Self, Spirit and Matter are one and undifferentiated, but the moment evolution begins Spirit and Matter manifest equally and coevally. We have seen that the first spiritual evolution from the pure self-existent Atman is Prajna of the Sleep-State, Eternal Wisdom, a supporting spiritual presence which contains in itself the whole course of cosmic evolution even as a single seed contains in itself the complete banyan-tree with all its gigantic progeny. We have seen that corresponding to this Eternal Wisdom, there is a first psychic evolution, Ananda or Will, an inspiring psychical force in man and the Cosmos which makes all the workings of Nature possible. Spirit however, even when operating as Will, is not a working force in the sense that it itself carries on the operations of Nature; it is an inspiring, impelling force, whose function is to set in motion a powerful material energy of the Self; and it is this material energy which under the inspiration of Will and at the bidding of Prajna sets about the evolution of the Cosmos. Self in its dealings with the Cosmos is a dual entity, underlying spiritual presence and superficially active material energy, or as they are called in the terminology of the Sankhya philosophy, Purusha and Prakriti; — Purusha, that which lies concealed in the Vast of universal existence, Prakriti, active or operative energy thrown forward from the concealed spiritual source. The whole of evolution, spiritual, psychical, material, is the result of Purusha and Prakriti acting upon each other; the three evolutions are really one, coincident and coeval, because throughout it is one Reality that is manifesting and not three. It is Self manifesting as spirit, Self manifesting as soul,

Self manifesting as matter or body. These three manifestations are coincident in Time and Space and each condition of phenomena is a triple state with Spirit and Matter for its extreme terms and Soul for its middle. In the evolution of the spirit-states Purusha determines itself so as to inform and support the progressive manifestations of Self as soul and body; in the evolution of the psychic states Prakriti worked on by Purusha creates for the manifestations of Self as spirit psychic sheaths or coverings which will at the same time inform and support the manifestations of Self as matter; in the evolution of the causal, subtle and gross bodies Prakriti shapes itself so as to create the material out of which the psychical coverings of Self as spirit may be made and the medium in which the Self as soul may operate. The three evolutions are dependent on each other, and that it is really one entity and not three which is evolving, is shown by the fact that while in the first stage of the downward evolution and the last of the upward Matter seems so refined as to appear identical with Spirit, in the last of the downward and first of the upward Spirit seems so densified as to appear identical with Matter. This possibility of evolution from and involution into each other would not be conceivable if they were not in essence one entity; and we may legitimately deduce from the oneness of such diverse phenomena that they *are* no more than phenomena, merely apparent changes in one unchanging reality.

In the first stage of evolution Matter appears as an aspect or shadow of Spirit, and like Spirit it is infinite, unanalysable, undifferentiated. Just as Spirit then has only three positive attributes, infinite and undefinable existence, consciousness and bliss, so original Matter has only three positive attributes, infinite and undefinable Time, Space and Causality — or, as Hindu thought phrases it, Condition. For the essence of Condition being change from one state to another, and each change standing in the relation of cause or origin to the one that follows it, Condition and Causality become convertible terms. From this indefinable noumenal condition of Prakriti, the Self forms for its uses matter in its most refined and simple form, undifferentiated and undeveloped, but pregnant with the whole of material evolution. The causal state is called by the Sankhyas Pradhana, the first state or

arrangement of matter and its essential principle. The relation of Spirit and Matter in this causal seed-state is admirably expressed in the Puranic image of Vishnu, the eternal Purusha, asleep on the waveless causal ocean with the endless coils of the snake Ananta, the Infinite, for his couch. The sea of causal matter is then motionless and it is only when Vishnu awakes, the snake Ananta stirs and the first ever-widening ripples are created on the surface of the waters that the actual evolution of matter has begun. The first ripple or vibration in causal matter creates a new and exceedingly fine and pervasive condition of matter called Akasha or Ether; more complex motion evolves out of Ether a somewhat inetnser condition which is called Vayu, Air; and so by ever more complex motion with increasing intensity of condition for result, yet three other matter-states are successively developed, Agni or Fire, Apah or Water and Prithvi or Earth. These are the five *tanmātras* or subtle elements of Sankhya philosophy by the combination of which subtle forms in subtle matter are built.

Here it is necessary to enter a caution against possible misunderstandings to which the peculiar nomenclature used by the Rishis and the common rendering of *tanmātra* and *bhūta* by the English word elements may very easily give rise. When we speak of elements in English in a scientific sense, we always imply elemental *substances*, those substances which when analysed by chemical processes, cannot be resolved into substances simpler than themselves. But when Hindu philosophy speaks of the five elements, it is not dealing with substances at all but with elemental states or conditions of matter, which are not perceptible or analysable by chemical inquiry but underlie substances and forms as basic principles of material formation. The old thinkers accepted the atomic theory of the formation of objects and substances but they did not care to carry the theory farther and inquire by what particular combinations of atoms this or that substance came into being or by what variations and developments in detail bodies animate or inanimate came to be what they are. This did not seem to them to be an inquiry of the first importance; they were content with laying down some main principles of material evolution and there they left the matter. But they were anxious to resolve not substances into their original atoms

but matter into its original condition and discover its relations to the psychical and spiritual life of man. They saw that perpetual motion involving perpetual change was the fundamental characteristic of matter and that each new motion was attended by a new condition which stood to the immediately preceding condition in the relation of effect to cause or at least of a new birth to the matrix in which it had been enembryoed. Behind the solid condition of matter, they found a condition less dense which was at the basis of all fluid forms; behind the fluid condition another still less dense which was at the basis of all igneous or luminous forms; behind the igneous, yet another and finer which was at the basis of all aerial or gaseous forms; and last of all one finest and most pervasive condition of all which they called Akasha or Ether. Ether was, they found, the primary substance out of which all this visible Universe is evolved and beyond ether they were unable to go without matter losing all the characteristics associated with it in the physical world and lapsing into a quite different substance of which the forms and motions were much more vague, subtle, elastic and volatile than any of which the physical world is aware. This new world of matter they called subtle matter and analysed the subtle as they had analysed the gross until by a similar procession from denser to subtler they came to a finest condition of all which they described as subtle ether. Out of this subtle ether a whole world of subtle forms and energies are evolved which constitute psychical existence. Beyond subtle ether matter lost its subtle characteristics and lapsed into a new kind which they could not analyse but which seemed to be the matrix out of which all material evolution proceeded. This they termed causal matter.

In the course of this analysis they could not help perceiving that consciousness in each world of matter assumed a different form and acted in a different way corresponding to the characteristics of the matter in which it moved. In its operations in gross matter the forms it assumed were more firm, solid and durable but at the same time more slow, difficult and hampered, just as are the motions and acts of a man in his waking state as compared with what he does in his dreams. In its operations in subtle matter the form and consciousness assumed were freer

and more rapid, but more volatile, elastic and swiftly mutable, as are the motions and acts of a man in a dreaming state compared to the activities of his waking condition. To consciousness acting on gross matter they gave therefore the name of the Waking-State, to consciousness acting on subtle matter the name of the Dream-State. In causal matter they found that consciousness took the shape merely of the pure sense of blissful existence; they could discover no other distinguishing sensation. This therefore they called the Sleep-State. They farther discovered that the various faculties and functions of man belonged properly some to one, some to another of the three states of consciousness and its corresponding state of matter. His vital and physical functions operated only in gross matter, and they determined accordingly that his physical life was the result of consciousness working in the Waking-State on gross matter. His mental and intuitional processes were found to operate freely and perfectly in subtle matter, but in gross matter with a hampered and imperfect activity; they considered therefore that man's mental life belonged properly to the Dream-State and only worked indirectly and under serious limitations in the Waking-State. They determined accordingly that mental life must be the result of consciousness working in the Dream-State on subtle matter. There remained the fundamental energy of consciousness, Will-to-be or shaping Delight of existence: this, they perceived, was free and pure in causal matter, put to work if consciously, yet through a medium and under limitations in subtle matter, in hampered and half effectual fashion when the subtle self acted through the gross, and subconsciously only in gross matter. They considered therefore that man's causal faculty or spiritual life belonged properly to the Sleep-State and worked indirectly and through less and less easy mediums in the Dream and Waking-States; and accordingly determined that it must be the result of Consciousness working in the Sleep-State on causal matter. The whole of creation amounted therefore to a natural outcome from the mutual relations of Spirit and Matter; these two they regarded as two terms, — call them forces, energies, substances, or what you will, — of phenomenal existence; and psychical life only as one result of their interaction. They refused however to accept any dualism

in their cosmogony and, as has been pointed out, regarded Spirit and Matter as essentially one; and their difference as no more than an apparent duality in one real entity. This one entity is not analysable or intellectually knowable, yet it is alone the real, immutable and sempiternal Self of things.

It will be clear even from this brief and condensed statement of the Vedic analysis of existence that the elements of the Upanishad are not the elementary substances of modern chemistry but five general states of matter to which all its actual or substantial manifestations belong. It will also be clear that the names of the five elements have a conventional, not a literal value, but it may be as well to indicate why these particular names have been chosen. The first and original state of subtle matter is the pure ethereal of which the main characteristics are extreme tenuity and pervasiveness and the one sensible property, sound. Sound, according to the Vedic inquirers, is the first evolved property of material substance; it precedes form and has the power both to create it and to destroy it. Looking around them in the physical universe for a substance with these characteristics they found it in Akasha or Vyoma (sky), implying not our terrestrial atmosphere but that which is both beyond it and pervades it, — the fine pervasive connecting substance in which, as it were, the whole universe floats. They therefore gave this name, Akasha, to the ethereal condition of matter.

The next matter-condition evolved from Ether and moving in it, was the pure aerial or gaseous. Here to pervasiveness was added a new potency of sensible and varied motion bringing with it, as increased complexity of motion necessarily must do, increased differentiation and complexity of substance. All the variety and evolutions of gaseous matter with their peculiar activities, functions and combinations have this second state or power of matter as their substratum; it is the basis also of that universal Prana or vital energy, starting from action, retention and reaction and culminating in organised consciousness, which we have seen to be so all-important an agent in the Vedic theory of the Cosmos. In this second power of matter a new property of material substance is evolved, touch or contact, which was not fully developed in pure ether owing to its extreme tenuity and primarily

simplicity of substance. Seeking for a physical substance gaseous in nature, sensible by sound and contact, but without form and characterised chiefly by varied motion and an imperfect pervasiveness, the Rishis found it in Vayu, Wind or Air. Vayu therefore is the conventional term for the second condition of matter.

Evolved out of the pure gaseous state and moving in it is the third or pure igneous condition of matter, which is also called Tejah, light and heat energy. In the igneous stage pervasiveness becomes still less subtle, sensible motion no longer the paramount characteristic, but energy, especially formative energy attains full development and creation and destruction, formation and new-formation are at last in readiness. In addition to sound and contact matter has now evolved a third property, form, which could not be developed in pure Air owing to its insufficient density and the elusive vagueness and volatility of gaseous manifestations. The third power of matter is at the basis of all phenomena of light and heat and Prana by its aid so develops that birth and growth now become possible; for light and heat are the necessary conditions of animate life-development and in their absence we have the phenomenon of death or inert and inanimate existence: when the energy of light and heat departs from a man, says the Upanishad, then it is that Prana, the vital energy, retires into mind, his subtle or psychical part, and withdraws from the physical frame. The physical substance which seemed to the Rishis to typify the igneous state was Fire; for it is sensible by sound, contact and form and, less pervasive than air, is distinguished by the utmost energy of light and heat. Fire therefore is the conventional or symbolic name of the third power of matter.

Next upon the igneous state follows the liquid or fluid, less pervasive, less freely motional or energetic, and distinguishingly marked by a kind of compromise between fixity and volatility. In this state matter evolves a fourth property, taste. The liquid state is the substratum of all fluid forms and activities, and in its comparative fixity life-development finds its first possibility of a sufficiently stable medium. All life is gathered out of "the waters" and depends on the fluid principle within it for its very sustenance. Water as the most typical fluid, half volatile, half

fixed, perceptible by sound, contact, form and taste, has given a symbolic name to the fourth condition of matter.

The solid state is the last to develop in this progression from tenuity to density, for in this state pervasiveness reaches its lowest expression and fixity predominates. It is the substratum of all solid forms and bodies and the last necessity for the development of life; for it provides life with a fixed form or body in which it can endure and work itself out and which it can develop into organism. The last new property of matter evolved in the solid state is odour; and since earth is the typical solid substance, containing all the five properties sound, contact, form, taste, and smell, Earth is the conventional name selected for the fifth and final power of matter.

These five elemental states are only to be found in their purity and with their characteristic qualities distinct and unblended in the world of subtle matter. The five elemental states of gross matter are impure; they are formed out of subtle matter by the combination of the five subtle elements in certain fixed proportions, that one being given the characteristic name of ether, air, fire, water, or earth in which the subtle ethereal, gaseous, igneous, fluid or solid element prevails overwhelmingly over the others. Even the last and subtlest condition to which gross matter can be reduced is not a final term; when realised into its constituents, the last term of gross matter disintegrates and matter reaches a stage at which many of the most urgent and inexorable laws of physics no longer operate. It is at this point where chemical analysis and reasoning can no longer follow Nature into her recesses that the Hindu system of Yoga by getting behind the five Pranas or gross vital breaths through which Life manifests in gross physical matter, is able to take up the pursuit and investigate the secrets of psychic existence in a subtler and freer world.

CHAPTER VIII

Matariswan and the Waters

WE ARE now in a position to consider what may be the precise meaning of the Upanishad when it says that in It Matariswan ordereth the waters. Shankara takes *āpaḥ* in a somewhat unusual and peculiar sense and interprets, "Air orders or arranges actions"; in other words, all the activity in the Cosmos is dependent upon the aerial or gaseous element in matter which enters into and supports all objects and, as Prana, differentiates and determines their proper functions. Prana, as we have seen, is the great vital energy breathing and circulating through all existence whose activity is the principal instrument of Will in the evolution of the Universe and whose mediation is necessary for all the operations of mind and body in gross matter. In psychic life also Prana is inherent in mind and supports those activities of subtle matter which are necessary for psychic existence. The intimate connection between Prana and vital activity may be best illustrated in its most obvious and fundamental function in the living organism, the regulation of breathing. So important is this function that Breath and Prana are generally identified; the usual signification of the word Prana is, indeed, breath and the five differentiated vital energies supporting the human frame are called the five breaths. So important is it, that even the searching analysis of modern science has not been able to get behind it and it is held as an incontrovertible fact that the maintenance of respiration is necessary to the maintenance of life. In reality, this is not so. Ordinarily, of course, the regular inhalation of oxygen into the system and exhalation of corrupted breath out of it, is so necessary to the body that an abrupt interruption of the process, if continued for two minutes will result in death by suffocation. But this is merely due to a persistent vital habit of the body. It needs only a careful training in the regulation of the breath to master this habit and make respiration subservient to the will. Any one who has for a long time practised this art of breath-

regulation or Pranayama can suspend inhalation and exhalation for many minutes and some not only for minutes but for hours together without injury to the system or the suspension of bodily life; for internal respiration and the continuance of the vital activities within the body still maintain the functions necessary to life. Even the internal respiration may be stopped and the vital activities entirely suspended without subjecting the body to the process of death and disintegration. The body may be kept intact for days, months and years while all the functions of breath and vitality are suspended, until the Will in its psychical sheaths chooses to resume its interrupted communications with the world of gross matter and recommence physical life at the precise point at which it was discontinued. And this is possible because Prana, the vital energy, instead of being allowed to circulate through the system under the necessary conditions of organic physical activity, can be gathered up into the mind-organ and from there in its simple undifferentiated form support and hold together the physical case.

But if respiration is not necessary to the maintenance of life, it certainly is necessary to the maintenance of activity. The first condition of Pranayama is the suspension of conscious physical activity and the perfect stillness of the body, which is the primary object of the various *āsanas* or rigidly set positions of the body assumed by the Yogin as a necessary preliminary in the practice of his science. In the first stages of Yoga the subconscious activity of the body continues due to the life of the cells; in the later stages when internal respiration and vital activities are suspended, even this ceases, and the life of the body becomes like that of the stone or any other inert object. It is held together and exists by the presence of Prana in its primary state, the only connection of Will with the physical frame being the will to subsist physically. This is the first outstanding fact of Yoga which proves that Prana is the basis of all physical activity; the partial or complete quiescence of Prana brings with it the partial or complete quiescence of physical activity, the resumption of its functions by Prana is inevitably attended by the resumption of physical activity. The second outstanding fact is the peculiar effect of Pranayama and Yoga on mental activity. The first condition of Yogic exercises

is, as has been said, the stillness of the body, which implies the suspension of the five *indriyas* or potencies of action, grasp, locomotion, utterance, emission and physical ecstasy. It is a significant fact that the habit of suspending these *indriyas* is attended by an extraordinary activity of the five *indriyas* of knowledge, sight, hearing, smell, touch and taste, and an immense heightening of mental power and energy. In its higher stages this increase of power intensifies into clairvoyance, clairaudience, the power of reading other minds, and knowing actions distant in space and time, conscious telepathy and other psychical powers. The reason for this development is to be found in the habit of gathering Prana or vitality into the mind-organ. Ordinarily the psychical life is overlaid and hampered by the physical life, the activity of Prana in the physical body. As soon as this activity becomes even partially quiescent, the gross physical obstruction of Anna and Prana is rarefied and mind becomes more self-luminous, shining out through the clouds that concealed it; vital energy is not only placed mainly at the service of the mind as in the concentration of the poet and the thinker, but is so much subtilised by the effect of Pranayama that the mind can operate far more vigorously and rapidly than in ordinary conditions. For mind operates freely and naturally in subtle matter only and the subtler the matter, the freer the workings of the mind. At an intenser stage of Yogic exercise all the vital functions are stilled and Prana entirely withdrawn from bodily functions into mind which can then retire into the subtle world and operate with perfect freedom and detachment from physical matter. Here again we see that just as Prana, differentiated and working physically, was the basis of all physical activity, so Prana, intermediate and working psycho-physically is at the basis of all mental activity, and Prana, pure and working psychically is at the basis of all psychical activity.

The third outstanding fact of Yoga is that while in its earlier processes it stimulates mental activity, in its later stages it overpasses mental activity. At first the mind drawn inward from active reactions to external impacts, is able to perfect its passive reactions or power of reception and its internal reactions or powers of retention and combination. Next it is drawn inward from

external phenomena altogether and becomes aware of the internal processes and finally succeeds in concentrating entirely within itself. This is followed by the entire quieting of the subtle or psychical *indriyas* or sense-potencies followed by the entire quiescence of the mind itself. The reception of psychical impacts and the vibrations of subtle thought-matter are suspended; mind concentrates on a single thought and finally thought itself is surmounted and the Supra-Intelligence is potent, free and active. It is at this stage that Yoga develops powers which are so unlimited as to appear like omnipotence. The true Yogin, however, does not linger in this stage which is still within the confines of psychical existence, but withdraws the Will beyond Supra-Intelligence entirely into itself. The moment the Will passes out of subtle matter, activity ceases. Will has then three courses open to it; either to realise itself as the eternal Sakshi or witness and behold the vision of the Universe as a phenomenon within itself which it *sees but does not enact*; or to disappear into the Sunya Brahman, Supreme Nothingness, the great Void of unconscious mere-existence with which the Parabrahman is veiled; or to return into the Self and, liberated from even the vision of phenomena, exist in its own infinity of pure consciousness and supreme bliss. If we follow Prana through this process of Yogic liberation, we shall find that Prana ends where activity ceases. For Prana is a material entity arising out of the aerial state of subtle matter and as soon as that state is overpassed, Prana is impossible. Throughout there is this close identification of Prana with activity. It may well be said, therefore, that Matariswan is that which arranges actions.

Matariswan is the philosophical expression for Vayu, the aerial principle. It means that which moves in the mother or matrix and the word implies the three main characteristics of the aerial element. It is evolved directly out of ether, the common matrix, which is therefore its own mother and ultimately the mother of all elements, forces, substances, objects; its predominant characteristic is motion, and this characteristic of motion operates in the matrix, ether. Moving in ether, developing, combining, it creates the substances out of which sun and nebula and planet are made; it evolves fire and water and atmosphere,

earth, stone and metal, plant, fish, bird and beast. Moving in ether, acting and functioning through its energy Prana, it determines the nature, motions, powers, activities of all those infinite forms which it has created. By the combinations and operations of this aerial element the sun is built up, fire is struck forth, clouds are formed, a molten globe cools and solidifies into earth. By the energy of the aerial element the sun gives light and heat, fire burns, clouds give rain, earth revolves. Not only all animate, but all inanimate existence owes its life and various activity to Matariswan and its energy, Prana.

But it owes not only its life and activity, but the very materials out of which it is made. Here lies the insufficiency of Shankara's interpretation. The word *āpaḥ* naturally and usually signifies "waters", and it is a law of interpretation not lightly to be set aside that when the natural and usual meaning of a word gives a satisfactory or even a possible and not unsuitable sense, it should be preferred to an artificial and unusual meaning. In this case "waters" may have two meanings one of which gives a sense possible and not unsuitable, the other a sense even more satisfactory than Shankara's interpretation. By waters may be indicated the various fluid forms which are evolved by the fluid element, and, involved in the solid, sustain organic life; for the word *āpaḥ* is commonly used to indicate the fourth element of matter. Prana, the vital energy, may be said so to dispose these "waters" as to originate, sustain and develop all solidities and all forms of organic life. But this would be a narrow interpretation out of harmony with the vast sweep and significance of this verse which sums up the supreme Entity in its aspects as the stable substratum of cosmic existence, the mighty sum of cosmic motion and energy and the infinite continent of cosmic energy. It is better therefore to take *āpaḥ* in the sense of the original ocean of cosmic matter, a figure which is so common as to have become a commonplace of Hindu thought. In It, in Brahman, Matariswan, the aerial element took and disposed the infinite supply of causal matter so as to provide the substance, evolve the forms and coordinate the activities of this vast and complex universe.

CHAPTER IX

Spirit and Matter

BUT Matariswan does not conduct these numberless cosmic operations vast and minute by virtue of its own intrinsic and unborrowed power. Otherwise we might well ask, if there is a material substance which provides all the wherewithal necessary for the evolution of this Universe and a material energy by whose existence all the operations implied in its evolution can be explained, then the whole Universe can be understood as a development out of eternal Matter with its two properties substance and energy, and no second term of existence other than Matter need be brought into account for the evolution of Consciousness. But the Upanishad emphatically negatives the material origination of things by stating that it is in Brahman, the Supreme Entity, that Matariswan orders the waters. By this, as Shankara points out, it is meant that only so long as the Supreme Self is there, can the activity of Matariswan be conceived as possible. As ether, the matrix, is the continent and condition of Matariswan and his works, so is Brahman the continent and condition of ether and its evolution. Matariswan is born out of ether and works in ether, but ether is itself only an intermediate evolution; in reality, Matariswan is born out of Brahman the Self and works in Brahman the Self.

The materialistic theory of cosmic origins has a great superficial plausibility of its own and it is popular with scientists because analytical Science knows thoroughly the evolutions of matter and does not know thoroughly the evolutions of soul and spirit; it is therefore inevitably led to explain what it knows imperfectly or not at all by what it does know and understand. The materialistic tendency is immensely assisted by the universal interdependence of Spirit, Soul and Matter. Every spiritual and psychical activity involves a material operation and this Science has clearly seen. It is natural therefore for the Scientist to argue that the material operation is the cause of the spiritual and psy-

chical activity, nay, that the material operation is the activity and spirit and soul do not exist, but are essentially matter. It is equally true that every material operation involves a spiritual and psychical activity, but this Science has not yet seen. When therefore idealistic philosophies argue in precisely the opposite sense and urge that the spiritual activity is the cause of the material operation, nay, that the spiritual activity is the material operation and matter does not exist but is essentially spirit, it is natural for Science to brush aside the argument as metaphysical, mystical and irrational. I argue from the firm basis of well-tested certainties, thinks the Scientist, my opponent from mere ideas the truth of which cannot be demonstrated by definite evidence or actual experiment.

All Hindu philosophies, however, not only the Vedantic, but Sankhya and Buddhism agree in rejecting the materialistic reading of the Universe and oppose to the well-tested certainties of Science certainties as well-tested of their own. Hindu thought has its own analysis of the Universe arrived at by processes and experiments in which its faith is as assured and unshakeable as the confidence of the scientist in his modern methods of analysis and observation. To a certain extent Hindu philosophy goes hand in hand with the materialistic. Prakriti or Nature, an original energy manifesting as substance is the origin, the material and the agent of evolution. This original energy is not Prana, the vital energy, for Prana is not original but a later evolution, arising out of the aerial condition of matter and subsequent in time to the ethereal; there must therefore have been a previous energy which evolved ether out of causal matter. To this original Matter Sankhya gives the name of Prakriti, while Vedanta and Buddhism, admitting the term Prakriti, prefer to call it Maya. But Prakriti is not in itself sufficient to explain the origin of the universe; another force is required which will account for the activity of Prakriti in Pradhana or original substance. This force is Purusha or Spirit. It is the presence of Purusha and Prakriti together, says Sankhya, that can alone account for cosmic evolution. Vedanta agrees and emphasises what Sankhya briefly assumes, — that Purusha and Prakriti are themselves merely aspects, obverse and reverse sides, of a single Supreme entity or

Self of things. Buddhism, still more trenchant, does away with the reality of Purusha and Prakriti altogether and regards Cosmic Evolution as a cosmic illusion.

The necessity for positing another force than Prakriti arises from the very nature of Prakriti and its operations. The fundamental characteristic of Prakriti as soon as it manifests is eternal motion, — motion without beginning, without end, without limit, without cessation or respite. Its cosmic stir is like an eternally troubled ocean, a ceaseless rush, foam and clamour of perpetual restlessness, infinite activity. And the rapidity, the variability, the unimaginably complex coincidence and simultaneousness of different rates and forms of motion in the same material, in the same limits of space and time, are such as to baffle realisation. We can only realise it in sections by picking the web of Nature to pieces and regarding as separable and self-sufficient what are really simultaneous and coincident motions. The first result of this infinite complexity of motion is an infinite mutability. Wherever we turn our eyes there is something evolving and developing, something decaying and disintegrating. Nothing at this moment is precisely what it was the moment before; every ripple in the sea of Time means a disturbance however small in the coincident sea of Space, a change however infinitesimal in the condition of the largest or most apparently stable parts of Nature as well as of the minutest or most volatile. Causality, infinite and without beginning or end, cannot cease from its perpetuity of persistent action, its infinite progression of effects which are the causes of other effects, causes which are the effects of other causes; it is an endless chain, moving through Space and Time, working in Substance, forged by an eternal and indefinable Energy. And this eternal motion and mutability means inevitably an infinite multiplicity. Every inch of Space is thronged with an infinite variety of animate and inanimate existences, countless in number, multitudinous in kind, myriadly various in motion and action. An infinite multiplicity of motions make up the world, creating endless variety of substance, form, function; an infinite multiplicity of change is the condition of its activity. Remove this eternal motion, eternal mutability, eternal multiplicity from the idea of Prakriti and we arrive at

something we cannot recognise, an inactive energy, an immaterial substance. Without motion, Time, Space, Causality, as things in themselves, cease to be. We are face to face with blank void and nothingness — or else, since this is unimaginable and impossible, we must suppose something which cannot cease to be, an absolute Infinity undivided by Space or Time, an absolute Immutability unconditioned by cause and effect, an absolute Stillness unaffected by the illusive mobilities of Energy, an absolute Spirit ultimately real behind the phenomenon of substance.

If we do not accept this transcendental reality, we must suppose that an eternal Prakriti with eternal motion, mutability, multiplicity as its characteristics is the alpha and omega of existence. But a consideration of the Universe does not justify our resting secure in that hypothesis. In this eternal motion there is something perpetually stable, in this eternal mutability a sum and reality which is immutable; in this eternal multiplicity an initial, persistent and final Unity. Eternal motion in itself would lead to nothing but eternal chaos and confusion. We know that the Cosmos is made up of an infinite number of motions simultaneously occupying the same Space and simultaneously existent in the same substance; but the result is not clash or confusion, but harmony. In other words, the condition of this unending motion is an eternal stability. Everywhere we see a variety of motions resulting in a harmonious balance, in the orbits of the revolving planets round the moving sun woven into one solar system we have a striking instance out of myriads of this law which governs every object and every organism. There is therefore not only the mobile Prakriti, but something else which is eternally stable.

Eternal mutability, likewise, can lead to nothing but eternal unrest and disorder. What is it that imposes an unchanging law of persistence and orderly development on this mass of infinitely shifting, unquiet and impermanent parts and combines into one harmony this confused strife of changing and interchanging phenomena? In its details the universe is restlessly mutable, momentarily changing, in its broad masses it is more fixed and permanent, in its sum it is immutable. The class is less mutable and im-

permanent than the man, the community than the class, the race than the community, mankind than the race; and so it is with all existences. The parts change, the whole persists. And it is well known that while matter goes through infinite changes of form, its sum never changes; unincreasing it develops, undiminishing it disintegrates. But not only is the sum of things immutable, the laws of their development are immutable; phenomena vary but the law governing them remains the same, and for this reason that the nature of things is immutable. Whatever the variety of forms, the thing in itself preserves its characteristics and remains unchanged. Electricity works in various shapes and in many activities, but it is always electricity preserving its true characteristics whatever work it may do or whatever body it may wear and always working and changing under the fixed laws of its being which cannot change. Electricity again is only one form and function of the igneous element which takes many forms, but in all of them preserves its true characteristics and its own law of work. We see therefore that the parts are impermanent, the whole permanent; forms of things change, the reality is immutable. The condition of this unending mutability and impermanence is an eternal immutability and permanence. There is therefore not only this mutable Prakriti, but something else which is eternally immutable.

The apparent multiplicity of the Universe is equally deceptive. For the very condition of this infinite multiplicity is a persistent Unity which precedes it and towards which it moves. There are many substances, but they are all evolutions from one substance; one seed disposes itself in many forms. There are many laws governing the workings of that substance in its evolution but they resolve themselves into one law to which all existence is subject. As substances and forms develop, there seem to be many things with many natures, but they go back into one thing with one nature. There are many forms of electricity, but all resolve themselves into the one substance electricity; there are many forms of the igneous element, of which electricity is one, but they all resolve themselves into one igneous element; there are many elements beside the igneous, but they all resolve themselves into one causal and universal substance. This is the

bottom fact of the universe; all complexities and varieties resolve themselves into a precedent simplicity, and all simplicities into an original Unity. There is therefore not only this ever-multiplying Prakriti, but something else which is eternally One. In this mobile, mutable, multitudinous Prakriti, there is then a persistent element which is stable, immutable and one. We have arrived again at that One infinitely Immutable, Immobile Sum and Reality of Things which is Parabrahman.

Materialistic Analysis insists, however, that the eternal unity, immutability and immobility supporting and making possible the eternal multiplicity, mutability and motion are themselves characteristics of Eternal Matter. They are the two opposing lines of force whose action and reaction preserve the equibalance of cosmic existence, but the eternal reality in which they act is not spiritual but material. For material energy working in material substance is quite enough to explain all the evolutions of Nature and these in themselves make Eternal Matter. Hindu thought, however, has always been unable to accept this conclusion because its analysis of cosmic existence has convinced it that substance and energy are not things in themselves, but merely phenomena. Substance increases with density until it reaches its highest expression in solid physical matter; but as it is analysed and resolved nearer and nearer to its origin, its density becomes less and less, its tenuity increases, it becomes more and more unsubstantial, until, on the farther brink of causal matter, it disappears into something which is not substance. Moreover, when examined it appears that substance is really another term for energy; the conditions of density and tenuity which constitute material substance, correspond with the conditions of motional intensity and vagueness which constitute material energy. As, therefore, matter is resolved nearer and nearer to its origins, energy, like substance, becomes less and less intense, its vagueness increases until it comes to a standstill or rather dissipates in something which is not energy. The conclusion is irresistible that substance and energy are merely a single phenomenon with a double aspect, and that in the origin of things this phenomenon, to which we may give the name of Matter, does not exist. The question remains, into what do substance

and energy disappear? out of what were they born? We are confronted again with the necessity of choosing between the unimaginable impossibility of blank void and nothingness, for which we have no warrant in reason or experience, or the One, Immutable, Immobile, Infinite and Eternal Reality which is Parabrahman. This Supreme Entity is not Matter, we have seen. But it may be argued that it cannot be certainly called Spirit, since it is so absolute an entity as to be indefinable except by negatives. Vedanta concedes this caution, asserting only that Parabrahman is not a negative entity, but an eternal and positive Reality, defined by negatives simply because it is not expressible to the finite intellect, and containing in itself the unity of Spirit and Matter, which is neither material nor spiritual.

One argument remains open to material analysis. Granted Parabrahman as the reality of things, yet phenomenal existence itself is purely material and there is no need to call in the assistance of any other and different entity. For material energy in material substance is sufficient to explain all phenomena. Hindu thought holds, however, that it is not sufficient to explain the ultimate phenomena of Consciousness. At the beginning of material evolution Matter is in itself inanimate, consciousness, to all appearance, non-existent. How and whence then did it appear? By the interaction of the three *guṇas* inherent in Prakriti, reception, reaction, retention. But the interaction of the three *guṇas* did not create Consciousness, they only liberated it from the dense obscuration of gross matter. For if consciousness were not involved in Matter, it could never be evolved from it. For if it be evolved from matter as an entirely new birth, it must be either some already existent material substance in a new form — say, some kind of gas or electricity, or it must be a new substance formed by the union of two or more substances, just as water is formed out of hydrogen and oxygen. No such gas or electricity has been discovered, no such new substance exists. Indeed the evolution of a mighty, reasoning, aspiring, conquering, irrepressible Consciousness, capable of something like omnipotence and omniscience, out of mere material gases and chemical substance is a paradox so hardy, so colossally and impossibly audacious that mankind has rightly refused to accept

it even when advanced with the prestige of Science and her triumphant analysis and the almost irresistible authority of her ablest exponents to support the absurdity. Christian theology was inconsistent enough when it degraded man to the dust as a worm and clod, yet declared him capable of divinity by the easy process of belief in an irrational dogma; but the materialistic paradox, which lodges no hidden angel in the flesh, is even more startling, more naked, more inexorably irrational. Man, says materialistic Science, is an utterly insignificant unit in the universe; the infinitesimal creature of a day, he lives his short span of life and is then decomposed into the gases out of which he was made. He derives his mind, body and moral nature from his brother the chimpanzee and his father the gorilla. In his organism he is merely a mass of animalculae which belong individually to the lowest stage of animal life; but by combining into a republic with the cells of the brain as a sort of despotic senate or council, these undeveloped forms of life have been able to master the world. What has not this republic of animalculae, this Rome of protoplasms, been able to effect? It has analysed the elements; it has weighed the suns and measured the orbits of the stars; it has written the dramas of Shakespeare, the epics of Valmikie and Homer and Vyasa, the philosophies of Kant and Shankara; it has harnessed the forces of Nature to do its bidding; it has understood existence and grasped the conception of infinity. There is something fascinatingly romantic and interesting in the conception and it is not surprising that the human intellect should have been captured for a while by its cheerful audacity. But how long can unreason prevail? Even if we regard man as a limited being and take what the race has done for the utmost measure of what the individual can do, the disproportion between the results achieved and the means supplied by this theory is too great to be overlooked. It was inevitable that the religions formerly crushed down and almost smothered by the discoveries of Science, — even those creeds most philosophically insufficient and crude, — should be raising their heads and showing an unexpected vitality. Science prevailed for a time over religion by exposing the irrationalities and prejudices which had overgrown and incrusted spiritual truth. But when it sought to re-

place them by a more astounding irrationality than any religion had been guilty of and began to contract its own hard crust of dogmas and prejudices, it exposed itself to an inevitable reaction. Mankind for a time believed because it was incredible at the bidding of the theologians who ruled reason out of court; the experiment is not likely to be repeated for long on the authority of scientists who profess to make reason their judge.

If it be still contended that, however paradoxical, consciousness is the result of impressions and vibrations in the brain, or that consciousness is merely a material energy manifested at a particular intensity of ethereal vibration, like light or sound, the answer is that consciousness operates more powerfully when the brain is quiescent and unimpressed from without and survives cellular decomposition, and that when energy is quiescent and ether dissolved into its origin, consciousness abides. To the Hindu mind this is an insuperable obstacle to the acceptance of the material origin of consciousness. From its long acquaintance with Yoga and the results of Yoga, it has learned that conscious Will in the human body can not only override the laws of gross physical matter and come appreciably nearer, within its sphere, to omnipotence and omniscience, but that this conscious Will can impose absolute quietude on and detach itself from the animalcule republic which is erroneously supposed to originate and contain it and that it does, as a habitual law of Nature, survive the disintegration of the body. These two facts are fatal to the materialistic theory and, so long as the practice of Yoga subsists in India, the Hindu mind will never accept materialism. For they show that, although undeniably consciousness is evolved out of gross matter, it can only be because it was involved into gross matter by a previous downward evolution; it is not being created, it is being merely liberated from its prison. Neither can consciousness be taken as a function of subtle matter; for just as it can exist apart from and survives the disintegration of its gross body, so also it can exist apart from and survives the disintegration of its subtle body. Before subtle matter evolves, consciousness pre-exists in causal matter; and after subtle matter dissolves, consciousness survives in causal matter. And since matter at the stage of causality neither functions nor evolves,

consciousness is not a function or evolution of causal matter, but other and different from it. It is clear therefore that from the first appearance of matter, consciousness operates coevally with it, but is not dependent on it for its origin.

CHAPTER X

ORIGINAL consciousness, as distinct from Matter, is termed Spirit. Spirit must never be confused with the apparent manifestations of it, which are merely the action and reaction of Matter and Spirit on each other. The characteristics of true Spirit can be determined by distinguishing what is essential, characteristic and permanent in consciousness throughout all its stages from what is merely condition, form or function of consciousness affected by the medium in which it is working. There are three such characteristics which appear rudimentarily the moment consciousness itself appears, and seem more and more pronounced as liberated Spirit develops to its highest self-expression. The first of the trio is the impulse of existence, the will to preserve self, to survive and be, not merely temporarily but unendingly. Showing itself at first physically in the instinct of self-preservation and the instinct of self-reproduction, it develops psychically in the desire to outlast death and become "immortal" by whatever way, by a book, a song, a picture, a statue, a discovery, an invention, an immortal act or remembered career no less than by psychical persistence of personality after the death of the body, and it culminates spiritually in the Will to surmount both death and life and persist eternally and transcendentally. The second characteristic of consciousness is the capacity of knowledge or awareness, the Will to know. Showing itself at first physically in sensation and response to external objects, it develops psychically in personality with memory, its basis, and understanding, reason and intuition its superstructure, and culminates spiritually in self-knowledge and the awareness of one's own eternal and unabridged reality. The third characteristic of consciousness is the emotion of pleasure in existence, primarily in one's own, sympathetically in all existence, the Will to enjoy. This is the most powerful and fundamental of emotions, — so powerful as to persistently outlast all the pain and struggle which the hampered existence of Spirit in Matter brings to the personality. Showing

itself physically at first in mere sense-pleasure and the clinging to life, it develops psychically in the emotions of love and joy, and culminates spiritually in the delight of our psychical personality in contact with or entering into the impersonal existence of our real and infinite Self. These three characteristics constitute the conception of Spirit, which by throwing its will-to-be, its power of awareness and its delight in existence into the medium of Matter sets evolution going. This is what Sankhya philosophy means when it says that Purusha imparts activity to Prakriti by its mere presence or propinquity without thereby becoming itself active. Spirit remains what it essentially is, pure existence, consciousness and delight; it is Prakriti that vibrating to the touch of this conscious delight in existence, begins to act, to move, change and evolve. The limitations of consciousness, the phenomena of consciousness are merely phenomenal results of the vibrations of Prakriti in Consciousness and not changes in Spirit itself. Purusha is the eternally immutable, immobile and singly real condition of universal Evolution; Prakriti in action is its eternal motion, mutability, multiplicity.

Sankhya does not go beyond this conclusion which it finds sufficient for its purposes; it considers Purusha and Prakriti to be both ultimate eternal entities in the Supreme Reality and their propinquity a satisfactory explanation of the Universe. Vedic philosophy, going deeper, was driven both by philosophical reasoning and the ultimate experience of Yoga to the conception of the one Supreme Entity transcending the distinction between Spirit and Matter, Purusha and Prakriti, which are merely its noumenal self-expressions. Nor could Vedanta be satisfied with mere propinquity as a sufficient explanation of the manner in which immutability, stability and unity continually interpenetrate, surround and govern the infinite motion, mutability and multiplicity of Matter, still less of the manner in which Purusha identifies itself with the merely phenomenal changes of consciousness. But if Spirit informs, conditions and governs Matter, just as energy informs, conditions and governs substance, it would be possible for it to impress its own nature on the motions of Prakriti at every point of its evolutions without itself moving and

acting. And if Spirit and Matter are not entirely different and separate entities but various expressions of a single supreme Ens, Matter a noumenon of apparent Self phenomenally evolving as substance and energy, Spirit, a sense of Its real self supporting and therefore pervading and conditioning phenomena, it is then not only possible but inevitable that Spirit should be so constantly and closely aware of the perpetual activity of Matter as to attribute that activity to itself. In this interpretation of the Universe Vedanta consummated its analysis.

Time, Space, Condition reposing in the sense of actual Infinity and Immutability, — this is Prakriti, Origin-of-Matter working in Spirit; and all philosophic analysis of existence must inevitably culminate in this noumenon; for without it the Universe as it is, cannot be conceived; it is the very condition of thought and knowledge; it is the ultimate fact of cosmic existence. The triune noumenon of Time, Space, Condition or, in one word, Prakriti, immediately generates the noumenon of motion characterised by change and relation of parts and we have at once motion, mutability, multiplicity operating in the Infinite and Immutable. The triune noumenon of motion, mutability, multiplicity or in one word, Energy generates the noumenon of substance moving, changing, relatively shifting in the Infinity and Immutability of Spirit. The noumenon of energy-substance constitutes Pradhana, original matter, and nothing farther is needed for the evolution of the cosmos. Prakriti with its evolution Pradhana is the material cause of the Universe; the presence of Spirit containing, supporting and pervading Prakriti and its evolutions is the efficient cause of the Universe.

Noumenon leads naturally to phenomenon. Consciousness and Existence in the Eternal Self being one, every noumenon of Consciousness must translate itself into an existence of which the Consciousness is aware. The conception of Time, Space, Condition creates the appearance of Time, Space, Condition by that fundamental power of Consciousness which shows itself physically as formation, psychically as imagination and spiritually as Avidya, the power of conceiving what is not-Self. The conception of motion creates the appearance of energy at work. The

conception of motion-intensity as substance creates the appearance of Matter worked upon. All Matter is phenomenal; all evolution the result of Avidya. Spirit is not phenomenal, but owing to its continual immanency in Matter, attributes phenomenal existence to itself, so creating the phenomenon of soul or spirit working in matter. Thus Cosmos originates.

It will be seen that in this explanation of the Universe Spirit is taken as nearer to the Supreme Reality of things than Matter; it is not absolutely the real Self of things, but it is the noumenon or sense of the real Self persisting throughout all the obscurations of Avidya. This view is triply necessitated by the truths of elemental, psychical and spiritual evolution. When we consider the relations of Spirit to elemental Matter, we see that as the obscuration of Matter thickens, Spirit becomes more and more concealed until, in gross inanimate Matter, it is utterly covered in; but as the obscuration of Matter lessens, Spirit is more and more liberated until in the origin of things Matter seems a mere appearance in the reality of Spirit. It is therefore through Spirit and not through Matter that we are likely to get nearest to the Supreme Reality. So too, when we study our psychical evolution and follow Consciousness in its progressive liberation until it becomes Will in causal matter, we find it characterised in this last stage, by the Will to be, the Will to know, the Will to enjoy; and when we get behind Will and Matter to our pure unconditioned Self, we still envisage Consciousness as pure existence, awareness and bliss. But our pure unconditioned Self is, we have seen, the Reality of Things unaffected by Prakriti or its phenomena. We may therefore safely conclude that so far as the Supreme Reality can be positively envisaged by us in its purity, it is envisaged as existence, awareness, bliss, — in terms of Spirit and not of Matter. Lastly when we analyse the evolution of Purusha in its three states, we find that it consists in the reflection of Prakriti as if by the Spirit. Spirit follows Prakriti through her three stages of material evolution, informing and sustaining them and mirrors their changes in itself as the changes of the sky may be mirrored in a clear and motionless pool; but the changes of the sky are not changes in the water. Purusha is immutable, immo-

bile and One, just as the Supreme Reality is immutable, immobile and One. Purusha or Spirit is therefore the noumenon of the true Self, Prakriti the noumenon of not-Self or apparent Self. It is in this true Self of Parabrahman that the evolutions of apparent Self take place. In It Matariswan ordereth the waters.

Chapter XI

LONG and difficult to follow as has been this account of the Nature of Things according to Vedic philosophy, it was necessary so that we might understand minutely and comprehensively the meaning of these two verses, which in the second chapter of this book we could only adumbrate. The verses describe Parabrahman in Its truth with respect to the Cosmos, not in the absolute reality which is Its truth in Itself, but at the same time they indicate that it is the absolute and real Self of things which manifests in the Cosmos and not any Other, for there is no Other. It is *anejad ekam*, the One who moveth not. The root *ejr*, as Shankara points out, means to shake or vibrate, and the reference is obviously to those vibrations of Prakriti on the tranquil surface of Self which are the beginning and cause of matter and its evolutions. But the Self does not vibrate and is not affected by the vibrations of Prakriti, even when It is supporting the Cosmos and seems to be moving in it. Throughout it remains the One and is not broken up into multiplicity; even when by its immanence in many forms it seems to be many. These opening words of the first verse identify the One Immutable Immobile Infinity called Self or Spirit in the Cosmos with the Supreme Entity, Parabrahman.

This Supreme Entity which, as Self or Spirit, is immobile and One, is yet, without moving, swifter than thought. Swiftness implies motion; but the motion of Spirit in Cosmos is the illusory motion we see in the landscape as it whirls swiftly past the quiet watcher in the railway-carriage. The individual Self in Man is the watcher in the train, the train is Prakriti, the landscape the Universal Self in the Cosmos. The watcher is not moving, the landscape is not moving; it is the train which is moving and carries the sitter with it. In this second phrase of the verse the Parabrahman is identified with the Supreme Will in the Cosmos which without lifting a finger or stirring a foot creates and encompasses the Universe. This Supreme Will is simply Self or Spirit envisaging itself as the immanent Cause and

Director of cosmical evolution in matter. The Will does not move but causes and conditions the infinitely complex cosmic motions; the Will does not act, but causes and determines actions; the Will does not divide or multiply itself, but plays with the multiplicity of cosmic forms and energies and impresses or mirrors itself in each. Being essentially the Self, it is, like the Self, One and Immobile, but as seen in the moving Cosmos, pervading, informing and governing it, It is, even in its motionlessness, swifter than thought.

The Gods could not reach It going in front. In the terminology of the Upanishads the Gods are the Potencies of the Universe which govern the Mind and the Senses in the microcosm Man and the Elements and their manifestations in the macrocosm Universe. Brahman, the One, precedes all these multiple potencies; It existed before they came into being and is therefore beyond their grasp. The rapid and stupendous effects of Will, omnipotent and omniscient, are such that the Mind, Sight, Hearing, all the senses together cannot comprehend their origination; limited and finite, they cannot grasp that which transcends limit. To the finite intelligence, reasoning within prescribed limits, it appears that there is no Will in action; all that happens and becomes is the inevitable working of material cause and effect or of the Elements combining and working on each other. But Will is the cause of Causation and the disposer of Effect; Will preceded and dictated the workings of the Elements and arranged their combinations beforehand. This is He that from years sempiternal hath ordered perfectly all things. But the mind and senses cannot come near to and apprehend the nature of the Will or realise the how of its workings, because the mind and the senses can only understand what is done through their instrumentality or within the elemental medium to which they are limited and confined. They can analyse the physical forces of Nature and formulate the laws under which they work; they can dissect thought and sentiment and classify the mental functions and the laws of reasoning. But Brahman, the Will, they cannot reach and analyse; for He does not work through them, nor does He act in phenomena. He has arranged the motions of Prakriti beforehand, from years sempiternal; He has mapped out the law

of those motions before ever they began to stir; and He now abides concealed in them, not acting but simply by His presence necessitating that the Law shall be observed and His dispositions followed. Will creates effects, outside Time, Space and Condition in a way the Mind cannot comprehend, by *icchā* or Wish, in other words, by Itself. Will by Will necessitates phenomena in Itself, *ātmanyātmanā*. But when Prakriti translates Will into phenomena in the terms of Time, Space, Causality, she does it under limitations and by limited instruments. The preordainment was immediate, unhindered and perfect, but the carrying out seems to be slow, imperfect and the result of ceaseless effort and struggle, a web of failures, incomplete realisations and transient successes, a maze of forces acting and reacting on each other, helping, hindering and repulsing and always with a partial and mechanical or only half-intelligent action. Somehow a result is worked out, progress is made, but nowhere is there any finality or completeness, nowhere the repose of consummation. This incompleteness is an illusion created by the nature of finite consciousness. The Mind and the Senses, through whom we become aware of the workings of the Universe, are themselves limited and imperfect; functioning only under limits and with effort they cannot envisage the work accomplished except in parts and with a restricted, disturbed and broken vision. To see life steadily and see it whole is only permitted to a Perfect and Infinite Consciousness standing outside Time, Space and Conditions. To such a divine Vision the working out of preordainment may present itself as a perfect immediate and unhindered consummation. God said "Let there be Light" and straightway there was Light; and when the Light came into being, God saw that it was good. But to the imperfect finite consciousness Light seems in its inception to have come into being by a slow material evolution completed by a fortuitous shock of forces; in its operation to be lavished with a prodigal wastefulness since only a small part is used for the purposes of life; in its presentation to be conveyed to a blinking and limited vision, hampered by obstacles and chequered with darkness. Limitation, imperfection, progression and retrogression are inseparable from phenomenal work, phenomenal intelligence, phenomenal pleasure and satisfaction. To

Brahman the Will who measures all Time in a moment, covers all Space with one stride, embraces the whole chain of causation in one glance, there is no limitation, imperfection, progression, or retrogression. He looks upon his work as a whole and sees that it is good. But the Gods cannot reach to His completeness, even though they toil after it; for ever He outruns their pursuit, moving far in front.

Brahman, standing still, overtakes and passes the others as they run. While the Mind and Senses press onward through Time, look before and after and see sections of the past and dim apparitions of the future from the standpoint of their moment in the present, the Will from its position beyond the beginning of the past speeds beyond them into the future and to the end of things. It has in that moment apprehended, decided and accomplished in Itself all that is to be and leaves the mind and senses to toil after It and work out the preordained ideas and forms left impressed on the mould of that future which to It already exists. It does this standing still, because to the Will Past, Present and Future are but one moment and It lives in all of them simultaneously; they do not contain Brahman but are contained in Him. The Mind and Senses hasten through Space, measuring the distance between star and star; but the Will passes them, traverses Space from one end to the other, knows it as a Whole and creates in Itself all its forms present, past and future; it leaves the Mind and Senses to gather slowly, toilfully and by parts the single comprehensive knowledge It acquired without any process and to experience under the law of Time the immediately complete Universe It has perfected without any labour. It does this also standing still, for to Brahman here and there do not exist; all is here, since He is not in Space, but Space is in Him. While the Mind and Senses run in the winding and twisted line of causation, the Will from the beginning of the chain passes them and has in a moment formed and surveyed it to its very end; It leaves them to count out the chain link by link by the imperfect aid of reason, piecing what is past to what is to come, and to trace out by the slow and endless process of work generating work and life generating life the complete and single Evolution which is already a predestined and therefore an accomplished fact. This

too It does standing still; for to Brahman there is no succession of cause and effect, since cause and effect exist simultaneously in the Will; cause does not precede Him nor effect follow, but are both embraced in the single and mere existence of Himself as Will.

In It Matariswan ordereth the waters. We have here Brahman in a third relation to Cosmos. Brahman is the stable and immutable Unity which is immanent in the Cosmos as its real self of existence, awareness and bliss and which supports all phenomenal objects and forces as their omnipresent substratum of reality. Secondly, Brahman, this immobile Unity, is also, as Will, that which stands still and is yet swifter than mind and the potencies of mind; for Will, the Ordainer, Disposer and Cause, traverses all Time, Space and Causation, without motion, by the mere fact of being. Lastly, Brahman, this Self and omnipresent Lord of things, is also that which contains all evolution, and determines every object and force evolved by Prana out of original matter. Brahman is Vaiswanor, the Waking-Self, in whom is contained and by whom exists all this evolution of physical world; Brahman is Taijasa, the Dream-Self, in whom is contained and by whom exists all the psychical evolution from which the physical draws its material; Brahman is Prajna, the Sleep-Self, in whom all evolution, psychical and physical is for ever self-existent and preordained; Brahman is the Turiya Atman in whom and by whom Prajna-Taijasa-Vaiswanor are. He pervades the Cosmos and contains the Cosmos, as ether pervades the earth and contains the earth, and not only the Cosmos as a whole but every particular object and force in the Cosmos. This tree is pervaded and surrounded by the Divine Presence, — not, be it clearly understood, by a part of It but by Brahman one and indivisible. The presence of God is as complete in one small flower as in the whole measureless Universe. So also the Spirit in man is not a fragment of Deity, but the Eternal Himself in His imminuable majesty. The Self in me is not merely a brother to the Self in you or of one kind with it but is completely and utterly yourself; for there is no you or I, but one Eternal Immutable in many names and forms, One Reality in many transient and perishable frames.

> It moves, It moveth not; It is far, the same It is near; It is within all this, the same It is outside all.

THIS second verse only brings out more emphatically what is implied in the first or presents the same truth from a slightly different standpoint. Brahman moves or vibrates, and Brahman does not move or vibrate. As the One Immutable and Immobile, He does not move, but He moves as mobile and multiple Prakriti. When it is said that Brahman is One and Unmoving, it is not meant that the mobile and multiple element in the Universe is other than Brahman; the Gods who cannot reach Brahman, whom He precedes and outstrips, are yet appearances of Himself; Matariswan and the Waters, whom He contains, are also of His substance. Purusha alone is not Brahman, Prakriti also is Brahman; for He is not only the efficient cause of His Cosmos, but its material Cause as well. It is true that the motion and multiplicity of Prakriti are phenomenal and superficial, the stability and immutability of Purusha fundamental and real; but the phenomenal has a truth and existence of its own and is not utterly unreal. To take the suggestive human parallel, Shakespeare in himself is one and immutable, in his creations he is mutable and many; the personages of his dramas and their words and actions are not Shakespeare in the ultimate truth of himself, yet they are not other than Shakespeare; for they live in him, by him and are of his substance. It is easy to say they are unreal, but they have a reality of their own; they are true psychical images and live as phenomena in the consciousness of Shakespeare though not as separate and independent entities. So also the multiple Cosmos has a true phenomenal existence and reality in the Brahman, though no separate existence as independent entities. The tree and the river are not real as tree and river, but they are real as images, eidolons of the Brahman. In Himself He is calm, quiescent and unmoved, in them He moves and energises.

It is far and It is at the same time near. Physically near and

far; the Sun and the distant constellations and Orion and Aldebaran and Lyra and whatever utmost star glitters on the outermost mesh of this network of suns and systems, all that is Brahman; and equally this earth which is our dwelling-place, and this country which is our mother and nurse, and this village or city in which we live and do business, and this house which shelters us, and these trees and tanks which were part of our childhood, and the faces we familiarly know and the voices we daily hear, all in which we habitually live and move, all this is Brahman. Emotionally near and far; for our love and our hatred, and what we love and hate, things forgotten and things remembered, things we cherish until death and things we put from us with loathing, friend and enemy, injurer and injured, our work and the daily web of our fears and hopes and longings, this is Brahman; and that which is so far from us that it cannot stir a single emotion or create a ripple of sensation in the mind, whether because it is remote in the distance of Time or hidden in the distance of Space or lost to the blindness of indifference, that too is Brahman. Intellectually near and far; for the unknown and the little known, that which is too vast or too small for us to perceive, or which our most powerful instruments cannot bring near to us or our keenest reasonings analyse or our widest comprehension embrace, that is Brahman; all we daily perceive and note, the myriad forms that Science analyses, the delight of the eye and ear and taste and smell and touch, this is Brahman; and the subjective world in ourselves which is nearest to us of all, thought and memory and sensation and feeling, volitions and aspirations and desires, these too are Brahman. Spiritually near and far; for the Omniscient and Omnipotent Cause and Ruler who creates universes with the in-drawing of its breath and destroys universes with its out-throwing, beside whom we feel ourselves to be too vile and weak and feeble to partake even infinitesimally of His divine nature, that is Brahman; the ineffable and unimaginable Spirit whom our senses cannot perceive, nor our minds comprehend, nor our reason touch, that is Brahman; and our own Self who eternally enthroned in the cavern-heart of our being, smiling at our pleasures and pains, mighty in our strength, as mighty in our weakness, pure in our virtues, un-

stained by our sins, no less omniscient and omnipotent than Isha, no less calm, immutable and ineffable than the Supreme Being, — this our Self too is Brahman. The Karmayogin who has realised it, must hold all existence divine, all life a sacrament, all thought and action a self-dedication to the Eternal.

It is within all this, It too is without all. Brahman is within the whole Universe; every object however inanimate, every form of life however vile, is brim-full with the presence of God. The heathen who worships stocks and stones has come nearer to the truth of things, than the enlightened professor of "rational" religion who declares God to be omnipresent and yet in the next breath pronounces the objects in which He is present to be void of anything that can command religious reverence. There is no error in "idolatry"; the error is in the mind of the idolater who worships the stone as stone and the stock as stock, thinking that is God, and forgets or does not realise that it is the Divine Presence in them which is alone worship-worthy. The stock or the stone is not God, for it is only an eidolon, a symbol of His presence; but the worship of it as a symbol is not superstitious or degrading; it is true and ennobling. Every ceremony which reminds us of the presence of the Eternal in the transient, is, if performed with a religious mind, a spiritual help and assists in the purification of consciousness from the obscuration of the senses. To the ordinary intelligence, however, the idea of Brahman's omnipresence, if pushed home, becomes a stumbling-block. How can that which is inert, senseless and helpless be full of that which is divine and almighty? Is it not a sacrilege to see Him in what is vile and repulsive? Is it not a blasphemy to envisage Him in the vicious and the criminal? Hence the popular Manicheanism which pervades every religion; hence the persistent idea of a twofold creative power, God and devil, Ormuzd and Ahriman, Allah and Iblis, the one responsible for all that is good, the other for all that is evil. This kind of spiritual and intellectual weakness loves to see God in everything good and pleasant and beautiful, but ignores Him in what is evil, ugly or displeasing. But it is an imperfect religion which thus yields to the domination of the mind and senses and allows them to determine what is or is not God. Good is a mask and evil is a

mask; both are eidola, valid for the purposes of life in phenomena, but when we seek that which is beyond phenomena, we must resolutely remove the mask and see only the face of God behind it. To the Karmayogin there should be nothing common or unclean. There is nothing from which he has the right to shrink; there is none whom he can dare to loathe. For God is within us all; as the Self pure, calm and eternal, and as the Antaryamin or Watcher within, the Knower with all thought, action and existence for His field of observation, the Will behind every movement, every emotion, every deed, the Enjoyer whose presence makes the pain and pleasure of the world. Mind, Life and all our subjective consciousness and the elements of our personal existence and activity, depend on His presence for the motive-force of their existence. And He is not only within us, but within all that is. What we value within ourselves, we must not belittle in others; what we cherish within ourselves, we must not hurt in others; what we love in ourselves, we must not hate in others. For that which is within us, is the Divine Presence, and that which is in others, is the same Divine Presence. To remember this is worth all the moral teachings and ethical doctrines in the world. Vedanta has been declared by those who have not chosen to understand it, a non-moral or even immoral philosophy. But the central truth of Vedanta enfolds in a single phrase all the highest ethics of the world. Courage, magnanimity, purity, justice, charity, mercy, beneficence, loving kindness, forgiveness, tolerance, all the highest demands that the most exalted ethical teacher can make on humanity are contained in that single doctrine; and find in it their one adequate philosophical justification and sole natural basis.

That is not only within all this, It is also outside all. We have already seen that Brahman is outside all in the sense of containing the Universe and not only pervading but surrounding every object with His presence. He is also outside in the sense that He is apart from it and other than it. He is not confined in Time, Space and Condition, but is quite above and outside Time, Space and Condition: Cosmos is within Him only as the shadow of a cloud is in the water; He is in Cosmos only as the water is in the shadow and causes and contains the shadow; but He is not the

Cosmos in His nature or in His substance any more than the water is in nature or substance the shadow. The Cosmos exists in Him phenomenally and as a transient appearance, just as the shadow exists phenomenally in the water and after a time passes away. But there is this difference that the appearance in the water is the shadow of something else cast from outside, but the Cosmos is a shadow or eidolon of Himself created by Brahman in His own being. The materialistic Pantheism so natural to the sense-dominated intelligence of the West, is not Vedanta. God is not, in nature or substance, His Universe; but the Universe is He phenomenally and as a manifestation. Spirit-Matter is Brahman, but Brahman is not Spirit-Matter. This distinction must be carefully kept in mind or the doctrine of entire identity between Brahman and the Self of Things, may lead to disastrously false conclusions. The truth that Brahman is in all this, must be carefully balanced by the truth that Brahman is outside it all.

Yet to the Karmayogin the negative side of this dual truth is only necessary as a safeguard against error and confusion; it is the positive side which must be his inspiration. In its light the whole world becomes a holy place and all cause of fear or grief or hatred disappear, all reason for selfishness, grasping, greed and lust are eliminated, all excuses for ignoble desire or ignoble action are taken away. In their stead he receives the mightiest stimulus to self-purification and self-knowledge, which will lead him to the liberation of the divine in himself, to that subdual of the bodily and vital impulses which disciplines the body into the triune strength of purity, abstemiousness and quietude; to courage, magnanimity, justice, truth, the four elements of strength; and mercy, charity, love, beneficence, the four elements of sweetness, making that harmony of perfect sweetness and strength which is perfect character, to a mind, pure of passion and disturbance and prepared against the delusions of sense and the limitations of intellect, such a mind as is alone capable of self-knowledge. In this disciplined body, a perfect heart and a pure mind he will have erected a fitting temple for the Eternal within him in which he can offer the worship of works to the Lord and of selflessness to the Self and the Eternal. For by that worship he will become himself the Lord and find release from

phenomenal life into the undisturbed tranquillity of the Spirit. The dictum, *Theos ou kestin alla gignetai*, God is not but is becoming, has been used to express the imperfect evolution of the cosmos but is better applied to the present spiritual progress of humanity. In the race that progress is still rudimentary but each man has that within him which is empowered to fulfil his evolution and even in this life become, no longer an animal, or a mind, a heart, an intellect, but the supreme and highest of all things — Himself.

BOOK THREE

CHAPTER I

> But he who sees all creatures in his very Self and the Self in all creatures, thereafter shrinketh not away in loathing. He who discerneth, in whom all creatures have become Himself, how shall he be deluded, whence shall he have sorrow in whose eyes all are one?

IN these two stanzas the Upanishad formulates the ethical ideal of the Karmayogin. It has set forth as its interpretation of life the universality of the Brahman as the sole reality and true Self of things; all things exist only in Him and He abides in all as the Self. Every creature is His eidolon or manifestation and every body His temple and dwelling-place. From Him all things began, in Him they develop and mature themselves, to Him they must in their nature strive to return. The mutual relations of all beings to each other may be summed up in the single phrase, "One Self in all creatures, all creatures in one Self"; for He is both within all and contains all. But this Self exists in each creature not partially or fragmentarily but in Its indivisible completeness. Therefore the Self in one creature is precisely the same as the Self in another, not merely kin by origin as in the Christian theology, not merely of the same kind and nature as in the Sankhya teaching, but absolutely identical. The sense of personal separation in space and substance and difference in nature has been illusorily brought about by the play of Prakriti, the noumenon of false self, on the one eternal Reality, creating an illusion of multiplicity and mutability. Self identifies itself with the phenomena of the evolved universe; habitually feeling the play of the three Gunas, the principles of material reception, reaction and retention, on the body, the vital impulses, the mind, the intellect, the supra-intelligence, it mistakes the continuity of conscious impressions for the real self, forgetting that these are merely aspects of consciousness

in relation to matter and not the true and eternal reality of consciousness. But the end of evolution is to liberate the permanent from the impermanent, the spiritual from the material, the Self from its bondage to the three Gunas and the false conceptions which that bondage creates. This liberation or release must therefore be the final aim of religion and ethics, otherwise religion and ethics will be out of harmony with the truth of things and therefore false or imperfect. Religion and ethics must train the individual self in a man to discover its universality, to see himself in all creatures and all creatures in himself, and the ideal or ethically perfect man is the one who has attained to this vision and observes it habitually in his thoughts and actions as the one law of his life.

In order to realise this vision, it has been found by experience that a man must attain freedom from the lower impulses which identify the body and the vital impulses with Self; he must practise cleanliness and purity in mind, body and speech, abstinence from gross gratifications and freedom from the domination of passions and desires; indifference to cold, heat, hunger, thirst, fatigue and other affections from external influences. In other words he must be completely master of his own body. The Christian virtue of purity, the Pagan virtue of endurance, lie therefore at the very root of Vedantic morality.

To see oneself in others is impossible without completely identifying oneself with others; a perfect sympathy is essential and perfect sympathy brings with it perfect love, perfect charity and forgiveness, perfect pity for sin and suffering, perfect tolerance, a universal benevolence with its counterpart in action universal beneficence. The Jivanmukta, the Rishi, the sage must be, by their very nature, *sarvabhūtahite ratāḥ*, men who make it their business and pleasure to do good to all creatures, not only all men, but all creatures, — the widest possible ideal of universal charity and beneficence. To do as one would be done by, to love your enemies and those who hate you, to return good for evil are the first ethical inferences from the Vedantic teaching; they were fully expressed in their highest and noblest form by Buddhism five hundred years before they received a passionately emotional and lyrical phrasing in Judea, and were put widely into

practice in India more than two thousand years before Christian Europe took even slightly to heart what it had so long been professing with its lips. And not only perfect love and beneficence but perfect justice with its necessary counterpart in action, honest dealing and faithful discharge of duty are the natural outcome of the Vedantic teaching. For if we see ourself in others, we shall not only be willing but delighted to yield them all that is due to them, and must shrink from wronging or doing hurt to them as naturally as we would shrink from doing hurt to ourselves. The debts we owe to parents, family, friends, the caste, the community, the nation we shall discharge not as an irksome obligation, but as a personal pleasure. The Christian virtue of charity, the Pagan virtue of justice are the very sap and life of Vedantic morality.

Seeing the Self in all creatures, implies seeing the Lord everywhere. The ideal man of Vedanta will accept pain as readily as pleasure, hatred, wrong insult and injustice as composedly as love, honour and kindness, death as courageously as life. For in all things he will see the mighty Will which governs the Universe and which wills not only his own good and pleasure and success, but the good and pleasure and success of others equally with his own; which decrees that his own good and the good of others shall be worked out not only by his victories and joys, but by his defeats and sufferings. He will not be terrified by the menace of misfortune or the blows dealt him by man or nature, nor even by his own sins and failures, but walk straight forward in the implicit faith that the Supreme Will is guiding his steps aright and that even his stumblings are necessary in order to reach the goal. If his Yoga is perfect, his faith and resignation will also be perfectly calm and strong; for he will then fully realise that the Supreme Will is his own Will. Whatever happens to me, it is I that am its cause and true doer and not my friend or enemy who is merely the agent of my own Karma. But the faith and resignation of the Karmayogin will not be a passive and weak submission. If he sees God in his sufferings and overthrow, he will also see God in his resistance to injustice and evil, a resistance dictated not by selfishness and passion, but undertaken for the sake of right and truth and the maintenance of that moral order on which the

stability of life and the happiness of the peoples depend. And his resistance like all his actions will be marked by a perfect fearlessness, a godlike courage. For when a man sees God in all things and himself in all beings, it is impossible for him to fear. What is it that can cause him terror? Not danger or defeat, not death or torture, not hatred or ingratitude, not the worse death of humiliation and the fiercer torture of shame and disgrace. Not the apparent wrath of God Himself; for what is God but his own Self in the Cosmos? There is nothing that he can fear. The Christian virtue of faith and resignation, the Pagan virtue of courage are the strong stem and support of Vedic morality.

The ignorant censure of Vedanta as an immoral doctrine because it confuses the limits between good and evil, or rejects the one necessary motive to action and virtue, proceeds from unwillingness or inability to understand the fine truth and harmony of its teachings. Vedanta does indeed teach that virtue and vice, good and evil are relative terms, things phenomenal and not real; it does ask the seeker to recognise the Supreme Will in what is evil no less than in what is good; but it also shows how the progression of the soul rises out of the evil into the good and out of the good into that which is higher than good and evil. Vedanta does reject the lower self of desire as a motive to action and virtue, but it replaces it by the far more powerful stimulus of selflessness which is only the rising to our higher and truer Self. It does declare phenomenal life to be an illusion and a bondage, but it lays down the practice of courage, strength, purity, truth and beneficence as the first step towards liberation from that bondage, and it demands a far higher standard of perfection in these qualities than any other creed or system of ethics. What to many moralists is the highest effort of feeble human nature is to Vedanta only the first imperfect manifestation of the divine Self in humanity. Vedanta embraces, harmonises and yet overtops and exceeds all other moralities; as Vedic religion is the eternal and universal religion, so is Vedic ethics the eternal and universal morality. *Eṣa dharmaḥ sanātanaḥ.*

CHAPTER II

Ethics in Primitive Society

EVERY system of ethics must have a sanction to validate its scheme of morals and an aim which will provide man the stimulus he needs, if he is to surmount his anti-ethical instincts and either subdue them or eradicate. Man is not a purely ethical being; he has immoral and non-moral impulses which are primarily stronger than his ethical tendencies. To check the former, to liberate, strengthen and train the latter is the first object of all practical ethics religious or non-religious. The first requisite to this end is a true knowledge of human nature and its psychology; for if an ethical system is psychologically untrue, if it is seriously mistaken in its view of human nature or fails to discern and reach his highest and noblest instincts, it will either be ineffective or possibly even do as much harm as good to the moral growth of humanity. But even a psychologically sound morality will not command general assent in practice unless there is a sanction behind it which the reason or the prejudices of mankind will accept as sufficiently strong to make a necessity of obedience. Armed with such a sanction it will influence the thoughts and the thoughts the actions of the race, but even then it will be only a repressive and disciplinary influence; to be an active stimulus or a powerful moral lever it must be able to set in our front an aim which will enlist strong natural forces on the side of virtue or an ideal which will appeal to instincts deep-seated and persistent in universal humanity.

In its origin it is more than probable that morality was a social growth and limited to communal habits and communal necessities. The aim set before the individual was the continued privilege of abiding in the community and enjoying the all-important advantages of security, assistance and social life which membership of the community could alone provide. The sanction was again a communal sanction; the custom-code of the

tribe or community commanded assent and obedience precisely because it was the tribe and community that commanded and could enforce them with severe social punishments, death, ostracism, excommunication. This origin of ethics from the customs of the tribe, themselves originating from the fundamental necessities of self-preservation, is warranted by the facts of sociology as rendered by modern investigation. It agrees also with the view of nature and evolution held by the Vedic inquirers. For if we consider the history of communities and nations so far as we know them, we shall find that it consists so far in a progression from the society to the individual in society, from a basis of Tamas to an outgrowth of Rajas in the tamasic basis; while Sattwa perfected in a few individuals is, as a social force, not yet emancipated.

We have seen that Prakriti or nature in all its operations works through three inherent *guṇas* or qualities which repeat themselves in all stages and forms of her multifold activity; they are present as much in psychic and spiritual evolution as in the physical; and so all important are they that all activity of any kind whatsoever, all life, mental, vital, physical are said to be merely the natural operation of the three *guṇas* interacting upon each other. These three *guṇas* are called in the Sankhya terminology *sattva, rajas, tamas*; comprehension, activity, passivity, or as they manifest in physical substance, retention, active reaction and passive reception. None of these *guṇas* can exist or act by themselves; the activity of each involves the activity of the other two; but according as one or the other predominates, an action, a state of things, a substance, a character, is called tamasic, rajasic, or sattwic. In the early stages of upward evolution Tamas predominates, in the medial Rajas, in the final Sattwa. In the early evolution of man it is inevitable, therefore, that the obscuration of Tamas should be very heavy and that the characteristic of passive receptivity to outside surroundings should be markedly predominant. Early man is active only under the pressure of hunger, or when moved by the primitive impulses of sense and vitality and the needs of self-preservation. His senses are keen and his power of activity great because keen senses and a strong hardy agile body are necessary to self-

preservation but in the absence of necessity or stimulus he is profoundly indolent, even inert. His sensibility, physical or mental, is small, for sensibility depends on and increases with Rajas, the power of reaction, and this power is in the savage comparatively undeveloped. His emotional reactions are also weak and primitive; in their predominantly physical character and in the helpless spontaneousness of their response to impressions they reveal the domination of tamasic passivity. The centres of individuality, a characteristically sattwo-rajasic function, are too weak as yet to control, regulate and rationalise the response. Hence the emotional nature shows itself on one side in a childishly unruly gratification of the pleasure of pleasant impressions, — the savage is easily mastered by gluttony and drunkenness but also capable of childlike worship and doglike fidelity when brought into close contact with a higher nature; on the other, it is manifested in a brutally violent response to unpleasant impressions. Anger is the primitive reaction to an unpleasant impact which is not unfamiliar, fear the primitive reaction to an unpleasant impact which is new and surprising. The savage is therefore prone to childish terror in presence of the unknown, to ferocious anger and vindictive cruelty when his hatred is aroused by injury or the presence of what, though not unfamiliar in form, is alien and therefore hateful in its features. The habit of self-indulgence in anger by an organisation of great passivity and low physical and mental sensibility creates the characteristic of a quiet unimpassioned cruelty, — the savage is, as a rule, calmly cruel. The Red-Indian's stoicism, impassivity, immobility, quiet endurance of pain are merely the inertia of the tamasic mind and body systematised and become part of his tribal morality. But the height of passivity is reached in his intellectual organisation of which the only strong reaction is the primitive mental response to outside impressions, curiosity. This curiosity is different from the desire to know, for it consists in a childish amused wonder and a desire merely to repeat the experience, not to learn from it. Such curiosity is at the root of the practice of torture; for the primitive mind finds a never-failing delight in the physical response evoked by intense and violent pain. This pleasure in crude physical, moral, aesthetic or intellectual reactions because of their

raw intensity and violence is a sure sign of the undeveloped tamasic mind and is still common enough in the most civilised communities. Originality and independence of mind and character spring from a strong rajasic development and are therefore unknown to the savage who is the creature and slave of his environments. By far the most powerful and insistent of these environments is the community in which he lives and which is necessary to him at every turn for his security and his self-gratification. His passive mentality therefore not only accepts but welcomes the rigid control by the community; it receives the hereditary custom-law of the tribe as an inviolable natural law, and has too weak an individuality to react against it or to desire change and progress. The primitive community is therefore stationary; the individual exists in it not as an individual, but as an undetachable fragment of the whole. The social organisation, even at its best, is in type and level on a par with that of the bee-hive and the ant-hill.

The tamasic state of society reaches its highest development when the community, entirely outgrowing the attractions of the nomadic instinct, settles down to a fixed habitation for centuries and adds to its original reason for existence, — communal self-preservation, — the more fruitful impulse towards communal accumulation. It has then the necessary conditions for progress from the tamasic stage to the sub-tamasic in which the individual first begins to emerge although he is still subordinated to the community and lives chiefly for the general advantage, not for his own. The settled state of society and the expansion of the community which a more prosperous and stable life brings with it, involve an increasing complexity of the social organisation. Specialisation of function becomes pronounced, for the larger needs of the community demand an increasing division of labour. Rank and private property begin to emerge; inequality has begun. The more various activities, the more varied experience, the less primitive range of desires and the need of a wider knowledge of things and men create a greater mental alertness and increased mental differentiation. This in its turn means the growth of individuality. Personality, we have seen, has memory for its basis and is determined by memory; individuality or

difference of personality is originally created by difference in the nature and range of the impressions experienced and retained by the mind, which naturally results in different habits of emotional and mental reaction. The fundamental self in all men is the same, the action of external Prakriti in its broad masses is the same all over the world; therefore human personality is necessarily the same in its general nature wherever we meet it. Difference in personality arises purely from difference in the range of mental and emotional experience, from the different distribution of various kinds of experience, and from differently developed habits or ways of reaction to impressions received. For character is nothing but habit; and habit is nothing but an operation of memory. The mind remembers that it received this particular impact before and reacted on it in this particular way and it repeats the familiar experience. The repetition becomes a habit of the mind ingrained in the personality and so a permanent characteristic. Difference of experience thus creates difference of personality, and difference of experience depends on difference in life, pursuits, occupations. So long as life is bounded by the desires of alimentation, self-preservation and self-reproduction, there can be no real individuality within the species, for the processes required and the experiences involved in these functions are practically the same for each member of the species. Even the gratification of primitive sensuous desires does not involve anything more than minute and unnoticeable differences. Hence one savage very much resembles any other savage just as one animal of a species very much resembles another of the same species, and one savage community differs from another only as one animal sub-species differs from a kindred sub-species. It is only when desires and needs multiply, that difference of life and occupation can bring difference of experience and develop individuality. The increasing complexity of the community means the growth of individuality and the liberation of Rajas in human psychology.

Rajas is the principle of activity and increases with the intensity and rapidity of the reactions of Will upon external things; it is not content like Tamas with passively receiving impressions and obeying its environments, but siezes on the impressions and

strives ever to turn them to the service of the individual personality, to master its environments and use them for its own enjoyment. Everything which it experiences, it utilises for the pleasure and pain of the individuality. The rajasic man is the creator, the worker, the man of industry, enterprise, invention, originality, the lover of novelty, progress and reform. The growth of Rajas therefore necessarily meant the inception of a great problem for society. In the tamasic and sub-tamasic states man developed the all-important faculty of conservatism, reverence for the past, fidelity to the communal inheritance, subordination of the interests and passions of the particular, be it class or individual, to the stability and safety of the whole. But here was a new element likely to disturb and upset the old state of things. The rajasic individuality was not likely to accept the traditional sanction, the communal aim as a satisfying aim and a binding sanction. The more and more he developed, the more and more strongly it would crave for the satisfaction of its expanding individual desires, ideas, activities with less and less regard to the paramount importance of social stability. How should society deal with this element? From that single difficulty arose the whole sociological problem involving difficulties of ethics, legislation and politics which after so many thousands of years mankind has not solved to its permanent satisfaction.

CHAPTER III

Social Evolution

IN THE early stages of the sub-tamasic state the question was not so acute, for differentiation in the society was not at first very complex; it proceeded upon broad lines, and as soon as it took definite form, usually as a result of intermixture with alien elements, it developed classes or castes, the priest, the warrior, the people, — merchant, tiller or artisan, — and the thrall or servant. Character developed at first more on these broad lines than by individual irregularities, in types rather than in persons; for each kind of life, each broad line of pursuits and occupations would naturally mean the same general range of experience and the same habits of reaction to external impressions and so evolve broad developments of character falling into caste-types, within whose general predominance personal idiosyncrasy would be at first comparatively ill-developed and of minor importance. The priest-type would develop favourably in the direction of purity, learning, intellectual ability and acuteness, unfavourably in the direction of jealous exclusiveness, spiritual and intellectual pride, a tendency to trade on the general ignorance. The warrior type would evolve courage, honour, governing power as its qualities, arrogance, violence and ruthless ambition as its defects. The earning class would develop on the one side honesty, industry and enterprise, on the other desire of gain. Obedience and fidelity would be the virtues of the thrall. Society accommodating itself to the altered circumstances modified its single and rigid social morality and admitted the validity of the newly-formed habits of mind and action as within the caste to which it properly belonged. Thus arose the ethical phenomenon of caste morality. Outside the limits of the caste ethics the general social code remained in full force. As the life of the individual in the community expanded in extent and became more varied and complex in content, the

social custom-code also became more complex in its details and wider in its comprehensiveness, in its attempt to pursue him into every detail of his life and control not only his broad lines of life but his particular actions, allowing no distinction between private and public life. Its nature had not changed; it was as rigid and inexorable in its demands, as intolerant of individual originality and independence; its sanctions were unaltered, the ancestral tradition of the community and the fear of social punishments, death, ostracism, excommunication or other penalties which if less drastic were yet sufficiently formidable. The object to be fulfilled was still predominantly the same, the satisfaction of communal demands as the price of communal privileges.

In this attempt society could not permanently succeed and had either to abandon it or to call in the aid of other forces and stronger sanctions. The community grew into the nation; social divisions became more intricately complex, the priest-class breaking up into schools, the warriors into clans, the people into guilds and professions; the organisation was growing too vast in size, too intricate in detail. Class began to push its individual claims against class, individuals began to question the old sanctions or doubt the sacredness of tradition. In small villages the old tyranny of society might be possible, in great towns it must necessarily become increasingly lax and ineffective. Above all, as the individual's mental life became enriched and vigorous, society found itself baffled by an insurmountable difficulty; it could control his outward acts by its rigour, but it could not ultimately control his mental and spiritual life, yet this inner life, psychical and spiritual, tended irresistibly to master and mould outer physical actions. No sanction by which society could enforce its decrees, is of any ultimate utility against the victorious advance of the individual life pressing forward in its irresistible demand for progress and freedom. Society may command the homage of conformance in speech and act to its fixed and conventional ideals; it may control a man's bodily organs; it has no jurisdiction over his heart and mind or only so much as he chooses to allow it. But speech and act cannot long remain divorced from the heart and mind without affecting the soundness of society itself by a

dry rot of hypocrisy and falseness; the end of which is either the decay and death of the community or a purifying revolt. Society can save itself only by conceding within limits the claim for individual freedom; outside those limits it must persuade or compel him to conformity by influencing his mind and heart, not by direct coercion of his words and acts.

In the later stages of the sub-tamasic social period we find that society has to a less or greater extent contracted its demands on the individual. Over his inner life and a certain part of his conduct, it exercises no other coercive influence than that of social disapproval expressed but not enacted; over another part of his conduct it exercises the right of enacting that disapproval in the shape of ostracism or excommunication; but that part of his life which most strongly concerns the community, it still insists on regulating by the infliction or menace of social penalties more or less severe. Social disapproval unenacted is, however, an ineffective control over mind and spirit. Society therefore, by no means content to leave the inner life of the individual free from the demands of its moral code, since any such abdication of its rule would lead, it instinctively felt, to moral anarchy, sought to eliminate the individual intellect and imagination by the more radical process of education. Its view of life and its unwritten code of customs, manners, traditions had always been naturally accepted as sacrosanct, now the individual was consciously habituated and trained from his childhood to retain this impression of venerable and inviolable sanctity. Social morality was no longer unwritten but gathered into codes and systems of life associated either with the names of the primitive makers of the nation or with the deified or half-deified historic individuals who first harmonised and perfected the traditionary ideals and routine of life and expressed the consciousness of the race in their political or ethico-legal systems. Such were Lycurgus, Confucius, Menes, Manu. For in those days individual greatness and perfection commanded a sacred reverence from the individual consciousness, because in each man, it was to this greatness and perfection that individuality, impelled to achieve its complete emancipation, was painfully striving forward. Thus in the sub-tamasic state even at its highest development the social code retained its

sacrosanct character in the new form of a consciously cherished and worshipped national tradition; and the repositories of that tradition became the dominant class of the community, whether an oligarchy as in Sparta and early republican Rome or a theocracy as in Egypt. For in order to control not only the heart and imagination but the deepest self in the individual society called in the aid of a spiritual force rapidly growing in its midst, the power of religion. In some communities, it strove even to give the religious sanction to all its own ideas, traditions, demands, sanctions.

In the older races and nations, Mongolian, Dravidic, Mediterranean, the sub-tamasic stage of social culture was of long duration and has left its impress in the only civilisations which have survived unbroken from that period, the Indian and Chinese. In the younger races, Aryan and Semitic, the development of the individual was far more rapid and urgent and left no time for the peculiarities of the later sub-tamasic period to crystallise and endure. Their evolution passed quickly into the rajaso-tamasic or even into the rajasic stage. In the rajasic state the individual forces himself into predominance and gets that emancipation and free play for his personality which his evolution demands, while the society degenerates into a mere frame for a mass of individuals. Social morality, once so rigid and compelling, dissolves into a loose bundle of superstitions and prejudices; tradition is broken into pieces by the desire for progress and novelty and free play of mind. The individual is governed in his conduct not by social sanctions or religious obligations and ideals, but by his personal idiosyncrasy and the stress of his own ideas, desires, passions, capacities and ambitions, which clamantly demand satisfaction. Individual originality being given free rein, there is an immense outburst of genius, talent, origination, invention or of splendid personal force and activity. Periods such as the revolutionary epoch in France when the rajasic element gets free play and communities like the Ionian democracies of which Athens was the head and type, are not only the most interesting from their fascinating abundance of stir, passion, incident, brilliance of varied personality, but also among the most fruitful and useful to humanity. In such periods, in the brief

history of such communities the work of centuries is done in a few years or in a few decades and future ages are fertilised from the seeds of a single epoch. But the history of rajasic communities is necessarily brief, the course of rajasic periods is soon run. Rajas has in itself no principle of endurance; if it is to work steadily and enduringly, it must either be weighted down by a heavy load of Tamas or sustained and uplifted by a great strength of Sattwa. But Sattwa as a social force has not yet liberated itself; it operates on society through a chosen and select few and is only rudimentary as yet in the many. For the preservation of a people Tamas is absolutely necessary; a mass of blind conservatism, intolerance of innovations, prejudice, superstition, even gross stupidity are elements essential to the safety of society. The Athenian thinkers themselves dimly realised this, hence their dislike to the mobile spirit of old democracy and their instinctive preference for the Spartan constitution in spite of its rigid, unprogressive and unintellectual character. They felt the transience and insecurity of the splendid and brilliant life of Athens. Politically the predominance of the individual was dangerous to the state and the evil might be checked but could not be mended by occasional resort to ostracism; the excessively free and varied play of intellect turned out a corrodent which too rapidly eat away the old beliefs and left the people without any fixed beliefs at all: the old prejudices, predilections, superstitions were exposed to too rapid a tide of progress: for a time they acted as some feeble check on the individual, but when the merciless questioning of Socrates and his followers crumbled them to pieces, nothing was left for society to live by. Reason, justice and enlightened virtue which Socrates and his successors offered as a substitute, could not take their place because the world was not, nor is it yet sattwic enough for society to subsist entirely or mainly by the strength of reason, justice and enlightenment. The history of Athens may be summed up from the Vedic standpoint as Rajas too rapidly developed destroying Tamas and in its turn leading to a too rapid development of Sattwa; till by an excess of the critical and judging faculty of Sattwa, the creative activity of Rajas was decomposed and came to an end. As a result the Athenian social organism lost its vitality, fell a prey to stronger organisms and perished.

Those communities have a better chance of survival which linger in the rajaso-tamasic stage. For that is a social period when the claims of the individual are being constantly balanced and adjusted in a manner which strongly resembles the replacement in the physical organism of waste tissue by sound, bad blood by good, corrupted breath by fresh inhalations; the individual is given legitimate scope, but those irreducible demands of society which are necessary to its conservation, are thoroughly enforced; progress is constantly made, but the past and its traditions are, as far as is consistent with progress, jealously preserved and cherished. England with its rapid alternations of progress safeguarded by conservatism and conservatism vivified by progress is an excellent example of the rajaso-tamasic community. The English race is pre-eminently rajaso-tamasic; tamasic by its irrational clinging to what it possesses not because it is inherently good or satisfying but simply because it is there, because it is part of its past and its national traditions; tamasic by its habit of changing not in obedience to any inner voice of ethical aspiration or sense of intellectual fitness but in answer to the pressure of environment; but rajasic by the open field it gives to individual character and energy, rajasic by its reliance on the conflicts and final balance of passions and interests as the main agents of progress and conservation political and social. Japan with her periods of splendid and magnificently fruitful progress and activity when she is absorbing new thoughts and new knowledge, followed by periods of calm and beautiful conservation in which she thoroughly assimilates what she has absorbed and suits it to her system, — Japan with the unlimited energy and personality of her individuals finely subservient to the life of the nation is an instance of a fundamentally rajaso-tamasic nation which has acquired by its assimilation of Indian and Chinese civilisation the immortalising strength of Sattwa.

Sattwa is present indeed in all communities as a natural force, for without it nothing could exist; but as a conscious governing strength, it exists only in India and China. Sattwa is physically the principle of retention which instead of merely reacting to impressions retains them as part of its inner life; it is therefore the natural force which most helps consciousness to develop. As

Rajoguna is the basic principle of desire, so Sattwaguna is the basic principle of knowledge. It is Sattwa that forms memory and evolves judgment. Morally it shows itself as selfless sympathy, intellectually as disinterested enlightenment and dispassionate wisdom, spiritually as a calm self-possessing peacefulness as far removed from the dull tamasic inertia as from the restless turbidity of Rajas. The growth of Sattwa in a community will show itself by the growing predominance of these characteristics. The community will be more peaceful and unaggressive than the ordinary rajasic race or nation, it will present a more calm and unbroken record of culture and enlightenment, it will record its life-history not in wars and invasions, not in conquests and defeats, not by the measure of the births and deaths of kings and the downfall of dynasties but by spiritual and intellectual evolutions and revolutions. The history of tamasic nations is a record of material impacts thrown out from the organism or suffered by it; its life is measured by the duration of dynasties or outward forms of government. The history of rajasic nations is a bundle of biographies; the individual predominates. The history of sattwic nations would be the story of the universal human self in its advance to knowledge and godhead. Most of all, the sattwic leaven will show itself in an attempt to order society not to suit material requirements or in obedience to outward environments or under the pressure of inward passions and interests, but in accordance with a high spiritual and intellectual ideal applied to life. And until Sattwa is fully evolved, the community will try to preserve all the useful forces and institutions gathered by the past social evolution, neither destroying them nor leaving them intact but harmonising and humanising them by the infusion of a higher ideal and vivifying them from time to time by a fresh review in the light of new experience and wider knowledge. The sattwic nation will avoid the dead conservatism of tamasic communities, it will avoid the restless progress of rajasic nations; it will endeavour to arrive at a living and healthy stability, high, calm and peaceful, in which man may pursue undisturbed his nobler destiny.

The true sattwic community in which life shall be naturally regulated by calm wisdom, enlightenment and universal sym-

pathy, or in the Aryan tradition of the Sattwayuga, the Golden Age, exists only as an Utopia. We have not evolved even the rajaso-sattwic community in which the licentious play of individual activity and originality will be restrained not by the heavy brake of tamasic indolence, ignorance and prejudice, but by the patient and tolerant control and guidance of the spirit of true science, sympathy and wisdom. The farthest advance made by human evolution is the sub-rajaso-tamasic stage in which Sattwa partially evolved tries to dominate its companions. Of this kind of community China, India and more recently Japan are the only known instances. In China the tamasic element is very strong; the passionate conservatism of the race, the aggregativeness of the Chinese character which seems unable to live to itself and needs a guild, an organisation or some sort of collective existence to support it, the low physical and emotional sensibility which permits the survival of a barbarous and senselessly cruel system of punishment, are striking evidences of prevalent Tamas. The rajasic element is weaker but evident enough in the religious, intellectual and, in one sense, political liberty allowed to the individual by and in the union of Mongolian industry and inventiveness with the democratic individualism which allows every man the chance his individual capacity and energy deserve. Sattwa finds its place in the high place immemorially assigned to wisdom, learning, and culture and in the noble and perfect Buddhist-Confucian system of ethics and ideal of life which regulates Chinese politics, society and individual life. In India on the other hand, as we shall perceive, we have an unique and remarkable instance of sattwic, rajasic, tamasic influences acting upon the community in almost equal degree and working at high pressure side by side; tamasic constraint and conservatism governs the arrangement of daily life, rajasic liberty, progress and originality brilliantly abound in the affairs of the mind and spirit, a high sattwic ideal and spirit dominate the national temperament, humanise and vivify all its life, social polity, institutions and return almost periodically in a fresh wave of life and strength, to save the community when it appears doomed to decay and oblivion.

From Sattwa springs the characteristic indestructibility

which Chinese and Indian society, alone of historic civilisations, have evinced under the pressure of the ages, and the shocks of repeated, even incessant national disaster. Sattwa is the principle of conservation. The passive tamasic organism perishes by decay of its unrepaired tissues or disintegrates under the shock of outward forces against which it has not sufficient elasticity to react. The restless rajasic organism dies by exhaustion of its too rapidly expended vitality and vigour. But the sattwic spirit in the rajaso-tamasic body is the nectar of the gods which makes for immortality. China and India have suffered much for their premature evolution of the sattwic element; they have repeatedly undergone defeat and subjugation by the more restless and aggressive communities of the world, while Japan by keeping its rajasic energy intact has victoriously repelled the aggressor. At present both these great countries are under temporary obscuration, they seem to be overweighted with Tamas and passing through a process of disintegration and decay. In India especially long continuation of foreign subjection, a condition abhorred by Nature and accursed by Heaven, has brought about disastrous deterioration. Conquering Europe on the other hand, for the first time flooded with Sattwa as a distinct social influence by the liberating outburst of the French Revolution, has moved forward. The Sattwa impulse of the 18th century, though sorely abused and pressed into the service of rajasic selfishness and tamasic materialism, has yet been so powerful an agent to humanise and illuminate that it has given the world's lead to the European. But these two great Oriental civilisations are not likely to perish; always they have conquered their conquerors, asserted their free individuality and resumed their just place in the forefront of the nations, nor is the future likely to differ materially from the past. So long as the sattwic ideal is not renounced, it is always there to renew itself in extremity and to save. Pre-eminently sattwic is the Universal Self in man which if realised and held fast to, answers unfailingly the call for help and, incarnating in its full season brings with it light, strength and healing. "For the deliverance of the good and the destruction of the evil doers, for the restoration of righteousness, I am born from age to age."

CHAPTER IV

The Place of Religion in Ethics

IF THE view of human development as set forth in the last two chapters is correct, we shall have to part with several notions long cherished by humanity. One of these is the pristine perfection of man and his degradation from his perfect state by falling into the domination of sin; God made man perfect but man by his own fault brought sin and death into the world. This Semitic tradition, passed from Judaism into Christianity and less prominently into Mahomedanism, became for a long time part and parcel of the fixed beliefs of half humanity. Yet it is doubtful whether the original legend which enshrined and prolonged this tradition, quite bears the interpretation which has been put on it. If rightly understood, it supports rather than conflicts with the theory of trigunic development. The legend does not state that man was unfailingly virtuous by choice, but that he was innocent because he did not yet know good and evil. Innocence of this kind is possible only in the primitive state of man and the description of man as naked and unashamed shows that it is precisely the primitive state of society before arts and civilisation were developed, to which the legend alludes. Man was then innocent, because being unable to distinguish between good and evil he could not choose evil of free choice and therefore had no sense of sin and no more responsibility for his actions than the pure animal. His fall from the state of innocence was the result of the growth of rajasic individuality in his mind which led him to assert his own will and desires and disobey the law imposed on him by an external Power. In this first stage of his evolution he is not guided by a law within himself, but by prohibitions which his environment imposes on him without his either understanding or caring to understand the reason for their imposition. Certain things are forbidden to him, and it is as much a necessity for him

to refrain from them as to refrain from putting his hand in the fire lest he should be burned; all others are allowed to him and he does them freely without questioning whether, apart from their legality, they are bad or good. Sin comes by disobedience and disobedience by the assertion of an inner standard as against the external standard hitherto obeyed; but it is still a standard not of right and wrong, but of licit and illicit. "What I desire, what my individual nature demands, should be allowed me," reasons the rajasic man; the struggle is between an external negation and an internal assertion, not between two conflicting internal assertions. But once the former begins, the latter must in time follow; the physical conflict must create its psychical counterpart. From the opposition of punished and unpunished evolves the opposition of licit and illicit; from the opposition of licit and illicit evolves the opposition of right and wrong. Originally the sanction which punishes or spares, allows or disallows, approves or disapproves, is external and social; society is the individual's judge. Finally, in the higher stage of evolution, the sanction is internal and individual; the individual is his own judge. The indulgence of individual desire in disobedience to a general law is the origin of sin.

With the rejection of this theory of an originally perfect humanity, the tradition of an infallible inner conscience which reflects a divinely-ordained canon of absolute right and wrong must be also rejected. If morality is a growth, the moral sense is also a growth and conscience is nothing more than the activity of the moral sense, the individual as judge of his own actions. If conscience be a divine and infallible judge, it must be the same in all men; but we know perfectly well that it is not. The conscience of the Red-Indian finds nothing immoral in murder and torture; the conscience of the modern civilised man vehemently condemns them. Even in the same man conscience is an uncertain and capricious quantity changing and deciding inconsistently under the influence of time, place and circumstances. The conscience of one age or country varies from the conscience of another age or country. It is therefore contrary to all experience to assert the divinity or infallibility of conscience. A man must be guided ordinarily by his moral sense, not because it is infal-

lible or perfect, but because moral growth depends upon development from within and to this end the independent use of the "inner monitor", when once evolved, is the first necessity.

ISHA UPANISHAD

Isha Upanishad

ALL THAT IS WORLD IN THE UNIVERSE

THE Sanscrit word जगत् is in origin a reduplicated and therefore frequentative participle from the root, गम्, to go. It signifies "that which is in perpetual motion", and implies in its neuter form the world, universe, and in its feminine form the earth. World therefore is that which eternally vibrates, and the Hindu idea of the cosmos reduces itself to a harmony of eternal vibrations; form as we see it is simply the varying combination of different vibrations as they affect us through our perceptions and establish themselves in[1] the concept. So far then Hinduism has reached by analysis to the last and simplest material expression of this complex universe. The question then arises, "Does anything lie beyond? If matter is all, then this is the last and there is no beyond. But is matter all?"

Our first verse is the answer of the Upanishad to this question. "All that is world in the Universe by the Lord must be pervaded." The very object of our existence is to pierce beyond this last and thinnest veil of matter to Spirit, the Lord who is behind every manifestation of matter, even the simplest, he is the Self of all things, matter being merely the body, and therefore is he the Lord. When we have realised that all this universe of vibration is full of the Spirit, we have set our feet on the right road that will lead us to the goal of existence. This is what we "must" do, in other words to realise God in the universe is the object of our existence. But why does the Upanishad say, "must be pervaded", why does it not say simply "is pervaded". Is this pervasion then not a fact, but a possibility which each individual soul has to turn into a fact for itself? In what sense is it said that the object of the individual soul is to pervade the Universe with the Lord? We must remember that according to the Upanishad there are only two entities in existence which are not phenomena or manifestations, but eternal facts, and these two are in reality not two

[1] to

but one, the illimitable and infinite Self behind phenomena, and the finite self which perceives phenomena. The Adwaita or Monistic Vedanta affirms the entire unity of these two and explains their apparent separation by Maya, Illusion or Ignorance, in other words by the theory that the Indivisible Eternal has deliberately imagined himself as divisible (I speak in metaphors, the only way of approaching such subtle inquiries) and hence created an illusion of multiplicity where the only real fact is Unity. We may take the metaphor of a sea and its waves; if each wave were to imagine itself separate from all other waves and from the sea of which it is a part, that would be an illusion similar to that of the finite self when it imagines itself as different from other finite selves and from the Infinite. The wave is not really different from the sea, but is sea (not *the* sea) and the next moment will be indistinguishable from sea; in fact the word "wave" merely expresses a momentary perception, an idea of change or modification which the next moment we perceive not to exist, and not a real object; the only real object is the sea.

The Vishishta Adwaita or modified-Monistic Vedanta on the other hand recognises that the infinite Self and the finite Self are eventually One, but still there is a distinction, a certain limitation of the Oneness. The finite Self is of and in the infinite Self and therefore one with it. But it does not coincide with it or disappear into it, the goal of its existence is the delight of feeling its oneness with the Eternal, but still the very feeling of delight implies a limitation, a difference, and this limitation is not temporary but eternal. An image may be taken from the phenomenon of Light and its vibrations; it is all light, there is no real difference, and yet each of the vibrations is in a sense separate and continues its own existence on its own line for ever through infinity. Lastly the Dwaita or Dualistic Vedanta affirms, on the contrary, that the finite selves and the Infinite are for ever different and the whole riddle of the world lies in their difference and in their attraction to each other. To become one with the Eternal is here also the goal of the finite but the oneness is emotional and not essential; it is Union and not fusion. It is difficult to find a close image here, but for want of a better we may take

that of a river and the sea to which it is hasting. It is water hasting to water and the whole aim of the river is to fling itself into the sea and towards that it strives with all its might and with all its soul, and finally it reaches the sea and mixes with it. And yet there it is still a river and not the sea. So the two live in a perpetual embrace, ever united and yet ever different and feeling their separate existence. Now these three philosophies really image three different states of soul and three different roads to the realisation of God. There is the intellectual state of soul which reaches God through knowledge; this naturally attaches itself to Monism, for it seeks only the knowledge of its identity with God and its tendency is to discourage all action and emotion which interfere with this aim. Then there is the actional state of soul which reaches God through action leading to knowledge and inspired by emotion; this aims at the knowledge of its identity with God, but its actional state requires a certain sense of difference from God without which action becomes meaningless; its tendency therefore, if the knowledge-impulse predominates over the emotional, is to rest for a time in modified Monism, though it recognises pure Monism as a far goal beyond; but if the emotional impulse predominates over the intellectual, its tendency is to adopt modified Monism as a final solution. Lastly there is the emotional state of soul which reaches God through divine love; this naturally attaches itself to Dualism; for the only desire of love is to attain the loved one and go on loving for ever; an impossibility unless the feeling of difference in Union goes on forever. The three philosophies are therefore simply three different standpoints from which we envisage one single truth, that nothing eventually matters in the world except God and the goal of existence is to attain Him. And I may add my own conviction that all three are necessary soul-stages. By pausing too long in Dualism or even in modified Monism, we debar ourselves too long from our final emancipation, but by leaping too quickly to Monism we fall into a dangerous tendency towards the premature dissolution of phenomena which if largely followed upsets the fine balance of the world. The right progress of the soul is first to realise its difference from God, so that we may feel attracted towards Him, then to realise that that diffe-

rence is a temporary or at least not an entire difference, that there is unity beyond, so that we may advance towards Him by the right road and under the laws of that phenomenal existence through which He reveals Himself to us, and finally to perceive that we and God are One and all phenomena temporary and illusory, so that escaping from name and form we may lose ourselves in Him and attain our soul's salvation. Well then, here are three standpoints; which is the standpoint of the Upanishads? They do not, in fact, confine themselves to any, but regarding them as three necessary stages, speak now from one, now from another, now from a third. Here it is speaking in a spirit of very slightly modified Monism. There are two non-phenomenal existences, the Infinite Self and the Finite Self; from the point of view of the Infinite Eternal Self, the universe is already pervaded with God; but we must also consider the point of view of the Finite Self; which is really Infinite but considers itself to be Finite. To this Finite Self the Universe is only the mass of its own perceptions. If it perceives the Universe as mere Matter, then for its purposes the Universe is Matter and not pervaded by the Lord; if I consider yonder tree as so much wood and pith and sap and leaves, such it is and no more so far as I am concerned; if I look within and perceive God there, then it is I who have put Him there; for the moment before He was not there for me and now He is. In more Monistic language, the Self at first imagines itself to be confined within its own body, but as it grows in thought it looks into object after object and perceives itself there and so it goes on putting itself into everything until it has pervaded all that is in the world with itself; it then realises that there is no self or non-self but all is God. We see that it is merely a difference of language, of outlook, of perception; but these are the things through which human thought proceeds and they must be given their due place. To recognise the differences they involve and yet to perceive the unity into which they merge, is the law and goal of all Hindu thought.

But whatever the standpoint we take, dualist, monist or semimonist, the Vedanta lays this down as the great essential step to realise that when we have resolved this universe of forms and names into a great harmony of vibrations, we must still go

beyond and perceive that the whole is but the material expression of one pervading Spirit. And when we have realised this, what is the practical result? For it must be remembered that the Vedanta is always profoundly practical....

(*Incomplete*)

"THE LIFE DIVINE"

A COMMENTARY ON THE ISHA UPANISHAD

Foreword

VEDA and Vedanta are the inexhaustible fountains of Indian spirituality. With knowledge or without knowledge every creed in India, each school of philosophy, outburst of religious life, great or petty, brilliant or obscure, draws its springs of life from these ancient and ever-flowing waters. Conscious or unwitting each Indian religionist stirs to a vibration that reaches him from those far off ages. Darshana and Tantra and Purana, Shaivism and Vaishnavism, orthodoxy or heresy are merely so many imperfect understandings of Vedic truth or misunderstandings of each other; they are eager half-illuminated attempts to bring some ray of that great calm and perfect light into our lives and make of the stray beam an illumination on our path or a finger laid on the secret and distant goal of our seeking. Our greatest modern minds are mere tributaries of the old Rishis. Shankara who seems to us a giant had but a fragment of their Knowledge. Buddha wandered away on a by-path in their universal kingdom. These compositions of unknown antiquity are as the many breasts of the Eternal Mother of Knowledge from which our succeeding ages have been fed and the imperishable life in us fostered. The Vedas hold more of that knowledge than the Vedanta, hold it more amply, practically and in detail; but they come to us in a language we have ceased to understand, a vocabulary which often, by the change of meaning in ancient terms, misleads most where it seems most easy and familiar, a scheme of symbols of which the key has been taken from us. Indians do not understand the Vedas at all, Europeans have systematised a gross misunderstanding of them. The old knowledge in the Vedas is to us, therefore, as a mere wandering in a dark cavern inaccessible to the common tread. It is in the Upanishads that the stream first emerges into open country. It is there that it is most accessible to us. But even this stream flows through obscure forest and difficult mountain reaches and we only have it for our use at favourable points where the forest

thins or the mountain opens. It is there that men have built their little artificial cities of metaphysical thought and spiritual practice, in each of which the inhabitants pretend to control the whole river. They call their dwelling places Vedanta or Sankhya, Adwaita or Dwaita, Shaivism or Vaishnavism, with a hundred names besides and boast that theirs is the way and theirs is the knowledge. But in reality each of us can only command a little of the truth of the Sanatana Dharma because none of us understands more than a little of the Upanishads.

They become indeed easier to us as they come nearer to us in date and the modernity of their language, — the stream more accessible as it draws farther away from the original sources and descends more into the plain and the lowlands. But even the secret of these more modern revelations is not wholly ours and we delude ourselves if we think we have understood them entirely and need not plunge deeper for their meaning. There is much gold in the sands of the bed which no man has thought of disinterring.

The Isha Upanishad is simpler in form and expression than such writings as the Chhandogya and Brihadaranyaka which contain in their symbolic expressions, — to us obscure and meaningless, disparaged by many as violently bizarre in idea and language and absurd in substance, — more of the detail of old Vedic Knowledge. The diction of the Upanishad is for the most part plain and easy, the ideas expressed in it when not wrested from their proper sense seem to be profound, yet lucid and straightforward. Yet even in the Isha the real import of the closing passage is a sealed book to the commentators, and I am convinced that the failure to understand this culminating strain in the noble progressive harmony of the thought has resulted for us in a failure to grasp the real and complete sense of the whole Upanishad. We understand, more or less clearly, the separate sense of the different Slokas but their true connection and relation of the thoughts to each other has been almost entirely missed. We have hold of some of its isolated truths; we have lost the totality of its purport.

For the Isha Upanishad is one of the most perfectly worked out, one of the most finely and compactly stated inspired argu-

ments the world possesses, — an argument not in the sense of a train of disputatious reasoning, logical not in the fashion of an intellectual passage from syllogism to syllogism, but a statement of inspired thought each part of which has been perfectly seen by the revelatory faculty and perfectly stated by inspired expression in itself, in relation to the others and in its place in the whole. Not only every Sloka but every word in each Sloka has been perfectly chosen and perfectly placed. There is a consummate harmony in the rhythm of the thought as well as in the rhythm of the language and the verse. The result is a whole system of knowledge and spiritual experience stated with the utmost brevity, with an epic massiveness and dignity, but yet in itself full and free from omission. We have in this Upanishad no string of incoherent thoughts thrown out at random, no loose transitions from one class of ideas to another, but a single subject greatly treated with completeness, with precision, with the inspiration of a poet possessed by divine truth and the skill of a consummate architect of thought and language. The Isha Upanishad is the gospel of a divine life in the world and a statement of the conditions under which it is possible and the spirit of its living. For the Isha at least does not support the Mayavada as is indeed evident from the struggle and stress of difficulty in Shankara's own commentary which reduces its fine thought and admirable expression to incoherence and slipshod clumsiness. The error, however lofty, must be removed in order that the plain and simple Truth may reveal itself. It is a system which still attracts the abstract intellectuality in me and represents to me what I may call an intervening and mediary truth which can never lose its validity. But when it seeks to govern human thought and life, to perpetuate itself on the sole truth of Vedanta, I feel that it is in conflict with the old Vedanta, stultifies the Upanishad and endangers all our highest human activities without giving us the highest spiritual truth in its place. Even so I would have preferred to leave aside all subjective criticism of it in these commentaries. But that is not possible. For it has so possessed men's ideas about the Upanishads that it has to be cleared away in order that the true sense of this Upanishad at least may shine out from the obscuration.

It is this harmonious totality of meaning which it is the sole object of my commentary to bring to light. It has not been my object to support a particular philosophy or to read Adwaita or Dwaita or Visishtadwaita into its separate verses and make it useful for metaphysical polemics. I hold firmly the belief that the truths of the Upanishads were not arrived at by intellectual speculation, cannot be interpreted by disputation according to the rules of logic and are misused when they are employed merely as mines and quarries for the building of metaphysical systems. I hold them to have been arrived at by revelation and spiritual experience, to be records of things seen, heard and felt, *dṛṣṭa, śruta, upalabdha*, in the soul and to stand for their truth not on logic which they transcend but on vision to which they aspire. These supra-intellectual faculties by which they received the Veda and developed its implications, *dṛṣṭi, śruti* and *smṛti*, are also the only means by which their thoughts can be perfectly understood. What is it that the Upanishad reveals? — this is the question I have set myself to answer; I am indifferent for what set of warring philosophical dogmas its texts can be made an armoury. Nevertheless, in the course of exegesis I have been compelled to come into conflict with the opinions of the Mayavada. The collision was inevitable rather than desired, for the Mayavada was the opinion with which I commenced my study of Vedanta.

In following this end I have had in view there are a few plain and binding rules by which I have endeavoured always to be guided. My method does not allow me to deal with the language of the Upanishad in the spirit of the scholar, — not the pride of the Pandit dealing with words as he chooses, but the humility of the seeker after truth in the presence of one of its masters is, I have thought, the proper attitude of the exegete. In the presence of these sacred writings, so unfathomably profound, so infinitely vast in their sense, so subtly perfect in their language, we must be obedient to the text and not presume to subject it ignorantly to our notions. To follow the plain and simple meaning of the words has been therefore the first rule of my exegesis. Vidya and Avidya are plain words with a well-ascertained sense; I cannot turn aside from it to interpret them as knowledge of the gods and ignorance. *Sambhūti, asambhūti, vināśa* are words with fixed

meanings; my interpretation must arise directly and simply from these meanings. The rhythm and metre of the Upanishads, the balance of the sentences demand their place in the interpretation; for *chandas* is of primary importance in all Veda; I must not disturb that rhythm, metre and balance in order to get over a philosophical difficulty. The *anuṣṭup* of the Isha, for instance, is Vedic in its form and principle and not classical; it demands, that is to say, a stanza of two couplets and admits of *sandhi* in the middle of the *pāda* but not between two *pādas*: I must not take advantage of a possibility of *sandhi* between two *pādas* admissible only in the classical *anuṣṭup* in order to extract from the Upanishad the opposite of its apparent sense. And when the meaning of a verse is determined, when it stands without qualification as an integral part of the teaching, I am not at liberty to read in a gloss of my own "for the ignorant" in order to depreciate or annul the validity of the doctrine. I am bound by the thoughts of the Sage; I cannot force upon him any ideas of my own to govern and override his apparent meaning, — all that I am allowed to do is to explain his evident textual meaning in the light of my inward spiritual experience but I must not use that experience which may be imperfect to contradict the text.

Shankara has permitted himself all these departures from the attitude of subjection to the text. He has dealt with the Upanishads and with this Upanishad more than any other as a master of the Sruti and not its servant. He has sought to include it among his grandiose intellectual conquests. But the Sruti cannot be mastered by the intellect, and although the great Dravidian has enslaved men's thoughts about the Sruti to his victorious intellectual polemic, the Sruti itself preserves its inalienable freedom, rising into its secret heights of knowledge and being superior to the clouds and lightnings of the intellect awaiting and admitting only the tread of the spirit, opening itself only to experience in the soul and vision in the supra-intellectual faculty of ideal knowledge. I trust I shall not be considered as wanting in reverence for the greatest of Indian philosophers, — in my opinion the greatest of all philosophers. Nevertheless the greatest have their limitations. In profundity, subtlety and loftiness Shankara has no equal; he is not so supreme in breadth and

flexibility of understanding. His was a spirit visited with some marvellous intuitions and realisation, but it would be to limit the capacities of the human soul to suppose that his intuitions exclude others equally great or that his realisations are the only or final word of spiritual knowledge. Shankara of the commentaries on the Upanishad, — although the greatest commentaries on them that we have, — is not so great as Shankara of the Bhashya on the Vedanta Sutras. In the latter he is developing in full freedom his own philosophy, which even those who disagree with it must recognise as one of the highest and a most marvellous intellectual achievement; in the former he is attempting to conquer for ... enlist an exclusive authority of the Sruti. A commentary on the Upanishad should be a work of exegesis; Shankara's is a work of metaphysical philosophy. He does not really approach the Sruti as an exegete; his intention is not to use the philosophical mind in order to arrive at the right explanation of the old Vedanta but to use explanation of the Vedanta in order to support the right system of philosophy. His main authority is therefore his own preconceived view of Vedantic truth, — a standard external to the text and in so far illegitimate. Accordingly, he leaves much of the text unexplained because it does not either support or conflict with the conclusions which he is interested in establishing; he gives merely a verbal paraphrase or a conventional scholastic rendering. Where he is interested, he compels the Sruti to agree with him. Without going quite to the same extent of self-will as Madhva, the Dwaita commentator, who does not hesitate to turn the famous *tat tvam asi* into *atat tvam asi*, "Thou art *not* that, O Swetaketu", he goes far enough and uses a fatal masterfulness. The Isha especially, it seems to me, is vitiated by the defects of his method because in the Isha the clear and apparent meaning of the text conflicts most decisively with some of his favourite tenets. The great passage on Vidya and Avidya, Sambhuti and Asambhuti bristles for him with stumbling-blocks. We find him walking amid these difficulties with the powerful but uneasy steps of Milton's angels striding "over the burning marle" of their prison house. I for my part am unwilling to keep to the trace of his footsteps. For, after all, no human intellect can be permitted to hold the keys of the Sruti

and fix for us our gate of entrance and the paths of our passage. The Sruti itself is the only eternal authority on the Sruti.

I have also held it as a rule of sound interpretation that any apparent incoherence, any want of logical relation and succession of thought in the text must exist by deficiency of understanding and not in the Seer's deficiency of thinking. This view I base upon my constant experience of the Upanishads; for I have always found in the end that the writers thought clearly and connectedly and with a perfect grasp of their subject; for my own haste, ignorance and immaturity of spiritual experience has always been convicted in the end of the sole responsibility for any defect imputed by the presumption of the logical understanding to the revealed scripture. The text has to be studied with a great patience, a great passivity, waiting for experience, waiting for light and then waiting for still more light. Insufficient data, haste of conclusions, wilful reading of one's own favourite opinions into the text, wilful grasping at an imperfect or unfinished experience, wilful reading of a single narrow truth as the sole meaning of this complex harmony of thought, experience and knowledge which we call the Veda, — these are fruitful sources of error. But if a man can make his mind like a blank slate, if he can enter into the condition of bottomless passivity proper to the state of the calm all-embracing Chaitanya Atma, not attempting to fix what the Truth shall be but allowing Truth to manifest herself in his soul, he will find that then it is the nature of the Sruti to reveal perfectly its own message.

For ultimately, as I have already insisted, we can know the subject of the Veda only by the soul and its pure faculty of knowledge, not by verbal scholarship, metaphysical reasoning or intellectual discrimination. By entering into communion with the soul of the thinker which still broods behind the inspired language, we come to realise what he saw and what he put into his words, what waits there to make itself known to us. By communion with the soul of the Universe which is behind the soul of the thinker and one with it, we get those experiences which illumine and confirm or correct by amplifying our vision of truth in the Sruti. And since no man should lightly hope that he has been able always to think, act and know by the supreme method, it

is fitting always to bow down in utter self-surrender to the master of All, the Lord, who as the Knower dwells in Himself as name and form and offer to him the truth we have found in the Sruti and the error we have imported in it to do both with the truth and the error whatever He wills in His infinite power, love and wisdom for the purpose of His eternal and infinite Lila.

CHAPTER I

The Subject and Plan of the Upanishad

THE Upanishads have but one subject, without a second, and yet by the very nature of that subject they take all life and being and knowledge for their portion. Their theme is the One who is Many. It is an error which the Adwaitins have popularised to suppose that all the aim of the Upanishad is to arrive at the unconditioned Brahman. A very cursory examination of their contents reveals a much wider and more complete purpose. They strive rather to develop from various standpoints the identity of the One and the Many and the relations of the conditioned to the unconditioned. Granting the unconditioned One they show us how this conditioned and manifold existence consists with, stands in and is not really different from the original unity. Starting from the multitudinous world they resolve it back into a single transcendental existence, starting back from the transcendental they show us its extension within itself as phenomena. Both the multitudinous world and Unity, the manifestation and the Manifested, they establish in the unknowable Absolute of which nothing can be proposed except that in some way different from any existence conceivable to mind or transferable to the symbols of speech, beyond all conception of Time and Space and Circumstance, beyond Personality and Impersonality, beyond Finite and Infinity, It Is. They seek not only to tell us of the way of withdrawal from life into unconditioned existence, but also of the way to dwell here in the knowledge and bliss of the Supreme. They show us the path to heaven and the true joy of the earth. Dwelling on the origin of things and the secret of life and movement, they have their parts of science, — their physics, their theory of evolution, their explanation of heredity. Proceeding from the human soul to the Universal, they have their minutely scrupulous, subtle and profound system of psychology. Asserting the existence of

worlds and beings other than those that live within the compass of our waking senses, they have their cosmogony, theogony, philosophy of Nature and of mental and material nature's powers. The relations of mind to matter and soul to mind, of men to the gods and the illimitable Master-Soul to the souls apparently limited in bodies, have all their authority in the Upanishads. The philosophical analysis of Sankhya, the practices of Tantra, the worship and devotion of Purana, the love of the formed Divinity and the aspiration to the Formless, the atomic structure of Vaisheshika and the cardinal principles of Yoga, — whatever has been afterwards strong in development and influential on the Indian Mind, finds here its authority and sanction. Not the unmanifested and unconditioned alone but the identity of the Transcendental and the phenomenal, their eternal relations, the play of their separation and the might of their union, is the common theme of the Upanishads. They are not only for the anchorite but for the householder. They do not reject life but embrace it to fulfil it. They build for mankind a bridge by which they can cross over from the limited to the illimitable, the recurrent and transitory to the persistent and eternal, but by which also we can recross and own again with delight and without danger that once unfathomable and irremeable abyss. They are God's lamps that illumine the stairs by which we ascend and descend no longer bound but freely and at will the whole scale of existence, finding Him there in His ineffability, concealed in utter luminousness, but also here in the garden of light and shade, manifest in every being.

The Upanishads have therefore a common field of thought, experience and knowledge; but in that field each has its own peculiar province or corner. There is nothing vague or ill-connected in their contents, nothing random in their structure. Each sets out with a certain definite thought and aim which it progressively develops and brings to a perfect culmination. The Aitereya, for instance, has for its subject the workings of the Self in the world as creator and master of evolution; creation, evolution, birth, heredity, death, our present human development are the matter of its brief and pregnant sentences. The Taittiriya takes for its subject the Ananda in Brahman, the constitution of the soul in

relation to the Infinite Delight in Conscious Being which is God and the reality of existence and reveals the way and the result of its attainment; it develops for us our gospel of eternal Bliss. The Kena starting from the present constitution of consciousness in man, affirms the universal Brahman and teaches knowledge and self-surrender to Him as the inscrutable Self and the ever-present Master. Similarly, the Isha has for its subject the nature of human life and action lived and done in the light of Vedantic knowledge and supreme realisation. It is the gospel of a Divine life on earth, a consecration of works, the seed and foundation of Karmayoga.

The Upanishads are works of inspiration, not of reasoning; therefore we shall not find in them the development of thought or the logical construction of the sentences in the Isha managed on the system of modern writers. The principle of our modern writing, borrowed from the Greeks who were the first nation to replace inspiration by intellect, resembles the progress of the serpent over a field, slow, winding, insinuating, covering perfectly every inch of the ground. The literary method of the ancients resembles the steps of a Titan striding from reef to reef over wide and unfathomable waters. The modern method instructs the intellect, the ancient illumines the soul. In the latter also there is a perfect logical sequence but this logic demands for our understanding and expects it to follow something of the same illumination which presided at its construction. So profoundly characteristic is this difference that the Greek governs even his poetry by the law and style of the logical intellect, the Indian tends to subject even his prose to the law and style of the illuminated vision. The Scribe[1] of the Isha is an inspired poet writing of God and life in a style of clear but massive and epic sublimity, lofty and grandiose, but without the European tendency to amplitude and period, exceedingly terse, pregnant, compactly decisive, — every word stored with meaning and leaving behind it a thousand solemn echoes. These conditions of his method of composition must be taken into full account when we try to interpret his thinking.

The theme which he has to develop arises from the funda-

[1] *Alternative reading* : Sage

mental doctrine of the Vedanta, *sarvam khalu idam brahma*, verily, all this is the Brahman. To realise that everything of which we have separate knowledge by the limited and dividing movement of the mind and senses, is limited and separate only in appearance, but in its reality transcends its appearance and is a manifestation, a form in consciousness, an eidolon, a mask of something absolute, transcendental and without limit, — this is the first necessity of true knowledge according to the early thinkers. But when we have realised it, when we know that earth is not earth except in form and idea but the Brahman, man is not man except in form and idea but the Brahman, what then? Can we live in the light of that knowledge or must we abandon life to possess it? For it is obvious that all actions are done through mind with its two great instruments of name and form and if we are to look beyond name and form we must transcend mind and ignore its limitations. How can we do that and still act and live in this world as men act and live? Can we keep our eyes fixed on the transcendent and yet move with any ease or safety in the phenomenal? Must we not remove our thoughts from That (Tat) in order to deal with this (*sarvam idam*), — just as a man cannot walk safely on earth if he keeps his eyes fixed on the heavens but must constantly be removing his gaze from the lofty object of his contemplation? And another and deeper question arises. Is life worth living when we know the Brahman? is there any joy and use in the phenomenal when we know the transcendent, in the recurrent and transient when we know the persistent and eternal, in the apparent when we know the real? Immense is the attraction of the infinite and unlimited, why should we take pleasure in the finite and fleeting? Does not the attraction of phenomena disappear with the advent of this supreme knowledge and is it possible to busy ourselves with the phenomenal when its attraction and apparent necessity are removed? Is not persistence in life caused by ignorance and possible only if there is persistence in ignorance? Must we not abandon the world, if we would possess God? forsake Maya if we would become one in the Atman? For who can serve at the same time two masters and such different masters? We know the answer of Shankara, the answer of the later Adwaitin, the Mayavadin; and the answer of

most religious minds in India since Buddhism conquered our intellects has not been substantially different. To flee the world and seek God sum up their attitude. There have been notable exceptions but the general trend hardly varies. The majority of the pre-Buddhistic Hindus answered the question, if I am not mistaken, in a different sense and attained to a deeper consummation. They answered it in the gloss of the Isha Upanishad and the Gita; they held divine life in the Brahman here to be a possibility.

The supreme importance of this question is apparent. If the theory of the Illusionist is true, life is an inexplicable breach of Truth, an unjustifiable disturbance in the silence and stillness of the Eternal. It is a freak to be corrected, a snare to be escaped from, a delusion to be removed, a mighty cosmic whim and blunder. The results upon the nation which produced this tremendous negation have been prodigious. India has become the land of saints and ascetics, but progressively also of a decaying society and an inert people, effete and helpless. The indignant denunciation of the Vishnu Purana against the certain result to society of the Buddhist heresy has been fulfilled in the fate of our strongly Buddhicised Hindu nation. We see increasing upon it through the centuries the doom announced in the grave warnings of the Gita against the consequence of inaction. उत्सीदेयुरिमे लोकाः ... शरीरयात्रापि ... अकर्मणः ... सङ्करस्य च कर्ता स्याम् उपहन्यामिमाः प्रजाः ... (न) बुद्धिभेदं जनयेद् अज्ञानां कर्मसङ्गिनाम् *Utsīdeyurime lokāḥ ... śarīrayātrāpi ... akarmaṇaḥ ... saṅkarasya ca kartā syām upahanyāmimāḥ prajāḥ ... (na) buddhibhedam janayed ajñānām karmasaṅginām*, etc.

The religious life of this country has divided itself into two distinct and powerful tendencies, the Hinduism of the withdrawal from life which has organised itself in the monastery and the hermitage and the Hinduism of social life which has resolved itself into a mass of minute ceremony and unintelligent social practice. Neither is pure; both are afflicted with *varṇa-saṅkara*, mixture and confusion of Dharmas; for the life of the monastery is stricken with the tendency towards a return to the cares and corruptions of life, the life of society sicklied over and rendered impotent by the sense of its own illusion and worthlessness, faced with the superiority of the monastic ideal. If a man or a nation becomes profoundly convinced that this phenomenal life is an illusion, its

aims and tendencies of a moment and its values all false values, you cannot expect either the society or the nation to flourish here, whatever may be gained in Nirvana. For the nation any sustained and serious greatness of aim and endeavour become impossible. To get through the years of life, to maintain the body and propagate the race, since for some unreasonable reason that is demanded of us, but to get done with the business as soon as possible and escape by Sannyasa into the unconditioned, — this must obviously be the sole preoccupation of man in a society governed by this negative ideal. What is chiefly needed by it is an elaborate set of rules, the more minute and rigid the better, which will determine every action of life both social and religious, so as to save men the labour of thought and action and give them the assurance that they are doing only the *nityakarma* necessary to life in the body or the shastric *karma* which creates the least bondage for future lives and are not heaping upon themselves the burden of long continued existence in this terrible and inexplicable nightmare of the phenomenal world. But the attachment to works remains and it tends to satisfy itself by an excessive insistence on the petty field still left to it. We see an exclusive preoccupation with a petty money-getting, with the mere maintenance of a family, with the sordid cares of a narrow personal existence. The great ideals, the universalising and liberating movements which have continually swept rajasic Europe and revivified it, have been more and more unknown to us in the later history of our country. We have had but one world-forgetting impulse and one world-conquering passion, — the impulse of final renunciation and the passion of self-devotion to the Master of all or to a spiritual teacher. It is this habit of Bhakti that alone has saved us alive, preserving an imperishable core of strength in the midst of our weakness and darkness; it has returned upon us from age to age and poured its revivifying stream always through our inert mass and our petrifying society. But for all that our great fundamental mistake about life has told heavily; it has cursed our rajasic activity with continual insufficiency and our sattwic tendencies with a perpetual weight of return to Tamas. *Andham tamaḥ praviśanti ye avidyām upāsate. Tato bhūya iva te tamo ya u vidyāyām ratāḥ.* And both these

sentences of gloom have weighed upon us; we have divided ourselves into the exclusive seekers after the unconditioned knowledge and the exclusive lingerers in the phenomenal ignorance. We have made the life divine well-nigh impossible in the world, possible only in remote hermitage, desolate forest or lonely mountain. We have not known the harmony which the early Vedantins practised; we have given ourselves instead to a great negation which, however inspiring and strength-giving by its positive side, — for it has its sure positive side, — to a few exceptional spirits, cannot be grasped by the ordinary soul even when it is accepted by the ordinary intellect, is not man's Swadharma, and must therefore tend only to destroy his strength and delight in life by imposing upon him an effort far beyond an average human capacity from which it sinks back dispirited, weakened and nerveless. No nation, not even a chosen race, can with impunity build its life on a fundamental error about the meaning of life. We are here to manifest God in our mundane existence, our business is to express and formulate in phenomenal activity such truth as we can command about the Eternal; and in order to do that we must answer the riddle set for us of the co-existence of the eternal and the phenomenal, — we must harmonise God and Nature, — on peril of our destruction. The European nations have invariably decayed after a few centuries of efflorescence because they have persisted in ignorance and been obstinate in Avidya. We who possess the secret but misunderstand it, have taken two millenniums to decay but in the end we have decayed and brought ourselves to the verge of actual death and decomposition. We can preserve ourselves only by returning to the full and harmonious truth of our religion, truth of Purana and Tantra which we have mistranslated into a collection of fable and of magic formulae, truth of Veda which we have mistranslated into the idea of vacant and pompous ceremonial and the truth of Vedanta which we have mistranslated into the inexplicable explanation, the baffling mystery of an incomprehensible Maya. Veda and Vedanta are not only the Bible of hermits or the textbook of metaphysicians but a gospel of life and a guide to life for the individual, for the nation and for all humanity.

The Isha Upanishad stands first in the order of the Upa-

nishads we should read as of a supreme importance for us and more almost than any of the others because it sets itself with express purpose to solve that fundamental difficulty of life to which since Buddha and Shankara we have persisted in returning so lofty but so misleading an answer. The problem resolves itself into a few primary and fundamental questions. Since we have here a great unconditioned unity and a great phenomenal multitudinous manifestation, what is the essential relation between this unity and this manifestation? Given the coexistence and identity of the reality and the phenomenon, where is the key to their identity? what is the principle which effectively harmonises them? and wherein lies the purpose and justification of their coexistence and apparent differentiation? The essential relation being known, what is that practical aspect of the relation upon which we can build securely our life here in this world? Is it possible to do the ordinary works of our human life upon earth consistently with the higher knowledge or in such a way as to embody the soul of the divine knowledge and the divine Guna in our every action? What is that attitude towards God and the world which secures us in such a possibility? Or what the rule of life which we must keep before us to govern our practice and what the practical results that flow from its observance? The present aims of phenomenal life seem always to have been the sorrowful trinity of pain, death and limitation; will these practical results of a Vedantic life include the acceptance of this great burden and this besetting darkness, or has mankind even here, even in this body and in this society an escape from death and sorrow? As human beings what is our aim here or what our hope hereafter? These are the great questions that arise from the obscure soul of man to the Infinite and the conflicting and partial answers to them have eternally perplexed humanity. But if they can once be simply, embracingly, satisfyingly answered, — so as to leave no true demand of the God in man upon the world unsatisfied, — then the riddle of existence is solved. The Isha Upanishad undertakes to answer them all. Setting out with a declaration of God's purpose in manifestation for which the world was made and the golden rule of life by which each man individually can utterly consummate that divine purpose, this

mighty Sage to whom as an instructor we owe this asserts the possibility of human works without sin, grief and stain in the light of the one spiritual attitude that is consistent with their consummation, and true knowledge of things in the strength of the golden rule by which alone a Divine life here can be maintained. In explaining and justifying these original positions he answers incidentally all the other great human questions.

The structure of the Upanishad is built up, the harmony of its thought worked out in four successive movements, with the initial verses of each swelling passage linking it in the motion of thought to the strain that precedes. Before we proceed to any work of analysis or isolate each note in order to obtain its full value, it will be convenient to have a synthetical understanding of the main ideas that run through the symphony and perceive something of the manner with which they pass into or help each other and build up by their agreement a great and harmonious philosophy of life.

II. The First Movement

"For the Lord all this is a habitation, yea, whatever single thing is moving in this universe of motion; by that abandoned thou shouldst enjoy; neither do thou covet any man's possession. Doing verily works in this world thou shouldst wish to live a hundred years, for thus it is with thee and not otherwise; action clingeth not to a man. Sunless truly are those worlds and enveloped in blind gloom whither they passing hence arrive who are hurters of their own souls." So runs the first movement of the Upanishad.

In the very beginning the Rishi strikes the master note to which all the rest of the harmony vibrates, lays down the principle of which every Upanishad is an exposition. God and the World — these are the two terms of all our knowledge. From their relation we start, to their relation in union or withdrawal from union all our life and activity return. When we have known what the world is, when we have exhausted science and sounded all the fathomless void, we have still to know what God is, and

unless we know what God is, we know nothing fundamental about the world. *Tasmin vijñāte sarvam vijñātam.* He being known, all the rest is known. Material Philosophy and Science have to admit in the end that because they do not know the Transcendental, therefore they cannot be sure about the phenomenal. They can only say that there are these phenomena which represent themselves as acting in these processes to the thought and senses, but whether their appearance is their reality, no man can say. The end of all Science is Agnosticism.

The Rishi takes these two great terms, God, one, stable and eternal, the world shifting, multitudinous, transient. For this great flux of Nature, by which we mean a great cosmic motion and activity, shows us nowhere a centre of knowledge and intelligent control, yet its every movement denoting law, pointing to harmony, speaks of a centre somewhere of knowledge and intelligent control. It shows nowhere any definite unity except that of sum and process, yet every little portion of it the more we analyse, cries out more loudly, "There is One and not many." Every single thing in it is perishable and mutable, yet for ever its ancient and inevitable movements thunder in our ears the chant of the immutable and eternal. Prakriti, *jagatī*, the ever-moving with every object, small or great a mere knot of motion, *jagat*, — she is one term, that which she obeys ... and of which she speaks to us always and yet seems always by the whirl of her motions in mind and matter to conceal, is the Lord, the Purusha. He is that One, Eternal and Immutable; it is He that is the centre of knowledge and eternal control. He is Ish, the Lord. The relation between the world and its Lord on which the Rishi bids us fix as the one on whose constant and established realisation we can best found the thoughts and activities of the Life Divine is the relation of the Inhabitant and His inhabitation. For habitation by Him it was made, not only as a whole, but every object which it has built up, is building or will build in the whirl and race of its eternal movement, from the god to the worm, from the sun to the atom and the grain of dust to the constellations and their group, each, small or great, mean or mighty, sweet or cruel, beautiful or repulsive, is his dwelling-place and that which dwells in it is the Lord.

We start then with this truth. We have seen that the problem of life involves two essential questions; first, the essential relation between the Transcendent and the phenomenal, secondly, that practical aspect of the relation on which we can build securely our life and action in the world. The Rishi starts with the practical relation. This is the knowledge which we must win, the attitude which having attained we must guard and keep. Looking around upon the multitude of objects in the world, we have to see so many houses and in each an inhabitant, one inhabitant only, He who has built it, also the whole and inhabits the whole, its Lord. When we see the infinite ether embracing this multitude of suns and solar systems, we are not to forget or ignore what we see but we must look on infinity as a house of manifest being, and in it one great infinite indwelling Consciousness, Allah, Shiva, Krishna, Narayana, God. When we see around us man and animal and leaf and clod, king and beggar, philosopher and peasant, saint and criminal, we must look on these names and forms as so many houses of being and within each the same great inhabitant, Allah, Shiva, Krishna, Narayana, the Lord. Manhood and animality, animation and inanimation, wealth and poverty, wisdom and ignorance, sainthood and criminality are the robes he wears, but the wearer is One. In every man I meet I must recognise the Lord I adore. In friend and stranger, in my lover and my slayer, I must see equally, since I also must be He, myself. This is the great secret of existence and the condition which we must first satisfy if we wish to live divinely and be divine.

This is internally our necessary attitude towards God and the world. But to translate an internal attitude into the terms of action, it is our experience that a rule of life is needed. The purpose for which a householder builds himself a mansion and dwells in it can only be one; it is to live and enjoy. So it is with the Purusha and Prakriti; their relation is the enjoyment of the one by the other. God has made this world in His own being that He may in mind and other principles live phenomenally in phenomena and enjoy this phenomenal existence even while secretly or openly He enjoys also His transcendent existence. The soul or God is Ishwara, says the Gita, *bhartā, jñātā, anumantā*; the Master for whose pleasure Prakriti acts, the Indweller who fills her with his

being and supports her actions, the Knower who watches and takes into His cognisance her activities, the *anumantā* who gives or withholds or after giving withdraws His consent and as He gives, continues or withdraws it, things begin, endure or cease. But He is also pre-eminently *bhoktā*, her enjoyer. For all this is *bhogārtham* — for the sake of enjoyment. But in practice we find that we are not Ish but *anīś*, not master but slave; not *jñātā* and *anumantā* but *ajña*, not knowing and controlling but ignorant, clouded, struggling for knowledge and mastery, not an immortal enjoyer in delight but victim of sorrow, death and limitation. Limited, we struggle to enlarge ourselves and our scope; unpossessed of our desire, we demand and we strive; unattaining, reacted upon by hostile forces, we are full of sorrow and racked by pain. We see others possess and ourselves lack and we struggle to dispossess them and possess in their stead. The facts of life contradict at every turn the sublime dogma of the Vedantist. What are we to do? To struggle with God in others and God in the world or live only for God in others and not at all for God in ourselves.

In his second line the Rishi utters his golden rule of life which supplies us with the only practical solution of the difficulty. To enjoy as we enjoy now is to lift to our lips a cup of mixed honey and poison; to abandon the world is to contradict God's purpose by avoiding the problem instead of solving it; to sacrifice self to others is a half solution which, by itself, limits the divine *līlā* and stultifies our occupation of the body. The fulfilment of self both in our own joy and in the joy of others and in the joy of the whole world is the object of our life. How then is the problem to be solved? "By that abandoned thou shouldst enjoy, do not thou covet any man's possession." *Tena*, that, refers back to *yat kiñca jagat*. Everything in the world has to be renounced and yet through the thing so renounced you have to enjoy, *bhuñjīthāḥ*.*

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* *Additional note, place of insertion in MS. not indicated:*

Shankara translates "possess", not "enjoy". Essentially this makes no difference, for possession implies enjoyment. But the ordinary sense of the root is to enjoy, and it is clearly the sense

By that you have to enjoy, for the world and all in it is meant for the purpose of enjoyment. It is the means, movement and medium created by the Lord for the purpose, but by that abandoned, by that renounced. You have not to cast the world and its objects themselves away from you, for then you defeat your own object. It is a deeper, a truer renunciation that is asked of us. In order to make his meaning perfectly clear the Rishi adds "Do not covet".* This then is the renunciation demanded, not the renunciation of the thing itself but the renunciation of the attachment, the craving, the demand, — when that is renounced, then only is enjoyment possible, then only can the bitterness be cast out of the cup and only the pure honey remain. For the reason that we are *anīś* is because we demand. He who is Lord and Master does not struggle and demand; he does not need even to command: for Prakriti knows His will and hastens to obey it. If we would live divinely, we must realise the Lord in ourselves, we must have *sādharmya* with Him and be as He. What the Lord wills for His *līlā* in this habitation, Prakriti will bring; what Prakriti brings,

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which the Rishi intended, — for the strong collocation of the ideas of *tyāga* and *bhoga* can no more be an accident than the significant collocation of *jagatī* and *jagat* in the preceding lines. Nowhere in this Upanishad is there random writing, — rather every word is made to carry its entire weight and even run over with fullness of meaning.

* *Additional note, place of insertion in MS. not indicated:*

Dhanam means any kind of possession whatever, not only material wealth, — neither the glory of the king, nor the wealth of the merchant, nor the temperament of the sages nor the strength of elephants, nor the swiftness of eagles. For whom are we envying, whose goods are we coveting? Verily, our own goods. If we realise divine unity, we can enjoy them as perfectly in another's experience as in our own[1] .... Moreover we must realise the Lord in others as one with Him in ourselves. Then we should not need to covet any man's possessions. "Do not covet," says the Sage, "the possession of any man whomsoever."

[1] Here three lines are unreadable.

for our *līlā*, is what the Lord wills. That which struggles in us, craves, fights, covets, struggles, weeps, is not the pure Self but the mind, — which as we shall find weeps and struggles because ensnared in limitations it does not understand, — not Ish, but *jagat*, the movement, the whirl, one eddy in the shifting and struggling movement and clash of forces which we call Prakriti. In this great knowledge and its practice we can become desireless and calm, august, joyous, free from anxiety, pain, grief, *sama, udāsīna*, yet full of delight in all that we have in Prakriti, — *puruṣaḥ prakṛtisthaḥ*, say, see and do.*

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* *Additional note, place of insertion in MS. not indicated:*

Practically, therefore, the renunciation demanded of us is the renunciation by the lower, unreal and incomplete self, mind, senses, vitality, intellect, will, egoism of all that they are and seek to our real, complete and transcendental self, the Lord. And that renunciation we make sure by substituting another demand, the demand to be rid of all these things and released from the fulfilment of His cosmic purpose, but in order the better to fulfil His purpose and enjoy Him utterly in His movement, in all experience and all action that He in us and through us is manifesting and perfecting. For that which we have to enjoy is not only Isha but *jagat*, — for as we shall see both are one Brahman and by enjoying Him entirely we come to enjoy all His movement, since He is here as the Lord of His own movement. For this reason the word Isha has been selected as the fundamental relation of God to ourselves and the world, — the master of all creation and His own universe, the Lord who for His purposes has made and governs the world, — for in this relation of Lord He is inseparable from His movement. It is a relation that depends on the existence and play of the world of which He is the ruler and master. Envisaging the ruler, we envisage that which He rules, the habitation for the sake of the inhabitant, indeed, but still the habitation. We get therefore in this first verse of the Upanishad the foundations of the great principle of activity with renunciation with which the teaching of the Gita begins and the still greater principle of *ātmasamarpaṇa* or entire surrender to God, the *uttamam rahasyam*, with which it culminates. We get

Even those who not yet attaining follow faithfully this law and this ideal, who live in the knowledge of the One in the Many, embracing like Brahman all being in themselves, rejecting nothing, preferring nothing, bearing everything, effecting everything, infinite in calm by renunciation, infinite in might and bliss by enjoyment, they are men perfected, they are the *siddhas.*

Immediately the great recurring problem presents itself of works and the cessation from works, — the ancient crux which it is so easy to get rid of by a trenchant act of logic, so hard to solve in harmony with the actual facts of existence. To the ordinary mind action seems impossible and purposeless without desire, to the logical mind it seems inevitable that the more one penetrates into the supreme calm the farther one must move from all impulse to action, — that *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti, śama* and *karma* are eternally opposed. Shankara, therefore, deciding all things by the triumphant and inexorable logic insists that action is inconsistent with the state divine. In practice the seeker after perfection finds that calm, renunciation, joy, peace, seem only to be secure when one rests motionlessly established in the impersonal Brahman; freedom of desire is only easy by freedom from activity. Does not then enjoyment without demand or craving, involve enjoyment seated, inactive, accepting whatever, true [?] enjoyment by the thing renounced mean enjoyment of the renunciation not of the thing itself? Is it not the enjoyment of the eremite, eremite in soul if not in body, the spectator watching the action of the world but himself no part of it, that is alone possible to the desireless mind? And even if it is not the sole possible enjoyment, is it not

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the reason and spirit of the command to Arjuna from which all the moral teaching of the Gita starts and to which it returns, *jitvā śatrūn bhuñkṣva rājyam samṛddham,* the command of activity, the command of enjoyment, — but activity for God only, *yajñārtham,* without *ahaṅkāra,* enjoyment in God only, *mayi sannyasya,* without desire or attachment, neither demanding what He does not like for Himself in us nor rejecting what He is here to enjoy, whether the enjoyment be of victory or defeat, of the patched loin cloth of the beggar or the emperor's imperial crown.

the superior and preferable? Who that has self-enjoyment in the soul would condescend to the enjoyment of external objects? Or if he condescended it is the greater bliss of other worlds that would attract him and not the broken shreds which are all this world's joys, the hampered fulfilments which are all this world's actualisation of infinite possibility.

To all these ancient questions the reply of the Upanishad is categorical, explicit, unflinching. "Doing verily works here one should wish to live a hundred years; thus it is with thee and it is not otherwise than this: action cleaveth not to a man." It is not surprising that the great Shankara with his legacy of Buddhistic pessimism, his rejection of action, his sense of the nullity of the world, faced by this massive and tremendous asseveration should have put it aside by his favourite device of devoting it to the service of unenlightened minds although it occurs apparently as an integral portion of the argument and there is not a hint or a trace of its being intended as a contradiction or qualification of the main teaching, although too this interpretation is stultified both by the run of the two lines and by the immediate occurrence of the next verse, — but every incongruity and impossibility is to be accepted rather than suffer such an assertion to stand as the teaching of the Sruti. Nor is it surprising that Shankara's greatest follower Vedaranya, feeling perhaps that his master's dealings with the text in the commentary were of the most arbitrary and violent, should have preferred to exclude the Isha from his list of authoritative Upanishads ... uncommitted to any previous theory, the Sloka offers no difficulty but is rather an integral and most illuminating step in the development of a great and liberating doctrine.

Kurvanneva, says the Rishi, having his eye on the great dispute: Thou shalt do works and not abstain from doing them and the works are the works of this material world, those that are to be done *iha*, here, in this life and body. Doing his works in this world a man shall be joyously willing to live the full span of years allowed to the mortal body. If he grows weary, if he seeks to abridge it, if he has haste in his soul for the side beyond death, he is not yet an enlightened soul, not yet divine. With this great admission the Vedanta can no longer be a mere ascetic

gospel. Life, — full and unabridged in its duration, — full and uncontracted in its activity is accepted, welcomed, consecrated to divine use. And the Rishi affirms his reason for the acceptance, — because so it is with thee and it is not otherwise than this. Because in other words this is the law of our being and this is the will of the Eternal. No man, as the Gita clearly teaches, can abstain from works, for even the state of withdrawal of the ascetic, even the self-collected existence of the silent Yogin is an act and an act of tremendous effect and profoundest import. As long as we are in manifest existence, so long we are in the *jagatī* using, influencing and impressing ourselves on the *jagat*, and we cannot escape from the necessity self-imposed on Himself by God within us. And it is so imposed for the reason already stated because He has made this world for His habitation and as a means for His enjoyment and a thing for His delight, — and this His great Will and purpose no man can be allowed to frustrate. The wise mind, the illumined soul knowing this truth makes no vain attempt to square this circle; he accepts that which God intends fully and frankly and only seeks the best way to fulfil God in this existence which he occupies on the way to another. For he knows that bondage and freedom are states of the outer mind, not of the inner spirit; for there is none free and none bound, none panting after liberation and none fleeing from bondage but only the Eternal rejoicing secretly or manifestly in His innumerable habitations.

But in that case we are eternally bound by the chain of our works, nailed helplessly to the wheel of Karma? Not so; for the wheel of Karma is an error and the chain of our works is a grand illusion. "Action clingeth not to a man." Bondage is not the result of works, and liberation is not the result of cessation of works. Bondage is a state of the mind; liberation is another state of the mind. When through the principle of desire in the mind, the soul, the Ish, the Lord, mixes Himself up in the whirl of Prakriti, he sees himself in mental consciousness as if carried forward in the stream of causality; he seems to the mind in him to be bound by the effects of his works; when he relinquishes desire, then he recovers his lordship, — which in the higher being he has never lost, — and appears to himself what he has always

been in reality, free in his being, *svarāṭ, samrāṭ*. It follows then that the way to liberate oneself is not to renounce works but to rise from mind to supra-mind, from the consciousness of mental being, *sambhava*, to the consciousness of self-being, *svayambhava* or *asambhūti*. It is necessary to remember oneself but it is not necessary to forget phenomena. For action is the movement of Prakriti and the chain of action is nothing more terrible or mystic than the relation of cause and effect. That chain does not bind the Master; action becomes no stain on the soul. The works of the liberated man produce an effect, indeed, but on the stream of Prakriti, not on the soul which is above its action and not under it, uses action and is not victimised by it, determines action and is not determined by it. But if action in its nature bound the soul, then freedom here would be impossible. It does not and cannot; the soul allows mind to mix itself up with its works, *buddhir lipyate*, but the action does not adhere to the soul, *na karma lipyate nare*. The fear of action is Maya; the impossibility of combining action with calm and renunciation is a false *saṁskāra*. Nivritti or calm is the eternal state and very nature of the soul, Pravritti is in manifestation, the eternal state and very nature of Prakriti. Their coexistence and harmony is not only possible but it is the secret of the world obscured only by ignorance in the mind. The enemy therefore is not action but ignorance; not works bind us but works done in the state of ignorance give us the illusion of bondage. The idea of separateness of limitation with its fruit of desire, internal struggle, disappointment, grief, pain, — this alone is our stumbling-block. Abolish it, see God alone everywhere and all difficulty disappears. Nivritti and Pravritti, *tyāga* and *bhoga* move harmoniously to the perfect fulfilment of the divine purpose.

These important enunciations completed, the Sage proceeds to a minor but not inessential effect of the knowledge he is developing, — the life after this one which we have to use here, our progress into worlds beyond. The *gati*, trans-mortal journey or destination of the soul, occupied profoundly the Vedantic mind as it has occupied humanity at all times except in its brief periods of entire materialistic this-worldliness. As yet the Sage does not proceed to any positive statement, but by a negative movement

he indicates the importance of the question. Our life here is only one circumstance in our progress, — the fundamental circumstance, indeed, since earth is the Pratistha or pedestal of our consciousness in material being, — but still the fundamental is not the final, the Pratistha is not the consummation but only the means to the consummation. It is the first step in our journey, the initial movement in the triple stride of Vishnu. There is beyond it a second step from which we constantly return till we are ready here for the third, for the consummation. Our future state depends on our fullness at the time of our passage, on our harmonious progress towards divine being. That is the hidden thing in us which we have to develop. We are to become *ātmavān*, to possess our divine being, to disengage and fulfil our real self. Those who fall from this development, who turn aside from it are self-hurters or to take the full vigorous sense of the word used, self-slayers. Not that God in us can be slain, for death of the soul is impossible, — but there may be temporary perdition of the apparent divine by the murder of its self-expression and to this we may arrive either by wilfulness of passion or by intellectual wilfulness. Instead of becoming gods, *suras*, images of the Most High, the Paratpara Purusha in His effulgent glory, we may become misrepresentations of Him, false because distorted images, distorted by imperfection, distorted by one-sidedness, Titans, Asuras or else souls unillumined by the sun of Knowledge and if illumined at all then only by false lights which eventually become eclipsed in darkness. Our after-state will be Asurya, sunless, unillumined. To what worlds do we then journey?

The ordinary reading of the first word in the third verse of the Upanishad, is *asurya*, Titanic, but there is a possible variation *asūrya*, sunless and the substantial sense resulting from both readings is the same, but the colour given will be different. The Titans or Asuras of the Veda are souls of mere indisciplined might. They are those who found themselves not on light and calm but on *asu*, the vital force and might which is the basis of all energetic and impetuous feeling and action. The self-willed ones, who from temperamental passion reck themselves by the furious pursuit in desire of a false object or from intellectual passion reck themselves by the blind pursuit in belief of a false

idea, they follow a path because it is its own from Titanical attachment, from an immense though possibly lofty egoism. *Mole ruit sua.* They fall by their own mass, they collapse by excess of greatness. They need not be ignoble souls, but may even seem sometimes more noble than the gods and their victorious legions. When they hack and hew at the god within them, it may be in tremendous devotion to a principle, when they cloud and torture themselves till they stumble forward into misery and night; when they become demoniac in nature, it may be in furious and hungry insistence on a great aspiration. They may be grandiosely mighty like Hiranyakashipu, ostentatiously large-hearted like Bali, fiercely self-righteous like the younger Prahlada, but they fall whether great or petty, noble or ignoble, and in their fall they are thrust down by Vishnu to Patala, to the worlds of delusion and shadow, or of impenetrable gloom, because they have used the heart or intellect to serve passion and ignorance, enslaved the spiritual to the material and vital elements and subordinated the man in them to the Naga, the serpent. The Naga is the symbol of the mysterious earth-bound force in man. Wisest he of the beasts of the field, but still a beast of the field, not the winged Garuda revered to be the upbearer of divinity, who opens his vans to the sunlight and soars to the highest seat of Vishnu. If we read *asurya* we shall then have to translate "Verily it is to the worlds of the Titans, worlds enveloped in blind gloom that they after passing hence resort who are self-slayers." Otherwise it is the worlds farthest removed from the Sun, our symbol and principle of divine Knowledge. There are materialised states of darkness in the conscious being in which they must work out the bewilderment and confusion they have fastened on themselves by an obstinate persistence in self-will and ignorance. In either case the intention of the Sage is evident from the later passages of this Upanishad. Whether we follow exclusively after Avidya or exclusively after Vidya we go equally astray, exclusiveness means ignorance, exclusiveness means confusion, division of the indivisible Brahman, and persistence in such error is an obstinacy fatal to the soul in its immediate prospects. Temporarily, — because eternal perdition is impossible, — it fails to cross successfully over death and enters into trans-mortal dark-

ness. But those who accept the unity of the Brahman, who see in Vidya and Avidya only *vyavahāra*, light and shadow reflected in Him for the use of self-expression in phenomena, journey onwards in the way of their self-fulfilment and are lifted by all-purifying Agni to the regions of the Sun where they possess their perfect oneness and receive their consummate felicity. With this warning (for the promise comes afterward) closes the first movement of the Upanishad.

III

God then and the world are before us, the Inhabitant to be recognised as the Lord of things even when He appears otherwise and His habitation to be regarded merely as a movement set going by Him for phenomenal purposes, for a stream of form and action by which He can enjoy His own conditioned being, — God and the world are to be possessed by a pure and infinite enjoyment, Ananda, or bliss which depends on a perfect renunciation not of the world, but of the limited struggle and the ignorant attachment, of the demand and the groping. — These [are?] imperfect movements to be replaced by a mighty calm and a divine satisfaction. We are not to renounce works, which do not and cannot stain the soul or bind it, but to be liberated through acceptance of works in a luminous knowledge of their divine use and nature; not mutilation of life is to be our ideal but fulfilment through life of the intention of the Most High in His phenomenal manifestation. If we mutilate life through self-will and ignorance, we imprison ourselves after death in worlds of confusion and darkness and here like a ship befogged and astray in a dense sea of mists are hindered and long-delayed in our divine voyage.

But now further questions arise. Stated by itself and without development or qualification, the first line of this great teaching, although fundamental to the practical living of the divine life and the sufficient and right attitude for its fulfilment, might yet like all trenchant assertions, too positively and exclusively taken, lead us into a profound error and misunderstanding.

God and the World, the Movement and the Dweller in the Movement, that is the practical relation between the unconditioned and the phenomenal which we have to accept as the inalterable basis of our rule of right living. But this general movement, with the particular knots in it of apparent movement and apparent status which we call formations or objects, — what is it? Movement of Mahat or movement of what nature, — real or unreal? And the inhabitant, is He different from His habitation? If He is different and the habitation is real, what becomes of the universal unity Vedanta teaches and how are we not handed over to duality and a fundamental disparity, if not a fundamental opposition? It is to remove this possible misunderstanding that the Rishi now proceeds to a completer though not yet entirely complete statement of universal existence. He has stated the practical relation, he now states the essential relation. It amounts in effect to the fundamental tenet of Vedanta in the Upanishads: *sarvam khalu idam brahma.* All this, in truth, is the Brahman. He says, "There is One who unmoving is swifter than mind, neither have the gods reached It for it goes always in front. Standing, it outstrips others as they run. In it Matariswan establishes activity. That moves and that does not move, that is far and the same that is verily near; That is within all this, the same that is outside all this."

Not only the stable but the unstable; not only the constant, but the recurrent; not only the Inhabitant but His habitation; not only Purusha but Prakriti. It is *ekam*, not a number [of] different beings, as in the dogma of the Sankhyas, but One being, not two separate categories, the real and the unreal, Brahman and Maya, but only One, the Brahman. That which moves not is the Brahman but also that which moves is the Brahman, not merely Maya, not merely a base and ugly dream. We know already by the first verse that the innumerable inhabitants of this moving universe are not essentially many, but are One Soul disporting in many bodies or not really disporting but supporting the multiform play of Prakriti; *ekaḥ, acalaḥ, sanātanaḥ*, in the solemn language of the Gita, one, motionless, without beginning or end. He is this man and that woman, yonder ancient leaning on his staff, this blue-winged bird, that scarlet-winged. But now we

learn that also the name and form and property, the manhood and the womanhood, the age and the youth, the blueness and the scarlet hue, the staff, the attitude of leaning, the bird, the wing, all is the Brahman. The Inhabitant is not different from His habitation.

This is a difficult point for the ordinary mind to grasp intellectually; it is difficult even for minds not ordinary, really to grasp the intellectual conception, and take it into the soul and realise it there in feeling and consciousness. Even the greatest materialist in theory regards himself in his feelings as a mind or a soul and is aware of a gulf between himself and the inanimate. His opinions contradict his heart's consciousness. In Yoga also one of our first realisations is the separateness of the body, by the practical removal of the *dehātma-buddhi*, — a sensation the psychology of which is not well understood and being misunderstood gives rise to many errors. Hence we have a proneness to regard the inanimate as undivine, the material as gross and even foul and the objective as unreal, — as if all this were not merely arrangement and *vyavahāra*, as if the material was not also Atman and spirit, Brahman equally present in clod and man, body and soul, thought and action, as if all were not essentially equal in their divinity, and apparently so diverse merely because of the infinite variation of form and Guna! By this cardinal error the intellectual man comes to despise and neglect the body, the religious man to treat the body and often the intellect also as an impediment, praising the heart only, the spiritual contemplative man to aim at casting out both mind and body and banishing from him the very thought and perception of the objective. All are ruled or driven by this dim sensation or clear belief that the subjective soul seated within them alone is God, alone the Self, that the objective movement of Spirit seems to the movement of mind and senses to be outside and apart from us is not God, and is therefore worthless and evil. They all make the essential error of duality from which eventually every knot of ignorance and confusion arises. They all insist on a mental attitude to things, an attitude of analysis, separation and logical distinction instead of rising beyond mind-limitations and mind-methods to the transcendent. It is for this reason, to disengage

this error that the Sage insists on his *ekam*, in the neuter, — not only is He divine Sa, God regarding Himself subjectively as universal cognisant Personality, but That is divine Tat, Brahman realising Himself by identity both beyond and in and as all phenomenal existences, at will and coexistently transcendental and phenomenal, conditioned and unconditioned, One in the One and One in the many.

Brahman is spoken of here, not as the Absolute Para-Brahman outside all relation to life and phenomena, for to the unknowable utterness of Para-Brahman such phrases as "swifter than the mind" or "outrunning the gods" or "going in their front" cannot be applied, — It is the Brahman as we see It in Its relation to phenomena, God in the world, conditioned to our awareness in *vyavahāra*, unconditioned to our awareness in *paramārtha*, which is the subject of this and the following Sloka.* That is the One and sole Existence which, though indeed It does not move, is swifter than the mind and therefore the Gods cannot attain to It because It goes always in front. For the mind served by the senses is the instrument which men use to grasp and measure the world and the Gods are the presiding powers of all mental and physical functions, but neither the mind nor the senses, neither sensation nor reason can attain to the Brahman. It always goes far in front of any swiftest agency by which we can pursue it.

What is the precise significance of this imagery? The intention can only be understood if we remember the nature of mental action upon which such enormous stress is here laid and the limitations of that action. Mind always starts from a point, the thinker or the object of thought; it works in space or time on particular objects or groups of objects or at most on the ... of all objects known. It can only seek to know the movement and process of the world, but of that which is beyond and behind

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* *Additional passage, place of insertion in MS. not indicated:*

Of the Absolute all we can say is: "It is not that, it is not that," it is unknowable in Itself, knowable only in our existence here, or in relation to our existence here, not to be characterised by any epithet, description or suggestion.

movement and process, what can it know? At most it can feel or be told that He exists, He is eternal and ineffable. Ordinarily, it can only go as far back as itself and say, "I, mind, am He; because I think, I am; because I am and think, things are", — propositions which as the expression of a relative and intermediate fact have their validity but are as an universal and ultimate statement untrue. But even the movement of God in nature is too vast and swift for the mind to grasp. It catches at and grasps at petty surrounding eddies or even great masses of movements at a little distance; it seizes, arranges to itself in its own terms of vision and classes them triumphantly as ultimate laws of Nature. But who has sailed all these waters or can tell where, if at all, they end? Who shall say that those laws are not bye-laws only, or the charter and constitution of a single dependency only or province? Follow God to the utmost confines of observable space, — He is sure to be whirling universes into being far in front. Pursue Him into the deepest experimentable recesses of being, there are unguessed universes of consciousness behind to which you have no present access. Infinity is only one of His aspects but the very nature of Infinity is that the mind cannot grasp it, though the reason deduces it. Who measured Space? Can any vastest Mind find out when Things began or know when and how they shall end? Nay, there may be near to us universes of another Time, Space and arrangement to which our material dimensions and mind and sense limitations forbid us an entrance. Even here who has traced out the purpose of creation or systematised the ways of Providence? Of a hundred things that happen immediately around us, can we even in a dozen instances tell more than fragmentarily and at a hazard why the thing has happened, to what end it endured, of what ordering of things it was a piece and movement? Yet, as the eye opens to the innermost secret of things, one realises that an infinite Wisdom presides over the smallest happening and eternally links today's trifling action to the grandiose movement of the centuries, — nay, that every thought which passes through our minds however weak, trivial or absurd, has its mark, in the depths of itself its purpose, even its necessity. But of all this how much can the gods of mind, reason and sense ascertain? They run, they gallop,

they outstrip the arrow, the bullet, the lightning, the meteor, all material swiftnesses, but That though it moves not, travels still in front. Yes, even when we think we are in front of Him, have followed His ways, classified His laws, understood existence, ascertained and determined the future by the past, suddenly we stumble and come across a new landmark or footprint which shows where That has passed; a touch of His finger surprises us as He speeds past and our theories crumble, our knowledge is turned into foolishness, our enlightenment becomes the laughing-stock of better enlightened generations. It, standing, outstrips others as they run. Yet, all the time, He had no need to move. Already God was in front of us, as He is behind, above, below, on every side. Our latest knowledge will always be a candle burning in the mists of the night, our discoveries pebbles picked up on the shore of a boundless ocean. Not only can we not know That in all Its absolute, transcendent reality, but we cannot know It in all the vastness of Its phenomenal workings. Much we may yet know by the mind, but not all, not more than a corner or a system. All that we can do is to seek the boundless Lord of a boundless Universe and here and elsewhere to know each habitation and recognise its Inhabitant. The dweller is divine, but the house too divine, a temple of God, *sukṛtam*, well-built, delightful and holy, — the God Himself manifested as name and form.

That stands really and does not run. What then is the movement by which He outstrips others or is far in front? The clue is given in the expression "swifter than mind". It is the mind that runs in us but what is it that runs swifter than mind, just as mind runs swifter than any material force? Something of which mind and matter are lower movements, — that which is the essence of the *jagatī*, is the essential conscious being of which mind, life and matter are particular currents. This conscious being is That, — the sole Reality which assumes so many appearances. It does not run, for where should it run when it does not exist in time and space, but time and space exist in the Brahman. All things are created in God's consciousness which has no more to move than a man has to move when he follows a particular train of thought. He who was before Time is still just what He was after Time is finished, — drawn back, that is to say, into supratemporal con-

sciousness. He has not moved in His being an inch, He has not changed in His being by the shadow of a shadow. He is still *ekaḥ, acalaḥ, sanātanaḥ*, one, motionless, without change or end. This side of the Sun or that side of Lyra are to Him one point or rather no point at all. Space is a symbol into which Thought has translated an arrangement in supraspatial Consciousness. Time and Causality are not different. Therefore it appears that both *jagatī* and *jagat* are no movement of matter or material force, (that is expressly excluded in the First verse) nor of mind (that is expressly excluded here) but of ... conscious being in itself, a mysterious activity the essence of which is limitless and absolute Awareness, not expressible in language, but translated in the symbols of our Thought here into a movement in Time, Space and Causality. This universal tenet of Vedanta, although not expressly stated, is yet implied in the Rishi's thought and follows inevitably from his expression. He could very well in his age and surroundings take it for granted, but we have to state it explicitly, — for unless it is assumed, the second movement of the Sage's thought cannot be entirely understood by us. It is, indeed, the foundation of all Vedantic thinking.

We can now grasp what the Sage intends when he says, *tad ejati tannaijati.* Tad or That, the suggestive vague name for the Brahman, whether impersonal or above personality or impersonality, moves and That does not move. It moves or appears to move, — as action of Prakriti and the corresponding Knowledge in Purusha, — in the conception of Time, Space and Causality; it does not move in reality, because these are mere symbols, conceptual translations of the actual truth, and movement itself is only such a symbol. The Habitation is the creation of a formative movement of Prakriti, who is indeed always recurrent in her doings because she and her ways are eternal, but also always mutable and inconstant because she works in Time, Space and Causality, terms of perception which have no meaning except as measures of movement or progression from one moment to another, one point to another, one state or event to another. Succession and therefore change is the fundamental law of God's ideative and formative activity in the terms of these three great symbols. But the Inhabitant is one and constant, because

He is beyond Time and Space, surrounded apparently by the whirl of Prakriti, to the ignorant tossed about in it, He in reality exists both as its continent and creator as well as its informing soul, master and guide. That therefore in Itself is unmoving, immutable and eternal, in Its movement in ... Time-movement, Space-movement, Causation-movement (although as we shall see ordered and governed by durable patterns or general processes of being) continues, which ensures recurrence, That is yet mobile, active, inconstant and fleeting from one state or form to another. All here passes out of our view, sooner or later, except the Inhabitant, the eternal Existence-Consciousness, Him we see seated for ever. On Him in the flux of things we have our sure foundation.

In this Brahman Matariswan sets activity. *Tasmin apo mātariśvā dadhāti. Tasmin*, in the containing stable and fulfilling active Brahman already described. *Apas* is work or activity (Latin: *opus*), the Vedic word being used in preference to *karmāṇi* because *karmāṇi* expresses individual actions and it is here the general universe-activity of Brahman that is intended, not indeed all Prakriti but that which is manifest as work, productive and creative, the movement of the sun and star, the growth of the tree, the flowing of the waters, the progress of life in all its multitude; Matariswan, he that rests in the matrix of things, that is to say, Vayu, the motional or first energetic principle of Nature founded in *ākāśa*, the static principle of extension which is the eternal matrix of things, working in it as Prana, the universal life-activity, *dadhāti*, (Gr. *tithēsi*) establishes, sets in its place and manages. For the root *dhā* has always the idea of arrangement, management, working out of things.

The reason for introducing this final and more limiting idea about the Brahman as the culminating phrase of this Śloka, is the Sage's intention to emphasise the divineness of that particular movement of Prakriti which is the basis of *karmāṇi*, human action in the mortal life. Matariswan is the energy of God in Prakriti which enters into, as into a womb or matrix (*mātar*), is first concealed in, — as a child in the womb (Ma) and then emerges out of the static condition of extension, represented to our senses in matter as ether. It emerges in the motional prin-

ciple of expansion and contraction represented to the senses as the gaseous state, specially called by us therefore Vayu, which by disturbing the even self-contained vibration (*śabda*) of the ether, produces vibratory waves (*kṣobha*), generates action and reaction (*rajas*) on which the ether behind is continually impressing a tendency to equipoise (*sattva*), the failure of which is the only cause of disintegration of movement (death, *mṛtyu*, *tamoguṇa*) and creates contact (*sparśa*) which is the basis of mental and material sensation and indeed of all relation in phenomenal existence. Matariswan, identifying himself with Vayu, supporting himself on these principles of wave-vibration, action-reaction and contact, ruled not only in matter but in life and mind, using the other three elementary or fundamental states known to Vedic enquiry, — *agni* (fire), the formatory principle of intension, represented to our senses in matter as heat, light and fire, *apas* or *jala* (water), the materialising or outward flowing principle of continuation, represented to our senses in matter as sap, seed, Rasa, and *pṛthvī* (earth), the stabilising principle of condensation, represented to us in matter as earth, the basis of all solids, — Matariswan, deploying in existence in settled forms by the fivefold (*pāñcabhautika*) complex movement of the material Brahman, of conscious being as the essential substance of things, reveals himself as universal life-activity, upholder of our vitality, prompter and cause of our actions. He is life, is latently active in the inanimate, ... but unorganised in the metal, organised for life and growth only in the plant, for sense and feeling and thought in the animal creation, for reason and illumination and progress to godhead in man, and for eternal immortality in the gods. But who ultimately is this Matariswan? Brahman himself as the Rig Vedic Rishis already knew, manifesting himself in relation to the other movements as the cause, condition and master of vitality, as breath and as air.

Life-action, then, is not indeed the whole action of the universe; nor is our human life-action, our *apas*, work, task here its culminatory activity. There are more developed beings, superior states, other worlds. But it is, whether here or in other planets, the central activity of this universe. It is of this apparently insignificant pebble, the stone that builders not Almighty, not

All-wise would have rejected, God has made the keystone of this work of His construction. In this the movement of our universe finds the means for its central purpose, through it fulfils itself, in it it culminates or from it falls away. When God has fulfilled himself here under these conditions with *pṛthvī* as his *pratiṣṭhā*, then we may pass away finally into other conditions or into the unconditioned, but till then, till God here is satisfied, Brahman here manifested, we come here to fulfil him. Till then, so it must be with us and not otherwise. And this principle is not undivine but divine, not something utterly delusive or diabolical, not the kingdom of a lower spirit or an aberration in knowledge, but God's movement, *mahimānam asya*, the manifest might, the apparent extension in Itself of the Brahman. Life here is God, the materials of Life here are God. The work is not separate from the worker, nor the thought from the thinker. All is the play of a divine Unity.

Thus we have the essential reality of things, we have the practical relation of God in Impersonality or Personality as the Inhabitant of His own objective being. We have the principle of unity by which the practical relation refers back always to the essential and derives from it. We have the fundamental justification of works briefly indicated in the identity of the working principle with the eternal Reality behind our works. But the justification of the harmony of *tyāga* and *bhoga* on this basis has now to be prepared. After stating, therefore, the identity of the eternal who moveth not, with the eternal who moves, of the Timeless, Spaceless, Conditionless, with the Timed, Spaced, Conditioned, the Sage proceeds with a consideration of the latter only with which our *vyavahāra* or practical life has to deal and emphasises the unity of all things near and far, subjective and objective. That is the near, the same That is the far. He is near to us in our subjective experience, He moves to a distance in the objective where our mind and senses pursue him until they have to cease or return. In the subjective also, he is not only the unknown, but the known, ourselves, that which is seated in our hearts; not only the ungrasped, but the grasped, that which we have and that which we seem not to have, that which we have reached or passed or are approaching and that towards which

we vaguely or blindly move. Nothing should we think, feel or observe without saying of it, "It is He, it is the Brahman." That is within every creature as all the continent of body and mind and which is more than mind; That is outside every creature and That in which it moves, lives and has its being; not only are our surroundings near or far but that which contains our surroundings is outside and inside them, alike their continent and their content: *sarvam brahma.* For That is the content of all this Universe; That also exceeds and is apart from every Universe. The Pantheism or Monism which unable to rise beyond the unity of attainable data or manifest appearance, makes God conterminous with the world, is not Vedanta. The Pluralism which makes God merely a sum of realised experiences, a growing and diminishing, a fluctuating unknown quantity, X, sometimes equal to a+b and sometimes equal to a−b, is not our conception of the Universe. These things are He, but He is not these things. To us the world is only a minor term in God's absolute and limitless existence. God is not even infinite, though finite and infinite both are He; He is beyond finite and infinity. He is *sarvam brahma*, the All, but He is inexpressibly more than the *sarvam.* To our highest conception He is One, but in Himself He is beyond conception. Neither Unity nor multiplicity can describe Him, for He is not limited by numbers. Unity is His *parabhāva*, it is His supreme manifestation of being, but it is after all a manifestation, not the utter and unknowable reality.

IV

The object of these two verses which have amplified the idea of monistic Unity in the universe, so as to remove any essential opposition between the world movement and the Inhabitant of the movement, is to lead up to the two verses that follow, verses of a still higher importance for the purpose of the Upanishad. The Sage has laid down his fundamental positions in the first three verses, — (1) the oneness of all beings in the universe, (2) the harmony of renunciation and enjoyment by freedom from desire and demand, (3) the necessity of action for the fulfilment

of the one purpose for which the One inhabits this multitude of his names and forms, — the enjoyment of this phenomenal and in its consummation the liberated being. The remainder of the Upanishad is explanatory and justificatory of these original and fundamental positions. In this second movement the object is to establish the possibility of absolutely sorrowless and fearless enjoyment here in this world and in this body on the eternal and unassailable foundations of the Vedantic truth, *sarvam khalu idam brahma.* For from that truth the Seer's golden rule of life derives all its validity and practical effectiveness.

Therefore are the words, words of a rich and moving beauty in which he discharges this part of his argument. "But he who sees all existences in the self and the self in all existences, thereafter shrinketh not at all. He who knows, in whom all existences have become the self, how shall he have grief, how shall he be deluded, who seeth all things as one."

The connecting word तु (the Greek *de*) does not in Vedic Sanskrit always imply entire opposition, it suggests a new circumstance suggesting an additional fact or a different point of view. The new circumstance introduced in this verse is the idea of the Atman. The knowledge that the impersonal Brahman is all, need not of itself bring peace and a joyous activity; for the all includes sorrow, includes death, fear, weariness, disgust. Matariswan in establishing action, has also established reaction. He has established that unequally between the force in activity and the force acted upon, that want of harmony which is the cause of pain, recoil, disintegration, mutual fear and oppression. We may recognise that all these are one coordinated movement in a single existence, are themselves all one existence, but how does that help us if in the movement itself there are these inequalities, these discords, these incapacities which impose on us so much that is painful and sorrowful. We may be calm, resigned, stoical, but how can we be free from pain and sorrow? It is here that Mayavada comes in with its great gospel of liberation. "All this discord," it says in effect, "is not Brahman, it is Maya, it is an illusion, a dream, it does not exist in the pure Atman. That is the unmoving; the movement is a cosmic nightmare affecting the mind only. Renounce life, take refuge in the pure, uncondi-

tioned, dreamless Atman, mind will dissolve, the world will vanish from you as a dream vanishes and with the world its pain, its useless striving, its miserable joys, its ineffugable sorrow." That is an escape but it is not the escape which the Seer of the Upanishad meditates for us. He holds to his point. "All this is Brahman, the movement no less than the moving." A few may escape by the wicket gates of the Buddhist and the Mayavadin. Not by denial of fundamental Vedantic truth is mankind intended to be saved.

The worship of a Personal God different from ourselves and the world brings with it a better chance of joyful activity in the world. "God's will, be it joy or sorrow; God's will, be it the triumph of good or the siege of the evil." This is a great Mantra and has mighty effects but it does not by itself give a secure abiding place. God's will may bring doubt and then there is anguish; may bring loss of the Divine presence, separation from the Beloved and then there is a greater agony. The intellectual man has the intellect God has given him to satisfy. The active man has the impulse to work, but at every step is faced with the difficulties of religion and ethics. He has to slay as a soldier, condemn as a judge, inflict pain, inflict anguish, choose between two courses which seem both to be evil in their nature or their results. Sin enters his heart, or there are ensnaring spirits of doubt which suggest sin where sin is not, he feels that he is acting from passion not from God. His body suffers, pain distracts, his own pain, the pain of others. In this maelstrom it is only those whose hearts are mightier than their intellects, and their devotion a part of their nature who can overcome all the winds that blow upon them. Therefore most devotees withdraw from life or from the greater part of life like the Mayavadin; those who remain have more resignation than happiness. They bear the cross here in the conviction that the aureole awaits them hereafter. But where then is that perfect bliss and that perfect activity which the Sage promises us, doing verily our works here in the ordinary life of mankind? The thing can be done on the devotional foundation, but only by a peculiar and rare temperament aided by God's special grace and favour. We need a wider pedestal, a securer foundation.

He finds that foundation who sees wheresoever he looks (that is the force of *anu* in *anupaśyati*,) only the Atman, only the Self. He watches the bird flying through the air but what he is aware of is the Self watching the movement of the Self through the Self, — air and bird and flight and watcher are only name and form, presentations of the one Reality to itself in itself by itself *ātmani ātmānam ātmanā*. He is stung by the scorpion, but what he is aware of is only the touch of the Self on the Self, the scorpion that stings is Brahman, that stinging is Brahman, the sting is Brahman, the pain is Brahman. And this he not only thinks as a metaphysical truth, for mere metaphysical opinion or intellectual attitude never yet brought salvation to living man, — but knows it, feels it and is aware of it utterly with his whole single and complex Knowing existence. Body, senses, heart and brain are at one in that experience. Thus to the soul perfected in this knowledge everything that is, seems or is experienced, thinker and thought, action, doer, sufferer, object, field, result, becomes only one reality, Brahman, Self, God and all this variety is only play, only movement of conscious-self in conscious-self. That moves, God has his *līlā*. The Self rejoices in its own inner experiences of itself seen and objectivised. There exists in the soul not merely calm, resignation, desirelessness, heart's joy in God's presence but with the perfect knowledge comes a perfect bliss in the conditioned and the unconditioned, in the transcendent and in the phenomenal, in action and in resting from action, in *īśvara* and in apparent *aniśvara*, in God's nearness and in God's remoteness, in what men call joy and what men call pain. Grief falls away from the soul, pain becomes rapture, doubt and darkness disappear in an assured and brilliant luminosity. Bhakti is fulfilled, the soul perfected is liberated here and in this body, *ihaiva*, — for this and not renunciation of phenomenal existence is the true Vedantic *mokṣa*. This is what is meant by all existing things becoming the Self in a man, this is the result which is predicated of such a divine realisation. "Whence shall he have grief, how shall he be deluded, who seeth all things as one?"

There are certain stages in the realisation, two of which are indicated in these *ślokas* and although the indication is only a minor and incidental movement of the Rishi's thought, this

subject is of sufficient practical importance to be dwelt upon for a little even in this necessarily rapid examination. Brahman, Atman, Ishwara, — these are the three great names, the three grand realisations we have here about the Absolute Existence. That existence, *parātparam brahma*, in its absolute truth (if such an expression is admissible where the ideas of truth and falsehood, absolute and relative, no longer apply and knowledge itself disappears in an unconceivable and unimaginable Identity) is unknowable by any, even the highest faculty of conscious mind. Arriving at the farthest limits of our existence here we may become aware of it as a thing beyond our experience. It presents itself to us here as some ultimate shadow of itself which we feel sometimes as Sat, sometimes as Asat, sometimes as both Sat and Asat, and then we perceive that it is none of these things but something beyond both existence and non-existence which are necessarily uncertain symbols of it and we end by the formula of the Rishis renouncing all vain attempts at knowledge, Neti, Neti; not this, not that. We must not go beyond this two-word formula or seek to explain and amplify it. To describe It by negative epithets is as illegitimate and presumptuous as to describe It by positive epithets. We can say of Brahman that it is *śuddha*, pure; we cannot say of the Paratparam that it is *śuddha*. How can we know what It is? We can only say that here It translates itself into an utter purity. Neither can we say of It that it is *alakṣaṇam*, without feature. How do we know what It is not? We can only say that we cannot describe It by any *lakṣaṇas*, for the features we perceive here are those of a movement in which all opposites present themselves as equally true.

But here in this manifest universal existence we do perceive certain universal states and certain still more fundamental realisations which transcend all phenomena and all oppositions and antinomies. We perceive, for example, a state of Universal Being, the Sad Atman of the Upanishads, the goal of the Adwaitins; we perceive a state of the Universal Non-Being, the Asad Atman of the Upanishads, Sunyam, the goal of the Madhyamika Buddhists. Then we perceive that both of these are the same thing differently experienced in the soul. It is that which expresses itself in our experience of Being and forgetfulness of

Being, of Consciousness and forgetfulness of Consciousness, of Bliss and forgetfulness of Bliss, of Sachchidananda conditioned and Sachchidananda unconditioned. We call it the Brahman, that which extends itself here in space and time and fills its extension. We feel our identity with it and we realise that it is our true Self and the true Self of everything in the universe and of the universe both in its division and in its entirety. We call it then the Atman, a word which originally meant true Being or true Substance. We become aware of It as extending itself and filling its extension here for a purpose, the purpose of Ananda, delight in Vidya, delight in Avidya, and governing all things towards that purpose, — self-aware as the One and self-aware as the Many, self-aware as Sat and self-aware as Asat. This great self-aware Transcendent, more than universal existence, we call Sa, Ishwara, He, God, the Paratpara Purusha, the Higher than the Highest. We see therefore that these three names merely try to express in human language certain fundamental conceptions we have here of That which is not perfectly expressible. The greatest names, tremendous as is their power, — how tremendous only those can know who have made the test without flinching, — are only symbols, I will not say shadows, for that is a word which may be misunderstood. But very great and blissful symbols in which we are meant to find a perfect content and satisfaction and the realisation which they try to represent.

But through these symbols we have to work out the divine fulfilment here, and the Rishi gives all three of them to us in this Upanishad. For all three are supremely helpful and, in a way, necessary. Until we realise Ishwara, the mighty Inhabitant, as one with ourself, as the Atman, we find a difficulty in identifying Him with all that Is. We fall into these ideas of an extra-cosmic God which satisfy the early and immature stages of soul-development; or we see a God who pervades and upholds all existences but has put them forth in His being as eternally apart from Himself. That is a great practical realisation with immense results to the soul, the realisation of the Bhakta who rests in some kind of Dualism, but it is not the supreme goal or truth we are seeking. If we realise the Ishwara as the Atman, inner Self, without realising Him as the Brahman, we run another peril, unless

our souls have first become purified, the peril of the Asura who misapplies the mighty formula So Aham and identifies God with his own unregenerated ignorant ego, — extending the Inhabitant only to some transient circumstances of the movement in which He dwells. He forgets the other equally important formula, *tat tvam asi*; he does not realise others as Narayana, does not become one self with all existences, forgets that the very idea of his egoistic self is inconsistent with the true Adwaita and to extend that in imagination and call it the whole Universe is a caricature of Adwaita. It is like the error of the unphilosophical Idealist who concludes that the objective Universe exists only in his individual mind, forgetting that it exists equally in other individual minds, not knowing that in reality there is no individual mind but only one sea of mind with its self-formed solid bed of *saṁskāras*, waves of which are constantly flowing through him, rising and breaking there and leaving their marks on the sands of his mental, infra-mental and supra-mental being. Even if we realise all beings as Narayana and one self, there is a difficulty in realising all things as God and Self. The inhabitant is the Atman, good, — but the name and form? We can realise that God dwells in the stone as well as under the stone and around it, but how can the stone be God, — this clod, that rusty piece of iron, this clot of filth? With difficulty the mind unreleased from *dvandva* and *saṁskāras* can believe that God logically must be, is in the piece of filth He has created, but how can He be that filth? The seeker can eventually realise God in the criminal who is to be hanged no less than in the executioner who hangs him, and the saint who has pity for both, in the harlot no less than the Sati, in all of the filth no less than in the glorious star that shines in the Heaven, and the petals of the rose or jasmine flower that intoxicates our soul with its fragrance, but the crime of the criminal, the sin of the harlot, the corporeality of the filth, must not that be kept separate? The sattwic man, the lover of virtue, the lover of beauty, the devotee reverently bowing before the throne, must they not revolt strongly, from such conceptions? We shall see that for certain practical reasons we must maintain and preserve a kind of separateness, — not only between the criminal and his crime but between the saint and his virtue, —

Preface*

THE chapters of this book were written in a serial form in the pages of the monthly review, *Arya*, and from the necessity of speedy publication have been reprinted as they stood without the alterations which would have been necessary to give them a greater unity of treatment. They reflect the rapidly changing phases of ideas, facts and possibilities which emerged in the course of the European conflict. The earlier chapters were written when Russia was still an Empire and an autocracy, the later parts after the Russian revolution and when the war had come nearer to its end, but the dramatic circumstances of the issue, in itself inevitable, could not be foreseen. The reader may guide himself in regard to the references to contemporary conditions by observing that the first four chapters cover the close of the year 1915, the next twelve 1916, the seventeenth to the twenty-eighth 1917, while the remaining seven extend to July 1918. The rapid change of circumstances reflected will serve to bring home the swiftness of the evolution by which what was a hesitating idea and a doubtful possibility at the commencement has become a settled necessity awaiting speedy formulation.

Subsequent events have rendered certain speculations and balancings out of date, for they have been solved by the logic of events. Austria is a name of the past, the Empire of the Hohenzollerns has disappeared like a dream of the night, all Europe between the Rhine and the Volga is republican. Finally, most important of all, the League of Nations has now been decided upon, the American idea having triumphed at least in principle, and is in travail of formation. But the main suggestions put forward in the book remain unaffected, or rather acquire a more pressing actuality. The two great difficulties which attend the incipience of this first stage of loose world-union will still be, first, the difficulty of bringing into one system the few great Empires

* Preface to the first edition of *The Ideal of Human Unity* published by Sons of India, Madras in 1919.

remaining, few but immensely increased in power, influence and the extent of their responsibilities, and the greatly increased swarm of free nations which the force of events or the Power guiding them rather than the will of nations and Governments has brought into being, and the approaching struggle between Labour and Capitalism. The former is only a difficulty and embarrassment, though it may become serious if it turns into a conflict between the imperialistic and the nationalistic ideas or reproduces in the international scheme the strife of the old oligarchic and democratic tendencies in a new form, a question between control of the world-system by the will and influence of a few powerful imperial States and the free and equal control by all, small nations and great, European and American and Asiatic peoples. The second is a danger which may even lead to disintegration of this first attempt at unification, especially if, as seems to be the tendency, the League undertakes the policing of the world against the forces of extreme revolutionary socialism. On the other hand, the conflict may accelerate, whatever its result, the necessity and actuality of a more close and rigorous system, the incipience at least of the second stage of unification.

The main contentions advanced in these pages also remain unaffected by the course of events, — the inevitability of the unification of the life of humanity as a result of those imperative natural forces which lead always to the creation of larger and larger human aggregates, the choice of the principles which may be followed in the process, the need for preserving and bringing to fullness the principle of individual and group freedom within the human unity, and the insufficiency of formal unity without a growth of the religion of humanity which can alone make it a great psychological advance in the spiritual evolution of the race.

SUPPLEMENT TO

VOLUME 17

THE HOUR OF GOD

AND OTHER WRITINGS

1. *Bankim Chandra* first appeared in the daily *Bande Mataram* of April 22, 1907. We did not include it previously because we were uncertain about its authorship. We find, however, that it is included in a list of articles identified as Sri Aurobindo's by Upendranath Bannerji, an associate of Sri Aurobindo on the *Bande Mataram* staff.

2. *Sapta-chatushtaya* consists of mantras received by Sri Aurobindo in the Alipore Jail in 1908 - 1909. These mantras along with the notes which accompany them were written down by Sri Aurobindo, probably after his release from prison in May, 1909, and certainly before his departure from Chandernagore on March 31, 1910. They have been recently published by Prabartak Sangha in their book, LIGHT TO SUPERLIGHT.

We are indebted to Prabartak Sangha for the photostat copies of *Sapta-Chatushtaya*, except for two pages dealing with "Virya", which were missing. These pages were later supplied by a devotee of Sri Aurobindo.

3. *The Way of Works* seems to be the beginning of a book left incomplete by Sri Aurobindo. It is reprinted from a manuscript belonging probably to Sri Aurobindo's early years in Pondicherry.

Bankim Chandra

(1838 - 1894)

BANKIM Chandra, the poet, the philosopher, and the prophet of the New Thought laboured under a plethora of wit and imagination. He had received from the good fairies an ample dower at his birth; and his master mind realised that dower to the uttermost farthing.

Bankim Chandra's father was a man of culture, and a member of the Subordinate Executive Service. Bankim Chandra entered the Calcutta Presidency College in 1856 and there became a member of the most intellectual coterie. He was the first Bengalee to take the degree of B.A. And in recognition of his successful College career, the Government appointed him a Deputy Magistrate. As an officer he showed considerable ability and independence and for some time acted as an Assistant Secretary to the Government of Bengal. That his official life enlarged his mental vision, made him acquainted with the thousand and one phases of nature, and conducted him through a wide range of experiences cannot be denied.

But the service Bankim Chandra rendered to the above Government counts as dust in the balance in which posterity will weigh him to form a just estimate of his talents. And this service pales into insignificance before the brilliant service he rendered to this country and his community.

He wrote English with facility. And his controversy with the Christian missionaries showed his undoubted argumentative, combative and debating powers.

In literature Bankim Chandra served his apprenticehood under Ishwar Chandra Gupta, — a master of the vituperative art who had an inexhaustible stock of rollicking humour.

While still young Bankim Chandra began to write a serial story named "Raj Mohan's Wife" in the *Indian Field*, then edited by Kishori Chand Mitra. This was his first public prominent literary effort. But he soon came to realise that a permanent

hold on succeeding generations of readers could be got only by writing in the mother tongue. This realisation was most fortunate for Bengalee literature, and marks the dawn of a new era.

Whenever a civilised people have found their language inadequate to express all sorts of ideas and every shade of thought, they have developed and amplified it to serve their purpose. To the English-educated Bengalees, the poverty of their mother tongue had, at first, appeared an insurmountable difficulty, — and some of them had thought to convert English into their mother tongue. Bankim saw the impossibility of the idea, and set himself to re-cast and re-model the language, — which was found to fetter the free and full expression of modern thought, — to make it the proper vehicle of thought.

For a parallel we must turn to Greece. There the ancient language was the literary language at the time of the capture of Constantinople, and the use of it as a vehicle of literature has been handed down in unbroken tradition to the present day. The Church service is in ancient Greek, and the New Testament is still read in the original language in Greek Churches. A change took place when Greece revived in the 19th century. All the great writers felt that it was pedantic to adopt many of the old forms of inflection and construction — that, in one word, the ancient language was not fitted to be the vehicle of modern civilisation. They, therefore, resolved to adapt it. And hence has arisen a form of the language which is practically identical with the ancient, but transfused with modern ideas, and fitted for the clear and rapid expression of modern literature. He betook himself to the plain and pleasant paths of prose. He was a voracious reader of English fiction; and his first novel *Durgeshnandini* bears the influence of Scott. In reviewing this book Professor Cowel remarked (*MacMillan's Magazine*, 1872) that *Durgeshnandini* was a visible result of English education. Cynical critics have long complained that our Calcutta system of education only produces clever automatons, — "books in chaddurs" used to be the favourite phrase, — who reproduced in the examinations a great amount of ill-digested information, but were utterly unable to originate an idea of their own. The present work, as well as several others may well refute these

assertions. But he was a case of the exception proving the rule.

In his next novel Bankim Chandra shook off imitation, and cast his work in bronze like a master. The *Kapalkundala* has all the charms of a poem. The situations are picturesque, the descriptions poetic, and the conception grand. In *Mrinalinee* the dramatic element predominates. More characters are introduced, and brighter scenes move rapidly. The freshness of fancy, the glow of youth, the exuberance of energy are evident in the construction, the development and the conclusion of the work. In the *Bisabriksha* we have some striking and faithful pictures of Indian life. His *Chandrasekhar* is a more ambitious work. The canvas is crowded, the characters are taken from widely different societies and spheres of activity, — and a halo of romance hovers over the work. *Rajanee* is a new departure. The climax is reached in *Krishnakanter Will.* It is a work of art done by a man whose gifts have been polished by study and trained by steady practice till they rejoiced in their own power.

The next novel is the *Anandamath.* In it occurs the song *Bande Mataram* which is our clarion call to the field of duty. It is the song that the current of the story sets. The book is meant to explain the significance of the song. It was composed before the book was written. On the day it was being set to music, Bankim Chandra, on being asked by the manager of his magazine *Bangadarsan,* to write a novel as a song was not calculated to go a long way to fill the pages of the paper, replied: "You cannot understand the significance of this song now. But if you live 25 years more you will see Bengal in rapture over it." Perhaps the vision and the faculty divine made Bankim Chandra make this prophecy. And the manager has lived to see not only all Bengal but all India accept the song as the National Anthem and its opening words engraved on the cenotaph of the great *Shivaji.*

Other works followed. But the author had turned his attention to religion, and his later productions, — save *Rajsinha,* a historic novel which has no rival in Bengalee literature, — are didactic. "For over 20 years," remarks the writer in the *Encyclopedia Brittanica,* "the reading public in Bengal recog-

nised and felt the power of a talented novelist, and the Bengalee ladies in the Zenana read every new work of Bankim Chandra as it issued from the Press."

A novel, if it is to live, must deal with one or more of the few great passions of life. The true novelist treats life in a broad human fashion. He watches the stream of life, unmindful of the little eddies that whirl about under the trees in the sunshine of a summer afternoon. Bankim Chandra's novels are pre-eminently novels of love. He took up the eternal and perennial passion of love and threw light on its innumerable facets. His novels are in the hand of every educated Bengalee. Their magnificent fullness of life in movement, their sumptuous passages of description, their poignancy in pathos and rapidity in action, their unwavering devotion to veracity of impression, without colour or emphasis, — these qualities have given intellectual enjoyment to thousands of readers. His women are characters from the hand of a lover and an artist.

The unusual brilliancy of his novels should not make us blind to the other works of Bankim Chandra. He was a versatile and vigorous writer. In 1872 he started the *Bangadarsan*, — a literary magazine he edited with undoubted ability. And we all know how his severe criticisms on the worthless and ephemeral productions of so many of his fellow-countrymen brought about a complete revolution in the history of Bengalee literature.

His essays on different subjects as well as his explanation of the *ślokas* of the *Gita* bear the stamp of sound judgment and critical insight. He was ever fearless in exposing the hypocrisy and frailty in others but was never blind to merit but rather ever ready to encourage it.

His *Krishnacharitra* is undoubtedly a great work. "In it," Mr. Blumhardt truly remarks, "he represents the Hindu deity as the model of a perfect nature, and points out the gradual introduction into the great epic of the Mahabharata of the many popular superstitions, and degrading accounts of the life and character of Krishna which are so entirely at variance with the lofty conception of that deity, as contained in the more ancient Hindu sacred writings."

Speaking of the old and the new in modern India Mr. Frazer

in his *Literary History of India* remarks, — "Nowhere better than in the novels of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee can the full force of this strife between old and new be traced." Late in life Bankim Chandra took upon himself the task of explaining to his countrymen the *Vedas*. He refuted the opinions of European Orientalists. And sure enough he was a foeman worthy of the steel. But he was not spared to finish this self-imposed task. In the middle of his work his busy fingers dropped the pen and his fertile imagination ceased to produce. Thus passed away Bankim Chandra, the *rishi* of modern Bengal. But his spirit exists in our midst, — watching us and wishing us every success in our onward march.

SAPTA - CHATUSHTAYA

I. SHANTI-CHATUSHTAYA

समता शान्तिः सुखं हास्यमिति शान्तिचतुष्टयम् ।
Samatā śāntiḥ sukham hāsyam iti śānticatuṣṭayam.

Samata

The basis of internal peace is *samatā*, the capacity of receiving with a calm and equal mind all the attacks and appearances of outward things, whether pleasant or unpleasant, ill-fortune and good-fortune, pleasure and pain, honour and ill-repute, praise and blame, friendship and enmity, sinner and saint, or, physically, heat and cold etc. There are two forms of *samatā*, passive and active, *samatā* in reception of the things of the outward world and *samatā* in reaction to them.

1. PASSIVE

Passive *samatā* consists of three things:

तितिक्षोदासीनता नतिरिति समता ।
Titikṣā, udāsīnatā, natiḥ iti samatā.

TITIKSHA

Titikṣā is the bearing firmly of all contacts pleasant or unpleasant, not being overpowered by that which is painful, not being carried away by that which is pleasant. Calmly and firmly to receive both and hold and bear them as one who is stronger, greater, vaster than any attack of the world, is the attitude of *titikṣā.*

UDASINATA

Udāsīnatā is indifference to the *dvandvas* or dualities; it means literally being seated above, superior to all physical and mental touches. The *udāsīna*, free from desire, either does not feel the touch of joy and grief, pleasure and pain, liking and disliking, or he feels them as touching his mind and body, but not himself,

he being different from mind and body and seated above them.

NATI

Nati is the submission of the soul to the will of God; its acceptance of all touches as His touches, of all experience as His play with the soul of man. *Nati* may be with *titikṣā*, feeling the sorrow but accepting it as God's will, or with *udāsīnatā*, rising superior to it and regarding joy and sorrow equally as God's working in the lower instruments, or with *ānanda*, receiving everything as the play of Krishna, and therefore in itself delightful. The last is the state of the complete Yogin, for by this continual joyous or *ānandamaya namaskāra* to God constantly practised, we arrive eventually at the entire elimination of grief, pain, etc., the entire freedom from the *dvandvas*, and find the Brahmananda in every smallest, most trivial, most apparently discordant detail of life and experience in this human body. We get rid entirely of fear and suffering; *ānandam brahmaṇo vidvān na bibheti kutaścana*. We may have to begin with *titikṣā* and *udāsīnatā*, but it is in this Ananda that we must consummate the *siddhi* of *samatā*. The Yogin receives victory and defeat, success and ill-success, pleasure and pain, honour and disgrace with an equal, a *sama ānanda*, — first by *buddhi-yoga*, separating himself from his habitual mental and nervous reactions and insisting by *vicāra* on the true nature of the experience itself and of his own soul, which is secretly *ānandamaya*, — full of *sama ānanda* in all things. He comes to change all the ordinary values of experience; *amaṅgala* reveals itself to him as *maṅgala*, defeat and ill-success as the fulfilment of God's immediate purpose and a step towards ultimate victory, grief and pain as concealed and perverse forms of pleasure. A stage arrives even, when physical pain itself, the hardest thing for material man to bear, changes its nature in experience and becomes physical Ananda; but this is only at the end, when this human being, imprisoned in matter, subjected to mind, emerges from his subjection, conquers his mind and delivers himself utterly in his body, realising his true *ānandamaya* self in every part of the *ādhāra*.

2. ACTIVE

It is this universal or *sama ānanda* in all experiences which constitutes active *samatā*, and it has three parts or stages, —

रसः प्रीतिरानन्द इति सर्वानन्दः।
Rasaḥ, prītiḥ, ānandaḥ...

Rasa is the appreciative perception of that Guna, that *āsvāda*, taste and quality, which the Ishwara of the Lila perceives in each different object of experience (*viṣaya*) and for the enjoyment of which He creates it in the Lila. *Prītiḥ* is the pleasure of the mind in all Rasa, pleasant or unpleasant, sweet or bitter. Ananda is the divine *bhoga* superior to all mental pleasure, with which God enjoys the *rasa*; in Ananda the opposition of the dualities entirely ceases.

Shanti

Only when *samatā* is accomplished, can *śānti* be perfect in the system. If there is the least disturbance or trouble in the mentality, we may be perfectly sure that there is a disturbance, or defect in the *samatā*. For the mind of man is complex and even when in the *buddhi* we have fixed ourselves entirely in *udāsīnatā* or *nati*, there may be revolts, uneasinesses, repinings in other parts. The *buddhi*, the *manas*, the heart, the nerves (*prāṇa*), the very bodily case must be subjected to the law of *samatā*.

Śānti may be either a vast passive calm based on *udāsīnatā* or a vast joyous calm based on *nati*. The former is apt to associate itself with a tendency to inaction and it is therefore in the latter that our Yoga must culminate.

Sukha

Sukham is the complete relief and release from *duḥkha*, from *viṣāda*, which comes by the fulfilment of *samatā* and *śānti*. The perfected Yogin has never in himself any touch of sorrow, any tendency of depression, cloud or internal repining and weariness, but is always full of a sattwic light and ease.

Hasya

Hāsyam is the active side of *sukham*; it consists in an active internal state of gladness and cheerfulness which no adverse experience mental or physical can trouble. Its perfection is God's stamp and seal on the Siddhi of the *samatā*. It is in our internal being the image of Srikrishna playing, *bālavat*, as the eternal *bālaka* and *kumāra* in the garden of the world.

II. SHAKTI-CHATUSHTAYA

This may be called the Siddhi of the temperament or nature in the lower system, in the internal Triloka of mind, life and body, Manas, Prana, Annam. To put it from a higher standpoint, it is the Siddhi of the divine Shakti working in these three principles.

वीर्यं शक्तिश्चण्डीभावः श्रद्धेति शक्तिचतुष्टयम्।

Vīryam, śaktiḥ, caṇḍibhāvaḥ, śraddhā iti śakti-catuṣṭayam.

Virya

The Chaturvarnya

By *vīrya* is meant the fundamental *svabhāvaśakti* or the energy of the divine temperament expressing itself in the fourfold type of the *cāturvarṇya* — in Brahmanyam, Brahmashakti, Brahmatejas, in Kshatram, Kshatrashakti, Kshatratejas, in Vaishya, Vaishyaswabhavashakti and Tejas, Shudraswabhavashakti and Tejas. We must realise that the ancient Aryan Rishis meant by the Chaturvarnya not a mere social division, but a recognition of God manifesting Himself in fundamental Swabhava, which our bodily distinctions, our social orders are merely an attempt to organise in the symbols of human life, often a confused attempt, often a mere parody and distortion of the divine thing they try to express. Every man has in himself all the four Dharmas, but one predominates, in one he is born and that strikes the note of his character and determines the type and cast of all his actions; the rest is subordinated to the dominant type and helps to give it its com-

plement. No Brahmana is a complete Brahmana unless he has the Kshatratejas in him, the Vaishyashakti and the Shudrashakti, but all these have to serve in him the fullness of his Brahmanyam. God manifests Himself as the four Prajapatis or Manus, *catvāro manavaḥ* of the Gita, and each man is born in the *aṁśa* of one of the four; the first characterised by wisdom and largeness, the second by heroism and force, the third by dexterity and enjoyment, the fourth by work and service. The perfected man develops in himself all four capacities and contains at once the god of wisdom and largeness, the god of heroism and force, the god of skill and enjoyment, the god of work and service. Only one stands dominant and leads and uses the others.

Brahmatejas

ज्ञानलिप्सा ज्ञानप्रकाशो ब्रह्मवर्चस्यं स्थैर्यमिति ब्रह्मतेजः।

Jñānalipsā, jñānaprakāśo brahmavarcasyam, sthairyam iti brahmatejaḥ.

Lipsa

I give only the dominant qualities of the type in these definitions: The Purna Yogin does not reduce his nature to inaction but perfects it and uplifts in order to place it at the service of the Ishwara in His Lila. He accepts the Jnanalipsa and purifying it of desire turns it into a divine reaching out towards Prakasha of knowledge; this divine desireless reaching out of Brahman in personality to Brahman in the *viṣaya* or object, is the new sense which *lipsā* acquires in the language of the *siddha.*

Jnanaprakasha

Jñāna includes both the Para and the Apara Vidya; the knowledge of the Brahman in Himself and the knowledge of the world; but the Yogin, reversing the order of the worldly mind, seeks to know Brahman first and, through Brahman, the world. Scientific knowledge, worldly information and instruction are to him secondary objects, not as it is with the ordinary scholar and scientist, his primary aim. Nevertheless these too we must take into our scope and give room to God's full joy in the world. The methods of the Yogin are also different for he tends more and

more to the use of direct vision and the faculties of the Vijnana and less and less to intellectual means. The ordinary man studies the object from outside and infers its inner nature from the results of his external study. The Yogin seeks to get inside the object, know it from within and use external study only as a means of confirming his view of the outward action resulting from an already known inner nature.

Brahmavarchasya

Brahmavarcasya is the force of Jnana working from within a man, which tends to manifest the divine light, the divine power, the divine qualities in the human being.

Sthairya

Sthairyam is the capacity of fixity in Jnana; the man who is *sthira* is able to hold the light and power that enters into him without stumbling or being dazzled and blinded by their shock and to receive and express the divine forces in himself without being carried away by them and subjected to the blind rushing stream of Prakriti. He has the *dhāraṇasāmarthyam* and does not from incapacity of the Adhara lose or spill these things as they enter into him.

Kshatratejas

अभयं साहसं यशोलिप्सात्मश्लाघेति क्षत्रतेजः ।

Abhayam, sāhasam, yaśolipsā, ātmaślāghā iti kṣatratejaḥ.

Abhaya and Sahasa

Abhayam is the passive freedom from fear which with a bold calmness meets and receives every menace of danger and shock of misfortune.

Sāhasam is the active courage and daring which shrinks from no enterprise however difficult or perilous, and cannot be dismayed or depressed either by the strength or the success of the opposing forces.

Yashas

By *yaśas* is meant victory, success and power. Although the

Kshatriya must be ready to face and accept defeat, disaster and suffering, yet his objective, the thing towards which he moves, is *yaśas*. He enters the field to conquer, not to suffer. Suffering is only a means towards victory. Here again the reaching out, the *lipsā* must come to be free from desire and consist in the divine reaching out of God within to His self-fulfilment as the Kshatriya. Therefore the Kshatriya must manifest in himself the nature of the Brahmin, *jñāna* and *sthairyam*, since without knowledge in some form, desire cannot perish out of the system.

ATMASHLAGHA

Atmaślāghā in the unpurified Kshatriya is pride, self-confidence, and the knowledge of his own might. Without these qualities the Kshatriya becomes deficient in force and fails to effect himself in type and action but with purification it becomes no longer the *ślāghā* of the *aham*, but the *ślāghā* of the Atman, the divine self within rejoicing in the Shakti of God and its greatness and its power as it pours itself out in battle and action through the human *ādhāra*.

VAISHYASHAKTI

दानं व्ययः कौशलं भोगलिप्सेति वैश्यशक्तिः ।

Dānam, vyayaḥ, kauśalam, bhogalipsā iti vaiśyaśaktiḥ.

Dānam and *pratidānam* are the especial Dharma of the Vaishya; his nature is the nature of the lover who gives and seeks; he pours himself out on the world in order to get back what he has given increased a hundredfold. *Vyaya* is his capacity to spend freely for this purpose without any mean and self-defeating miserliness in the giving. *Kauśalam* is the dexterity and skill which is able so to arrange the means, the equipment, the action as to produce the greatest results possible and the best arranged results. Law, arrangement, suiting of means to ends, of expenditure to return, are the joy of the Vaishya. *Bhoga* is his object; possession and enjoyment, not merely of physical things, but all enjoyment, enjoyment of knowledge, of power, of self-giving, of service, comes within its scope. The Vaishya, purified and

liberated, becomes the supreme giver and lover and enjoyer, Krishna's *aṁśa* preserving and making the most of the world. He is the Vishnushakti, as the Brahmana is the Shivashakti and the Kshatriya is the Rudrashakti.

SHUDRASHAKTI

कामः प्रेम दास्यलिप्सात्मसमर्पणमिति शूद्रशक्तिः ।

Kāmaḥ, prema, dāsyalipsā, ātmasamarpaṇam iti śūdraśaktiḥ.

The *Śūdra* is God descending entirely into the lower world and its nature, giving himself up entirely for the working out of God's Lila in Matter and in the material world. From this standpoint he is the greatest of the four Shaktis, because his nature goes direct towards complete *ātmasamarpaṇa*; but the Shudra bound has cut himself off from knowledge, power and skill and lost himself in the *tamoguṇa*. He has to recover the Brahmana, Kshatriya and Vaishya in himself and give them up to the service of God, of man, of all beings. The principle of *kāmaḥ* or desire in him must change from the seeking after physical well-being and self-indulgence to the joy of God manifest in Matter. The principle of *prema* must find itself and fulfil itself in *dāsyalipsā* and *ātmasamarpaṇa* in the surrender of himself to God and to God in man and the selfless service of God and of God in man. The Shudra is the master spirit of the Kali, as is the Vaishya of the Dwapara, the Kshatriya of the Treta and the Brahmana of the Satya.

Shakti

Śakti is the perfection of the different parts of the system which enables them to do their work freely and perfectly.

DEHASHAKTI

महत्त्वबोधो बलश्लाघा लघुता धारणसामर्थ्यमिति देहशक्तिः ।

Mahattva-bodhaḥ, balaślāghā, laghutā, dhāraṇasāmarthyam iti dehaśaktiḥ.

The body is the *pratiṣṭhā* in this material universe; for the working out of the divine *līlā* on earth it is necessary that it should

have especially the *dhāraṇasāmarthyam* or power of sustaining the full stream of force, of Ananda, of widening knowledge and being which descends into mind and *prāṇa* and the vital and bodily functions with the progress of the *siddhi*. If the body is unfit, the system is unable to hold these things perfectly. In extreme cases the physical brain is so disturbed by the shock from above as to lead to madness, but this is only in entirely unfit and impure Adharas or when Kali descends angrily and violently, avenging the attempt of the Asura to seize on her and force her to serve his foul and impure desires. Ordinarily, the incapacity of the body, the nervous system and the physical brain shows itself in slowness of progress, in slight derangements and ailments, in unsteady hold of the *siddhi* which comes and slips away, works and is spilled out. Dharanasamarthya comes by purification of the mind, *prāṇa* and body; full *siddhi* depends upon full *śuddhi*.

PRANASHAKTI

पूर्णता प्रसन्नता समता भोगसामर्थ्यमिति प्राणशक्तिः ।

Pūrṇatā, prasannatā, samatā, bhogasāmarthyam, iti prāṇaśaktiḥ.

When in the physical sensations we are conscious of a full and steady vital force which is clear and glad and bright and undisturbed by any mental or physical shock, then there is the *siddhi* of the *prāṇa*, the vital or nervous system. Then we become fit for whatever *bhoga* God imposes on the mind and body.

CHITTASHAKTI

स्निग्धता तेजःश्लाघा कल्याणश्रद्धा प्रेमसामर्थ्यमिति चित्तशक्तिः ।

Snigdhatā, tejaḥślāghā, kalyāṇaśraddhā, premasāmarthyam iti cittaśaktiḥ.

These are the signs of *cittaśuddhi* and *śakti* of the *citta* or emotional parts of the *antaḥkaraṇa*. The wider and more universal the capacity for love, a love self-sufficient and undisturbed by want or craving or disappointment and the more fixed the faith in God and the joy in all things as *maṅgalam*, the greater becomes the divine force in the *citta*.

BUDDHISHAKTI

विशुद्धता प्रकाशो विचित्रबोधो ज्ञानधारणसामर्थ्यमिति बुद्धिशक्तिः ।

Višuddhatā, prakāśaḥ, vicitrabodhaḥ, jñānadhāraṇasāmarthyam iti buddhiśaktiḥ.

Manas and Buddhi need not be considered separately as the elements of power apply both to the six-fold *indriya* and the thought-power in the mind. Their meaning is clear. For the full sense of *višuddhatā*, refer to the explanation of *śuddhi* in the seventh Chatushtaya.

Chandibhava

Caṇḍībhāvaḥ is the force of Kali manifest in the temperament.[1]

Shraddha

Śraddhā is necessary in two things:

शक्त्यां भगवति चेति श्रद्धा ।

Śaktyām, bhagavati ca iti śraddhā.

There must be faith in the love and wisdom of God fulfilling Himself through us, fulfilling the Yogasiddhi, fulfilling our life work, working out all for our good even when it is apparently veiled in evil; and there must be faith in the power of the Shakti manifested by Him in this *ādhāra* to sustain, work out and fulfil the divine knowledge, power and joy in the Yoga and in the life. Without *śraddhā*, there is no *śakti*; imperfect *śraddhā* means imperfect *śakti*. Imperfection may be either in the force of the faith or in its illumination. It is sufficient at first to have full force of the faith, for we cannot from the beginning of the Yoga have full illumination. Then, however we err or stumble, our force of faith will sustain us. When we cannot see, we shall know that God withholds the light, imposing on us error as a step towards knowledge, just as He imposes on us defeat as a step towards victory.

[1] The detailed description of this power is deferred.

III. VIJNANA-CHATUSHTAYA

Siddhis

Siddhis — their justification, dangers and uses:

The two first Chatushtayas of the *ādhāra* have reference mainly to the central principle of man's existence, the *antaḥkaraṇa*; but there is one superior faculty and one inferior instrument which have each its peculiar Siddhi, the *vijñāna* or supra-intellectual faculty and the body. The Siddhi of the *vijñāna* and the *siddhi* of the body belong both of them to that range of experience and of divine fulfilment which are abnormal to the present state of humanity. They are called specially Siddhis, because of their abnormal nature, rarity and difficulty; they are denied by the sceptic and discouraged by the saint. The sceptic disbelieves in them and holds them to be impostures, fables or hallucinations, as a clever animal might disbelieve in the reasoning powers of man. The saint discourages them because they seem to him to lead away from God; he shuns them just as he shuns the riches, power and attainments of this world, and for the same reason. We need not shun them and cannot shun them, because God is sought by us in His world-fulfilment as well as apart from the world and in the world there are the riches of His power and knowledge which we cannot avoid, once we dwell in Him perceiving and sharing His nature. Indeed, there is a stage reached by the Yogin, when, unless he avoids all action in the world, he can no more avoid the use of the Siddhis of power and knowledge than an ordinary man can avoid eating and breathing, unless he wishes to leave his body; for these things are the natural action of the *vijñāna*, the plane of ideal consciousness, to which he is rising, just as mental activity and physical motion are the natural action of man's ordinary life. All the ancient Rishis used these powers, all great Avatars and Yogins and Vibhutis from Christ to Ramakrishna have used them, nor is there any great man with the divine power at all manifest in him, who does not use them continually in an imperfect form, without knowing clearly what are these supreme faculties that he is employing. If nothing else, he uses the powers of intuition and inspiration, the power of *iśitā* which brings him the opportunities he needs and

the means which make these opportunities fruitful and the power of *vyāpti* by which his thoughts go darting and flashing through the world and creating unexpected waves of tendency both around him and at a distance. We need no more avoid the use of these things than a poet should avoid the use of his poetical genius which is also a *siddhi* unattainable by ordinary men or an artist renounce the use of his pencil. At the same time there is a justification for the denial of the sceptic and the renunciation by the saint, and of this justification we must take note. The saint renounces because when these Siddhis show themselves fragmentarily in a weak *ādhāra* dominated by egoism, the egoism becomes enormously enhanced, the ignorant *sādhaka* thinking that he is the possessor and creator of these abnormal powers and a very great man indeed, (just as we find an abnormal egoism very frequent in the small poet and the half-artist, for those who have a really great power, know well enough that the power is not theirs but a gift from God, and feel that the power of God is using them and not they the power); so the *sādhaka*, misled by the *ahaṅkāra*, goes running after these powers for their own sake and leaves following after God. The denial of the sceptic is justified by the credulity of ordinary men, who regard these things as miracles and invent them where they do not exist, and by the weakness and egoism of the *sādhakas* themselves and of many who are not *sādhakas*; for if they catch even a glimpse of these things in themselves or others, they exaggerate, puff, distort and build around some petty and imperfect experiences all sorts of jargon, mysticism, charlatanism and *bujruki* of all kinds which are an offence and stumbling-block to the world. We must therefore keep in view very strictly certain fixed principles:

1. That these powers are not miraculous, but powers of Nature, which manifest of themselves as soon as the *vijñāna-padma* in us begins to open, and are no more a cause for bragging and vanity than the power of eating and breathing or anything else that is Nature's.

2. That these can manifest fully only when we leave ego and offer up our petty separate being in the vastness of God's being.

3. That when they manifest in the unpurified state, they are a dangerous ordeal to which God subjects us, and we can only

pass through it safely by keeping our minds clear of vanity, pride, selfishness and by remembering continually that they are His gifts and not our acquirements.

4. That these powers are not to be pursued for their own sake, but developed or allowed to develop as part of the flower of divine perfection which is by God's grace blossoming out in us.

Subject to these cautions, we have not to reject these powers when they come but accept them, to be used in us by God for His own purposes and not by us for ours, to be poured out by *vyāpti* on humanity and not kept for our own use and pride.

Vijnana

ज्ञानं त्रिकालदृष्टिरष्टसिद्धिः समाधिरिति विज्ञानचतुष्टयम् ।

Jñānam, trikāladṛṣṭiḥ, aṣṭasiddhiḥ, samādhiḥ iti vijñānacatuṣṭayam.

Jnana

By *jñāna* is meant that power of direct and divine knowledge which works independently of the intellect and senses or uses them only as subordinate assistants. It perceives the things that are hidden from the ordinary man, helps us to cease seeing the world in the terms of our sense experience and enables us to become sensitive to the great unseen forces, powers, impulses and tendencies which stand behind our material life and determine and govern it. To *jñāna* the whole machinery of the world reveals itself in its hidden principles; the nature of Purusha, the workings of Prakriti, the principles of our being, God's purpose in His world-workings, the harmony of His Gunas, — Brahman, Ishwara, Atman, man and beast and object, idea and name and form, reality and relation, all these show themselves to the eye that God has illuminated with the sun of His knowledge, *jñānadīpena bhāsvatā.*

सत्यस्य दृष्टिः श्रुतिः स्मृतिः प्रतिबोध इति ज्ञानम् ।
वृत्ते तु कर्मणि च सत्यधर्म एव ज्ञानम् ।

Satyasya dṛṣṭiḥ śrutiḥ smṛtiḥ pratibodha iti jñānam.
Vṛtte tu karmaṇi ca satyadharma eva jñānam.

Jnana is of three kinds, *jñāna* of thought, *jñāna* of experience (realisation or *pratibodha*) and *jñāna* of action or *satyadharma*.

Jnana of thought consists of three powers:

1. *Dṛṣṭi*, revelation or *svayamprakāśa*.
2. *Śruti*, inspiration.
3. *Smṛti*, consisting of: 1. Intuition. 2. *Viveka*.

Drishti

Dṛṣṭi is the faculty by which the ancient Rishis saw the truth of Veda, the direct vision of the truth without the need of observation of the object, reasoning, evidence, imagination, memory or any other of the faculties of the intellect. It is as when man sees an object and knows what it is, even if sometimes he cannot put a name on it; it is *pratyakṣadarśana* of the Satyam.

Shruti

Śruti is the faculty by which we perceive as in a flash the truth hidden in a form of thought or an object presented to our knowledge or in the word by which the thing is revealed. It is that faculty by which the meaning of the *mantra* dawns on the mind or on the being of the *sādhaka*, although when he first heard it, he did not know its meaning nor was it explained to him. It is as when a man hears the name of a thing and by the name itself, without seeing the thing, comes to know its nature. A special power of *śruti* is the revelation of truth through the right and perfect *vāk* in the thought.

Smriti

Smṛti is the faculty by which true knowledge hidden in the mind reveals itself to the judgment and is recognised at once as the truth. It is as when a man has forgotten something he knew to be the fact, but remembers it the moment it is mentioned to him.

Intuition and Viveka

Intuition is the power which distinguishes the truth and suggests at once the right reasons for its being the truth; *viveka* the power which makes at once the necessary limitations and

distinctions and prevents intellectual errors from creeping in or an imperfect truth from being taken for the whole *satyam*.

The importance of *viveka* for the purpose of man's progress in his present stage is supreme. At present in the greatest men the powers of the *vijñāna* act not in their own power, place and nature, but in the intellect; as helpers of the intellect and occasional guides. Directly we get an intuition or revelation, the intellect, memory, imagination, logical faculty seize hold of it and begin to disguise it in a garb of mingled truth and error, bringing down truth to the level of the nature, Samskaras and preferences of a man instead of purifying and elevating his nature and judgments to the level of the truth. Without *viveka*, these powers are as dangerous to man as they are helpful. The light they give is brighter than the light of the intellect, but the shadow which the intellect creates around them is often murkier than the mist of ignorance which surrounds ordinary intellectual knowledge. Thus men who use these powers ignorantly, often stumble much more than those who walk by the clear though limited light of the intellect. When these powers begin to work in us, we must be *dhīra* and *sthira* and not be led away by our enthusiasm; we must give time for the *viveka* to seize on our thoughts and intuitions, arrange them, separate their intellectual from their *vijñānamaya* elements, correct their false extensions, false limitations, misapplications and assign them their right application, right extension, right limitation, — make, in the image of the Upanishads, the *vyūha* or just marshalling of the rays of the sun of knowledge, *sūryasya raśmayaḥ*. Knowledge is not for the hasty mind but only for the *dhīra*, who can sit long accumulating and arranging his store and does not rush away with fragments like a crow darting off with the first morsel of food on which it can seize.

Realisation

Realisation or *jñāna* of experience is the perception of things through *bhāva*, — *bhāva* of being or Sat, realising the truths of being, — *bhāva* of Chit or knowledge, realising the truths of throught, *bhāva* of Tapas or force, realising the truths of force and action, — *bhāva* of love or Ananda realising the truths of emotion and sensation and bliss.

SATYADHARMA

Satyadharma is the carrying out of the *jñāna* in *bhāva* and action.

Trikaladrishti

Trikāladṛṣṭi is a special faculty of *jñāna* by which that general power is applied to the actuality of things, their details of event, tendencies etc. in the past, present and future of the world as it exists, has existed and will exist in Time. It deals with particular fact, just as *jñāna* deals with general truth. *Trikāladṛṣṭi* works in several ways:

1. Directly, without a means or excuse, by *dṛṣṭi*, *śruti* and *smṛti*.

2. By dwelling in concentration on the object, — that process which Patanjali calls *saṁyama* on the object, — until the mind in observer and observed becoming one we know what the object contains, whether past, present or future, just as we can know the contents of our own being.

3. By using as a means some external sign or some indicative science such as *sāmudrika*, astrology, augury etc. These sciences are worth little, if not used by the higher *vijñānamaya* faculties; for the signs they use are mostly indications of tendencies and to distinguish perfectly tendencies of possibility from actual eventualities cannot be done by following written Shastra or by rule of thumb.

4. By the two powers of *vyāpti* and *prākāmya* which constitute what the Europeans call telepathy.

Ashtasiddhi

व्याप्तिः प्राकाम्यमैश्वर्यमीशिता वशिता महिमा लघिमाणिमेत्यष्टसिद्धिः।
Vyāptiḥ, prākāmyam, aiśvaryam, īśitā, vaśitā, mahimā, laghimā, aṇimā iti aṣṭasiddhiḥ.

Aṣṭasiddhi is of three orders:

1. Two Siddhis of knowledge, — *vyāpti* and *prākāmya*.
2. Three Siddhis of power, — *aiśvarya, īśitā, vaśitā*.
3. Three Siddhis of the body, — *mahimā, laghimā, aṇimā*.

PRAKAMYA

By *prākāmya* is meant the full *prakāśa* of the senses and the Manas, by which they surpass the ordinary limits of the body and become aware by sight, hearing, touch etc. or, more usually and more easily by mental sensation and awareness:

1. Of objects, scenes and events at a distance or hidden from the normal operation of the mind and senses.

2. Of objects, scenes and events belonging to other planes of existence.

3. Of objects, etc. belonging to the past or future the images of which are contained in the object of our study.

4. Of the present states of mind, feeling, sensation etc. of others or of their particular thoughts, feelings and sensations; or of such states or particular thoughts etc. which they have had in the past and of which the impression remains in the Chitta record or which they will have in the future of which the image is already prepared in the prescient part of the Chitta.

VYAPTI

To each form of *prākāmya*, there is a corresponding form of *vyāpti*, i.e., reception or communication. By *prākāmya*, for instance, we can have the perception of another's feelings; by *vyāpti* those feelings are felt striking in our own consciousness or ours are thrown into another. *Prākāmya* is the sight of one looking from a distance and seeing an object; *vyāpti* is the sensation of that object coming towards us or into contact with us. It is possible by *vyāpti* to communicate anything we have in our system, — thought, feeling, power etc. to another, and if he is able to seize and hold it, he can make it his own and use it. This can be done either by a sort of physical throwing of the thing in us into the other or by a will upon the Swabhava compelling it to effect the transfer. The teacher and the Guru habitually use this power of *vyāpti* which is far more effective than speech or writing, but all men use or suffer it unconsciously. For every thought, feeling, sensation or other movement of consciousness in us creates a wave or current which carries it out into the world-consciousness around, and there it enters into any Adhara which is able and allowed to receive it. Half at least of our habitual

thoughts and feelings are such unconscious borrowings.

Aishwarya

Aiśvarya is effectiveness of the Will acting on object or event without the aid of physical means. It may work

1. By pressure or *tapas* of the *caitanya* straight on the object that has to be affected.

2. By pressure or *tapas* of *caitanya* on the Prakriti (either the general world-Prakriti or Prakriti in the object itself) to bring about directly the result intended.

3. By pressure on the Prakriti to bring about circumstances which will compel indirectly the result intended.

4. Without pressure, by mere thought that is will, the *ājñā* or *ājñānam* of the Ishwara which Prakriti automatically obeys.

The last is the highest power of Aishwarya and its supreme *siddhi*; for here *cit* and *tapas* become one as in the will of God Himself.

Ishita

Iśitā is the same effectiveness of the will acting not as a command or through the thought, by *ājñānam*, but through the heart or temperament (*citta*) in a perception of need or pure *lipsā*. Whatever the *lipsā* reaches out towards or even needs without conscious knowledge of the need, comes of itself to the man who possesses Ishita. Ishita also expresses itself either by pressure on the object or Prakriti or by simple perception automatically effective of its aim. The last is again the highest power of Ishita and its supreme Siddhi.

Vashita

Vaśitā is the control of the object in its nature so that it is submissive to the spoken word, receptive of the thought conveyed or sensitive and effective of the action suggested. Vashita acts automatically through established control of one nature by another, or by the pouring of natural force into the word, thought or suggestion of action so as to produce an effect on the nature of others. The latter is the lower and ordinary Siddhi; the former the supreme or entirely divine Siddhi. Vyapti is one of the chief agents of Vashita.

The Conditions of Power

It should be noted that none of the Siddhis of power can act perfectly or freely so long as there is impurity of the *citta*, egoism in the thought and temperament or domination of desire in the use of the Siddhi. Under such circumstances there may be occasional use and irregular effectivity of the powers, — a thing not worth having in itself, but useful only as training the mind to give up its own Samskaras and habitual processes and accept the activity of the *vijñānamayī śakti*; or there may be a regular and effective use of limited powers by fixed Tantric processes (Kriyas). The latter should be shunned by the *sādhakas* of the Purna Yoga.

The Conditions of Jnana

It should also be noted that perfect *jñāna* and *trikāladṛṣṭi* are only possible by complete *śuddhi* of the *antaḥkaraṇa*, especially the exclusion of desire and *viśuddhi* of the *buddhi*, absolute passivity of the *manas*, and, finally, perfected action of the powers of the *vijñāna*. An imperfect and irregular action of these higher powers is always possible and is possessed obscurely by many who are not Yogins or Sadhakas.

PHYSICAL SIDDHIS

The physical powers, *mahimā*, *laghimā*, *aṇimā*, need not be considered at present, as, although belonging to the Dharma of the *vijñāna*, they act in the body and are strictly part of the physical Siddhi.

Samadhi

Samadhi is the power by dwelling fixedly of the *caitanya* on its object to extend the range of knowledge and consciousness through all the three states of waking, dream and sleep, to the realisation of those *tattvas* of the Brahman to which the ordinary waking consciousness is blind and to the experience, either in reflected images or in the things themselves, of other worlds and planes of consciousness than the material earth or this waking physical consciousness. The consideration of *samādhi* may also be postponed for the present.

IV. SHARIRA-CHATUSHTAYA

Sharirasiddhi

The *śarira-catuṣṭaya*, likewise, need not be at present explained. Its four constituents are named below:

आरोग्यमुत्थापना सौन्दर्यं विविधानन्द इति शरीरचतुष्टयम् ।
Ārogyam, utthāpanā, saundaryam, vividhānandaḥ iti śarīracatuṣṭayam.

The three general Chatushtayas

These are the four Chatushtayas of the *ādhāra-siddhi.* In addition, there are three general Chatushtayas —

V. KARMACHATUSHTAYA OR LILACHATUSHTAYA

कृष्णः काली कामः कर्मेति कर्मचतुष्टयम् ।
Kṛṣṇaḥ, kālī, kāmaḥ, karma iti karmacatuṣṭayam.

VI. BRAHMACHATUSHTAYA

सर्वमनन्तं ज्ञानमानन्दं ब्रह्मेति ब्रह्मचतुष्टयम् ।
Sarvam, anantam, jñānam, ānandam, brahma iti brahmacatuṣṭayam.

VII. YOGACHATUSHTAYA OR SANSIDDHICHATUSHTAYA

शुद्धिर्मुक्तिर्भुक्तिः सिद्धिरिति योगचतुष्टयम् ।
Śuddhiḥ, muktiḥ, bhuktiḥ, siddhiḥ iti yogacatuṣṭayam.

The last or seventh is at once the means, the sum and the completion of all the rest. Its explanation is essential to the full understanding of the others and will be separately treated.

CHAPTER I

The Way of Works

TO CREATE the union of his soul with the Divine Presence and Power through a perfect surrender of the will in all his activities, is the high aspiration of the seeker on the Way of Works.

To put off like a worn-out disguise the ignorant consciousness and stumbling will that are ours in our present mind and life-force and to put on the light and knowledge, the purity and power, the tranquillity and ecstasy of the divine Essence, the spiritual Nature that accosts us when we climb beyond mind, is the victory after which he reaches.

To make mind and heart and life and body conscious, changed and luminous moulds of this supramental Spirit, instruments of its light and power and works, vessels of its bliss and radiance, is the glory he assigns to his transfigured human members.

On one side a darkened mind and life, ignorant, suffering, spinning like a top whipped by Nature always in the same obscure and miserable rounds, on the other a soul touched by a ray from the hidden Truth, illumined, conscious, concentrated in a single unceasing effort towards its own and the world's Highest, — this is the difference between man's ordinary life and the way of the divine Yoga.

SUPPLEMENT TO

VOLUMES 18 - 19

THE LIFE DIVINE

ARGUMENTS TO "THE LIFE DIVINE"

In response to the desire of some of our subscribers we shall prefix henceforth a brief summary or argument to each chapter of *The Life Divine.*

Arya, February, 1916

These Arguments were written by Sri Aurobindo for Chapters XIX to XXXIII of *The Life Divine* as it appeared originally in the *Arya* (1914-1919).

The Life Divine was revised in 1939-40 and divided into two parts, the order of the chapters was rearranged in some places and several new chapters were written for it.

The "Argument in Brief" and a "Synopsis" of the first chapter of *The Life Divine* were written by Sri Aurobindo in the 1940's in response to pressing requests for a model indicating the lines upon which a summary of *The Life Divine* could be attempted.

Where necessary a note is given indicating to what chapter of the (Centenary Edition) the *Arya* chapter and its argument correspond.

CHAPTER I

The Human Aspiration

ARGUMENT IN BRIEF

A SEARCH for God (for a spiritual or divine Reality within oneself and behind, above or within the phenomenon of existence), for perfection, for freedom, for an absolute Truth and Bliss, for immortality has been the persistent preoccupation of the highest human thought since the earliest times. This preoccupation seems to be a perpetual element in man's nature; for it survives the longest periods of scepticism.

This aspiration is in contradiction with his present existence and normal experience of himself which is that of a mortal being full of imperfections, ego-ridden, largely animal, subject to transitory joys and much pain and suffering, bound by mechanical necessity. But the direct contradiction between what he is and what he seeks to be need not be a final argument against the validity of his aspiration. For such contradictions are part of Nature's general method; the aspiration may be realisable either by a revolutionary individual effort or by an evolutionary general process.

The problems of existence are problems of harmony. Discords and disorder of the materials, oppositions, demand a solution by accordance, by the discovery of a harmony. Thus the accordance of an inanimation and inertia in a containing Matter and the active indwelling stress of Life is Nature's first problem, its initial difficulty; its perfect solution would be immortality in a material body. The accordance of an unconscious Matter and an unconscious or half-conscious Life with a conscious Mind and Will is her second problem; the possession of a direct and perfect instrumentation of knowledge in a living body would be its complete solution. The accordance of a mortal mind, life and body with a secretly indwelling immortal spirit is the final problem; the spiritualisation or divinisation of mind, life and body, a divine

life, would be the perfect solution. The search after these solutions by the human being is not irrational; it is rather the very effort and striving of Nature within him.

Life appears in Matter, Mind in Life, because they are already there. Matter is a form of veiled Life, Life a form of veiled Mind; Mind may well be a form and veil of a higher power, the spirit, which is supramental in its nature. Nature has implanted an impulse towards life in certain forms of Matter and evolves it there, a similar evolutionary impulse towards mind in certain forms of life, an impulse in certain minds towards what is beyond Mind, towards the unveiling of Spirit or the evolution of a spiritual being. Each impulse justifies itself by the creation of the necessary organs and faculties.

There is therefore no reason to put a limit to evolutionary possibility by taking our present organisation or status of existence as final. The animal is a laboratory in which Nature has worked out man; man may very well be a laboratory in which she wills to work out superman, to disclose the soul as a divine being, to evolve a divine nature.

Synopsis

Man's highest aspiration has been always a seeking for God, perfection, freedom, an absolute truth and bliss, immortality.

A direct contradiction exists between this aspiration and his present state of mortality, imperfection, bondage to mechanical necessity, ego and animality.

This contradiction between what he is now and what he seeks to be is not a final argument against his aspiration. Contradictions are part of Nature's method; the aspiration may be achievable by individual effort or by an evolutionary progress.

The problems of existence are problems of harmony.

The accordance of an active life-principle with the inanimate Matter containing it is Nature's first evolutionary problem; its complete solution would be immortality in the body.

The accordance of conscious Mind with an unconscious Matter and half-conscious Life is her second evolutionary prob-

lem; a direct and perfect instrumentation of knowledge in a living body would be its complete solution.

The accordance of immortal spirit with a mortal mind, life and body is her third and final problem; its complete solution would be the evolution of a divine being and a divine nature.

As Nature has implanted the impulse to life in Matter, to mind in life, so she has implanted in mind the impulse towards the evolution of what is beyond mind, spiritual, supramental. Each impulse justifies itself by the creation of the necessary organs and faculties.

The animal is a laboratory in which she has worked out man; man may be a laboratory in which she wills to work out the superman, the being of a divine nature.

CHAPTER XIX

Life

ARGUMENT

MIND as a final action of Supermind is a creative and not only a perceptive power; in fact, material force itself being only a Will in things working darkly as the expression of subconscious Mind, Mind is the immediate creator of the material universe. But the real creator is Supermind; for wherever there is Mind conscious or subconscious, there must be Supermind regulating from behind the veil its activities and educing from them their truth of inevitable result. Not a mental Intelligence, but Supermind is the creator of the Universe. — Mind manifests itself in the form of Force to which we give the name of Life, and Life in Matter is an energy or power in dynamic movement which builds up forms, energises, maintains, disintegrates and recreates; death itself is only a process of life. It is one all-pervading Life or constant movement of dynamic energy which creates all these forms of the material universe and is not destroyed in the destruction of its forms. — The distinction between animal and plant life is unreal and that between the animate and the inanimate unessential. Plant-life has been found to be identical in organisation with animal-life and, although the organisation may differ, life is also present in the metal, the earth, the atom. This Life-force pervades the universe and is present in every form of it and there is a constant interchange of its energies which creates the symptoms and characteristics of vitality recognised by us; but even where these are suspended, Life is present and only withdraws by a process of dispersion which replaces the process of continual reconstitution of the form. The presence of these symptoms and characteristics is not the essential nor is their absence a sign of the absence of Life-force. Even where we do not detect Life, it exists. — Conscious nervous sensation accompanies life in the animal, but much of

the action of nervous or life-energy is subconscious; in the plant, as in many actions of man, the nervous sensation is present but the mentality of the sensation is subconscious. In the very atom there is a subconscious will and desire which must also be present in all atomic aggregates because they are present in the Force which constitutes the atom. That force is Chit-shakti, force of conscious being, variously represented in various forms of life. — Life is an energising of conscious being in substance of Matter, which on one side is constantly supplying the material of physical formation and on the other labouring to release mind and sense from their subconscious sleep in Matter. It is therefore the dynamic link between Mind and Matter. To create form and evolve consciousness out of its imprisonment in form is the sense of the omnipresent Life in the universe.

CHAPTER XX

Death, Desire and Incapacity

ARGUMENT

LIFE is the same whatever its workings and its terms need not be limited to those proper to physical existence. Life is a final operation of divine conscious-force for individualising existence; it is the energy-aspect of Mind when that creates and relates itself to form of substance: it has the universal conscious-force of existence behind it and is not a separate entity or movement. Life in us must become conscious of this divine Force behind it in order to become divine. — Life, at first darkened, ignorant, divided and helplessly subject, seeks as it develops to become master and enjoyer, to grow in Power; but until it escapes from the bonds of individuality it must be subject to its three badges of limitation, Death, Desire and Incapacity. — The nature of physical life imposes death because all life exists by a mutual devouring and struggle and Life itself feeds on the forms it creates; but the fundamental justification of Death is the necessity of a constant variation of experience in succession of Time, the soul seeking thus to enlarge itself and move towards the realisation of its own infinity. — The process of Death results inevitably from the division of substance; life's attempt to aggrandise its being thus divided and limited translates itself into the hunger that devours. This hunger is the crude form of Desire, and Desire is the necessary lever for self-affirmation; but eventually Desire has to grow out of the law of Hunger into the law of Love. — Desire is itself the result of the limitation of capacity which is the consequence of divided life working as the energy of ignorant mind, All-Force being only possible to all-knowledge. Therefore growth by struggle is the third law of Life. This strife again has to divinise itself and become the clasp of Love. Until then Death, Desire and Strife are and must be the triple mask of the divine Life-principle in its cosmic self-affirmation.

CHAPTER XXI

The Ascent of Life

ARGUMENT

THE development of Life starts from an original status of division, subconscious will and inert subjection to mechanical forces. This is the type of material existence. — The terms of the second status which we recognise as vitality, are death, hunger and conscious desire, sense of limited capacity and the struggle for survival and mastery. This is the basis of the Darwinian conception of Life, the struggle for life and the survival of the fittest. But this struggle involves a third status whose preparation is marked by the emergence of the conscious principle of love. — The third status contradicts the others in appearance, but really fulfils them. Life begins with division and aggregation based on the refusal of the atom, the first principle of ego and individuality to accept death and fusion by dissolution. This gives a firm basis for the creation of aggregate forms to be occupied by vital and mental individualities. In the next stage we have the general principle of death and dissolution by which the individual form fuses itself in its elements into other lives. This principle of constant fusion and interchange is the law of Life and extends into vital and mental existence as well as the physical. The two principles of individual persistence and mutual fusion have to be harmonised and this can only be done by the emergence and full development of mind which alone is subtle enough to persist in individual consciousness beyond all fusion and dissolution of forms. Here the union and harmony of the persistent individual and the persistent aggregate life become possible. — Love is the power by which this union and harmony are worked out; for love exists by the persistence of the individual and his conscious acceptance of the necessity of and desire of interchange and self-giving. Its growth means the emergence of Mind imposing its law on the material existence, for Mind does

not need to devour in order to possess and grow; it increases by giving and confirms itself by fusion with others. — Subconscious will in the atom becomes hunger and conscious desire in the vital being. Love is the transfiguration of desire, a desire of possessing others but also of self-giving; at first subject to hunger and the desire of possession it reveals its own true law by an equal or greater joy in self-giving. — The inert subjection of the will in the atom to the not-self becomes in the vital being the sense of limited capacity and the struggle for possession and mastery. In the third status the not-self is recognised as a greater self and subjection to its law and need freely accepted; at the same time the individual by making the aggregate life and all it has to give his own, fulfils his impulse of possession. This is the Mind's reconciliation of the two conflicting principles which we find at the root of all existence. — But the true and perfect reconciliation can only come by passing beyond Mind and founding all the operations of life on the essential freedom and unity of the spirit.

CHAPTER XXII

The Problem of Life

ARGUMENT

LIFE being a divided movement of consciousness although really an undivided force becomes a clash of opposing truths each striving to fulfil itself. Mind has to solve the thousand and one problems resulting but in Life itself not merely in thought. The difficulty lies in its ignorance of itself and the world. Man knows only the surface of his own being and does not know the universality of the Force of which he is a part; therefore he can master neither himself nor the world. He has to know and solve the problem or else give place to some higher evolutionary being. — The poise of Life is determined by the relation of the Force to the Consciousness which drives it. Accordingly we have, besides the Infinite Existence, first the life of material Nature ruled by the infallible Inconscient; secondly the life of conscious being in material Nature emerging out of the Inconscient, fallible, bewildered, only half-potent, which is our own; and thirdly the life of the real Man to which we are moving where Consciousness and Force are fulfilled and in harmony and the One at unison with the many. That life will be founded on the awareness of one Consciousness in many minds, one Force working in many lives, one Delight of being in many hearts and bodies. — Man's difficulties: first, he only knows and governs a part of himself, the greater part of himself is subconscient and it is this greater cosmic part that really governs his surface being. This is what is meant by his being governed by his Nature and by the Lord seated within through the Maya or apparent denial of Sachchidananda by Himself. It is only by becoming one with the Lord that man can be master of himself, but this union must be in the Divine Maya, in the superconscient and not only or chiefly in this lower Maya of the mental existence. — Secondly, he is separated by his individuality from the universal and does not

know his fellow-beings. He must be not only in sympathy with them, but arrive at a conscious unity with all and this conscious unity exists only in what is now supraconscient to us. — Thirdly, Life is at war with body, Mind at war with the Life and the body, each trying to subject the others to its own law. Only the supramental can find the law of immortal harmony which shall reconcile this discord of our mortality. Each of these principles has besides a soul in it which seeks a self-fulfilment beyond what the present force of life, mind or body can give. There is a conflict between opposing instincts of the body, opposing desires and impulses of the life, opposing ideals of the mind. The principle of unity is above in the supermind. — Man as he develops becomes acutely aware of all these discords and seeks a reconciliation with himself and with his fellow-beings. This can only come by the perfection of his own existence through the principle in himself to which he has not yet attained and by embracing consciously the life of others in his own through an universal consciousness which must also be gained by the supraconscient becoming conscient in us through an upward evolution.

CHAPTER XXIII

The Double Soul in Man

ARGUMENT

THE ascent of Life is in its nature the ascent of the divine Delight in things from its dumb conception in Matter to its luminous consummation in Spirit. Like the other original divine principles, this Delight also must be represented in us by a cosmic principle corresponding to it in the apparent existence. It is the soul or psychic being. — As there is a subliminal luminous mind behind our surface mind, a subliminal life behind our mortal life, a subliminal wider corporeality behind our gross body, so we have a double soul, the superficial desire-soul and the true psychic entity. — The superficial in us is the small and egoistic, the subliminal is in touch with the universal. So our subliminal or true psychic being is open to the universal delight of things, the superficial desire-soul is shut off from it. It feels the outward touches of things, not their essence and therefore not their *rasa* or true touch; and because it cannot reach the universal world-soul, it cannot find its own true soul which is one with the world-soul. — The desire-soul returns the triple response of pleasure, pain and indifference, but the psychic being behind it has the equal delight of all of its experiences; it compels the desire-soul to more and more experience and to a change of its values. By bringing this soul to the surface we can overcome the duality of pleasure and pain, as is actually done in certain directions of experience by the artist, Nature-lover, God-lover, etc. each in his own fashion. But the difficulty is to do it in the desire-soul at its centre where it comes into contact with practical living; for here the human mind shrinks from applying the principle of equality. — To bring this subliminal soul to the surface is not enough; for it is open passively to the world-soul but cannot possess the world. Those who thus arrive, become close to the universal delight, but not masters of life. For

there are two principles of order and mastery, one false, the ego-sense, the other true, the Lord who is one in the many. By merely suppressing the ego-sense in the impersonal delight we gain the centreless Impersonal and are fulfilled in our static being but not in our active being. We must therefore gain the other centre in the Supermind by which we shall consciously possess and not merely undergo the delight of the One in His universal existence.

CHAPTER XXIV

Matter

ARGUMENT

LIFE and Mind are in the fact of evolution conditioned by the body and therefore by the principle of Matter. The body is the chief difficulty in the way of a spiritual transformation of life; it has therefore been regarded by spiritual aspiration as an enemy and the escape from the material existence has been made an indispensable condition of the final emancipation. — The quarrel begins with the struggle between Life and Matter and with the apparent defeat of life in death as its constant circumstance; it continues with the struggle of the Mind against the life and the body and culminates with the struggle of the spirit against all its instruments; but the right end and solution of these discords is not an escape and a severance but a complete victory of the higher over the lower. — We have to examine the problem of the reality of Matter. Our present experience of Matter does not give us its truth; for Matter is only an appearance of the Reality, a form of its force-action presented to the principle of sense in the universal consciousness. As Mind is only a final dividing action of Supermind and Life of Conscious-Force working in the conditions of the Ignorance, so Matter as we know it is only the final form taken by conscious-being as the result of that same working. Mind precipitating itself into Life to create form gives to the universal principle of Being the appearance of material substance instead of pure substance, that is to say, of substance offering itself to the contact of mind as a stable thing or object. This contact of mind with its object is Sense. — In the divine Mind there is a movement which presents to the divine Knower the forms of Himself as objects to His knowledge and this would create a division between the Knower and the object of knowledge if there were not at the same time, inevitably, another movement by which He feels the object as Himself.

This movement, in the divided state of existence created by dividing Mind, is represented to us as the contact of sense which becomes a basis for contact through the thought-mind by which we return towards unity. — Since the action of Mind is to divide infinitely the one infinite existence, Matter, the result of that action, becomes in its apparent nature an infinite atomic division and atomic aggregation of infinite substance. But its reality is one and indivisible, even as is the reality of Life and of Mind. Matter is Sachchidananda represented to his own mental experience as a formal basis of objective knowledge, action and delight.

CHAPTER XXV

The Knot of Matter

ARGUMENT

SPIRIT and Matter are two ends of a unity, Spirit the soul and reality of Matter, Matter the form and body of Spirit. There is an ascending series of substance and Spirit at the summit is itself pure substance of being. Brahman is the sole material as well as the sole cause of the universe and Matter also is Brahman; it is, like Life, Mind and Supermind, a mode of the eternal Sachchidananda. — Still, practically, Matter seems to be cut off from Spirit and even its opposite and the material existence incompatible therefore with the spiritual. Matter is the culmination of the principle of Ignorance in which Consciousness has lost and forgotten itself and the self-luminous Spirit is represented by a brute inconscient Force in whose mere action there appears to be no self-knowledge, mind or heart. In this huge no-mind Mind emerges and has to labour besieged and limited by the universal Ignorance and in this heartless Inconscience a heart has manifested which has to aspire opposed and corrupted by the brutality of material Force. This is the form-absorbed Consciousness returning progressively to itself, but obliged to work under the conditions of Matter, that is to say, always bound and limited in its results. — For Matter is the opposite of the Spirit's freedom and mastery, the culmination of bondage; it is a huge force of movement, but of inertly driven movement subject to a law of which it has no conscience nor initiative but mechanically obeys. It opposes therefore to the attempt of Life to impose itself and freely utilise and the attempt of Mind to impose itself and know and freely guide the constant opposition of its inertia; it yields reluctantly to a certain extent, but brings always in the end a definite denial, limit and obstruction. For this reason knowledge, power, love, etc., are always pursued, accompanied and hedged in by their opposites. — For

Matter is the culmination of the principle of division and struggle. It can only unify by an association which carries with it the possibility of dissociation and an assimilation which devours. Therefore Life and Mind in Matter working under this law of division and struggle, that is to say, of death, desire and limitation, aggregation and subsequent dissociation, labour without any finality or certainty of assured progress. — But especially the divisions of Matter bring in the law of pain. Ignorance and Inertia would not be necessarily a cause of pain if the Mind and Life were not aware of an infinite Consciousness, Light and Power in which they live but are prevented from participating by the Ignorance and Inertia of Matter or were not stirred to possess this wideness partly or wholly. Man especially, because he is most self-conscious, develops this awareness to a high degree, nor can he be permanently satisfied with increase of power or knowledge within the limits of the material world, for that is also limited and inconclusive and, being aware of and impelled by the infinite within and around him, he cannot escape the necessity of seeking to know and possess it. This progression of the conscious being out of the Inconscient to the infinite Consciousness might be a happy outflowering but for the principle of rigid division and imprisonment of each divided being in his own ego which imposes the law of struggle, the dualities of attraction and repulsion, pleasure and pain, effort and failure, action and reaction, satisfaction and dissatisfaction. All this is the denial of Ananda and implies, if the negation be insuperable, the futility of existence; for if in this existence the satisfaction sought by the Infinite in the finite cannot be found, then ultimately it must be abandoned as an error and a failure. — This is the basis of the pessimist theory of material existence which supposes Matter to be the form and Mind the cause of the universe and both of these to be eternally subject to limitation and ignorance. But if on the contrary it is immortal and infinite Spirit which has veiled itself in Matter and is emerging, the development of a liberated supramental being who shall impose on Mind, Life and Matter a higher law than that of limitation and division, is the inevitable conclusion from the nature of cosmic existence. There is no reason why such a being should not liberate and make divine the physical existence as well as the

mind and life, unless our present view of Matter represents the sole possible relation here between sense and its object, in which case, indeed, fulfilment must be sought only in worlds beyond. But there are other states even of Matter and an ascending series of the gradations of substance, and their higher law is possible to the material being because it is there in it already latent and potential.

CHAPTER XXVI

The Ascending Series of Substance

ARGUMENT

THE materiality of Matter consists in a concentration of the density of substance and its resistance to the conscious-force of which through sense it becomes the object. An ascending scale of substance from Matter to Spirit must mean a diminution of resistance, division and bondage and an increasing subtlety, flexibility, power of assimilation, interchange, transmutation, unification. — There is such an ascending scale from the dense to the subtle even in material substance and beyond the subtlest material essence we have grades of other substance corresponding to the series of Matter, Life, Mind, Supermind and Spirit. Each, that is to say, is the basis of a world or other kind of existence in which these higher principles successively dominate the others and fulfil themselves with their aid. In each therefore there is an ever wider range of being, consciousness and force ascending from the inconscience of material substance to the infinite self-consciousness of spiritual. But all these principles are interconnected. Matter contains all of them and evolves them out of itself in obedience to the constant pressure of the higher worlds, an evolution which must continue until they are able to express themselves fully in the material principle. — Man is the fit instrument for this fulfilment. He has other bodies besides the physical in which he can become conscious and so enter into the supraphysical grades of substance and impose their law upon his material existence. Therefore his complete perfection is through the ascent to supermind and the conquest of the physical also by the supramental substance so that he will be able to command a diviner physical life and conquer death in a divine body.

CHAPTER XXVII

The Sevenfold Chord of Being

ARGUMENT

THERE are, therefore, seven or else eight principles of being and the four which constitute human existence are a refraction of the four which constitute divine existence, but in inverted order. The Divine descends from pure existence to Supermind to cast itself into cosmic existence; the creature ascends from Matter to Mind towards the Divine and meets it where Mind and Supermind meet with a veil between them. By the rending of the veil each of the four divine human principles can find its transfigured self in its divine equivalent. This transfiguration is the only possible positive goal of the creative evolution. — The presence of the seven principles is essential to all cosmic being. For cosmic being cannot exist except as the All-existence figuring itself in its self-conception as Time and Space, nor can this figuration take place except by an infinite Force which being of the nature of an all-determining and all-apprehending Will must repose on the action of an all-comprehending infinite Consciousness. Nor could the result be a cosmos but for a power of infinite knowledge and will determining out of the infinity in each figure of things their law, form and course through a self-limitation by Idea proceeding from a boundless liberty within. That power of Knowledge-Will, that Idea is the fourth name of the Divine: it is the Supermind or supreme Gnosis. — The lower trilogy is also necessary in some form however different it may be from our experience of Life, Mind and Matter. For there must be a subordinate power and action of Supermind measuring, creating fixed standpoints of mutual view and interaction in the universal self-diffusion as between an infinite number of centres of the one Consciousness; and such a power would be what we mean by Mind. So too, Mind once given, Life, which is the working of Will and energy

and conscious dynamis of being dependent on such fixed standpoints of interaction, must accompany it and substance with differentiation of form must also be present. — It follows that in every cosmic arrangement the seven principles must be existent, either manifested in simultaneous apparent action or else all apparently involved in one of them which then becomes the initial principle, but all secretly at work and bound to evolve into manifestation. Therefore out of initial Matter latent Life and Mind have emerged as apparent Life and Mind, and latent Supermind and the hidden Spirit must emerge as apparent Supermind and the triune glory of Sachchidananda.

CHAPTER XXVIII*

The Knowledge and the Ignorance

ARGUMENT

THE seven principles are, then, one in their reality, inseparable in their sevenfold action. They create the harmony of the universe and there is no essential reason why this should not be a complete harmony free from the element of discord, division and limitation. — The Vedic seers believed in such a creation and held its formation in man — called immortality — to be the object of man's Godward effort. But this is difficult for the human mind to accept, except in a beyond, because here the Inconscient seems to be all and the conscient soul an accident or an alien unable fully to realise itself. Here Ignorance seems to be the law. — It is true that here we start from the Inconscient and are governed by the Ignorance; we must therefore examine this power of Consciousness and determine its operation and origin, — not accepting the refusal of some philosophies to consider the question because it is insoluble; and first we must fix what we mean by the Ignorance. — In the Veda the Ignorance is the non-perceiving of the essential unity which is beyond mind and of the essence and self-law of things in their original unity and actual universality; it is a false knowledge based on division of the undivided, insistence on the fragmentary and little and rejection of the vast and complete view of things; it is the undivine Maya. — The Vedantic distinctions of Vidya and Avidya made the opposition more trenchant, Vidya being the knowledge of unity, Avidya the knowledge of multiplicity, but the knowledge of both was held to be necessary for the Truth and the Immortality; the Ignorance was not a mere falsehood and seeing of unreality. The One really becomes the Many. — Later, the opposition was supposed to be rigid and irreconcilable, the world

* Centenary Edition, Book Two, Part I, chapter VII. The original chapter was recast and enlarged in 1939-40.

unreal, a super-imposition of name and form on featureless Unity by Mind, the Ignorance an absolute nescience of the Truth. — This we reject, because such diametrical oppositions, flawed at their source, represent no actual reality of existence as a whole; there is no irreconcilable opposition of dual principles, Ignorance creative, Knowledge destructive of world-existence, but an essential unity. As pain is an effect of the universal Delight produced in the recipient by incapacity, as incapacity is a disposition of the universal Will-force, so ignorance is a particular action of the universal Knowledge. — Consciousness, which is Power, takes three poises: its plenitude of the divine knowledge invariable in unity and multiplicity and beyond; its dwelling upon apparent oppositions, the extreme being the superficial appearance of complete nescience in the Inconscient; and a mediary term or compromise between the two which is a superficial and partial emergence of self-conscious knowledge, our own egoistic ignorance or false-knowledge. The exact relations between these three have to be determined.

CHAPTER XXIX*

Memory, Self-Consciousness and the Ignorance

ARGUMENT

MEMORY is believed by some schools to be the constituent of our continuous personality; but memory is only a mechanism, a device, a substitute for direct consciousness. The mind is directly conscious of existence in the present, holds existence in the past by its substitute memory, infers its future existence from this direct present self-consciousness and the memory of its continuity in the past. — This sense of self-conscious existence it extends into the idea of eternity, but the only eternity the mind really seizes is a continuous succession of moments of being in eternal Time; of this eternity it possesses only the present moment, a limited portion of the past held fragmentarily and nothing at all of the future, while it is unable to know any timeless eternity of conscious being, any real eternal Self. Therefore the nature of our Mind is an Ignorance seizing at knowledge by successive action in the moments of Time. — If mind is all, then we must remain forever in this Ignorance which is not absolute nescience, but an ineffectual and fragmentary seizing at knowledge. But there are really two powers of our conscious being, Ignorance of the mind, Knowledge beyond mind, simultaneously existing, either separately in an eternal dualism or, as is really the fact, as superior and inferior, sovereign and dependent states of the same consciousness, by which the Knower sees his timeless being and the action of Time in that self through the knowledge while he sees himself in Time and travelling in the succession of its moments by the Ignorance. For this reason the Upanishad declares that Brahman can really be known only by knowing him as both the Knowledge and the Ignorance and so only can one arrive at the status of Immortality.

* Centenary Edition, Book Two, Part I, Chapter VIII.

— Ignorance is therefore the consciousness of being in the succession of Time, and it is so called because, actually self-divided by the moments of Time, the field of space and the forms of the multiplicity, it cannot know either eternal Being or the World, either the transcendent or the universal reality. Its knowledge is partly true, partly false, because it ignores the essence and sees only fugitive parts of the phenomenon. — It is through self-consciousness that the mind can arrive most readily at the eternal Reality; the rest of its means of knowledge are, like memory, devices and substitutes for direct consciousness. It is easy therefore to regard the knowledge and the self within as real and the rest as not-self and illusion. But the distinction is illusory and self-absorption in the stable self within is only one state of consciousness like self-dispersion in thought and memory and will. The real self is the Eternal who is capable simultaneously of the mobility in Time and the immobility basing Time. All object of knowledge is that real and eternal self whether seen in essence and stability or in phenomenon and instability of Time. — The Ignorance is a means by which it is rendered into values of knowledge and action, Time being a sort of bank on which we draw for valuation and action in the present, with a realised store in the account of the past and an unrealised infinite deposit to be taken from the future so as to be made valuable for Time-experience and valid for Time-activity. But, behind, all is known and ready for use according to the will of the Self in its dealings with Time and Space and Causality.

CHAPTER XXX*

Memory, Ego and Self-Experience

ARGUMENT

CONSCIOUSNESS of Self has two different aspects, the awareness of a stable, immutable and timeless Self beyond mentality and the awareness of a various self-experience in the process of Time and the field of Space. There is a constant shifting of the point of Time, a constant though less obvious changing of the habitation and the environment and in these a constant subjective modifying of the experience of the states of personality and the experience of the environment. — Memory here is an indispensable factor in the linking of past and present experience and is necessary to secure its continuity and coherence. Still Memory is not all; it is only a mediator between the mind-sense and the coordinating mind. — It is the mind-sense which shapes the object of experience as a wave of the conscious being into a movement of emotion, vitality, sensation or thought-perception. There is also an act of mental observation and valuation of this wave in the sense-mind. There is also the subject or mental being who thus modifies his mental becoming and observes and values it by an act of mind. It is when the mental being stands back from the mental becoming and even from the mental act that he begins to perceive himself as something different from the all becoming, mutable in that, but immutable beyond it. He is not two selves, one that is and one that becomes, but one immutable who sees changing phenomena of his being, the immutability evident to a direct and pure self-consciousness, the mutable evident indirectly through a conditional and secondary mental consciousness. — It is the character of this indirect mental consciousness which can experience only by succession of Time that brings in the device of Memory. Memory is not the essence of mental experience of becoming, nor of its continuity,

* Centenary Edition, Book Two, Part I, Chapter IX.

nor of the recurrence of the same experience or the same cause and effect in Time. These are circumstances of the movement of the stuff of conscious being and conscious force of being, a movement which is really undivided though only seen by mind in artificial divisions. Memory is a device by which the experiences of the mind-sense are linked together and these artificial divisions in Time bridged over so that the coordinating mind and will may better and better use the material of experience and impose order on its conscious knowledge of its self and its conscious action in its environment. It is an aid to our ignorance of self developing, in the evolution of mind out of inconscient force, knowledge of self by experience. — The ego-sense is a mental device by which the mental being develops towards knowledge of that which experiences as well as that which is experienced. Memory only tells us that the successive experiences have happened in the same field of conscious being; it is the coordinating and distinguishing mind which tells us that it is the same mental being who experiences. — Mind-substance suffers the changes of becoming; mind-sense experiences them; memory assures the mind-sense of its continuity of experience; the coordinating mind of knowledge relates them together and relates them also to the ego or being who, it says, is the same in past and present whether he forgets or remembers. In the animal this may be little more than a coordination in the sense-mind by a discernment largely involved in the sensations and the memories, but in man it becomes a coordinating reason superior to sense and memory. It is by this development that the ego-sense becomes distinct and disengaged from its aids. — But it is itself only a device and basis for self-development of true self-knowledge; it is a stage in the evolution from nescience to partial knowledge and from partial knowledge to true self-consciousness. The evolving Mind becomes by it aware of an "I" that becomes and then of a self superior to the becoming. It may fix on either to the rejection of the other, but in doing so it acts on an imperfect self-knowledge. It is yet ignorant of all even of the individual becoming which is not superficial; ignorant of the universal becoming except indirectly, as a not-self exterior to it. Its attempt to find the true relation of the self and its becomings is based therefore

on an Ignorance; that can only be truly known by an attempt to live out the relation in an integral development of self-knowledge. That is the natural goal of our evolution which is the movement of the Ignorance to exceed itself and arrive at the conscious Truth of its being and conscious knowledge of all being.

CHAPTER XXXI*

The Boundaries of the Ignorance

ARGUMENT

WE KNOW only a part even of our superficial life and conscious becoming, fastening only on a little of our experience of self and things, memorising less, using still less for knowledge and action. What we reject, Nature stores and uses in our development, for the most part by her subconscious action. Our waking self is only a superimposition, a visible summit; the great body of our being is submerged or subliminal. — The subliminal self perceives, remembers, understands, uses all that we fail to perceive, remember or use. It provides all the material of our surface being which is only a selection from its wider existence and activity. It is only the physical and vital part of our existence which is, properly speaking, subconscient; the subliminal self is the true mental being and in relation to our waking mind is rather secretly circumconscient; for it envelops as well as supports. Of all this larger part of our being we are ignorant. — We are ignorant also of the superconscient, that which we ordinarily call spirit or oversoul; yet this we find to be our highest and widest self, Sachchidananda creating and governing all that we are and become by His divine Maya. We are ignorant of the subliminal sea of our being which casts up the wave of our superficial existence; we are ignorant also of the superconscient ether of our being which constitutes, contains, overroofs and governs both the subliminal sea and the superficial wave. — We are ignorant of ourselves in Time, for we know only a part of the present life we are living, yet that exists only by all our past of which we are ignorant and its trend is determined by all our future of which we are still more ignorant. For our superconscient Self is eternal in its being and Time is only one of its

* Centenary Edition, Book Two, Part I, Chapter XI. The chapter was recast and enlarged in 1939-40.

modes, our subliminal is eternal in its becoming and Time is its infinite field of experience. — We are equally ignorant of the world, holding it to be not-self, ignorant of ourselves in Space; for the world is one Self developing the movement of its conscious force in its self-conceptive extension as Space. We confine ourselves in our consciousness to a single knot of the one indivisible Matter, a single eddy of the one indivisible Life, a single station of the one indivisible Mind, a single soul-manifestation of the one indivisible Spirit. Yet it is only by knowing the One that this individual mind, life, body, soul can know itself or its action. — Thus ignorance of self is the nature of our mind, but an ignorance full of the impulse towards self-possession and self-knowledge. A many-sided Ignorance striving to become an all-embracing Knowledge is the definition of man, the mental being.

CHAPTER XXXII*

The Integral Knowledge

ARGUMENT

THE ignorance in which we live is a sevenfold self-ignorance; an ignorance of the Absolute and knowledge only of the relations of being and becoming; an ignorance of our timeless and immutable self-existence and knowledge only of the cosmic becoming; an ignorance of our cosmic self and knowledge only of our egoistic existence; an ignorance of our eternal becoming in Time and knowledge only of the one life present to our memory; an ignorance of our larger and complex being in the world and knowledge only of our surface waking existence; an ignorance of the higher principles of our existence and knowledge only of the life, mind and body; an ignorance therefore of the right law and enjoyment of living and a knowledge only of the confused strife of the dualities. — Our conception of the Ignorance determines our conception of the knowledge and by that of the aim of our existence, which coincides with the ideal of the earlier Vedic thought. — We confirm by it our rejection of the extreme views which hold the absolute Non-existence or absolute Existence to be alone true and the relative world of being and becoming an ignorance to be renounced. There is the unmanifest Absolute and there is its manifestation; to fulfil the manifestation and live in the sense of it as the Absolute manifesting himself is the Knowledge. — We reject the view that regards the One, Infinite, Formless, Spirit, Superconscient as the sole truth and the opposite terms as unreal or eventually false and vain values to be abandoned. We accept it and them also not as alternates, but as simultaneous values of the manifestation and their union in our consciousness and right use of their relations as the knowledge. — We reject equally the views that

* Centenary Edition, Book Two, Part II, Chapter XV, "Reality and the Integral Knowledge." The chapter was considerably recast and enlarged in 1939-40.

affirm a pluralistic Becoming without Being or see Mind, Life or Matter as the original principle, and we reject the limitation to our apparent Nature which is their practical conclusion. Becoming as the working out of the energies of Being, Mind, Life and Matter as inferior terms of the higher divine Nature to be illumined, uplifted, transformed by the higher terms is our view of the knowledge. — We reject also intermediate theories like that which makes God and cosmos one, — perceiving as we do that cosmos exists in God who exceeds it and not God by the cosmos, — or like that which seeks to abandon the earth and find fulfilment only in heavens where the Many enjoy the presence of the One, — perceiving, as we do, that there is a higher knowledge which leads to complete identity and that divine life based upon it need not be confined to heavens beyond, but may embrace the earth also. — Ignorance is an initial state of knowledge the essence of which is to create a sense of limitation and division; it is this which we have to overcome and transcend without creating an opposite self-limitation. The integral aim of our existence can only be the possession and power and joy of our integral self-knowledge.

CHAPTER XXXIII*

The Progress to Knowledge

ARGUMENT

TO RISE out of the sevenfold Ignorance into the integral Knowledge is the progress of man's being; it is to grow in all his complex existence and consciousness into the full possession and enjoyment of his whole and his true being. — He starts with three categories, himself, Nature or cosmos and God, and though he tries to deny any two of these in order to affirm the third only, he cannot really succeed; for he is neither separate nor sufficient to himself, cosmos also is not sufficient to itself, but points always to an infinite, one and absolute behind it, and to affirm the Absolute to the exclusion of these two others leaves man unsatisfied and cosmos unexplained. — In affirming himself man has first to put himself in front and act and feel as if God and the world existed for him and were less important to him than himself; this is his egoistic phase necessary to disengage his individuality out of Nature and as if against her and to bring it out into force and capacity. He has to affirm himself in the Ignorance before he can perfect himself in the Knowledge. Afterwards he has to seek for himself in Nature and God and others, but it is still himself that he seeks to know and possess and his own perfection or salvation which is his motive. — In the progressive enlargement of his knowledge he gets rid of his sevenfold ignorance; of the temporal by growing into his eternal being with its pre-existence and subsequent existence in Time; of the psychological by enlarging his self-knowing beyond the waking self into the subconscient and superconscient; of the constitutional by realising his spiritual being and its categories; of the cosmic by discovering his timeless Self; of the egoistic by realising the cosmic consciousness; of the original by

* Centenary Edition, Book Two, Part II, Chapter XVII, "The Progress to Knowledge — God, Man and Nature". The chapter was recast and enlarged in 1939-40.

opening to the Absolute of whom Self, individual and Nature are so many faces. — At the same time he realises the unity of himself and Nature in the first three steps of knowledge, of himself and God in the others; of himself with all beings relatively in Nature and absolutely in God; of God and Nature because it is the Self who has become all these beings and the nature of the Lord which is apparent in cosmos. — The knowledge of Nature leads him to the same results as soon as he goes beyond Matter and Life to Mind; for he discovers a subconscient and superconscient, a soul in Matter, and perceives a supernature in which he realises the Self, the Spirit, the Absolute. — In the quest of God he begins by seeing him through Nature and himself, crudely and obscurely at first, till he finds more luminously the one Truth behind all religions; for all seize on the Divine in many aspects and their variety is necessary in order that man should come to know God entirely. — When he arrives at the unity of his knowledge of God, man and Nature, he has the complete knowledge, the sense and goal of humanity's progress and labour and the sure foundation of all perfections and all harmonies.

SUPPLEMENT TO

VOLUMES 22-24

LETTERS ON YOGA

LETTER ON YOGA was written to the Maharani of Baroda.

Letter on Yoga

TO THE MAHARANI OF BARODA

IT IS true that I have by the practice of Yoga attained to the higher spiritual consciousness which comes by Yoga, and this carries with it a certain power. Especially there is the power to communicate to those who are ready or to help them towards that spiritual state which, in its perfection, is a condition of unalterable inner calm, strength and felicity. But this spiritual peace and joy is something quite different from mental peace and happiness. And it cannot be reached without a spiritual discipline.

I do not know whether this has been rightly explained to your Highness. I may say briefly that there are two states of consciousness in either of which one can live. One is a higher consciousness which stands above the play of life and governs it; this is variously called the Self, the Spirit or the Divine. The other is the normal consciousness in which men live; it is something quite superficial, an instrument of the Spirit for the play of life. Those who live and act in the normal consciousness are governed entirely by the common movements of the mind and are naturally subject to grief and joy and anxiety and desire or to everything else that makes up the ordinary stuff of life. Mental quiet and happiness they can get, but it can never be permanent or secure. But the spiritual consciousness is all light, peace, power and bliss. If one can live entirely in it, there is no question; these things become naturally and securely his. But even if he can live partly in it or keep himself constantly open to it, he receives enough of this spiritual light and peace and strength and happiness to carry him securely through all the shocks of life. What one gains by opening to this spiritual consciousness, depends on what one seeks from it; if it is peace, one gets peace; if it is light or knowledge, one lives in a great light and receives a knowledge deeper and truer than any the normal mind of man can acquire; if it is strength or power, he gets a spiritual strength for the inner life or

Yogic power to govern the outer work and action; if it is happiness, he enters into a beatitude far greater than any joy or happiness that the ordinary human life can give.

There are many ways of opening to this Divine Consciousness or entering into it. My way which I show to others by a constant practice is to go inward into oneself, to open by aspiration to the Divine and once one is conscious of it and its action, to give oneself to it entirely. This self-giving means not to ask for anything but the constant contact or union with the Divine Consciousness, to aspire for its peace, power, light and felicity, but to ask nothing else and in life and action to be its instrument only for whatever work it gives one to do in the world. If one can once open and feel the Divine Force, the Power of the Spirit working in the mind and heart and body, the rest is a matter of remaining faithful to it, calling for it always, allowing it to do its work when it comes and rejecting every other and inferior force that belongs to the lower consciousness and the lower nature.

I have written so much in order to explain my position and the nature of my Yogic power. I do not usually ask anyone to practise this Yoga, because it is possible only for those who have from the beginning or who develop a strong call to it; others cannot go through it *all* to the end. Nor do I often go out of my way to help those who are merely in need of some kind of quietude of *external* nature though I do not refuse to do it in certain cases. My aim is to create a centre of spiritual life which shall serve as a means of bringing down the higher consciousness and making it a power not merely for 'salvation' but for a divine life upon earth. It is with this object that I have withdrawn from public life and founded this Ashram in Pondicherry (so called for want of a better word, for it is not an Ashram of Sannyasins, but of those who want to leave all else and prepare for this rule). But at the same time I have a small number of disciples all over India who live in their families and receive spiritual help from me even at a distance.

This is all I can answer to your Highness at present. It is for you to decide[1] whether what you seek has anything to do with what I have explained in this letter.

[1] *Alternative words:* see for yourself

SUPPLEMENT TO

VOLUME 26

ON HIMSELF

Letter to his Father. The passage reproduced here is part of a letter written by Sri Aurobindo to his father K.D. Ghose (evidently from Cambridge before December 1890). It was quoted by K. D. Ghose in a letter to his brother-in-law on December 2, 1890. This entire letter was published in *The Orient*, an illustrated weekly of Calcutta, on 27th February 1949, in facsimile.

Letter to his Father-in-law. Sri Aurobindo wrote this letter on February 19, 1919 after the death of his wife Mrinalini Devi on December 17, 1918.

Letters to Anandrao and "M" (Motilal Roy). These letters, except one which was recently found, have been reproduced from the book LIGHT TO SUPERLIGHT published by the Prabartak Sangha, Chandernagore. They have been re-checked with photostat copies of the original letters supplied by the Prabartak Sangha. One or two of these letters are either lost or else found in a tattered condition, and in such cases the version of the LIGHT TO SUPERLIGHT has been followed. The dates in square brackets in some of the letters are given to indicate approximately the period in which, on the basis of internal evidence, the letters appear to have been written.

Sri Aurobindo kept some contact with the revolutionaries for the first three or four years of his stay in Pondicherry through one or two correspondents. In writing to them about their activities Sri Aurobindo often used code words like "Tantra" and "Tantrik Kriya".

Letter to *The Hindu*. This letter was published in *The Hindu* of July 20, 1911.

Letter to his Father

LAST night I was invited to coffee with one of the dons and in his room I met the great O.B. otherwise Oscar Browning, who is the feature *par excellence* of King's. He was extremely flattering, and passing from the subject of cotillions to that of scholarship, he said to me: "I suppose you know you passed an extraordinarily high examination. I have examined papers at thirteen examinations and I have never during that time seen such excellent papers as yours (meaning my Classical papers at the scholarship examination). As for your essay, it was wonderful." In this essay (a comparison between Shakespeare and Milton) I indulged my Oriental tastes to the top of their bent; it overflowed with rich and tropical imagery; it abounded in antitheses and epigrams and it expressed my real feelings without restraint or reservation. I thought myself that it was the best thing I have ever done, but at school it would have been condemned as extraordinarily Asiatic and bombastic. The great O.B. afterwards asked me where my rooms were and when I had answered he said, "That wretched hole!", then turning to Mahaffy: "How rude we are to our scholars! We get great minds to come down here and then shut them up in that box! I suppose it is to keep their pride down."

Letter to his Sister

Baroda Camp
25th August, 1894

My dear Saro,

I got your letter the day before yesterday. I have been trying hard to write to you for the last three weeks, but have hitherto failed. Today I am making a huge effort and hope to put the letter in the post before nightfall. As I am now invigorated by three days' leave, I almost think I shall succeed.

It will be, I fear, quite impossible to come to you again so early as the Puja, though if I only could, I should start tomorrow. Neither my affairs, nor my finances will admit of it. Indeed it was a great mistake for me to go at all; for it has made Baroda quite intolerable to me. There is an old story about Judas Iscariot, which suits me down to the ground. Judas, after betraying Christ, hanged himself and went to Hell where he was honoured with the hottest oven in the whole establishment. Here he must burn for ever and ever; but in his life he had done one kind act and for this they permitted him by special mercy of God to cool himself for an hour every Christmas on an iceberg in the North Pole. Now this has always seemed to me not mercy, but a peculiar refinement of cruelty. For how could Hell fail to be ten times more Hell to the poor wretch after the delicious coolness of his iceberg? I do not know for what enormous crime I have been condemned to Baroda, but my case is just parallel. Since my pleasant sojourn with you at Baidyanath, Baroda seems a hundred times more Baroda.

I dare say Beno may write to you three or four days before he leaves England. But you must think yourself lucky if he does as much as that. Most likely the first you hear of him will be a telegram from Calcutta. Certainly he has not written to me. I never expected and should be afraid to get a letter. It would be such a shocking surprise that I should certainly be able to do nothing but roll on the floor and gasp for breath for the next two

or three hours. No, the favours of the Gods are too awful to be coveted. I dare say he will have energy enough to hand over your letter to Mano as they must be seeing each other almost daily. You must give Mano a little time before he answers you. He too is Beno's brother. Please let me have Beno's address as I don't know where to send a letter I have ready for him. Will you also let me have the name of Bari's English Composition Book and its compiler? I want such a book badly, as this will be useful for me not only in Bengalee but in Gujerati. There are no convenient books like that here.

You say in your letter "all here are quite well"; yet in the very next sentence I read "Bari has an attack of fever". Do you mean then that Bari is nobody? Poor Bari! That he should be excluded from the list of human beings is only right and proper, but it is a little hard that he should be denied existence altogether. I hope it is only a slight attack. I am quite well. I have brought a fund of health with me from Bengal, which, I hope it will take me some time to exhaust; but I have just passed my twenty-second milestone, August 15 last, since my birthday and am beginning to get dreadfully old.

I infer from your letter that you are making great progress in English. I hope you will learn very quickly; I can then write to you quite what I want to say and just in the way I want to say it. I feel some difficulty in doing that now and I don't know whether you will understand it.

With love,

Your affectionate brother,
Auro

P. S. If you want to understand the new orthography of my name, ask uncle.

Letter to his Father-in-law

Pondicherry
the 19th February, 1919

My dear Father-in-law,

I have not written to you with regard to this fatal event in both our lives: words are useless in face of the feelings it has caused, if even they can ever express our deepest emotions. God has seen good to lay upon me the one sorrow that could still touch me to the centre. He knows better than ourselves what is best for each of us, and now that the first sense of the irreparable has passed, I can bow with submission to his divine purpose. The physical tie between us is, as you say, severed; but the tie of affection subsists for me. Where I have once loved, I do not cease from loving. Besides she who was the cause of it, still is near though not visible to our physical vision.

It is needless to say much about the matters of which you write in your letter. I approve of everything that you propose. Whatever Mrinalini would have desired, should be done, and I have no doubt this is what she would have approved of. I consent to the *chudis*[1] being kept by her mother; but I should be glad if you would send me two or three of her books, especially if there are any in which her name is written. I have only of her, her letters and a photograph.

[1] The bangles worn by a Hindu wife as a sign of her marriage which she discards if the husband dies.

Letter to Anandarao

[June, 1912?]

Dear Anandarao,

My Bengal correspondent writes to me that you have sent me the following message, "The Baroda friend has left service and therefore there is difficulty in finding money. He asks, now you have become a Sannyasin, on what ground he can collect money. Still, if you let him know clearly your future, the time it will take to effect your Siddhi and the amount of money you need, he will try to collect from Rs. 600 to 1000."

I cannot understand why on earth people should make up their minds that I have become a Sannyasin! I have even made it clear enough in the public Press that I have not taken Sannyasa but am practising Yoga as a householder, not even a Brahmacharin. The Yoga I am practising has not the ghost of a connection with Sannyasa. It is a Yoga meant for life and life only. Its object is perfection of the moral condition and mental and physical being along with the possession of certain powers, — the truth of which I have been establishing by continuous practical experiment, — with the object of carrying out a certain mission in life which God has given me. Therefore there is or ought to be no difficulty on that score. If I were a Sannyasin, there would indeed be no money difficulty to solve.

The question about the Siddhi is a little difficult to answer precisely. There are four parts of the Siddhi, roughly, moral, mental, physical and *practical.* Starting from December 1908, the moral has taken me three years and a half and may now be considered complete. The mental has taken two years of regular Sadhana and for the present purpose may be considered complete; the physical is backward and *nearing* completion only in the immunity from disease, — which I am now attempting successfully to perfect and test by exposure to abnormal conditions. The physical also does not matter so much for practical purposes, as the moral, mental and a certain number of practical

Siddhis are sufficient. It is these practical Siddhis that alone cause delay. I have had first to prove to myself their existence and utility, secondly to develop them in myself so as to be working forces, thirdly to make them actually effective for life and impart them to others. The development will, I think, be complete in another two months, but the application to life and the formation of my helpers will take some time, — for the reason that I shall then have a greater force of opposition to surmount than in the purely educative exercises I have hitherto practised. The full application to life will, I think, take three years more, but it is only for a year of that time (if so long) that I expect to need outside assistance. I believe that I may have to stay in French India for another year. I presume that is what the question about my future means. But on this point also I cannot speak with certainty. If, however, it refers to my future work, that is a big question and does not yet admit of a full answer. I may say briefly that I have been given a religious and philosophical mission, to re-explain the Veda and Vedanta (Upanishads) in the ancient sense which I have recovered by actual experience in Yoga and to popularise the new system of Yoga (new in arrangement and object) which has been revealed to me and which, as I progress, I am imparting to the young men staying with me and to others in Pondicherry. I have also to spread certain ideas about God and life by literary work, speech and practice, to try and bring about certain social changes and, finally, to do a certain work for my country in particular, as soon as the means are put in my hands. All this to be done by God's help only and not to be begun till things and myself are ready.

The amount of money I shall need for the year in question are Rs. 300 to clear up the liabilities I have contracted during the last nine or ten months (in which I have had only fortuitous help) and some Rs. 1200 (or 1500 reckoning up to August 1913) to maintain myself and those I am training. I had hoped to get the money from a certain gentleman who had promised me Rs. 2000 a year for the purpose and given it for the first year from October 1910 to October 1911. But there are great difficulties in the way and I can no longer reckon merely on this support which would have made it unnecessary for me to tax my friends. Please ask

my friend if, with this explanation, he can manage the money to the amount suggested. If I get other help from this side, I shall let him know so that the sum be lightened.

At present I am at the height of my difficulties, in debt, with no money for the morrow, besieged in Pondicherry and all who could help are in temporary or permanent difficulties or else absent and beyond communication. I take it, from my past experiences as a sign that I am nearing the end of the period of trial. I would ask you if you can do no more, at least to send me some help to tide over the next month or two. After that period for certain reasons, it will be easier to create means, if they are not created for me.

A. G.

Letters to M.

3 July, 1912

Dear M.

Your money (by letter and wire) and clothes reached safely. The French Post Office here has got into the habit (not yet explained) of not delivering your letters till Friday; that was the reason why we wired to you thinking you had not sent the money that week. I do not know whether this means anything, — formerly we used to get your letters on Tuesday, afterwards it came to Wednesday, then Thursday and finally Friday. It may be a natural evolution of French Republicanism. Or it may be something else. I see no signs of the seals having been tampered with, but that is not an absolutely sure indication of security. The postman may be paid by the police. Personally, however, I am inclined to believe in the Republican administration theory, — the Republic always likes to have time on its hands. Still, if you like, you can send *important* communications to any other address here you may know of, for the present (of course, by French post and a Madrasi address). All others should come by the old address, — you may be sure, I think, no letter will be actually intercepted, on this side. By the way, please let us know whether Mr. Banomali Pal received a letter by French post from Achari enclosing another to Parthasarathi.

I have not written all this time because I was not allowed to put pen to paper for some time, — that is all. I send enclosed a letter to our Marathi friend. If he can give you anything for me, please send it without the least delay. If not, I must ask you to procure for me by will-power or any other power in heaven or on earth Rs. 50 at least as a loan. If you cannot get it elsewhere, why not apply to Barid Babu? Also, if Nagen is in Calcutta, ask him whether the Noakhali gentleman can let me have anything. I was told he had Rs. 300 put aside for me if I wanted it; but I did not wish to apply to him except in case of necessity. The situation just now is that we have Rs. $1^1/_2$ or so in hand. Srinivasa

is also without money. As to Bharati living on nothing means an uncertain quantity. The only other man in Pondicherry whom I could at present ask for help is absent *sine die* and my messenger to the South not returned. The last time he came, he brought a promise of Rs. 1000 in a month and some permanent provision afterwards, but the promise like certain predecessors has not yet been fulfilled and we sent him for cash. But though he should have been here three days ago, he has not returned, and even when he returns, I am not quite sure about the cash and still less sure about the sufficiency of the amount. No doubt, God will provide, but He has contracted a bad habit of waiting till the last moment. I only hope He does not wish us to learn how to live on a minus quantity like Bharati.

Other difficulties are disappearing. The case brought against the Swadeshis (no one in this household was included in it although we had a very charmingly polite visit from the Parquet and Juge d'Instruction) has collapsed into the nether regions and the complainant and his son have fled from Pondicherry and become, like ourselves "political refugees" in Cuddalore. I hear he has been sentenced by default to five years imprisonment on false accusation, but I don't know yet whether the report is true. The police were to have left at the end of Pondicherry but a young lunatic (one of Bharati's old disciples in patriotism and atheism) got involved in a sedition-search (for the Indian Sociologist of all rubbish in the world!) and came running here in the nick of time for the police to claim another two months' holiday in Pondicherry. However, I think their fangs have been drawn. I may possibly send you the facts of the case for publication in the *Nayak* or any other paper, but I am not yet certain.

I shall write to you about Sadhana etc. another time.

Kali

[January, 1913?]

Dear M.

We have received from you in December Rs. 60, and Rs. 20, and in this month Rs. 10. According to N's account Rs. 10 belongs to November account, Rs. 50 to December; Rs. 20 we suppose to have been sent in advance for the January account. If so, we still expect from you Rs. 20 this month. I should be glad to know if there is any prospect of your being able to increase the amount now or shortly. Up till now we have somehow or other managed to fill in the deficit of Rs. 35 monthly; but, now that all our regular sources here are stopped, we have to look to mere luck for going on. Of course if we were Bhaktas of the old type, this would be the regular course, but as our Sadhana stands upon Karmayoga with Jnana and Bhakti, this inactive Nirbhara can only continue so long as it is enjoined on us as a temporary movement of the Sadhana. It cannot be permanent. I think there will have to be a change before long, but I cannot see clearly whether the regular and sufficient arrangement which must be instituted some time, is to come from you or from an unexpected quarter or whether I have myself to move in the matter. It is a question of providing some Rs. 450 a year in addition to what you send, — unless, of course, God provides us with some new sources for the *śarīrayātrā* as He did two years ago.

All these matters as well as the pursuance of my work to which you allude in your last (commercial) letter, depend on the success of the struggle which is the crowning movement of my Sadhana — viz. the attempt to apply knowledge and power to the events and happenings of the world without the necessary instrumentality of physical action. What I am attempting is to establish the normal working of the Siddhis in life i.e. the perception of thoughts, feelings and happenings of other beings and in other places throughout the world without any use of information by speech or any other data; 2nd, the communication of the ideas and feelings I select to others (individuals, groups, nations) by mere transmission of will-power; 3rd, the silent compulsion on them to act according to these communicated ideas and feel-

ings; 4th, the determining of events, actions and results of action throughout the world by pure silent will-power. When I wrote to you last, I had begun the general application of these powers which God has been developing in me for the last two or three years, but, as I told you, I was getting badly beaten. This is no longer the case, for in the 1st, 2nd and even in 3rd I am now largely successful, although the action of these powers is not yet perfectly organised. It is only in the 4th that I feel a serious resistance. I can produce single results with perfect accuracy, I can produce general results with difficulty and after a more or less prolonged struggle, but I can neither be sure of producing the final decisive result I am aiming at nor of securing that orderly arrangement of events which prevents the results from being isolated and only partially effective. In some directions I seem to succeed, in others partly to fail and partly to succeed, while in some fields, e.g., this matter of financial equipment both for my personal life and for my work I have hitherto entirely failed. When I shall succeed even partially in that, then I shall know that my hour of success is at hand and that I have got rid of the past Karma in myself and others, which stands in our way and helps the forces of Kaliyuga to baffle our efforts.

About Tantric Yoga; your experiment in the *śmaśāna* was a daring one, — but it seems to have been efficiently and skilfully carried out, and the success is highly gratifying. In these Kriyas there are three considerations to be held in view; 1st, the object of the Kriya. Of course there is the general object of Mukti-Bhukti which Tantriks in all ages have pursued, but to bring it about certain subjective results and conditions are necessary in ourselves and our surroundings and each separate Kriya should be so managed as to bring about an important result of the kind. Big Kriyas or numerous Kriyas are not always necessary; the main thing is that they should be faultlessly effective like your last Kriya or the small one with which you opened your practices. That is the second consideration viz. the success of the Kriya itself and that depends on the selection and proper use of the right Mantra and Tantra, — Mantra, the mental part, and Tantra, the practical part. These must be arranged with the greatest scrupulousness. All rashness, pride, ostentation, etc., — the rajasic

defects, — also, all negligence, omission, slipshod ritual, — the tamasic defects, must be avoided. Success must not elate your minds, nor failure discourage. 3rdly, Angarakshana is as important as Siddhi. There are many Tantriks in this Kaliyuga who are eager about Siddhi, careless in Angarakshana. They get some Siddhi, but become the prey of the devils and Bhutas they raise. Now what is the use of the particular Siddhi, if the Sadhakas are destroyed? The general and real object, — Mukti and Bhukti, — remains unfulfilled. Angarakshana is managed, first, by the selection and arrangement of the right Siddhi-Mantra and Kriya, secondly, by the presence behind the Sadhaka of one who repeats what is called an Angarakshana Mantra, destructive of the Pretas and Rakshasas or prohibitive of their attacks. The last function I have taken on myself; it is your business so to arrange the Kriya that the Bhutas get no chances for প্রবেশ[1] [*praveś*] or for the seizure and destruction of the Sadhaka. I have found that my Mantra has been more and more successful in protection, but it is not yet strong enough to prevent all উপদ্রব[1] [*upadrav*] of a dangerous character. It will take some more আবৃত্তি[1] [*āvṛtti*] to increase its power. It is for this reason that I do not yet tell you to go on swiftly in your course of practices. Still there is no harm in quickening the pace in comparison with the past. Remember always the supreme necessity of Mauna in Tantric practices. In Vedantic and Puranic exercises expression is not dangerous, but the goddess of the Tantra does not look with a favourable eye on those who from pride, ostentation or looseness blab about the Mantra or the Kriya. In Tantric-Sadhana secrecy is necessary for its own sake. Those who reveal Mantra or Kriya to the unfit, suffer almost inevitably; even those who reveal them unnecessarily to the fit impair somewhat the force of their Tantric action.

Kali

P. S. Please send the rest of this month's money at once, if you have not already sent it, and next month's as early as you can.

[1] Written in Bengali.

[1913?]

Dear M.

I write only about 3 points today.

1. Your R. S. Sharma I hold to be a police spy. I have refused to see him because originally when he tried to force his way into my house and win my confidence by his extravagances I received a warning against him from within which has always been repeated. This was confirmed afterwards by two facts, — first that the Madras Police betrayed a very benevolent interest in the success of his mission, secondly, that he came to Pondicherry afterwards as sub-editor of a new Pondicherry paper, the *Independent*, subsequently defunct and replaced by another the *Argus*, belonging to the same proprietor who has been openly acting in concert with the British Police against us in Pondicherry. In this paper he wrote a very sneering and depreciatory paragraph about me, (not by name but by allusion) in which he vented his spite at his failure. Failing even so to get any footing here, for the Swadeshis were warned against him, he returned to Madras. He seems now to have tried his hand with you at Calcutta and succeeded, probably, beyond his expectations! I wonder when you people will stop trusting the first stranger with a glib tongue who professes Nationalist fervour and devotion. Whether you accept my estimate of him or not, you may be sure that his Bhakti for me is humbug, — as shown by the above newspaper incident, — and you must accept at least the facts I have given you and draw any conclusions that common sense may suggest to you.

2. Do not print *Yoga and its Objects* unless and until I give you positive directions. It cannot be printed in its present form and I may decide to complete the work before it is printed. In any case parts of it would have to be omitted or modified.

3. Next, money matters. I could not understand your arithmetic about the Rs. 40 and how we should gain by not getting it. The only reason why we wrote constantly for it, was that it was necessary to us in our present financial position, in which we have to provide anxiously for every need and the failure of any ex-

pected sum reduces us to difficulties. I had reckoned on the remainder of Madgodkar's money to pay the sum still due for the rent of our last house. Fortunately, the litigation connected with the house has kept the matter hanging; but it may be demanded from us any day and we shall have to pay at once, or face the prospect of being dragged into court and losing our prestige here entirely. In future, let me ask you, never to undertake any payment to us which you are not sure of being able to fulfil, because of the great disorder in our arrangements which results.

Our position here now is at its worst; since all efforts to get some help from here have been temporarily fruitless and we have to depend on your Rs. 50 which is insufficient. We have to pay Rs. 15 for rent, other expenses come to not less, and the remaining Rs. 20 cannot suffice for the food expenses of five people. Even any delay in your money arriving makes our Manager "see darkness". That is why we had to telegraph. We did not know then that your last remittance of Rs. 20 had arrived; and our available money was exhausted. Our correspondence agent has turned merchant and walked off to Madras indefinitely; in his absence we had great difficulty in getting hold of your letter and indeed it is only today that it reached our hands. Narayan will give you a new address to which please address all letters in future.

There is no "reason" for my not writing to you. I never nowadays act on reasons, but only as an automaton in the hands of Another; sometimes He lets me know the reasons of my action, sometimes He does not, but I have to act, — or refrain from action, — all the same, according as He wills.

I shall write nothing about Sadhana etc. until I am out of my present struggle to make the spirit prevail over matter and circumstances, in which for the present I have been getting badly the worst of it. Till then you must expect nothing but mere business letters, — if any.

Kali

[1913?]

Dear M.

P.S. has sent to his brother an address for sending Yogini Chakras. He says it is approved by you. Now we want to know, not only whether they are religious people there, — he says you have assured him of that, — but whether there is any likelihood of these being taken by the P.O. authorities for anything else. There are religious people who are openly mixed up with politics. We do not think it wise to send our purely religious Tantric instruments to any such. Kindly answer by return post. If the answer is satisfactory and we get the money promised, we will send the Chakras.

15th August is usually a turning point or a notable day for me personally either in Sadhana or life, — indirectly only for others. This time it has been very important for me. My subjective Sadhana may be said to have received its final seal and something like its consummation by a prolonged realisation and dwelling in Parabrahman for many hours. Since then, egoism is dead for all in me except the Annamaya Atma, — the physical self which awaits one farther realisation before it is entirely liberated from occasional visitings or external touches of the old separated existence.

My future Sadhan is for life, practical knowledge and Shakti, not the essential knowledge or Shakti in itself which I have got already, but knowledge and Shakti established in the same physical self and directed to my work in life. I am now getting a clearer idea of that work and I may as well impart something of that idea to you; since you look to me as the centre, you should know what is likely to radiate out of that centre.

1. To re-explain the Sanatana Dharma to the human intellect in all its parts, from a new standpoint. This work is already beginning, and three parts of it are being clearly worked out. Sri Krishna has shown me the true meaning of the Vedas, not only so, but he has shown me a new Science of Philology showing the process and origins of human speech so that a new Nirukta can be formed and the new interpretation of the Veda based upon it. He

has also shown me the meaning of all in the Upanishads that is not understood either by Indians or Europeans. I have therefore to re-explain the whole Vedanta and Veda in such a way that it will be seen how all religion arises out of it and is one everywhere. In this way it will be proved that India is the centre of the religious life of the world and its destined saviour through the Sanatana Dharma.

2. On the basis of Vedic knowledge, to establish a Yogic Sadhana which will not only liberate the soul, but prepare a perfect humanity and help in the restoration of the Satya Yuga. That work has to begin now but it will not be complete till the end of the Kali.

3. India being the centre, to work for her restoration to her proper place in the world; but this restoration must be effected as a part of the above work and by means of Yoga applied to human means and instruments, not otherwise.

4. A perfect humanity being intended, society will have to be remodelled so as to be fit to contain that perfection.

You must remember that I have not given you the whole Yogic Sadhana. What I have given you is only the beginning. You have to get rid of Ahamkara and desire and surrender yourself to God in order that the rest may come. You speak of printing *Yoga and its Objects*. But remember that what I have sent you is only the first part which gives the path, not the objects or the circumstances. If you print it, print it as the first of a series, with the subtitle, *The Path*. I am now busy with an explanation of the Isha Upanishad in twelve chapters. I am at the eleventh now and will finish in a few days. Afterwards I shall begin the second part of the series and send it to you when finished.

I have also begun but on a very small scale the second part of my work which will consist in making men for the new age by imparting whatever Siddhi I get to those who are chosen. From this point of view our little colony here is a sort of seed plot, a laboratory. The things I work out in it, are then extended outside. Here the work is progressing at last on definite lines and with a certain steadiness, not very rapid, but still definite results are forming. I should be glad to have from you clearer knowledge of the results you speak of over there; for my Drishti is not

yet sufficiently free from obstructions for me to know all that I need to know at this stage.

What you say about the Ramakrishna Mission is, I dare say, true to a certain extent. Do not oppose that movement or enter into any conflict with it.... Remember also that we derive from Ramakrishna. For myself it was Ramakrishna who personally came and first turned me to this Yoga. Vivekananda in the Alipore Jail gave me the foundations of that knowledge which is the basis of our Sadhana. The error of the Mission is to keep too much to the forms of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda and not keep themselves open for new outpourings of their spirit, —the error of all "Churches" and organised religious bodies.

As to other work (Tantric), I am not yet in possession of knowledge. The Shakti is only preparing to pour herself out there, but I don't know what course she will take. You must remember I never plan or fix anything for myself. She must choose her own ("Paddhati") or rather follow the line Krishna fixes for her.

I am glad you have arranged something about money. It is indifferent to me whether you get it from others or provide it yourselves, so long as my energies which are badly needed for Sadhana, and for the heavy work laid on me are not diverted at present into this lower effort in which they would be sorely wasted. You will be relieved of the burden as soon as this physical resistance is overcome, but I do not know how soon or late that will be. Reward, of course, those who give to God shall have; but what reward He will determine. Remember the importance of keeping up this centre for all my future work depends on what I work out here.

I shall write about the Sikh pamphlet which is an excellent thing but with one or two blemishes; but I could not understand who wrote the accompanying letter or what gentleman he refers to.

The letter you sent me last time from a certain man in Chandernagore is practically answered here. Biren may have made some mistake about the shoes. It was intended that they should be got from .... The glass case theory is all right, only the exhibits have got to be maintained.

Kali

[Feb. - March, 1913?]

Dear M.

I have received Rs. 60 by wire and Rs. 20 by letter. It was a great relief to us that you were able to send Rs. 80 this time and Rs. 85 for March. Owing to the cutting off of all other means of supply, we were getting into a very difficult position. I welcome it as a sign of some preliminary effectiveness, through you, in this direction, in which hitherto everything has gone against us; also as one proof of several that the quality of your power and your work is greatly improving in effectiveness and success. I need not refer to the other proofs; you will know what I mean. But just now I find every forward step to be made is violently combated and obstinately obstructed. Our progress is like the advance of a modern regiment under fire in which we have to steal a few yards at a run and then lie down under cover and let the storm of bullets sweep by. I neither hope for nor see yet any prospect of a more successful rapidity.

I have been lying down under cover ever since the middle of February after a very brilliant advance in January and the early part of February. I keep the previous ground, but can make as yet no sure progress farther. There is only a slow preparation for farther progress. The real difficulty is to bring force, sureness and rapidity into the application of power and knowledge to life, — especially sureness, for it is possible to bring the force and rapidity, but if not attended by unfailing sureness of working, they may lead to great errors in knowledge and great stumbles and disasters in action which counteract the successes. On the other hand, if sureness has to be gained only by not stepping except where everything is sure (which is the first stage of action and knowledge necessary to get rid of rajasic rashness), progress is likely to be slow. I am trying to solve the dilemma.

I have not kept your last letter and I only remember that you asked me to write something about your Sadhana. I cannot just now, but I shall try to do it in my next as I expect by then to be clear of some of my present difficulties.

There is the pressing cry for clothes in this quarter as these articles seem to be with us to remind us now constantly of the paucity of matter. I have received Bepin Pal's *Soul of India*. Can you add [another?] by getting from Hiranyagarbha, Sister Nivedita's *My Master as I Saw Him*? I am also in need, — as I wrote to you once before, — of R. C. Dutt's Bengali translation of the Vedas. Neither of these books is urgently required but please keep them in mind and send them when you can.

Kali

[June - July, 1913?]

Dear M.

Your letter, money etc. have reached me without delay or mishap. Please make it a rule, in future, not to be anxious or troubled when you get no answer; when I do not reply, it is not because I have not received your letters, but because silence was necessary, for my Siddhi, for yours or for the work that has to be done. At such times, keep calm, repel any suggestions of perplexity or anxiety and do not allow any disturbing mental waves to interfere between. A still heart, a clear mind and untroubled nerves are the very first necessity for the perfection of our Yoga.

I enclose a letter for C. R. Das. Please transmit it and get a reply written or verbal. You will see, I did not authorise Bhaga to ask him for money; at the same time, in doing so, he obeyed an unspoken general *vyāpti* from myself which his mind seems to have got hold of and mixed up with its own desires and anxieties. I am drawing now towards the close of my internal Yogic Tapasya and the time is not very distant when I shall have to use its results for the work God has sent me to do in the world. For that work I shall need large sums of money. So long as I was only perfecting myself and sending out Shakti to others, all I needed was enough for the maintenance of myself and those who are with me. This charge I gave to you and the charge is not withdrawn; but, as you

know, it covers only the bare physical necessities of our life in Pondicherry. More than that, you are not likely to be able to afford; and certainly you could not provide me with the sums I shall need even in the earlier part of my work. To limit myself to the Rs. 85 a month you can send me, would be to deny myself the material means for doing what I have to do and to accept stagnation and quiescence. It is true I am not beginning that work immediately, but, before it begins, I have to bend circumstances to my will in this very particular so that the obstacle of paucity of means which has been my chief stumbling-block for the beginning may be got rid of once for all. My will has to become effective on this point above all and the impediments both subjective and objective to its mastery have to be eliminated. Therefore I have sent out the general *vyāpti* I spoke of. Biren's action was one of the first responses, but, as it was an impure response, it has created more Golmal than effect. As to confining the appeal for pecuniary assistance to those who are entirely of one way of thinking with ourselves, it was a good rule for you to observe; but it cannot bind me when I begin my larger movement. From whatever quarter money or help comes to me, it comes from God.

With regard to the Tantric books, the Psalmodist was here, and wrote to you and went away, expecting to return in a fortnight, but more than a fortnight has passed without his return. He has written to us to say he has received money from you and we have written to him to come here. He is expected daily, but he does not arrive. He will, no doubt, be a good Karmavira in time; but at present he is too rajasic, with intervals of Tamas, has too much faith in European religions and the arms of the flesh and too little faith in Yoga and the arms of the spirit. He went northward on his own initiative. I could have told him his efforts there would be fruitless, but it is always well for a man to get experience for himself, when he will not take the benefit of superior experience. Your scheme about the books is impracticable under present conditions of which you are ignorant. When he comes, we will consult together and see if any blameless way can be found. But there is a time for all things and the time for free publication of Tantric works has not arrived. Still, your

particular order may be met. Your letter to him, if addressed to Pondicherry did not reach us; whether he got it in Madras or not, I do not know.

Your working, remember, is not yet definitive working; it is still in the nature of experiment, with some minor results. When your working becomes more perfect, more proper and the necessary spiritual force can be sent from here, — then real Tantra can begin. Meanwhile, don't be over-eager; let nothing disconcerting discourage or perplex you. Eagerness, anxiety and discouragement are all different faces of one defect. I shall write to you on all matters connected with the Tantra after the Psalmodist arrives. Also about the Vedanta. If he does not come, I shall write all the same.

Bejoy was to have seen Ramchandra in Calcutta and given you news of us, on his way to Khulna; but from your not sending the June money and from Sudhir's letter, it seems the interview did not take place or else no report was given to you. Please send the money. I am going on somehow, but the money I am doing with, will have to be replaced.

Kali

P.S. The Psalmodist has written announcing his immediate arrival here, but he has so often disappointed us that I end off this letter, without farther waiting. If he comes, I shall write to you as soon as anything is settled.

[August, 1913?]

Dear M.

I enclose a letter to C. R. Das. Please let me know as soon as possible whether he has received the MSS. Also let me have the address of your West Indian friend in that connection which you omitted to give in your last letter, — of course in the usual formula. Please explain how you expect him to befriend you if there is any difficulty in the final stage of the publication. I am too

exhausted to write anything at length this time, — we shall see afterwards when I have recovered my physical equilibrium. I expect Rs. 40 for July and the money for August (current) which will complete our regular account for the present if C.R.Das sends in the rest of his money as proposed. By the way, his agents Grindlays & Co. send me Rs. 300 with a note saying that I shall get Rs. 1000 for the translations. Is the Rs. 300 part of the Rs. 1000 or separate? I ask this for information only, because you wrote that he intended to give me one year's expenses and Rs. 300 extra. I need some extra money badly now for materials for the work I have now seriously entered on in connection with the Veda and the Sanskrit language. In that same connection will you please make a serious effort this time to get hold of Dutt's Bengali translation of the Rig-veda and send it to me, — or any translation for that matter which gives the European version?

Kali

[1913?]

Dear M.

I send the proofs. Your Rs. 50 for Narayan etc.'s travelling expenses reached duly and were by him duly spent. He has promised to repay the sum, but I don't know when he will be able to do so. He will see you, he told me, when he first goes to Calcutta from his place; as his mother was ill, he would not stop to see you on the way. But perhaps other reasons prevented him just then, for I believe he did stop a day or two in Calcutta.

Biren is all right, I believe; he said nothing to anybody about that matter. There were some legitimate doubts in some quarters owing to his unsteady nature and other defects of character. I thought it right to give them as much value for practical purposes as was reasonable; therefore I wrote to you.

I do not write to you this time about the despatch of the books, because that is a long matter and would delay the proofs which have already been too long delayed. But I shall write a

separate letter on that subject. I have also to write about your Tantric Yoga, but I think I shall await what else you have to tell me on that subject before doing so.

Kali

P. S. Don't delay long in sending the money.

[July - Aug., 1913?]

Dear M.

I subjoin certain explanations about the matter of the Tantric books. I put them in cipher because there are certain things, as you can understand, not *comme il faut* according to the ideas of modern social decorum which ought not to fall under unfit eyes. It appears that you did not understand my last letter. However, from henceforth please leave this matter entirely in my hands. You will see from the explanations given how highly undesirable is the kind of correspondence you have been carrying on hitherto in another quarter. I have taken Rs.50 from S., but this sum or part of it (at least Rs.30) ought to be replaced for expenses attached to that particular transaction. Meanwhile I await Rs.35 for June and all the July money. I delay other matters in consideration of the urgency of the accompanying note.

Kali

P.S. I received information of your Tantric Kriyas. It is clear that you are far from perfect yet. All the more reason why you should not be in a hurry to progress physically. Get rid of the remnants of sattwic Ahankara and Rajoguna, for that which we are within, our Karma and Kriya will be without. Kali demands a pure Adhara for her works, and if you try to hurry her by rajasic impatience, you will delay the success instead of hastening it. I will write to you fully about it later.

[April, 1914]

Dear M.

I send you today the electoral declaration of M. Paul Richard, one of the candidates at the approaching election for the French Chamber. This election is of some importance to us; for there are two of the candidates who represent our views to a great extent, Laporte and Richard. Richard is not only a personal friend of mine and a brother in the Yoga, but he wishes like myself, and in his own way works for a general renovation of the world by which the present European civilisation shall be replaced by a spiritual civilisation. In that change the resurrection of the Asiatic races and especially of India is an essential point. He and Madame Richard are rare examples of European Yogins who have not been led away by Theosophical and other aberrations. I have been in material and spiritual correspondence with them for the last four years. Of course, they know nothing of Tantric Yoga. It is only in the Vedantic that we meet. If Richard were to become deputy for French India, that would practically mean the same thing as myself being deputy for French India. Laporte is a Swadeshi with personal ambitions; his success would not mean the same but at any rate it would mean a strong and, I believe, a faithful ally in power in this country and holding a voice in France.

Of course, there is no chance, humanly speaking, of their being elected this time. Laporte is not strong enough to change the situation single-handed. Richard has come too late; otherwise so great is the disgust of the people with Bluysen and Lemaire, Gaebelé and Pierre that I think we could have managed an electoral revolution. Still, it is necessary, if it can at all be done, to stir things a little at the present moment and form a nucleus of tendency and, if possible, of active result which would be a foundation for the future and enable us at the next election to present one or other of these candidates with a fair chance of success.

I want to know whether it is possible without your exposing yourself to have the idea spread in Chandernagore, especially among the younger men, of the desirability of these candidatures

and the abandonment of the old parochial and rotten politics of French India, with its following of interested local Europeans and subservience to their petty ambitions in favour of a politics of principle which will support one of our own men or a European like Richard who is practically an Indian in belief, in personal culture, in sympathies and aspirations, one of the Nivedita type. If also a certain number of votes can be recorded for Richard in Chandernagore so much the better; for that will mean a practical beginning, a tendency from the Sukshma world materialised initially in the Sthula. If you think this can be done, please get it done, — always taking care not to expose yourself. For your main work is not political but spiritual. If there can be a Bengali translation of Richard's manifesto or much better, a statement of the situation and the desirability of the candidature succeeding, — always steering clear of extremism and British Indian politics, — it should be done and distributed. I lay stress on these things because it is necessary that the conditions of Chandernagore and Pondicherry should be changed, the repetitions of recent events rendered impossible and the cession of French territory put out of the question. There would be other and more positive gains by the change, but these I need not emphasise now.

I have just received your letter and the money. I shall delay answering it for the present, as this letter must go immediately. I shall answer soon, however. I am only waiting till this election is over to give some shape to the decision I have arrived at to resume personally my work on the material plane and it is necessary that there should be some arrangement by which the Vedantic work can go on unhampered by the effects of errors in Tantric Kriya. For Tantric Kriya carried on in the old style, to which your people seem to be so undivorceably attached, can only help so far as to keep up the Yogic flame in the hearts of a few, while on the other hand it is full of danger to the spirit and the body. It is only by a wider Vedantic movement leading later to a greater Tantra that the work of regeneration can be done; and of that movement neither you nor Saurin can be the head. It needs a wider knowledge and a greater spiritual force in the Adhara through which it is engineered; it needs, in fact the

greatest which India contains and which is at the same time willing to take it up. I see only Devavrata and myself who have the idea, — for the Dayanandas and others are a negligible quantity, and Devavrata seems to me to have gone off for the moment on a wrong route and through egoism has even allowed his spiritual force to be used against us by secret forces in the Sukshma world which he is not yet advanced enough to understand. Therefore, if God wills, I will take the field.

K.

P. S. Gaebelé has given me strenuous assurances that Bluysen is not working for the cession of Chandernagore and has sworn that he (Gaebelé) will ever be a stern and furious opponent of any such cession as well as a staunch defender of the Swadeshi refugees! Such is the fervour of electoral promises! He has given a number of the *Journal des Débats* in which there is a full account of Bluysen's interpellations, from which it appears that both Bluysen and Doumergue were agreed that there can be no question of cession but only of "rectification of Pondicherry boundaries". But only then did Bluysen tell us solemnly that the cession was a "settled fact" and any refugee in Chandernagore must run to Pondicherry at once. However, I am trying to send you or get sent to Banamali Pal the copy of the *Journal*, so that Bluysen may have the benefit of his public declarations. They are in a sense binding, if anything can bind a French politician. If you don't get the *Journal*, at any rate contrive that the substance of it as given by me here should be known in Chandernagore, if it is not known already. For you must remember that Lemaire has made no such declaration and is not bound at all by any past professions, but has ... been an advocate of the cession.

17 April, 1914

Dear M.

The political situation here is as follows. In appearance Bluysen and Lemaire face each other on the old lines and the real fight is between them. Bluysen has the support of the whole administration, except a certain number of Lemairistes who are quiescent and in favour of it. The Governor Martineau, Gaebelé, the Police Lieutenant and the Commissaire form his political committee. By threats and bribes the Maires of all the Communes except two have been forced or induced to declare on his side. He has bought or got over most of the Hindu traders in Pondicherry. He has brought over 50,000 rupees for his election and is prepared to purchase the whole populace, if necessary. Is it British rupees, I wonder? The British Government is also said to be interfering in his behalf and it is certain that a Mahomedan Collector of Cuddalore has asked his co-religionists to vote for this master of corruption. A violent administrative pressure is being brought to bear upon both at Pondicherry and Karikal and the Maires being on his side the electoral colleges will be in his hands with all their possibilities of fraud and violence.

Lemaire has for him most of the Christian and Renonçants (except the young men who are for Richard) and Pierre. But the Pierre party is entirely divided. Kosia[?] refuses to declare himself, most of the others are Bluysenites, the Comité Radical has thrice met without Pierre being able to overcome the opposition against him. Lemaire had two chances, one that if the people could be got to vote, Pierre's influence over the mass might carry the day for him, the other that Nandagopalu might intimidate the enemy and counteract the administration. But Nandagopalu instead of intimidating is himself intimidated; he is hiding in his house and sending obsequious messages to Gaebelé and Martineau. So great at one time was the despair of the Lemairistes, that Pierre offered through Richard to withdraw Lemaire, if Gaebelé withdraws Bluysen, the two enemies then to shake hands and unite in support of Richard or another candidate. Gaebelé would have been glad to accept the offer, but he

cannot, he has taken huge sums from Bluysen. The leaders are almost all bought over by Bluysen and those who remain on Lemaire's side dare not act. The only weapon now in Lemaire's hands is vague threat and rumour, that the Cabinet has fallen, that Martineau is suspended, that the new Police Captain is his man etc. There are also rumours of a sudden *coup d'état* by Lemaire on the election day, of Appaswami being carried off or killed, of the Election Committee being in his hands and it is true that the President is a Lemairiste. But I do not see how these things are going to be done. There may, of course, be a sudden Lemairiste rally, but at present it seems as if Bluysen by the help of the Administration money, the British Government and the devil were likely to win an easy victory.

Laporte had some chance of strong backing at the beginning but his own indolence and mistakes have destroyed it. He is now waiting on God and Lemaire into whose shoes he dreams of stepping, — for Lemaire has promised him that if he gets no favourable answer from France he will desist in Laporte's favour and Laporte being a man of faith is sitting quiet in that glorious expectation.

Then there is Richard. He has neither agent, nor committee, nor the backing of a single influential man. What he has is the sympathy and good wishes of all the Hindus and Mahomedans in Pondicherry and Karikal with the exception of the Vaniyas who are for Bluysen. The people are sick to death of the old candidates, they hate Bluysen, they abhor Lemaire and if only they could be got to vote according to their feelings, Richard would come in by an overwhelming majority. But they are overawed by the Government and wait for some influential man among the Hindus to declare for him. No such man is forthcoming. All are either bought by Bluysen or wish to be on the winning side. Under these circumstances the danger is that the people will not vote at all and the electoral committee will be forced to manufacture in their names bogus votes for Bluysen. On the other hand an impression has been made at Karikal, where the young men are working zealously for Richard; some of its communes are going to support him; some of the leaders who are themselves pledged to Bluysen have promised to tell

their followers that they are free to vote for Richard if they wish; the Mahomedan leaders of Karikal are for Bluysen or rather for his money, but the mass have resolved to vote neither for Bluysen nor Lemaire, and either not to vote at all or for Richard. At Pondicherry, Villenour has promised to declare for Richard the day before the election so as to avoid prolonged administrative pressure. Certain sections of the community e.g. the young men among the Christians and a number of the Mahomedans, — Richard is to speak at the mosque and a great number may possibly come over and a certain nucleus of the Hindus are certain to vote for him. We count also on the impression that can be given during the next few days. If in addition Chandernagore can give a large vote for Richard, there is a chance not of carrying Richard but of preventing a decisive vote at the first election, so that there may be a second ballot. If that is done, great numbers who hesitate to vote for Richard in the idea that Bluysen must carry all before him, may pick up courage and turn the whole situation, — to say nothing of the chances of Lemaire retiring and his whole vote coming over or a great part of it. Therefore, I say, throw aside all other considerations and let the young men of Chandernagore at least put all their strength on Richard's side and against the two unspeakable representatives of Evil who dispute the election between them. For if they do not, humanly speaking, Chandernagore seems to be doomed.

I wrote to you in my last doubtfully about Bluysen's or rather Gaebelé's professions about Chandernagore and the Swadeshis. Since then, even Martineau has condescended to let us know that he is trying to get the British police sent away from Pondicherry. But all this is either sheer falsehood or late repentance for the convenience of the moment. The damning facts are that Bluysen saw the Viceroy on his last visit, that it is known on this occasion the whole talk was about this cession of Chandernagore, that on his return he told Bharati the cession of Chandernagore was a settled fact and while before his trip northward, he was gushing over to the Swadeshis, afterwards he roundly declared that he could not help us openly because the Cabinet was pro-English and he must follow the Cabinet, that he went to Karikal and declared to a number of people (this has only

yesterday come to my knowledge) that Chandernagore was going to be ceded to the British with Bluysen's consent; that, on his second and present visit, he was entertained by the Collector of Cuddalore on his way and that that Collector has condescended to act as an electoral agent for him with his co-religionists. It is perfectly clear now that the man has sold himself to England, — selling and buying himself and others seem to be his only profession in the world. Therefore every vote given for Bluysen in Chandernagore is a vote for the cession of Chandernagore to the British.

On the other hand, if you vote for Lemaire, it means the same thing at a later date. For he was the first to broach the question in the public press in France, he has advised the suppression of the vote in French India, he has English connections and is an Anglophil. Not only so, but although asked by the Hindus to recant his former views if he wanted their vote, he has refused to do it, and this refusal has contributed largely to the failure of Pierre to carry the Hindus with him. Let these facts be widely known in Chandernagore both about Bluysen and Lemaire, let it be known that Richard is a Hindu in faith, a Hindu in heart and a man whose whole life is devoted to the ideal of lifting up humanity and specially Asia and India and supporting the oppressed against the strong, the cause of the future which is our cause against all that hampers and resists it. If after that, Chandernagore still votes for Bluysen or Lemaire, it is its own choice and it will have itself to thank for anything that may follow.

I have more to write of these things from the spiritual point of view, but I shall leave it till tomorrow or the day after as this letter must go at once. Put faith in God and act. You have seen that when He wills He can bring about impossibilities. Do not look too much at the chances of success and failure in this matter. কর্মণ্যেবাধিকারস্তে [1] [*karmaṇyevādhikāraste*].

Kali

Sanskrit written in Bengali script.

5th May, 1914

Dear M.

The election is over, — or what they call an election, — with the result that the man who had the fewer real votes has got the majority. As for M. Richard's votes, they got rid of them in Pondicherry and Karikal by the simple process of reading Paul Bluysen wherever Paul Richard was printed. Even where he brought his voters in Karikal to the poll himself, the results were published "Richard — 0". At Villenour people were simply prevented from voting for him or any one else. As for the results they had been arranged on the evening before the election by M. Gaebelé and were made to fit in with his figures. The extent to which this was done you can imagine from the fact that at Nandagopalu's village where there is no single Bluysenite, there were only 13 "votes" for Lemaire and all the rest for Bluysen. The same result in Madanapalli which is strong for Pierre, except in one college where Sada (President of the Cercle Sportif) was interpreter and did not allow any humbug; knowing whom they had to deal with, they did not dare to falsify the results. There Bluysen got only 33 votes against 200 and more for Lemaire. In most places, this would have been the normal result, if there had been any election at all. As for Richard, he would probably have got a thousand votes besides the Chandernagore total; as in some five colleges of Pondicherry alone he had about 300 which were transmuted into zero and we know of one village in which he had 91 who were prevented forcibly from voting. Bluysen normally would hardly have got 5000 in the whole of French India. Of course protests are being prepared from every side and if Bluysen is not supported by the Cabinet which is likely to come in after the election in France, the election may be invalidated. Otherwise for some time he may reign in spite of the hatred and contempt of the whole population by the terror of the administration and the police. This Madrasi population is so deficient in even the rudiments of moral courage that one cannot hope very much from it.

Meanwhile Richard intends to remain in India for 2 years

and work for the people. He is trying to start an Association of the young men of Pondicherry and Karikal as a sort of training ground from which men can be chosen for the Vedantic Yoga. Everything is a little nebulous as yet. I shall write to you about it when things are more definite.

Since writing the above I have received your last letter. As for the election, we must wait to see whether Bluysen is validated or not. Even if he is not, I do not think Richard can stand again until the new party in Pondicherry is increased and organised and that will have to be done quietly at first. There is, however, just one possibility, that if something happens which it is just now needless to mention, it might be feasible to unite Gaebelé and Pierre in a candidature of reconciliation. The idea was raised by Pierre himself and very reluctantly rejected by Gaebelé before the elections. Another time it might succeed and even if Richard were not the candidate chosen, he would get a great influence by engineering the settlement. Otherwise we shall have to await a more favourable opportunity. As for Bluysen he has made himself a byword for every kind of rascality and oppression, and is now the enemy much rather than Lemaire. These things we shall see to afterwards. The young men of Pondicherry and Karikal are sending a protest with signed declarations of facts observed in the election and two hundred signatures to the Minister, the Chambre and the *Temps* newspaper. It has also been read aloud by the President in the Commission of Recessment and produced a great impression, — moral only, of course. In France, the opinion of the "jeunesse" is much valued and joined with the Lemairiste protests, it may possibly have some effect, unless either Bluysen buys the Validation Committee or is supported by the French "homme d'état". There is an ugly rumour that Poincaré supports Bluysen; there are always corrupt financial dealings underlying French politics which the outside world does not see. If so, we must put spiritual force against the banded forces of evil and see the result.

Next as to money matters. My present position is that I have exhausted all my money along with Rs. 60 Richard forced on me and am still in debt for the Rs. 130 due for the old rent. I do not like to take more money from Richard, for he has sold

one fourth of his wife's fortune (a very small one) in order to be able to come and work for India, and the money he has can only carry him through the 2 years he thinks of staying here. I should therefore be impoverishing them by taking anything from them. Of course, they believe that money will come whenever it is necessary but then God's idea of necessity and ours do not always agree. As for Rangaswamy, there is a fatality about his money, — it is intercepted by all sorts of people and very little reaches me even on the rare occasions when he sends anything. I have no hope therefore, of any regular help from that quarter. Even in the fact of your being unable to meet him, fate has been against us. On the other hand, Saurin writes that he has been able to "fix" Rs. 1000 a year for me in Bengal. Is this merely the refixing of Das' promise or something else? As for fixing, anything may be fixed orally or on paper, the difficulty is to realise what has been fixed. He says also there is Rs. 500 awaiting me, my share of the garden money. He wants it for his "commerce", but when I have no money to live on, I can hardly comply. He does not tell me what I am to do to get the money, but only that I can get it whenever I want it. I am writing to him to Meherpur, but if you see him in Calcutta, ask him to get it and send it to me at once. With this money I may be able to go on for a few months till something definite and regular can be settled and worked out. As for the sum I need monthly, so long as S. and the others do not return, I need Rs. 50 monthly for my own expenses and Rs. 10 not for myself, but still absolutely indispensable. When S. and the others return, that will no longer be sufficient. I am writing to S. to try and make some real bandobast about money before coming back. Please also press Shyam Babu and the others for the money due to me. This habit of defalcation of money for noble and philanthropic purposes in which usually the ego is largely the beneficiary is one of the curses of our movement and so long as it is continued Lakshmi will not return to this country. I have sharply discontinued all looseness of this kind myself and it must be discouraged henceforth wherever we meet it. It is much better and more honest to be a thief for our own personal benefit, than under these holy masks. And always, if one must plunder, it is best to do it as a Kshatriya, not with the

corruption of the Vaishya spirit of gain which is the chief enemy in our present struggle. What you have to do, is to try to make some real arrangement, not a theoretical arrangement by which the burden of my expenses may be shifted off your shoulders until I am able to make my own provision. Meanwhile get me Rs. 150 and the Rs. 500 due to me (garden money) and if afterwards we can make no other arrangement, we shall then have to consider the question again. It is this point of equipment, not only for myself but for my work in which the opposition of the Kaliyuga forces is just now the most obstinate. It has somehow to be overcome.

Richard has paid the Rs. 51. I am keeping the sum as the Rs. 50 for last month plus 1. Please cut it off from the sum you would otherwise have sent, — (not, however, from the Rs. 130 for the payment of the rent). Please also get us some cloths sent from Calcutta, as they are very urgently needed, especially as I may now have to go out from time to time breaking my old rule of seclusion. I am also in need of a pair of shoes as Bharati has bagged the pair I had.

Then for more important subjects. You write about Biren being here. I do not hold the same opinion about Biren, as Saurin etc. do, who are inclined towards a very black interpretation of his character and actions. It seems to me that events have corroborated all he said about his relations with certain undesirable persons. Moreover I see that he has taken Yoga earnestly and has made for him a rapid progress. I am also unaware of anything he has said to others which would help any evil-minded person in establishing a wrong interpretation of your philosophic and social activities. I fail to find in him, looking at him spiritually, those ineffable blacknesses which were supposed to dwell in him, only flightiness, weakness, indiscretion, childish and erratic impulsiveness and self-will and certain undesirable *possibilities* present in many young Bengalis, in a certain type indeed, which has done much harm in the past. All these have recently much diminished and I hope even to eradicate them by the Yoga. In fact, the view of his presence here forced on me by that which guides us, is that he was sent here as the representative of this type and that I have to change and purify it. If I can do

this in the representative, it is possible in the future to do it in the class, and unless I can do it, the task I have set for myself for India will remain almost too difficult for solution. For as long as that element remains strong, Bengal can never become what it is intended to be.

You will say, supposing I am wrong and Saurin right, or supposing I fail. In any case he cannot strike your work except by first striking at me, since he does not know anything about you directly or independently of his stay here. Still, there is the possibility (intellectually) of even that happening. That raises a whole question which it is necessary to settle, — the entire separation of Vedantic Yoga from other activities. You must realise that my work is a very vast one and that I must in doing it, come in close contact with all sorts of people including Europeans, perhaps even officials, perhaps even spies and officials. For instance, there is Biren. There is a French man, named Shair Siddhar now in Chandernagore, who came to me and whom I had to see and sound. He is a queer sort of fool with something of the knave, but he had possibilities which I had to sound. There is Richard who is to know nothing about Tantricism. There are a host of *possible* young men whom I must meet and handle, but who may not turn out well. It is obviously impossible for me to do this work, if the close connection with Tantrics remains and everyone whom I meet and receive is supposed by people there to be a mighty and venerable person who is to be taken at once into perfect confidence by reason of having been for a time in my august shadow. It won't do at all. The whole thing must be rearranged on a reasonable basis.

First, it must be known among our friends that my whole action is about to be such as I have described, so that they may not again repeat that kind of mistake.

Secondly, those immediately connected with me, must be aloof physically from Tantricism, — because of the discredit it brings, — and intangible by evil-minded persons.

Thirdly, Biren and others of that kind must be made to understand that Tantra for us is discontinued until further notice which can be only in the far future.

Fourthly, the written basis of Vedantic Yoga has now be-

come impossible and must be entirely changed and as far as possible, withdrawn from circulation.

These are details, but important details. There is one matter, however, which has to be settled, that of the Brahmin. The Brahmin, it appears, has made himself impossible as an agent or, at least, he is so considered. Then as for your direct communication with Sarathi, it is looked upon with dislike by Sarathi's people and I do not know what Sarathi's own sentiment in the matter may be. Of course, the reason they allege is obvious enough. There is one of my own people here who might do it, but he is so useful in other important matters that I hesitate to use him as an agent in this. That is why I am in a difficulty and I get no light on the question from above, only the intellect stumbles about between possibilities against all of which there is an objection, especially from the new point of view, — which demands for the present a spotless peace and irreproachable reputation in these matters for the centre of yogic activity here. Nevertheless, the thing must be done, although as the last legacy of the old state of things. I shall write to you on the old lines about it in a few days, as also about the future of the Tantric Yoga. Judging from what I have heard of the facts, I do not think the difficulty about S. is likely to materialise, — unless there are facts behind of which I do not know. Unfortunately the manner in which the Tantric Yoga has been carried on is so full of the old faults of the former Tantric Sadhana that a catastrophe was inevitable. The new Yoga cannot be used as a sort of sauce for old dishes, — it must occupy the whole place, on peril of serious difficulties in the Siddhi and even disasters. I shall write to you about what I propose to do about Vedantic Yoga and publication, — as yet it has not been sufficiently formulated to write. At present we have only started a new society here called *L'Idée Nouvelle* (the New Idea) and are trying to get an authorisation.

K.

Dear Moti Babu[1] —

We are in absolute want of clothes. Will you please pay a little attention to that point and relieve us from this absolute want. K. is going out nowadays and at least for that we want some clothes.

Do not send it in Jogin's name, he is going back to Bengal. Send it to David.

Yours,

[June, 1914?]

Dear M.

I have received from Grindlays Rs. 400. That leaves Rs. 200 out of the Rs. 1000 which I hope will be received by next August. We have also the clothes and shoes but for myself only the slippers are useful as the shoes are too large. I have written to Saurin about the garden money and he says he has asked Sukumar to send it. But I have received nothing as yet. If I get this money and the remaining Rs. 200 from Das that will be Rs. 1100 in hand. With 100 more and 130 on account of the old rent, say Rs. 250 altogether, we shall be provided for bare necessities for a year during which other conditions may arise. That Rs. 250 ought to come from Sham Babu and Sharma, but there is little hope of money once swallowed by a patriot being disgorged again. His philanthropic stomach digests sovereignly. I must seek it elsewhere. If this can be done, the only burden which will fall on you is to refurnish us with apparel and footwear from time to time. At the same time an attempt should be made to keep up the arrangement with Das if possible, for we do not know whether our attempt to provide otherwise will succeed.

That attempt takes the form of a new philosophical Review

[1] This note is by a disciple but the signature is illegible.

with Richard and myself as Editors — the *Arya*, which is to be brought out in French and English, two separate editions, — one for France, one for India, England and America. In this Review my new theory of the Veda will appear as also translation and explanation of the Upanishads, a series of essays giving my system of Yoga and a book of Vedantic philosophy (not Shankara's but Vedic Vedanta) giving the Upanishadic foundations of my theory of the ideal life towards which humanity must move. You will see so far as my share is concerned, it will be the intellectual side of my work for the world. The Review will be of 64 pages to start with and the subscription Rs. 6 annually. Of the French edition 600 copies will be issued, and it will cost about Rs. 750 a year minus postage. Richard reckoned 200 subscribers in France at the start, i.e. Rs. 1200 in the year. For the English edition we are thinking of an issue of 1000 copies, at the cost of about Rs. 1200 annually. We shall need therefore at least 200 subscribers to meet this expense and some more so that the English edition may pay all its own expenses. Let us try 250 subscribers to start with, with the ideal of having 800 to 1000 in the first year. If these subscribers can be got before the Review starts, we shall have a sound financial foundation to start with. The question is, can they be got? We are printing a prospectus with specimens of the writings from my translation and commentary on a Vedic hymn, and an extract from Richard's collections of the central sayings of great sages of all times called the Eternal Wisdom to show the nature of the Review. This is supposed to come out in the middle of this month, and the Review on the 15th August, so there will be nearly two months for collecting subscribers. How far can you help us in this work? There is always one thing about which great care has to be taken, that is, there should be no entanglement of this Review in Indian politics or a false association created by the police finding it in the house of some political suspects they search for; in that case people will be afraid to subscribe. My idea is that young men should be got as agents who would canvas for the Review all over Bengal, but there so many young men are now political suspects that it may not be easy to find any who will be free and active and yet above suspicion. In that case some other method

must be tried. I should like to know from you as soon as possible how far you can help us and how many copies of the prospectus we should send to you. If the Review succeeds, if, that is to say, we get in India 850 regular subscribers, and 250 in France etc. we shall be able to meet the expense of the establishment, translation-staff etc. and yet have enough for each of the editors to live on with their various kinds of families, say Rs. 100 a month for each. In that case the money-question will practically be solved. There will of course be other expenses besides mere living and there may be from time to time exceptional expenses, such as publication of books etc., but these may be met otherwise or as the Review increases its subscribers. Therefore use your best endeavour towards this end.

The second part of my work is the practical, consisting in the practice of Yoga, by an ever increasing number of young men all over the country. We have started here a society called the New Idea with that object, and a good many young men are taking up Vedantic Yoga and some progressing much. You say it has spread in the North all over. But in what way? I am not at all enamoured of the way in which it seems to be practised outside Bengal. It seems there to be mixed up with the old kind of Tantra, sometimes of the most *paiśācika* and undesirable kind and to be kept merely as a sauce for that fiery and gruesome dish. Better no Vyapti at all outside Bengal, if it is not to be purified and divine Yoga. In Bengal itself, there are faults which cannot but have undesirable consequences. In the first place, there is the misplacement of values. Vedanta is practised, or so it seems to be in some quarters, for the sake of Tantra, and in order to give a force to Tantra. That is not right at all. Tantra is only valuable so far as it enables us to give effect to Vedanta and in itself has no value or necessity at all. Then the two are mixed up in a most undesirable fashion, so that the Vedanta is likely to be affected by the same disrepute and difficulties on the way of profession as hamper the recognition of the truth in Tantra i.e. in its real sense, value and effectivity. There are difficulties enough already, let us not wilfully increase them. You have seen, for instance, that in recent political trials Yoga pamphlets and books seem to have been kept together everywhere with the queerest

incongruity. That is a thing we could not control, we can only hope that it will not happen again. But meanwhile the work of publicity and spreading our yoga has got an unnecessary difficulty thrown in its way. Do not let any add to it by associating Vedanta and Tantra together in an inexpressible fashion. The Tantric Yogins are few and should be comparatively reticent — for Vedanta is a wider thing and men may then help to fulfil it in all kinds of ways. Let the Tantriks then practise Vedanta silently, not trumpeting abroad its connection with their own particular school but with self-restraint and the spirit of self-sacrifice, knowing that they are only one small corps in a march that is vast and so meant to be world-embracing. The more they isolate themselves from the rest of the host that is in formation, the more they will be free for their own work and the more they will help without hampering the wider march.

Then as to the work of the Tantric discipline and Kriya itself. Remember that Tantra is not like Vedanta, it is a Yoga for material gains, that has always been its nature. Only now not for personal gains, but for effectivity in certain directions of the general Yoga of mankind. The question I wish you to ask yourself, is whether you think that with its present imperfect basis it can really do the work for which it was intended. I see that it cannot. There have been two stages; first, the old Tantra which has broken down and exists only in a scattered way ineffectual for any great aid of humanity; secondly, our new Tantra which succeeded at first because it was comparatively pure in spite of the difficulties created by the remnants of egoism. But since then two things have happened. It has tried to extend itself with the result of bringing in undesirable elements; secondly, it has tried to attempt larger results from a basis which was no longer sufficient and had begun to be unsound. A third stage is now necessary, that of a preparation in full knowledge no longer resting on a blind faith in God's power and will, but receiving consciously that will, the illumination that guides its workings and the power that determines its results. If the thing is to be done it must be done no longer as by a troop stumbling on courageously in the dark and losing its best strength by failures and the results of unhappy blunders, but with the full divine

power working out its will in its instruments.

What is necessary for that action? First, that the divine knowledge and power should manifest perfectly in at least one man in India. In myself it is trying so to manifest as rapidly as the deficiencies of my mind and body will permit, and also, — this is important, — as rapidly as the defects of my chief friends and helpers will permit. For all those have to be taken on myself spiritually and may retard my own development. I advance, but at every fresh stage have to go back to receive some fresh load of imperfection that comes from outside. I want now some breathing time however brief which will enable me to accomplish the present stage which is the central of my advance. This once accomplished, all the rest is inevitable. This not accomplished, the seed of our Yogic movement is externally a failure or a pitiful small result. That is the first reason why I call a halt.

The second necessity is that others should receive the same power and light. In the measure that mine grows, theirs also will increase and prosper provided always they do not separate themselves from me by the Ahankara. A sufficient Vedantic basis provided, a long, slow and obscure Tantra will no longer be necessary. The power that I am developing if it reaches consummation, will be able to accomplish its effects automatically *by any method chosen*. If it uses Tantric Kriya, it will then be because God has chosen that means, because He wishes to put the Shakta part of Him forward first and not the Vaishnava and that Kriya will then be irresistible in its effect perhaps even strange and new in its means and forms. I have then to effect that power and communicate it to others. But at present the forces of the material Prakriti strive with all their remaining energy against the spiritual mastery that is being sought to impose on them. And it is especially in the field to which your Kriyas have belonged and kindred fields that they are still too strong for me. You will remember what has been written, that the Sadhana shall first be applied in things that do not matter and only afterwards used for life. This is not an absolute rule, but it is the rule of necessity to apply for some time now in this particular matter. I see that I have the necessary powers; I shall communicate them next to you and some others, so that there may

be a centre of irresistible spiritual light and effective force whenever needed. Then a rapid and successful Kriya can be attempted. This is the second reason why I have called a halt.

The first and supreme object you must have now is to put forward in yourself and in others the Vedantic Yoga in the sense I have described. The spread of the idea is not sufficient, you must have real Yogins, not merely men moved intellectually and emotionally by one or two of the central ideas of the Yoga. Spreading of the idea is the second necessity, for that the Review at present offers itself among other means. The other means is to form brotherhoods, not formal but real, (not societies of the European kind but informal groups of people united by one effort and one feeling) for the practice of the Vedantic Yoga (without any necessary thought of the Tantric). But of this I shall write to you hereafter.

Finally as to commercial matters. I had arranged things according to the last idea, but at the last moment an objection was made, that the arrangement was not a very reasonable one, — an objection which my reason was forced to admit. It was then proposed to send the Brahmin as a commercial agent and I so wrote to you. But afterwards when I asked for him to be sent I was informed that the Brahmin was no longer possible as a commercial agent as he was now an object of suspicion to the third party. Another man I had fixed on is so circumstanced that he cannot go now. There the matter stands. As for your suggestion, these people here never objected to dealing direct with you, the objection was mine due to the terms and the accidents of your correspondence. On the other hand every attempt I have made personally to get the matter settled has been frustrated by Krishna. I have made these attempts contrary to the inner instructions received and by the light of the reason. That always fails with me; if it succeeds momentarily, it brings some coarse result afterwards. The point now is that if you do as you suggest, it must be so done that there shall not be the least chance of the transaction interfering with our business here, — I mean not any commercial business, but the enterprises (Society, Review etc.) we are starting. The question is not one of direct communication, but of right handling and specially of the right per-

son not only from the point of view of the buyer and seller but with regard to the third party who is indirectly interested in the transaction. In any case you must write to me what you propose to do, before you act.

By the way there was a very shocking and অশ্লীল[1] [*aślīl*] word in your last letter to me with regard to my past activities, — *Bande Mataram*, *Karmayogin* etc. I do not wish to repeat it here. Please do not use such an indecorous expression in writing in future. In personal talk it does not matter, but not, if you please in correspondence. As to your request for details of my life about which you wrote to Bejoy it is a very difficult matter for there is very little one can write without offending people, as for example S. Mullick, B. Pal, S. S. Chakraborty and revealing party secrets. However we shall see what can be done. But let me know what you are writing about me and how and where you mean to publish it.

A. G.

[July, 1914]

Dear M.

I write today only about two business matters. As to the Review, I do not think we can dispense with the 200 subscribers whom you promise. The only difficulty is that, if there are political suspects among them, it will give the police a handle for connecting politics and the Review and thus frightening the public. But this is not a sufficient reason for the Review refusing so many subscribers or for so large a number being deprived of the enlightenment it may bring them. Therefore, some arrangement should be made. I should suggest that you should make those subscribers who are mainly interested in Yoga, and as for those who decline to give up political opinions of a vehement nature or to conceal them so as not to fall into police snares, they may without bécoming subscribers on our list receive the Review

[1] Written in Bengali.

from trustworthy agents appointed by you as our representatives. The agent must let us or you know the number of copies wanted, send in the money and receive the Review from us or you in a packet as a declared agent commissioned to sell a certain number of copies, receiving (nominally) a discount on each copy sold. I suggest this arrangement but if another would be more convenient, please let us know. You must organise the subscription matter before starting for your pilgrimage so that we may have a fair start in August. I shall write a longer letter to you about Yoga and other matters as soon as I have a little time.

The Psalmodist was here. He asked for the Calcutta address and I gave it to him. It appears he is sending it to Calcutta in connection with a business he wants to wind up. It is difficult to understand because he says it is a commercial secret, but he tells me you will understand if I send you the accompanying cabalistic figures, — God save us from all mysteries except those of Tantric Yoga.

Kali

[July - Aug., 1914?]

Dear M.

Again a business letter. Enclosed you will find two samples of paper, taken from a sample book of the Titaghur Mills which we want made to order, of a certain size, for our Review. Will you please see *at once* the agent in Calcutta, whose address is given, and ask him for all the particulars, the price, whether the paper of that sample, of the size required, is available or can be made to order by them, in what minimum amount, within what time etc. and let the Manager know immediately by the British post.

What about the commercial transaction and my last letter? The Psalmodist's brother is asking for reply.

K.

P.S. Received your letter. Please let us know how many copies of the *Arya* you want sent to you for sale, since you cannot get subscribers. I shall write later. The divorce from Tantrism is necessary if you are to do the work of the Review or the other work I wish you to undertake. You must surely see that. Neither will work if there are any occurrences of the old kind mixing them up together.

[1] If it is possible please make some subscribers. Subscribers' book is nearly as blank as it was at the time of our purchasing it.

Yours,

29 August, 1914

Dear M.

Before your letter came, i.e. yesterday, the news was published that the Government had drawn back from its proposal, and today the *Amrita Bazar* with its comment arrived. I presume, therefore, no immediate answer from me is needed. But in case anything of the kind is raised again, I shall give you my opinion in the matter.

We gain nothing by preaching an unconditional loyalty to the Government, such as is the fashion nowadays, or doing anything which even in appearance strengthens the disposition towards an abject and unmanly tone in politics. Gandhi's loyalism is not a pattern for India which is not South Africa, and even Gandhi's loyalism is corrected by passive resistance. An abject tone of servility in politics is not "diplomacy" and is not good politics. It does not deceive or disarm the opponent; it does encourage nervelessness, fear and a cringing cunning in the subject people. What Gandhi has been attempting in South Africa is to secure for Indians the position of kindly treated serfs, — as a stepping-stone to something better. Loyalty and Ambulance Corps mean the same thing in India. But the conditions of India

[1] Note by the Manager of the *Arya*; signature is not legible.

are not those of South Africa; our position is different and our aim is different, not to secure a few privileges, but to create a nation of men fit for independence and able to secure and keep it. We have been beaten in the first attempt, like every other nation similarly circumstanced. That is no reason why the whole people should go back to a condition of abject fear, grovelling loyalty and whining complaints. The public Nationalist policy has always been

1. Eventual independence.
2. No cooperation without control.
3. A masculine courage in speech and action.

Let us add a fourth,

4. Readiness to accept real concessions and pay their just price, but no more. Beyond that, I do not see the necessity of any change. We recognise that immediate independence is not practicable and we are ready to defend the British rule against any foreign nation, for that means defending our own future independence.

Therefore, if the Government accepts volunteers or favours the institution of Boy Scouts, we give our aid, but not to be mere stretcher-bearers.

That is the side of principle; now let us look at that of policy.

1. I don't appreciate Sarat Maharaj's position. If self-sacrifice is the object, every human being has the whole of life as a field for self-sacrifice and does not depend on any Government for that. We can show our sacrificing activities every moment, if we want. It is not a question of sacrifice at all, it is a question of military training. If the young men wish to organise for charitable work, the Government is not going to stop it, even though they may watch and suspect. I put that aside altogether.

2. The leaders suggested cooperation in return for some substantial self-government. They are now offering cooperation without any return at all. Very self-sacrificing, but not political. If indeed, Government were willing to train "thousands of young men" in military service as volunteers, Territorials or Boy Scouts, whether for keeping the peace or as a reserve in case of invasion, then we need not boggle about the return. But, after so much experience, do these addle-headed politicians think the Govern-

ment is going to do that except in case of absolute necessity and as a choice between two evils? When will that absolute necessity come? Only if the war goes against them seriously and they have to withdraw their troops from India. I shall discuss that point later on.

3. Meanwhile what have the Government done? After testing the temper of the people and, you may be sure, watching closely what young men came forward as volunteers and who did not, they have removed an offer which had already been whittled down to a mere harmless Ambulance Corps in which the young men have plenty of chances of getting killed, but none of learning real warfare. Mere common sense warns us not to trust such an administration and to think ten times before accepting its offers. We know Lord Hardinge's policy; (1) sweet words, (2) quiet systematic coercion, (3) concession where obstinacy would mean too great a row and too much creation of deep-seated hostility.

Having prefaced so much, let us look at the utility of the things offered us or offered by us.

1. Ambulance Corps.

The only possible utilities would be two, (1) to train two thousand young men to be steady under fire, (2) to train them to act together under discipline in an easy but dangerous service. Now it is quite possible for us to create courage in our young men without these means, and I hope our best men, or let me say, our men generally do not need to become stretcher-bearers in an European war in order to have the necessary nerve, courage, steadiness and discipline. If therefore an Ambulance Corps is again suggested and accepted, either refuse or let only those young men go who are enthusiastic, but still light-headed, self-indulgent or undisciplined. Possibly, the experience may steady and discipline them. It may be necessary to let this be done, if the circumstances are such that to refuse entirely would reflect on our national courage or be interpreted as a backing out from a national engagement.

2. Boy Scouts, — Volunteer Corps, — Territorials.

All these are entirely good, provided the police are kept at a distance, and provided officers as well as men are trained and the Government control is limited to the giving of military discipline

in the first two cases. Even without the second proviso, any of these things would be worth accepting.

Only in the case of volunteers going to the scene of war, you must see that we are not crippled by all our best men or even a majority being sent; only enough to bring in an element among us who have seen actual warfare.

I think any of these things may one day become possible. Since the last year new forces have come into the world and are now strong enough to act, which are likely to alter the whole face of the world. The present war is only a beginning, not the end. We have to consider what are our chances and what we ought to do in these circumstances.

The War is open to a certain number of broad chances:

I. Those bringing about the destruction of the two Teutonic empires, German and Austrian.

This may happen either by an immediate German defeat, its armies being broken and chased back from Belgium and Alsace-Lorraine to Berlin, which is not probable, or by the Russian arrival at Berlin and a successful French stand near Reims or Compiègne; or by the entry of Italy and the remaining Balkan States into the War and the invasion of Austro-Hungary from two sides.

II. Those bringing about the weakening or isolation of the British Power.

This may be done by the Germans destroying the British Expeditionary Force, entering Paris and dictating terms to France, while Russia is checked in its march to Berlin by a strong Austro-German force operating in the German quadrilateral between the forts of Danzig, Thorn, Posen and Königsberg. If this happens Russia may possibly enter into a compact with Germany based on a reconciliation of the three Empires and a reversion to the old idea of a simultaneous attack on England and a division of her Empire between Germany and Russia.

III. Those bringing about the destruction of British Power.

This may happen by the shattering of the British fleet and a German landing in England.

In either of these two last cases an invasion of India by Germany, Russia or Japan is only a question of time, and

England will be unable to resist except by one of three means.

1. Universal conscription in England and the Colonies.
2. The aid of Japan or some other foreign power.
3. The aid of the Indian people.

The first is useless for the defence of India, in Case III, and can only be applied in Case II, if England is still mistress of the seas. The second is dangerous to England herself, since the ally who helps, may also covet. The third means the concession of self-government to India.

In Case I, there will only remain four considerable Powers in Europe and Asia, Russia, France, England, Japan, — with perhaps a Balkan Confederacy or Empire as a fifth. That means as the next stage a struggle between England and Russia in Asia. There again England is reduced to one of the three alternatives or a combination of them.

Of course, the War may take different turns from the above, with slightly altered circumstances and results; the one thing that is impossible is that it should leave the world as it was before. In any case, the question of India must rise at no very long date. If England adopts more or less grudgingly the third alternative, our opportunity arrives and we must be ready to take it, — on this basis: continuance of British rule and cooperation until we are strong enough to stand by ourselves. If not, we must still decide how we are to prepare ourselves, so as not to pass from one foreign domination to a worse.

I want those of you who have the capacity to consider the situation as I have described it, to think over it, enlarging our old views which are no longer sufficient, and accustom yourselves to act always with these new and larger conceptions in your minds. I shall write nothing myself about my views, just as yet, as that might prevent you from thinking yourselves.

Only, two things you will see obviously from it, first, the necessity of seizing on any opportunity that arises of organisation or military training (not self-sacrificing charity, that has already been done); secondly, the necessity of creating an organisation and finding the means, if no opportunity presents itself. It will be necessary for someone from Bengal to come and see me before long, but that will probably not be till October or later.

I shall write to you before long farther on the subject, as also on other matters.

K.

[September, 1914?]

Dear M.

I have not written for a long time for several reasons. Our position here since the war has become increasingly difficult and delicate, as the administration is run for the moment by certain subordinates who are actively hostile to the Swadeshis. I have therefore adopted a policy of entire reserve, including abstension from correspondence with Bengal even with officially unobjectionable people. Our correspondence now is chiefly limited to *Arya* business.

Your internal struggle in the Yoga has naturally its causes. I shall help you as much as possible spiritually, but you must get rid of everything that gives a handle to the enemy in ourselves. Your letters for a long time showed a considerable revival of rajasic egoism, contracted, I suppose, by association with the old Tantrics, and that always brings in our Yoga disagreeable consequences. If you could make yourselves entirely pure instruments, things would go much better. But there is always something in the Prana and intellect which kicks against the pricks and resists the purifier. Especially get rid of the *ahamkartā* element, which usually disguises itself under the idea "I am the chosen Yantra". Despise no one, try to see God in all and the Self in all. The Shakti in you will then act better on your materials and environment.

There is another point. You sent a message about an "Aurobindo Math" which seemed to show you had caught the contagion which rages in Bengal. You must understand that my mission is not to create Maths, ascetics and Sannyasis; but to call back the souls of the strong to the Lila of Krishna and Kali. That is my teaching, as you can see from the Review, and my

name must never be connected with monastic forms or the monastic ideal. Every ascetic movement since the time of Buddha has left India weaker and for a very obvious reason. Renunciation of life is one thing, to make life itself, national, individual, world-life greater and more divine is another. You cannot enforce one ideal on the country without weakening the other. You cannot take away the best souls from life and yet leave life stronger and greater. Renunciation of ego, acceptance of God in life is the Yoga I teach, — no other renunciation.

Saurin has written to you about Bejoy's detention. M. Richard wrote to the Madras Government, but with the usual result.

Here one of the Swadeshis, a certain V. V. S. Aiyar has been hauled up for circulating unauthorised pamphlets from America. It appears the Government of Pondicherry have established a censorship in the French P.O. and open letters etc. from abroad. They have intercepted some wonderful pamphlets of the usual sanguinary order asking India to rise and help Germany, which some fool had sent to his address from New York. On the strength of this a case has been trumped up against Aiyar who knew nothing about either the New York idiot or his pamphlets. The funny thing is that all the time Aiyar seems to be fervently anti-German in his sentiments and pro-Belgian and pro-Servian! So this wonderful French administration insists on making him a martyr for the cause he denounces. One thing I could never appreciate is the utility of this pamphleteering business of which Indian revolutionists are so fond. Pamphlets won't liberate India; but they do seem to succeed in getting their distributors and non-distributors also into prison. My connection with Aiyar has been practically nil, as in normal times I only saw him once in two years. But here all the Swadeshis are lumped together; so we have to be careful not only that we give no handle to our enemies, but that other people don't give them a handle against us, — which is just a little difficult.

You have decided, it seems, to carry on Tantra and Mantra, *anuṣṭhāna* and pure Vedanta together! My objection to it was from the standpoint of the Review and Vedantic work generally. *Anuṣṭhāna* and the Review do not go well together. Of course, a

synthesis is always possible, but amalgamation is not synthesis.

A. G.

P.S. By the way, try to realise one thing. The work we wish to do cannot produce its effects on the objective world until my Ashtasiddhi is strong enough to work upon that world organically and as a whole, and it has not yet reached that point. No amount of rajasic eagerness on my part or on yours or anybody else's will fill the place or can substitute itself as the divine instrument which will be definitely effective. In the matter of the Review Bejoy has found that out by this time! I have found it out myself by constant experience and warning. You also, if you wish to profit by my teaching, should learn it also without the necessity of experience.

[1914 - 1915?]

Dear M.

Recently in the papers there has appeared a case of one Rashbehary Bose, against whom a warrant of extradition has been granted by the Chandernagore Administrator *in a political case.* Although ordinarily we do not concern ourselves with political matters, this concerns me and my friends, because it is an attack on the security of our position. If this kind of thing is allowed to go unchallenged then any of us may at any moment be extradited on a trumped-up charge by the British police. I must therefore, ask you to interest yourself in the matter, even though it interferes with your Yoga. The case is clearly a political one; for the main charges in the Delhi case seem to be (1) a charge of conspiracy on a clause relating to State (i.e. political) offences (2) a charge of murder under Sec. 302 read in connection with this State offence section, therefore an assassination with a political intention; (3) a charge under Explosives Act which is an extraordinary measure passed in view of certain political conditions. Moreover, all these cases are tried

together and form part of the same transaction, i.e. a political conspiracy directed against the existing form of Government and having for its object the change or overthrow of that Government. Under the Extradition Treaty between France and England, — unless that has been altered by the latest Treaty to which I have not had access, — there can be no Extradition for (1) a political offence, (2) an offence of a political character or tendency, (3) on a charge which, though preferred as for an ordinary offence, is really an excuse or device for laying hands on a political offender. Rashbehary Bose is reported to be in hiding either in Chandernagore or the Punjab. If anybody moves therefore, it can only be a relative or friend on his behalf, — a relative would be much better. What you have to do is to get hold of someone entitled to act for him, consult the text of the latest Extradition Treaty between France and England and, if it is as I have stated, then let it be put in the hands of a lawyer of the French Court who must move in the matter according to the French procedure about which I know nothing. I presume he would have to move the Government in France or failing there, the Court of Cassation in Paris, but the latter would be an expensive affair. So long as Bose is not handed over to the British (if he is in Chandernagore), the Court of Cassation has, I should suppose, the power of cancelling the warrant. I do not know whether it is necessary first to appeal to the Procureur Général in Pondicherry before going to the Higher Court. On these points of procedure Bose's representative will have to consult a French lawyer. In case he is handed over, the Hague decision with regard to Savarkar will come in the way and make the thing almost hopeless. The French Government might still move on the ground that Bose is a French subject, but it could only succeed by strong diplomatic pressure which the present French Government might be unwilling to employ. In any case it might be worthwhile to get a decree of the Court of Cassation so as to establish the principle. There is always however, the danger in these political cases, where justice and law are so seldom observed, of an opposite decision making the position worse than before. It would be worthwhile finding out what exactly was done and on what grounds in Charu Chander Ray's case and

seeing whether these grounds can be made to apply. If you will give me the exact facts of the warrant, the charges etc., I may be able to get a letter written to France so that Jaurès or others may move in the matter.

As to your Tantric Yoga, the reasons of your failures are so obvious that I am surprised you should attribute it all to the Goddess and not to the unpardonable blunders we have all been making in our Yogic Kriya. Kali of the Tantra is not a goddess who is satisfied with mere tamasic faith and adoration. Perfection in Kriya is indispensable or at least a conscientious and diligent attempt at perfection. This has not been made; on the contrary all the defects that have made Tantra ineffective throughout the Kaliyuga abound in your *anuṣṭhāna*. All this must be changed, for the warning has been given and it will be wise to give heed to it. If not, — well, you know what the Gita says about those who from Ahankara hear not.

The root of the whole evil is that we have been attempting an extension of Tantric Kriya without any sufficient Vedantic basis. You especially were going on the basis that if a man had faith, enthusiasm, intellectual and emotional sincerity and proffered self-surrender, all that was necessary was there and he could go on straight to difficult Tantric Anusthana. This basis is condemned. A much stronger and greater foundation is necessary. It was the basis of the sattwic Ahankara, which said to itself, "I am the chosen of Kali, I am her Bhakta, I have every claim on her, I can afford to be negligent about other things, she is bound to help and guard me." It is this sattwic Ahankara which I have long felt to be the great obstacle in our Yoga; some have it in the Sattwa-rajasic form, others in the Sattwa-tamasic, but it is there in you all, blinding your vision, limiting your strength, frustrating your progress. And its worst quality, that it is unwilling to admit its own defects, or if it admits one, it takes refuge in another. Open your eyes to this enemy within you and expel it. Without that purification you can have no success. "To do rajasic Kriya in a sattwic spirit" is merely to go on in the old way while pretending to oneself that there is a change. Going on in the old way is out of the question. That path can only lead to the pit. I speak strongly because I see clearly, if not yet with absolute

vision, yet without that misleading false light which marred all my seeing till now and allowed me to be swept in the flood of confused Sattwo-rajasic impure Shakti which came with you from Bengal.

My first instruction to you therefore is to pause, stand on the defensive against your spiritual enemies and go on with your Vedantic Yoga. God is arranging things for me in my knowledge, but the process is not yet finished. I shall send you (it will take two or three letters) the lines on which I wish the Vedantic and Tantric lines to be altered and developed; afterwards we shall see when we have recovered these from Shastras, that is, Upanishadic elements, how to work them out in practice.

Please send me the Rs. 50 with you, as I am again in the position of having to replace money diverted to current expenses and have very little of any other use to me. Also try and get the rest of the money from Das. If not, you will have to find me an additional 20 for the last month and another 20 for next in addition to the monthly Rs. 50 and deduct the sum of Rs. 20 from Das's payment when you do get it.

Kali

P.S. I have a sum of Rs. 10 to pay monthly for a purpose unconnected with our own expenses and in addition certain additional expenses of my own which I cannot dispense with; for this reason Rs. 50 is insufficient. I hope Das will be in a position to send the balance of the money this time.

[1915?]

Dear M.

Your letter and enclosure (50) reached us all right. We have not received the Rs. 200 due from Das. As for the Rs. 500, that has nothing to do with the garden money of my uncle, it is a sum promised to me which Saurin was to have brought, but it was not paid in time. He tells me he told you about it before he came and

he wrote also from here. Our actual expenses here are Rs. 115 a month; this can be reduced if we get another house, but you know that is not easy in Pondicherry. I note that we are to get Rs. 50 from you in the latter part of this month.

So much for money matters. It is regrettable that the Government should think you are mixed up in political matters and that you are on the list of suspects. But once they get that idea into their heads, it is impossible to change it; once a suspect, always a suspect is their rule. They are particularly good at purchasing trouble for themselves and others in this way and just now they are all fear and suspicion and see revolutions in every bush. The only thing is to be extremely careful. You should not on any account move out of Chandernagore so long as the war measures are in force; for in these times innocence is no defence.

It is regrettable that Bengal should be unable to find anything in the *Arya*, but not surprising. The intellect of Bengal has been so much fed on chemical tablets of thought and hot-spiced foods that anything strong and substantial is indigestible to it. Moreover people in India are accustomed only to second-hand thoughts, — the old familiar ideas of the six philosophies, Patanjali etc., etc. Any new presentation of life and thought and Yoga upsets their expectations and is unintelligible to them. The thought of the *Arya* demands close thinking from the reader; it does not spare him the trouble of thinking and understanding and the minds of the people have long been accustomed to have the trouble of thought spared them. They know how to indulge their minds, they have forgotten how to exercise them.

It does not matter very much just now, so long as the people who practise the Yoga read and profit. The *Arya* presents a new philosophy and a new method of Yoga and everything that is new takes time to get a hearing. Of course, in reality it is only the old brought back again, but so old that it has been forgotten. It is only those who practise and experience that can at first understand it. In a way, this is good, because it is meant to change the life of people and not merely satisfy the intellect. In France it has been very much appreciated by those who are seeking the truth, because these people are not shut up in old and received ideas, they are on the look-out for something which will change

the inner and outer life. When the same state of mind can be brought about here, the *Arya* will begin to be appreciated. At present, Bengal only understands and appreciates politics and asceticism. The central ideas of the *Arya* are Greek to it.

Soon after the *Arya* began, I got a letter from some graduates saying that what they wanted was "man-making". I have done my share of man-making and it is a thing which now anybody can do; Nature herself is looking after it all over the world, though more slowly in India than elsewhere. My business is now not man-making, but divine man-making. My present teaching is that the world is preparing for a new progress, a new evolution. Whatever race, whatever country seizes on the lines of that new evolution and fulfils it, will be the leader of humanity. In the *Arya* I state the thought upon which this new evolution will be based as I see it, and the method of Yoga by which it can be accomplished. Of course, I cannot speak plainly yet my whole message, for obvious reasons; I have to put it in a severe, colourless fashion which cannot be pleasing to the emotional and excitement-seeking Bengali mind. But the message is there, for those who care to understand. It has really three parts: (1) for each man as an individual to change himself into the future type of divine humanity, the men of the new Satyayuga which is striving to be born; (2) to evolve a race of such men to lead humanity and (3) to call all humanity to the path under the lead of these pioneers and this chosen race. India and especially Bengal have the best chance and the best right to create that race and become the leaders of the future, — to do in the right way what Germany thought of doing in the wrong way. But first they must learn to think, to cast away old ideas, and turn their faces resolutely to the future. But they cannot do this, if they merely copy European politics or go on eternally reproducing Buddhistic asceticism. I am afraid the Ramakrishna Mission with all its good intentions is only going to give us Shankaracharya and Buddhistic humanitarianism. But that is not the goal to which the world is moving. Meanwhile remember that these are very difficult times and careful walking is necessary. It is just possible that the war may come to an end in a few months, for the old immobility is beginning to break down and the forces at work behind the veil

are straining towards a solution. While the war continues, nothing great can be done, we are fettered on every side. Afterwards things will change and we must wait for the development.

K.

[1915?]

Dear M.

I have not written for a long time because nothing definite came to me to be written. We are in a state of things in which every movement fails to come to a decisive result because everywhere and in everything the forces are balanced by contrary forces. At the present moment the world is passing through an upheaval in which all forces possible have been let loose and none therefore has a triumphant action. Ordinarily, there are certain puissances, certain ideas which are given a dominant impulsion and conquest, those opposing them being easily broken after a first severe struggle. Now everything is different. Wherever a force or an idea tries to assert itself in action all that can oppose rushes to stop it and there follows a "struggle of exhaustion". You see that in Europe now; no one can succeed; nothing is accomplished; only that which already was, maintains itself with difficulty. At such a time one has to act as little as possible and prepare and fortify as much as possible, — that is to say, that is the rule for those who are not compelled to be in the battle of the present and whose action tends more towards the future.

I had hoped that we should be much more "forward" at this period, but the obstacles have been too great. I have not been able to get anything active into shape. Consequently, we have to go on as before for some time longer. Our action depends on developing sufficient spiritual power to overcome the enormous material obstacles opposed to us, to shape minds, men, events, means, things. This we have got as yet in very insufficient quantity.

You have done well in confining yourself to Vedantic Yoga; you can see for yourself that the Tantric bears no secure and

sufficient fruit without a very strong and faultless Vedantic basis. Otherwise you have a medley of good and bad Sadhakas associating together and the bad spoil the Kriya of the good; for a collective Yoga is not like a solitary one, it is not free from collective influences; it has a collective soul which cannot afford to be in some parts either raw or rotten. It is this which modern Tantrics do not understand, their aspiration is not governed by old Shastra founded on the experience of centuries. A *cakra* for instance, must either be perfectly composed or immediately governed and protected by the spiritual force of some powerful Guru. But our modern minds are too impatient to see to these things.

As for your external difficulties, I mean with regard to the bad ideas the Government or the police have about you and the consequent obstacles and pressure, that is a result of past Karma and probably of some present associations and can hardly be cured. I see people are interned who have no connection at all with politics or have long cut off whatever connection they had. Owing to the war, the authorities are uneasy and suspicious and being ill-served by their police act on prejudgments and often on false reports. You have to sit tight, spiritually defend yourself and physically avoid putting yourself where the police can do you any harm, and so far as possible, avoid also doing anything which would give any colour or appearance of a foundation for their prejudices. More can hardly be done. One cannot throw aside friends because they are suspects; in that case, we should have to begin with ourselves. If on the ground of such associations we are ourselves more suspected, — as for instance, the officials make it a grievance against me that although I am doing nothing political myself, yet I associate with my Madrasi friends against whom they have chosen to launch warrants for sedition, etc., it cannot be helped. We cannot suffer political or police dictation in our private friendships.

What has become of the *Prabartak*? The last number was very good, but for a long time we have had no other. Is the administration withholding visa or are there other reasons for the irregularity? I hope it is not a discontinuance. We have the *Arya* here visaed without delay or difficulty.

If you have difficulties of any kind, it is well to let me know at once; for I can then concentrate what force I have more particularly to help you. The help may not be always or immediately effective, but it will count and may be more powerful than a general will, not instructed in the particular necessity. You must not mind if you do not get always a written answer; the unwritten will always be there.

I leave it to the Manager of the *Arya* to write to you about business matters.

K.

[1919?]

Dear M.

If you want discipline, the first thing of that kind I would impose on you or ask you to impose on yourselves is self-discipline, *ātma-saṁyama*, and the first element in that is obedience to the law of the Yoga I have given to you. If you bring in things which do not belong to it at all and are quite foreign to it, such as "hunger-strikes" and vehement emotional revolt against the divine Will, it is idle to expect any rapid progress. That means that you insist on going on your own bypath and yet demand of me that I shall bring you to my goal. All difficulties can be conquered, but only on condition of fidelity to the Way that you have taken. There is no obligation on any one to take it, — it is a difficult and trying one, a way for heroes, not for weaklings, — but once taken, it must be followed, or you will not arrive.

Remember what is the whole basis of the Yoga. It is not founded upon the vehement emotionalism of the Bhaktimarga to which the temperament of Bengal is most prone, though it has a different kind of Bhakti, but on *samatā* and *ātma-samarpaṇa*. Obedience to the divine Will, not assertion of self-will, is the very first *mantra*. But what can be a more violent assertion of self-will than to demand the result you desire, whether external or

internal, at once, এই মুহূর্তে, এই ক্ষণে[1] [*ei muhūrtte, ei kṣaṇe*] and not in God's Muhurta, God's moment? You say that there is complete *utsarga*, but it cannot be complete, if there is any kind of revolt or vehement impatience. The revolt and impatience mean always that there is a part of the being or something in the being which does not submit, has not given itself to God, but insists on God going out of his way to obey it. That may be very well in the Bhaktimarga, but it will not do on this Way. The revolt and impatience may come and will come in the heart or the Prana when these are still subject to imperfection and impurity; but it is then for the will and the faith in your Buddhi to reject them, not to act upon them. If the will consents, approves and supports them, it means that you are siding with the inner enemy. If you want rapid progress, the first condition is that you should not do this; for every time you do it, the enemy is strengthened and the *śuddhi* postponed. This is a difficult lesson to learn, but you must learn it. I do not find fault with you for taking long over it. I myself took full twelve years to learn it thoroughly, and even after I knew the principle well enough, it took me quite four years and more to master my lower nature in this respect. But you have the advantage of my experience and my help; you will be able to do it more rapidly, if you consciously and fully assist me, by not associating yourself with the enemy Desire; *jahi kāmam durā--sadam*, remember that utterance of the Gita, it is a keyword of our Yoga.

As for Haradhan, he should show the way in calm, patience and endurance. He has been a soldier. How does he think the nations of Europe could have carried this war to an end, if they had grown so impatient of the fatigue of the trenches, suffering, disturbance, scarcity, continual postponement of the result, and declared that either they must have victory in a given time or throw up the struggle? Does he expect the inner war with our lower selves, the personal habit of thousands of lives and the human inheritance of ages, to be less arduous or to be carried out by a rapid and easy miracle? Hunger-striking to force God or to force anybody or anything else is not the true spiritual means. I do not object to Mr. Gandhi or any one else following it for

[1] Written in Bengali.

quite other than spiritual purposes, but here it is out of place; these things, I repeat, are foreign to the fundamental principle of our Yoga.

Shuddhi is the most difficult part of the whole Yoga, it is the condition of all the rest, and if that is once conquered, the real conquest is accomplished. The rest becomes a comparatively easy building on an assured basis, — it may take longer or shorter, but it can be done tranquilly and steadily. To prevent the Shuddhi the lower nature in you and around you will exhaust all its efforts, and even when it cannot prevent, it will try to retard. And its strongest weapon then is, when you think you have got it, suddenly to break in on you and convince you that you have not got it, that it is far away, and so arouse disappointment, grief, loss of faith, discouragement, depression and revolt, the whole army of troubles that wait upon impure Desire. When you have once found calm, peace of mind, firm faith, equality and been able to live in it for some time, then and only then you may be sure that Shuddhi is founded; but you must not think it will not be disturbed. It will be, so long as your heart and Prana are still capable of responding to the old movements, have still any memory and habit of vibrating to the old chords. The one thing necessary when the renewed trouble comes, is to stand back in your mind and will from it, refuse it the sanction of your higher being, even when it is raging in the lower nature. As that habit of refusal fixes itself, — at first you may not be able to do it, the Buddhi may be lost in the storm, — you will find that the *aśuddhi*, even though it still returns, becomes less violent, more and more external, until it ceases to be anything more than a faint and short-lived touch from outside and finally comes no more. That is the course it has followed with me, not only with regard to this kind of disturbance, but with regard to all imperfections. You, since you have chosen to share my Yoga for mankind, must follow the same way, undergo the same disturbances.

This is a thing which it is necessary for you to understand clearly. I myself have had for these fourteen years, and it is not yet finished, to bear all the possible typical difficulties, troubles, downfalls and backslidings that can rise in this great effort to change the whole normal human being. How else could I have

been able to help or guide others on the same way? Those who join me at the present stage, must share in my burden, especially those who are themselves chosen in any degree to lead, help and guide. It may be that when I have the complete Siddhi, — which I have not yet, I am only on the way to it, — then, if it be God's will to extend very largely and rapidly my work in this body, those who come after may have the way made very easy for them. But we are the pioneers hewing our way through the jungle of the lower Prakriti. It will not do for us to be cowards and shirkers and refuse the burden, to clamour for everything to be made quick and easy for us. Above all things I demand from you endurance, firmness, heroism, — the true spiritual heroism. I want strong men. I do not want emotional children. Manhood first, দেবত্ব [1][*devatva*] can only be built upon that. If I do not get it in those who accept my Yoga, then I shall have to understand that it is not God's will that I should succeed. If that be so, I shall accept his will calmly. But meanwhile I go on bearing whatever burden he lays on me, meeting whatever difficulties he puts in the way of my Siddhi. Personally, I am now sure of success in everything except in the *kāya-siddhi*, — which is still doubtful, and in my work. The work can only succeed if I find noble and worthy helpers, fitted for it by the same struggles and the same endurance. I expect them in you.

Again you must not expect the *śuddhi* or any part of the *śuddhi* [or *siddhi*] to be simultaneous and complete at once in all whom you associate with you. One may attain, others progress, others linger. You must not expect a sudden collective miracle. I have not come here to accomplish miracles, but to show, lead the way, help on the road to a great inner change of our human nature, — the outer change in the world is only possible if and when that inner transmutation is effected and extends itself. You must not expect to establish a perfect *saṁgha* all at once and by a single leap. If you make such demands on me, I can only say that I cannot do what is not God's will. Go forward calmly and firmly, not attached to success, not disturbed by unsuccess; my help will then not fail you.

As to your idea of work, it seems to me a little crude in form;

[1] Written in Bengali.

but I have no objection to your beginning it, since you feel the pressing necessity. I shall write to you later on about it at more length. The only reason why I do not lay great stress on outer work, is that it must always be *kaccha*, much embarrassed by difficulties, at best only a preparatory thing, until we are inwardly and spiritually ready. That is no reason why it should not be done. Work done in the right spirit will itself become a means of the inner Siddhi.

Kali

[1919 - 1920?]

Dear M.

About your scheme of a weekly paper, — as for the name it is not difficult to find; it could be called the *Standard Bearer*. But are you quite sure you will be able to live up to the name and carry the thing on in the requisite manner? Nolini and Suresh are not likely to be able to write; one does not write at all in English, the other can do it if he likes, but is even more মন্থরগতি[1] [*manthargati*] than in Bengali. To write for an English weekly would be beyond his present energies. As for myself, I am at present unable to write or do anything substantial, because of the extreme pressure of my Yoga, which has entirely occupied my time, — except for what I am obliged to give to the *Arya* and even that I have cut short as much as possible, — for the last few months. This state of things is likely to go on for the rest of the (English) year; whether it will be changed in the beginning of the next is more than I can tell with any certainty. The whole work might fall on your two Chandernagore writers. An English weekly cannot be conducted like a Bengali monthly or fortnightly. And it is not going to be a political paper of the ordinary kind which can be filled up anyhow. It will have to maintain a high reputation to be at all successful. These things however are for you to consider; you know your own strength

[1] Written in Bengali.

and how far the field in Bengal is ready. As to the symbol, none has come to me. I am not altogether favourably inclined to the Uttar Yogi idea nor anyone else here. It sounds too like the old style of spiritual pretension, and, when it is put in a current English production, suggests *bujruki*. Plain colours and as few symbols as may be are what we want at the beginning. Indian spirituality has lost itself in a jungle of symbols and Shlokas and we have to get out of them on to the plain and straight ways and the open heights, where we can see the "much work that has still to be done". Why any editor? Let the Shakti herself be the editor.

As to articles for the *Prabartak*, Nolini used to be your mainstay and he is now in another atmosphere, mainly hitherto of marriage and football, and complains of an inability to write. As for the other he has produced nothing since he left here, except a drama for the *Bijoli* and the answer to his *Prabasi* articles was written and sent before he left for Bengal. Moni's inspiration flows in channels hardly suitable for the *Prabartak*. As for myself it was only as a result of a solitary inspiration and with much trouble of rewriting that I got one thing done for you. Since then I have been too much occupied by my Yoga and not at all visited by any *preraṇā* or at least none which lasted long enough to produce more than a few lines. In this matter I am entirely dependent on the যথানিযুক্তোঽস্মি[1] [*yathā niyukto'smi*], as I have no natural control of the language and I have no time at present for exercising it by constant practice. It seems to me that *Prabartak* is getting on well enough as it is, though, if Nolini could write, it could produce an element of greater variety. You should be able to develop more writers with the necessary spiritual experience, grasp of the thought and literary ability, — these things the inner Shakti can bring to the surface if it is called upon for them, — so that *Prabartak* will not have to depend on three or four people only for its sustenance.

There is nothing more, I think, to add immediately, — if there is, I will keep it for later answering, so that this letter may not be farther delayed. By the way, with regard to your design for the paper, the only thing that now suggests itself to me is the

[1] Sanskrit written in Bengali script.

Hansa in the Sun, as the free Soul lodged in the *vijñāna* and the legend, "In this sign thou shalt conquer", which is appropriate, but has the disadvantage of being borrowed from Christianity and Constantine. It would perhaps be better if you could find a Sanskrit equivalent or substitute.

K.

January 2, 1920

Dear M.

I write today only for your question about Manindranath and the other. We have been imprisoned in an inferno of rain for the last few days and I have only just been able to get a reliable answer. They have only to get a *sauf-conduit* from the Chandernagore Administrator and then, as they are called here by the French Government for government work, nobody can interfere with their going and coming. This is what I am told and it ought obviously to be so. How are your people going to vote? Martineau and Flandin are the two candidates at present and Martineau is impossible.

I note with some amusement the Secretary's letter to Bejoy Chatterjee. The logic of the Bengal Government's attitude is a little difficult to follow. However, I suppose the King's proclamation will make some difference, but I fancy the Government of India is the chief obstacle in these matters and they will perhaps try to limit the scope of this qualified amnesty. Still I hope that the restrictions on your own movements will be removed before long. We have received a postcard from Bejoy notifying to the *Arya* a change of address which shows that after five long years he has been released from his quite causeless imprisonment, but he is now interned in or near Ramnagar in Birbhum. As for me, I do not see, if Lajpatrai is coming to India, how they can object to my going to Bengal. But, allowed or not allowed, I have not the least intention of doing that at present or for another year at the earliest. When I do go, this or that circumstance

will make no difference. Mr. Gandhi, like the man in Macedonia with St. Paul, sent me a message to "come over and help", but I had to say that I was not ready to join in the old politics and had no new programme formed for a more spiritual line of work, and it would be no use my going out till I saw my way.

As to the *Standard Bearer*, I cannot write now, as it would take too long and delay this letter. I shall write afterwards or send word. Your insured packet reached us yesterday. The increase comes in a good moment, as with Saurin in Bengal the Aryan Stores is simply marking time and the *Arya* is in a new economic phase which means for the moment some diminution of income.

A. G.

In a few days you will be getting 50 copies of "War and S.D." [*War and Self-Determination*]

K. Amrita

Pondicherry
May, 1920

Dear M.

It is only now for the first time since Sirish left that I get some time to write. It is not possible for me to write all I have to say, much must wait till you come here; I will confine myself to what is of pressing importance for the work.

The circumstances under which you have to work have now changed a great deal and you will have in order to meet it to enlarge your view and inner attitude on many sides; this I think you are preparing to do, but it will be as well for me to make it as precise as possible. Up till now you were working alone in a Bengal which was in a state, first, of the last fragmentary and chaotic agitations of the old violent spirit of rajasic politics, and then of torpor and inaction; and the thing that had to be done

was to get rid of the errors of the past (errors once necessary for the development, but likely if persisted in to ruin and frustrate the future), to get at a firm spiritual basis and found a centre of spiritual unity and action, a *saṅgha*, on a small scale but sure of its principle and capable of a large development. This has now been done, but at the moment of its firm effectuation, new conditions have come in which create a new and larger problem. First, many imprisoned forces have been set loose and, secondly, the chaos of incertitude, confused agitation and unseeing unrest which has followed upon the war and is felt all over the world, is now at work in Bengal. The nature of this unrest is a haste to get something done without knowing what has to be done, a sense of and vague response to large forces without any vision of or hold on the real possibilities of the future of humanity and the nation. The old things are broken up in their assured mould and are yet persisting and trying to form themselves anew, the new exist for the most part only in vague idea without a body or clear action and without any power as yet to form what is lacking to them. The old politics in India persist in a chaos of parties and programmes centred round the Congress quarrel and the Reforms, and in Bengal we have a rush of the commercial and industrial spirit which follows the Western principle and, if it succeeds on these lines, is likely to create a very disastrous reproduction or imitation of the European situation with its corrupt capitalism and the Labour struggle and the war of classes. And all that is the very reverse of our own ideal. The one advantage for us is that it is a chaos and not a new order; and it is essential that we should throw our spirit and idea upon this fermentation, and draw what is best among its personalities and forces to the side and service of our ideal so as to get a hold and a greater mass of effectuation for it in the near future.

This, as I conceive it, has to be done on two lines. First what has already been created by us and given a right spirit, basis and form, must be kept intact in spirit, intact in basis and intact in form and must strengthen and enlarge itself in its own strength and by its inherent power of self-development and the divine force within it. This is the line of work on which you have to proceed. We have to confront the confusion around us with

a thing that is sure of itself and illumined by self-knowledge and a work that by its clear form and firm growth will present more and more the aspect of an assured solution of the problems of the present and the future. The mind of the outside world may be too shallow, restless and impatient to understand a great, profound and difficult truth like ours on the side of the idea, but a visible accomplishment, a body of things done has always the power to compel and to attract the world to follow it. The only danger then is that when this body of things becomes prominent and attractive, numbers may rush into it and try to follow the externals without realising and reproducing in themselves the truth and the power of the real thing that made it possible. It was that against which I warned you when there came the first possibility of a considerable expansion. It is your business to enlarge your field of work and the work itself but not at the cost of any lowering or adulteration of its spirit. The first condition you have to assure is that all who have the work in hand or share in its direction must be of the spirit and work from the self outward; they must be men of the Yoga; but, secondly, all who enter in must have this imposed on them as the thing to be developed, must learn to develop this self-realisation first and foremost and the work only as its expression. The safety of the work lies in a strict adherence to this principle. The majority of the educated people of Bengal care only to get something done, — and are not troubled by the fact that really nothing sure and lasting does get done or else only something that is likely to do as much harm as good; they care nothing about the spiritual basis of life which is India's real mission and the only possible source of her greatness, or give to it only a slight, secondary or incidental value, a something that has to be stuck on as a sentiment or a bit of colouring matter. Our whole principle is different and you have to insist on our principle in all that you say and do. Moreover, you have got a clear form for your work in association and that form as well as the spirit you must maintain; any loosening of it or compromise would mean confusion and an impairing of the force that is working in your Sangha.

But on the other hand there is another line of work which is also necessary at the present moment because the Shakti is mo-

ving in that direction also and the Shakti is the doer of the work, — and that is for others, like Barin to enter into the fermenting mass and draw out of it elements that are fit but not yet ready to take our whole idea and first to get into and then occupy existing or newly created means and activities, — as he is doing with the *Narayana*, — which can be increasingly made instruments of our purpose. This work will be attended with all the difficulties and uncertainties and obstacles which go with a mixed and yet unformed working, — such as you had at the beginning, but have now got over, — but we must trust to the divine Shakti to overcome them. The one difficulty that it is in our power to avoid is that of the relation between those who are working on these different lines. There the first necessity is that there should be no clash or spirit of rivalry, sense of division or monopolising personal or corporate egoism to bring discord among those who receive their inspiration from the same source and have the same ideal. A spiritual unity and a readiness for co-operation must be the guiding principle of their relations.

I have already answered to Sirish the first very natural question that arose in your mind at the inception of these new conditions, why Barin and others should cast themselves separately into the অরূপ[1] [*arūp*] to create a রূপ[1] [*rūp*] out of it, when there is already a form and a body of associated communal work in the spirit of our ideal and why all should not unite in that form and create a greater power of associated driving force to bring about a rapid enlargement and victory of the ideal. The first thing is that the particular form given is the right thing for those who are already associated together, because it has arisen out of themselves and by the Will that guides, but it may well be that the same precise form may not be applicable or intended everywhere. The spirit, the truth must be the same, but the formations may be different with advantage to the spirit. To insist on one form only might well bring in that rigidity which grew upon Indian society and its civilisation in the past and brought about an imprisonment and decline of the spirit. India was strongest and most alive when she had many variations of form but one spirit. And I think, — that at least was the prevision

[1] Written in Bengali.

that came on me in the Alipur Jail and I do not yet see a different prospect, — that this will be the case also in the future. Then, secondly, there is a psychological necessity which we cannot at the present moment leave out of consideration. The Sangha at Chandernagore is a thing that has grown up with my power behind and yours at the centre and it has assumed a body and temperament which is the result of this origination. But there are others, people of strong personality and full of Shakti, who receive their spiritual force direct from me and are made themselves to be central spirits and direct radiators of the Shakti, and for these to subordinate themselves to the existing body and temperament would not be easy for any and in most cases impossible, — such a subordination would not have grown out of themselves and would only be imposed by *nigraha*, a thing contrary to the *prakṛti*, — and it would besides clog up the natural action of the power in them. And on the other hand to bring them in as coordinated central figures into the existing form would not be feasible, for it would mean a disturbing change and new fermentation of forces in the work that is already being well done on established lines. It would mean, even if at all successful, a sort of conducting by spiritual committee and that is not the line on which the Shakti has proceeded at Chandernagore. The more perfect coordination of all who are at work can only come, as far as I can see, after I myself go to Bengal and can act by my direct presence. Thirdly, there are a considerable number of people in the country who are not yet of us, yet can be given the necessary turn, but owing to temperamental and other causes they would not be drawn to the existing centre, but could be easily drawn by Barin, Saurin, Bejoy and others. And in all these and similar cases we must leave freedom to the guiding Shakti to use her own means and instruments. Finally, there are things to be done which need to be done, but which I would not like to impose on your Sangha as it now stands, first, because it would disturb the characteristic frame and ideal temperament of your work, a thing which it is important to keep, and secondly because it would impose on you unnecessary complications; and these things can best be done by Barin and others while seeming to work independently for their own hand. And there are needs also to

be met for which these other activities are required. Of that I can better speak to you in person than by letter. This being the situation, the need that remains is to keep a right relation between those who are working, and that means to extend the spirit of unity which is our basis so as to embrace all the work and workers, undeterred by differences of mentality and divergences of action.

In our work we have to fix our relations with three different kinds of people, first, those who are working for the country but without any greater idea or spiritual motive, secondly, those who have the spiritual motive but not the same ideal and inspiration as ourselves, thirdly, those who have the same ideal and inspiration, but are working in different bodies and at first on different lines. Our relation to the first class of people and their work must be based on the fundamental principle of our Yoga to see God in all and the one Self in all acting through different natures and all energies, even those which are hostile, as workings of the Divine Shakti although behind the veil of the *ahaṅkāra* and the ignorant mentality. There are movements at work new and old which are not the definite reality of the future but are needed at the present moment as part of the transition. It is in this light for example that I regard many things that are in process in Europe and I am even moved to give a temporary spiritual support to efforts and movements which are not in consonance with our own and must eventually fail or cease by exhaustion of their utility but are needed as transitional powers. This too is how I regard the work of men like Tilak and Gandhi. We work in the faith that it is our vision of the future that is the central divine will, the highest actualisable possibility and therefore the one thing that must be made the object of our action; but that does not mean that the Shakti is not working in her own covert way and for her own ends through others. No doubt these movements are of a western and materialistic inspiration or else an imperfect mixture, and some day it may be we shall have to give battle to them as certainly we shall have to overcome the spirit that informs them. But that time has not come yet, and meanwhile what we have to do is to develop and spread our own vision and idea and give it body so as eventually to confront the things that are in possession of the present with a realisation of the things that

belong to the future. I think that at this juncture we should avoid a too direct attack or criticism of them as that only creates avoidable opposition to our own work. The positive rather than the negative method is the one we should adopt until we are strong enough to convince by our visible strength and work the minds that are now attracted by the present power and activity of other movements, — to assert our own ideal as the true and the right way but not to invite conflict by a destructive frontal attack on the others.

As for the second class, such as the other spiritual movements in Bengal, our attitude to most should be that of a benevolent neutrality and a sympathy for such of their elements as are at all in consonance with our own ideal. The one thing which we have to get rid of is the idea of Maya and ascetic abandonment of the life and effort of humanity; and also though that is social and religious rather than directly spiritual, the clinging to old forms and refusal to admit new developments. The movements that admit life and Ananda and are ready to break away from the old narrowness of social and other forms, are so much to the good even though they have not the full largeness of the integral spiritual idea and realisation. These we must leave to go on their way and run themselves out or else enlarge themselves till they are ready to coalesce with us. I do not mean that with regard to either of these classes we should refrain from all criticism of the insufficiency of ideal or method, but this should be as far as possible quite general, a discussion and the enforcement of a greater principle and truer method, distinguishing truth from error but not too pointedly aggressive against particular things or so expressed as to seem to hit straight at this or that person or body. To insist on our own propaganda and work is always necessary and sometimes though not always to meet any attack on it; but we need not go out of our way to invite conflict. To this rule there may be particular exceptions; I only indicate what seems to me for the present the right general attitude.

This once understood, the really important thing becomes at once our own work and the relation between different workers, and here, as I have said, what we need is the growth of spiritual unity and a readiness to take the work of others as

supplementing one's own and, wherever it is called for and possible, to cooperate. There is a danger here from the subtler forms of egoism. It is not enough to realise unity among those who are already working with one mind as one soul in many bodies; there must be unity of spirit with others who are following different ways or working separately for the present and complete *samatā* with regard to their action, even if it seems to one wrong or imperfect, and patience with regard to mental and moral divergences. This should be easy for you, as it means only getting rid of the remnants of your sattwic Ahankara; it may not be so easy for others who have still a rajasic Ahankara to trouble them. But if people like you and Barin give the example, that difficulty can eventually be got over; if on the contrary you also allow misunderstandings among yourselves, the work is likely to be very unnecessarily hampered. I may give as an instance, the matter about the *Prabartak*. Certain casual utterances of Saurin's made in answer to queries and not volunteered, have come to you quite misreported as a sort of intentional campaign to belittle the paper and the other half of what he said, namely, that the *Prabartak* was inspired, though not actually written by me and the spirit and substance were that of my ideal, never reached your ears. I may add also that the alleged incident to which you took exception, as to his method of raising money, never actually happened. Again the advertisement or rather paragraph about *Narayana* in the *Amrita Bazar* was not inserted by Barin, but by someone else according to that other person's idea after a conversation with him. Barin was not responsible for the form nor had he any intention of claiming the *Narayana* as the sole and direct mouthpiece of my ideas. It is these misunderstandings which I want to see all of you avoid and it can be easily done if those who are among the principal channels of the Shakti preserve the spiritual unity which ought to prevail among those who derive their inspiration from the same source and follow the same ideal. Others less developed may give cause for offence owing to their inability to control the rajasic ego still working in them, but calm, patience, *prema* and *samatā* are the spirit in which we should meet such causes of offence; otherwise where is the perfection we seek by our Yoga? Let me add, while I am

on this subject, that Haradhan seems to have been misinformed about Nolini. As a matter of fact he has mixed with no দল[1] [*dal*], nor engaged in any kind of associated activity while in Bengal. And if he had, it would have been with no other purpose than to draw others to our Yoga and our way of thinking; but as a matter of fact he remained inactive.

As for the other matter of the different lines of work, there is one instance which illustrates the difficulties that may arise. Barin has taken up the *Narayana* with the idea of gradually and eventually making it another instrument of propaganda for our ideas, and if he succeeds, that will be so much the more strength for us. It will not be a mere doubling of the work of the *Prabartak*, as it will present our ideas in a different way and so as to catch minds of a different type from those who are naturally attracted by the *Prabartak* which demands from its readers a mind already turned to spiritual things or at least naturally able to enter into that atmosphere. To others who are of a less spiritual and intuitive, a more intellectual or literary and artistic temperament, the articles of the *Prabartak* written out of an experience to which they are strangers, are not easily assimilable, and it is these minds which it may be possible to approach through the *Narayana*. But if there is not a right understanding, the attitude of the two to each other may be that of separation and competition rather than of activities supplementary to each other in the same work. In addition he has now the chance of getting hold of a strong publishing agency in Calcutta, as Sirish must already have told you, but he hesitates to take it up from fear that it may be regarded as a rival agency to the Prabartak Publishing House. He is not afraid of any misunderstanding between you and him, but of others connected with either work taking things in the wrong light and bringing in an unwholesome spirit of competition. This is a thing which might easily happen, but must not be allowed to happen. I have told him that I would write to you and ask you to see that there is no misunderstanding in the matter, before giving him sanction to take up the possibility. Afterwards, it will be for you and him to see that things on both sides are managed in the right spirit. This agency, if it comes into

[1] Written in Bengali.

Barin's control, will be conducted with the same idea and method as the *Narayana* and all the profits except what is necessary for the maintenance and extension of the agency, will come to us and our work. These two things are the first fields the Shakti has offered to his energy and they are of a kind for which he is well fitted; their success means for us a great advantage. A time is now coming in which the Shakti is pressing to break down the barriers in which we have had hitherto to move and we must be ready to follow her indications without allowing our personal preferences and limitations to attempt to dictate to her any mind-made limits.

As for the extension of the work you are doing, I have spoken in general terms to Sirish and it is not necessary to add anything in this letter. When you come, I shall perhaps have more to say about it. It is regrettable that at this moment the physical strain should take an effect on your body; I trust it is only a part of a temporary invasion of *roga*, of which many of us including myself have recently felt some touch. But you must be careful not to throw too much strain on the physical system. A timely sparing of the physical system when there is an indication of overstrain is often necessary before the Shakti has taken perfect possession of the more external parts of the Adhara or the *vijñāna* will is strong enough to set right at once weakenings and disturbances. There remains the question of your visit to Pondicherry. I had thought to delay it for a short time until I saw my way more clearly on certain important matters; but I now believe this is not necessary and it will be as well for you to come as soon as may be. I hardly suppose that Nelson's curious reservation about your visit means anything serious; otherwise he would have been more positive about it. I take it that they do not like the idea and would be suspicious about its motive and watch your actions more narrowly after it; but as they are obstinately determined to be suspicious about anything we do in any case, this by itself cannot be allowed to be an obstacle. I should suggest therefore that you might come over after making arrangements for work in your absence in such a way that the visit may be a fairly long one.

The work of the *Arya* has fallen into arrears and I have to

spend just now the greater part of my energy in catching up, and the rest of my time, in the evening, is taken up by the daily visit of the Richards. I hope to get over the worst part of this necessity by the middle of June, so that by the time you come I may have a freer atmosphere to attend to the currents of the work and the world about me. There is now the beginning of a pressure from many sides inviting my spiritual attention to the future कर्म[1] [*karma*] and this means the need of a greater outflowing of energy than when I had nothing to do but support a concentrated nucleus of the Shakti. I doubt however, whether I shall be in a fit condition for meeting the demand till August, especially as I have not been able to get the physical basis yet put right by the power of the Vijnana. After that we shall see what and how much can actually be done under the new circumstances. Meanwhile your visit may help to get things into preparatory line both in the inward motor-power and the outward determination.

A. G.

Pondicherry
September 2, 1920

Dear M.

My impression about your marriage idea is that you are going too fast. What you say about the commune and the married couple is quite right as our ideal or rather as one side of our ideal, but there is here a question of time and tactics. In our work, especially in the preparatory and experimental part of it, there must be not only spiritual hardihood, साहसं[1] [*sāhasaṁ*], but skill and prudence, कौशलं[1] [*kauśalaṁ*]. The question is whether it is necessary or wise and advisable to engage in a battle with society at the moment on a point which it considers to be vital but which is to us subordinate. Our first business is to establish our communal system on a firm spiritual, secondly on a firm economical foundation, and to spread it wide, but the com-

[1] Written in Devanagari.

plete social change can only come as a result of the other two. It must come first in spirit, afterwards in form. If a man enters into the commune by spiritual unity, if he gives to it his life and labour and considers all he has as belonging to all, the first necessity is secured. The next thing is to make the movement economically self-sufficient, and to do that requires at the present moment all the energy you can command. These two things are, the one a constant, the other an immediate necessity. The institution of a communal ceremony of marriage can only be a future necessity, it involves nothing essential at the moment. The idea is that the family in future is not to be a separate unit, but a sub-unit of the communal whole. It is too early to decide exactly what form the family life will take, it may take many forms, not always the same. The principle is the important thing. But this principle can be observed whatever the form of the marriage ceremony they may have gone through at the time of personal union, whether recognised or not by the present social system. An external necessity does not arise in the present case, as Khagen is not marrying outside his caste.

It remains to be seen whether this step, though not necessary, is advisable. In the first place by your action you declare your commune to be an entirely separate thing from the rest of Hindu society; you will be following in the way of the Brahma Samaj or more exactly in that of Thakur Dayananda. That means a violent scission and a long struggle, which is likely greatly to complicate your other work and put difficulties in the way which need not have been there. My own idea was for our system to grow up in the society, not out of it, though different from it, first bringing in a new spiritual idea, a field in which opposition and intolerance cannot now long endure, — secondly, justifying itself on the outward plane by becoming a centre of economical regeneration and new power for the country, a work in which we shall have sympathy more than opposition, and getting forward with other matters according to need and opportunity and with a considerable freedom and latitude, meeting social orthodoxy with the plea of re-embodying the old free Hindu idea in new forms rather than with the profession of a violent rejection both of the past and the present. In this process a clash will be inevit-

able sooner or later, but a deliberate precipitation of the conflict in so extreme a form as you suggest was not within my intentions. That was to come, but only when we were strong and had already a hold on the country, so that we might have a strong support as well as enemies.

Your point is that the commune should not depend either on Government or society for the validity of the union. It seems to me sufficient if that is spiritually insisted on or at most given an outward indication. I would suggest that the exchange of garlands should be done before the commune, as it was done in the old *svayaṁvara* before the assembly. The conventional marriage can then be added as a concession to the present society, as in old times the *sampradāna* by the father was added to the *svayaṁvara* although in fact the *svayaṁvara* itself would have been quite valid without it. If a case should arise in future where the mutual giving would be necessary by itself, we might then go to the more extreme course. This would, it seems to me, satisfy everything immediately necessary or advisable, first, the assertion of free choice as the principle of marriage, secondly, the formal inclusion of the couple in their united life in the commune, apart from any conventional marriage ceremony, thirdly, the justification of a continuity between our movement and the great past of India. The movement of course is not to stop with the forms of the past or a modernisation of them, but this sort of preliminary advance under cover will prepare more easily its future advance into the open, which we can afterwards make as rapid as we choose. At the same time it will have the advantage of awaking a less vehement opposition at a moment when it seems to me we are not yet ready for a frontal attack in the social field and a decisive battle. If a battle becomes necessary, of course we must not flinch from it, but I should myself prefer to have it after I have reached the proper stage in my Yoga and after I return to Bengal. At present I have so many calls upon an energy which is still largely occupied with pushing forward to its own perfection that I do not quite like the idea of the heavy drain on it such a struggle would entail. This at least is my present view on the matter.

The *Standard Bearer* is, I am afraid, subject to the criticism

passed on it; the criticism is general and I felt it myself. It is a sort of weekly *Arya*; but the *Arya* style and method are not what is wanted for a weekly paper. What you need to do is to make the ideas easy to the people and give them a practical direction. At present you give only a difficult philosophy and abstract principles. I shall write more about this matter hereafter as soon as I find time.

A. G.

Pondicherry
Nov. 11, 1920

Dear M.

It has become necessary for me to give a categorical denial to all the rumours and ascriptions of opinion which irresponsible people are publishing from time to time about me. The *Janmabhumi* nonsense is especially idiotic and I do not understand how anyone with brains in his head could have accepted such childish rubbish as mine. Please write an article in the next issue of the *Standard Bearer* saying that in view of the conflicting rumours that have been set abroad, some representing me as for the Reforms and others as for Non-Cooperation, you (that is the *Standard Bearer*) have written to me and received the following reply which you are authorised to publish. "All these assertions are without foundation. I have made no pronouncement of my political views. I have authorised nobody whether publicly or privately to be the spokesman of my opinions. The rumour suggesting that I support the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and am opposed to Non-Cooperation is without basis. I have nothing to do personally with the manifesto of Sir Ashutosh Chaudhuri and others citing a passage from my past writings. The recorded opinions of a public man are public property and I do not disclaim what I have written; but the responsibility for its application to the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and the present situation rests entirely with the signa-

tories to the manifesto. The summary of my opinions in the *Janmabhumi*, representing me as an enthusiastic follower of Mahatma Gandhi, of which I only came to know the other day, is wholly unauthorised and does *not* 'render justice to my views' either in form or in substance. Things are attributed to me in it which I would never have dreamed of saying. It is especially adding insult to injury to make me say that I am ready to sacrifice my conscience to a Congress mandate and recommend all to go and do likewise. I have not stated to anyone that 'full responsible self-government completely independent of British control' or any other purely political object is the goal to the attainment of which I intend to devote my efforts and I have not made any rhetorical prophecy of a colossal success for the Non-Cooperation movement. As you well know, I am identifying myself with only one kind of work or propaganda as regards India, the endeavour to reconstitute her cultural, social and economic life within larger and freer lines than the past on a spiritual basis. As regards political questions, I would request my friends and the public not to attach credence to anything purporting to be a statement of my opinions which is not expressly authorised by me or issued over my signature."

I shall write to you about other matters in another letter.

A. G.

P. S. Please ask Mani Naik to see my sister before he comes here. She wants to send with him certain utensils for our use.

Letter to "The Hindu"

AN Anglo-Indian paper of some notoriety both for its language and views, has recently thought fit to publish a libellous leaderette and subsequently an article openly arraigning me as a director of Anarchist societies, a criminal and an assassin. Neither the assertions nor the opinions of the *Madras Times* carry much weight in themselves and I might have passed over the attack in silence. But I have had reason in my political career to suspect that there are police officials on the one side and propagandists of violent revolution on the other hand who would only be too glad to use any authority for bringing in my name as a supporter of Terrorism and assassination. Holding it inexpedient under such circumstances to keep silence, I wrote to the paper pointing out the gross inaccuracy of the statements in its leaderette, but the *Times* seems to have thought it more discreet to avoid the exposure of its fictions in its own columns. I am obliged therefore to ask you for the opportunity of reply denied to me in the paper by which I am attacked.

The Anglo-Indian Journal asserts, (1) that I have adopted the saffron robes of the ascetic, but "continue to direct" the movements of the Anarchist society from Pondicherry; (2) that one Balkrishna Lele, a Lieutenant of Mr. Tilak, is in Pondicherry for the same purpose; (3) that the most dangerous of the Madras Anarchists (it is not clear whether one or many) is or are at Pondicherry; (4) that a number of seditious journals are being openly published from French India; (5) that revolutionary literature is being manufactured and circulated from Pondicherry, parts of which the police have intercepted, but the rest has reached its destination and is the cause of the Ashe murder.

It is untrue that I am masquerading or have ever masqueraded as an ascetic; I live as a simple householder practising Yoga without Sannyas just as I have been practising it for the last six years. It is untrue that any Balkrishna Lele or any Lieutenant of Mr. Tilak is at Pondicherry; nor do I know, I doubt if anybody

in India except the *Madras Times* knows, of any Maratha politician of that name and description. The statement about Madras Anarchists is unsupported by facts or names and therefore avoids any possibility of reply. It is untrue that any seditious journal is being published from French India. The paper *India* was discontinued in April, 1910, and has never been issued since. The only periodicals published from Pondicherry are the Tamil *Dharma* and *Karmayogi* which, I am informed, do not touch politics; in any case, the harmless nature of their contents, is proved by the free circulation allowed to them in British India even under the rigours of the Press Act. As to the production of revolutionary literature, my enquiries have satisfied me, — and I think the investigations of the police must have led to the same result, — that the inflammatory Tamil pamphlets recently in circulation cannot have been printed with the present material resources of the two small presses owned by Nationalists. In the nature of things nobody can assert the impossibility of secret dissemination from Pondicherry or any other particular locality. As to the actuality, I can only say that the sole publications of the kind that have reached me personally since my presence here became public, have either come direct from France or America or once only from another town in this Presidency. This would seem to show that Pondicherry, if at all guilty in this respect, has not the monopoly of the trade. Moreover, though we hear occasionally of active dissemination in some localities of British India, the residents of Pondicherry are unaware of any noticeable activity of this kind in their midst. Finally, the impression which the *Times* seeks sedulously to create that Pondicherry is swarming with dangerous people from British India, ignores facts grossly. To my knowledge, there are not more than half a dozen British Indians here who can be said to have crossed the border for political reasons. So much for definite assertions; I shall refer to the general slander in a subsequent letter.

July 20, 1911

MESSAGES

The first message on National Education was given for the National Education Week and it was published in the *New India* of April 8, 1918, edited by Dr. Annie Besant.

The second message was given on October 1, 1932 for Suddhananda Bharathi's book *Sri Aurobindo Prakasham* in Tamil.

National Education

MESSAGE FOR NATIONAL EDUCATION WEEK

NATIONAL Education is, next to Self-Government and along with it, the deepest and most immediate need of the country, and it is a matter of rejoicing for one to whom an earlier effort in that direction gave the first opportunity for identifying himself with the larger life and hope of the Nation, to see the idea, for a time submerged, moving so soon towards self-fulfilment.

Home Rule and National Education are two inseparable ideals, and none who follows the one, can fail the other, unless he is entirely wanting either in sincerity or in vision. We want not only a free India, but a great India, India taking worthily her place among the Nations and giving to the life of humanity what she alone can give. The greatest knowledge and the greatest riches man can possess are hers by inheritance; she has that for which all mankind is waiting. But she can only give it if her hands are free, her soul free, full and exalted, and her life dignified in all its parts. Home Rule, bringing with it the power of self-determination, can give the free hands, space for the soul to grow, strength for the life to raise itself again from darkness and narrow scope into light and nobility. But the full soul rich with the inheritance of the past, the widening gains of the present, and the large potentiality of the future, can come only by a system of National Education. It cannot come by any extension or imitation of the system of the existing universities with its radically false principles, its vicious and mechanical methods, its dead-alive routine tradition and its narrow and sightless spirit. Only a new spirit and a new body born from the heart of the Nation and full of the light and hope of its resurgence can create it.

We have a right to expect that the Nation will rise to the level of its opportunity and stand behind the movement as it has stood behind the movement for Home Rule. It should not be difficult to secure its intellectual sanction or its voice for National Educa-

tion, but much more than that is wanted. The support it gives must be free from all taint of lip-service, passivity and lethargic inaction, evil habits born of long political servitude and inertia, and of that which largely led to it, subjection of the life and soul to a blend of unseeing and mechanical custom. Moral sympathy is not enough; active support from every individual is needed. Workers for the cause, money and means for its sustenance, students for its schools and colleges, are what the movement needs that it may prosper. The first will surely not be wanting; the second should come, for the control of the movement has in its personnel both influence and energy, and the habit of giving as well as self-giving for a great public cause is growing more widespread in the country. If the third condition is not from the beginning sufficiently satisfied, it will be because, habituated individually always to the customary groove, we prefer the safe and prescribed path, even when it leads nowhere, to the great and effective way, and cannot see our own interest because it presents itself in a new and untried form. But this is a littleness of spirit which the Nation must shake off that it may have the courage of its destiny.

If material and prudential considerations stand in the way, then let it be seen that, even in the vocational sphere, the old system opens only the doors of a few offices and professions overcrowded with applicants, whence the majority must go back disappointed and with empty hands, or be satisfied with a dwarfed life and a sordid pittance; while the new education will open careers which will be at once ways of honourable sufficiency, dignity and affluence to the individual, and paths of service to the country. For the men who come out equipped in every way from its institutions will be those who will give that impetus to the economic life and effort of the country without which it cannot survive in the press of the world, much less attain its high legitimate position. Individual interest and National interest are the same and call in the same direction. Whether as citizen, as worker or as parent and guardian, the duty of every Indian in this matter is clear: it lies in the great and new road the pioneers have been hewing, and not in the old stumbling cart-ruts.

This is an hour in which, for India as for all the world, its

future destiny and the turn of its steps for a century are being powerfully decided, and for no ordinary century, but one which is itself a great turning-point, an immense turn-over in the inner and outer history of mankind. As we act now, so shall the reward of our Karma be meted out to us, and each call of this kind at such an hour is at once an opportunity, a choice, and a test offered to the spirit of our people. Let it be said that it rose in each to the full height of its being and deserved the visible intervention of the Master of Destiny in its favour.

Yoga and its Part in the Divine Plan

YOGA is the unravelling of the knot of life's difficulties. Suddhi, Mukti, Siddhi and Bhukti are the four constituent elements of Yoga. Mind, Heart, Life and Body are to do the work of the Divine. The unfolding of the Spirit, its light and its power and its joy and oneness in man upon the earth, is an essential part of the divine plan and the obvious purport of the terrestrial and human creation. Life becomes flower and sap of the Godhead from the bulb of terrestrial nature in the stock of humanity. To grow into Godhead, to live in the Divine, acting through the universalised and divinised individual is the acme of the growth into divine living.

Thus, we can rise out of our apparent bondage into our real freedom, a double aspect, self-existent freedom and integral self-possession and mastery, *svarājya* and *sāmrājya*. Immortality is the status in the infinite spiritual consciousness. The condition of immortality and freedom is neither a disappearance of the individual into the universality of being nor an annihilation of him in some indeterminate existence. It is to live not to ourselves in the ego, but for God in ourselves, and for God in man, and in the integral harmony of the One Universal Spirit. It is the possession of Sachchidananda in oneself and the expression of him in the universe. Our mortality is only justified in the light of our immortality; earth knows all herself by opening to the heavens; the individual sees himself aright and uses his world divinely only when he has seen the light and lived in the power of the Divine.

SUPPLEMENT TO

VOLUME 29

SAVITRI

The following note on the story of Savitri and its significance was found in one of Sri Aurobindo's note-books. It may profitably be read before starting on his epic. And it is for this reason that it has been reproduced here although it is included in Volume 26, *On Himself*, page 265.

The Tale of Satyavan and Savitri

THE tale of Satyavan and Savitri is recited in the Mahabharata as a story of conjugal love conquering death. But this legend is, as shown by many features of the human tale, one of the many symbolic myths of the Vedic cycle. Satyavan is the soul carrying the divine truth of being within itself but descended into the grip of death and ignorance; Savitri is the Divine Word, daughter of the Sun, goddess of the supreme Truth who comes down and is born to save; Aswapati, the Lord of the Horse, her human father, is the Lord of Tapasya, the concentrated energy of spiritual endeavour that helps us to rise from the mortal to the immortal planes; Dyumatsena, Lord of the Shining Hosts, father of Satyavan, is the Divine Mind here fallen blind, losing its celestial kingdom of vision, and through that loss its kingdom of glory. Still this is not a mere allegory, the characters are not personified qualities, but incarnations or emanations of living and conscious Forces with whom we can enter into concrete touch and they take human bodies in order to help man and show him the way from his mortal state to a divine consciousness and immortal life.