

main reason why the Jews have failed to form themselves into a political unit or a nation and a recognised factor in world-politics.

There are indeed various factors that co-operate and contribute towards the making of a nation, such as a common language, a common religion, a common government, and a common culture and social economy, but perhaps none of these is such a fundamental and indispensable factor as the evolution of a common country, a fixed definite abode, with sharply defined geographical boundaries. The spirit, according to Hindu philosophy, clothes itself in the body in and through which it works; it needs a vehicle, an instrument, a physical framework whereby it expresses and outshapes itself in the external world of matter. And it seems as if the same principle also applies in respect of the spirit of Nationality. It seems as if even Nationality needs a material physical basis without which it can hardly manifest and assert itself as a real existence and factor in the political world. The primary requisite for the birth and growth of a nation is the certainty, fixity, and permanence of place, and when *that* is assured, the other formative forces will appear and make themselves felt in due course. A common fatherland is preliminary to all national development: round that living nucleus will naturally gather all those feelings,

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associations, traditions and other elements which go to make up a people's language and literature, culture and religion, and thereby establish its separate existence and individuality, demanding its preservation and independent development as a valuable cultural unit indispensable to humanity. The unifying influence of a common country, of common natural surroundings, of common economic conditions, is indeed irresistible, and the assertion may be safely made that it will be effectively operative against other disintegrating and dividing forces and factors such as differences in manners and customs, language and religion."

[Thus, while Europe was being overrun by the nomads and was struggling to found new homes for her peoples in place of the old ones disorganised and destroyed by the barbarian invasions, when the very conditions of national development had not dawned upon Europe, the gospel of a wholesome Nationalism was already a vital force in the public life of India.] All the conditions that make for the growth of a sense of nationhood were fully developed and long known in ancient India. Not only were the original Indo-Aryan invaders in safe and complete possession of a fixed, definite, permanent local habitation for themselves, sharply demarcated from the rest of the world within well-

defined and conspicuous geographical boundaries, but the conception and consciousness of this new home had long dawned upon the popular mind. The limits of this vast, newly conquered continent, which was already unified under the discipline of a common culture and civilisation, the perception of the individuality of this immense mother-country, were not merely known to the cultured classes of the Indian community—a knowledge of these had also filtered through the ages down to the lowest strata of society. [The Indians as a people had long realised the physical individuality of their mother-country. They were already in possession of the necessary material, tangible, objective basis upon which a sense of Nationalism might be built up.]

Towards the performance of this truly stupendous task, namely, that of moulding and developing the national consciousness of a country of continental proportions, the indigenous vehicles of culture played a worthy and glorious part. [It is a mistake readily to assume that the origin of that remarkable social phenomenon of Nationalism is to be found in the West; that it is a genuinely Western product imported into the Eastern countries long after their growth and development; that the Eastern mind was completely a stranger to the very conception of the mother-

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country, a sense of natural attachment to her, and a corresponding sense of duties and obligations which the children of the soil owe to her. Such misconceptions are due to a colossal ignorance of the culture of the East. Even in the dim and distant age of remote antiquity, unilluminated by the light of historical knowledge, we find the underlying principles of Nationalism chanted forth in the hymns of the *Rigveda* embodying the very first utterance of humanity itself. That book, one of the oldest literary records of humanity, reveals conscious and fervent attempts made by the Rishis, those profoundly wise organisers of Hindu polity and culture, to visualise the unity of their mother-country, nay, to transfigure the mother earth into a living deity and enshrine her in the loving heart of the worshipper. This is best illustrated by the famous river hymn, in which are invoked in an impassioned prayer the various rivers of the Punjab, which were eminently entitled to the nation's gratitude for their invaluable contributions towards the material making of their motherland. As the mind of the devotee calls up in succession the images of these different rivers defining the limits of his country, it naturally traverses the entire area of his native land and grasps the image of the whole as a visible unit and form. Certainly a better

and simpler, a more effective and soul-stirring formula could not be invented for the perception of the fatherland as the indivisible unit than the following prayer:

“O ye Ganga, Yamuna, Sarasvati, Satadru, and Parusni, receive ye my prayers! O ye Marutbridha joined by the Asikni, Vitasta, and Arjikiya joined by the Sushoma, hear ye my prayers!”

It calls up at once in the mind's eye a picture of the whole of Vedic India, and fulfils in a remarkable way the poet's purpose behind it of awakening the people to a sense of the fundamental unity of their country. The river hymn of the Rigveda, therefore, presents the first national conception of Indian unity such as it was. It was necessarily conditioned by the geographical horizon reached in that age, as indicated by these and other geographical data.

The pattern and the fashion thus set in the *Rigveda*, whereby a knowledge of the country was sought to be spread through its association in daily prayers, were naturally followed by the later literature, which is always indissolubly bound up with the Vedic tradition and truths. Thus, the following Pauranic prayer is but an adaptation of the Vedic hymn to a new environment, to an

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expanded geographical horizon embracing the whole of India within its limits :

“O ye Ganga, Yamuna, Godaveri, Sarasvati, Narmada, Sindhu, and Cauvery, come ye and enter into this water of my offering.”

This holy text for the sacrificial purification of water is daily repeated as a mantram by millions of devout Hindus all over the country during their baths and worship, and cannot fail to lift them above the limitations of their ordinary domestic homes to a higher and a wider plane of thought on which they can realise the bond of brotherhood which connects them all as citizens of a vaster country, the fundamental unity of the whole of India welding together its distant and different parts into a common indivisible whole. The mental horizon embracing the limited interests of the domestic circle or an individual home or a petty village, naturally expands under the influence and inspiration of such prayers, so that it comes to embrace the wider interests of a far more extended and glorified home, of the vast nation-family in which are merged the individual families.

The same ennobling, elevating effect is produced on the national consciousness by the following Pauranic couplet, in which the whole of India is presented before the mind's eye as the land of

seven mountains which distinguish the several different parts of India and unify them in the physical configuration of a common country: "Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Suktiman, Riksa, Vindhya, Pariyatra—these are the seven main hills of India."

[Equally efficacious is the following text in enfranchising the mind from the limitations of a narrow, provincial, parochial outlook and awakening it to a vision of the whole country, of which all parts are equally sacred and entitled to homage: "Ayodhya, Mathura, Maya, Kasi, Kanchi, Avanti, and Dvaravati—these are the seven places conferring liberation on the pilgrim."

Here India is represented as the land of seven principal sacred places which it is incumbent on every devotee to visit, and which cover between them practically the entire area of the country. The man who wants salvation is enjoined to regard these sacred cities in seven different and distant parts of India with an equal eye of impartiality and to attach to all of them the same degree of sanctity. Just as the bathers in the sacred streams of the Indus and Ganges are united to the bathers in the distant waters of the Narmada and the Cauvery in the utterance of a common prayer producing the sameness of spirit and sentiment born of contemplation of a common country,

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a consequent sense of brotherhood, of a common nation family, similarly the citizens of Kasi and Kanchi, Avanti and Ayodhya, are made to join hands in a common worship and, though physically apart, are united in spirit. Space divides, but the soul unites !



## THE NATIONALISM OF HINDU SECTS

EACH of the principal sects of Hinduism has developed its own appropriate prayers and slokas meant for the masses, but they all breathe a common sense of Nationalism and are inspired by the same ideal and aim, viz. the expansion of the limited physical outlook of the worshippers concerned so that they may be led by different roads to the same goal and destination, the constant consciousness of a common home, of the whole of India as the common motherland of all, despite differences of caste and creed. All the subordinate sects of Hinduism stand on the common platform of a larger outlook, an imperial conception of the geographical integrity and individuality of the mighty motherland; all the creeds have a common catholicity so far as a devotion to the motherland, a sense of its complete sacredness, are concerned—the sacredness not merely of the whole, but of each and all of its parts. All the subordinate faiths of Hinduism unite in recognising the essential and primary truth that no real

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religious progress can be achieved until and unless those limitations and barriers are broken down which are created by the mere physical factor of space, and which divide and isolate men from one another by virtue of the mere distance of their local habitations. For religious progress ultimately means the progress of the expansion of the limited self, and a progressive realisation of its affinity towards others in spite of superficial and temporary differences. And so our Sastras have recognised this cramping influence of the mere physical environment, and have sought to invent appropriate antidotes to it by introducing to the people the conception of a greatly extended geographical horizon, whereby their mental outlook might be broadened and a step gained towards the achievement of final liberation or emancipation.

Thus if one is a Saiva, the Sastras present before him the necessity of his cultivation of the conception of the totality of that vast area throughout which are scattered the various places consecrated to the worship of the great God Siva. If he wants to be a genuine devotee of his God, he must visit all these various places, each of which has been exalted into a holy place for its association with one out of the innumerable aspects of the deity. It looks as if the Viratamurti of the Lord is to be realised through the preliminary

process of realising it on a smaller scale in the total extent of the sacred space which, on earth, is associated with Him. Hence the Sastras enjoin upon every devout Saiva the necessity of daily contemplating the numerous places of Saiva worship. They are thus enumerated in a passage selected at random :

“Somanatha, Srisaila, Mallikarjuna, Ujjaini, Amareswara, Kedara, Dakini, Varanasi, Gaurmati, Chitabhumi, Dwaraka, Setubandha, Sivalaya.”

Similarly for the Vaishnava are singled out innumerable sacred places distributed throughout the country in all its four quarters, so that he may be trained in a wider geographical consciousness and made to identify himself with the interests of a much larger country transcending the narrow limitations of his original place of birth. A process of expansion of the mere physical outlook is preliminary to all mental and spiritual expansion. And so a phase or aspect of the great deity has been stamped upon each of the various sacred places consecrated to Him, and the devotee who does not realise by a personal visit the special sacredness of each is likely to miss something of the stupendous significance which can only dawn upon the consciousness of the pilgrim who

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acquires the personal experience of all of them. Passages in our Sastras bearing on the lists of places sacred to Vishnu mention too many names to be conveniently enumerated here. Between them they cover the whole area of the country from Badari in the north through Ayodhya and Mathura, Kasi and Dwaraka, to Jagannath and Sriranga.

The worshipper of Sakti is also similarly enjoined to cultivate the conception of the extensive physical space consecrated to the worship of Kali, the Mother. "In the story of Sati, the perfect wife, who can miss the significance of the fifty-two places in which fragments of Her smitten body fell? One finger fell in Calcutta which is still the Kalighat; and the tongue fell at Kangra or Jwalamukhi in the north Punjab, and appears to this day as a licking tongue of fire from underneath the ground; and the left finger fell at Benares, where it is still Annapurna, the giver of bread."

Thus, whether the Hindu is a Saiva, or a Vaishnava, or a Sakta in his choice of the special mode of his spiritual culture, he is bound to cultivate in common with all his co-religionists the sense of an expanded geographical consciousness, which alone can contribute to the expansion of his mind and soul. Indeed, it has been rightly

assumed and asserted that the physical geography of India has partially influenced her history and shaped and moulded the course of her culture and civilisation.\* As the old Aryan invaders of India first set foot upon her soil, there burst into view upon their eyes the vast territorial expansion of the country, imposing no limits upon the progress of their colonisation. India in the eyes of these early settlers and missionaries was a world unto herself, knowing of no bounds in any direction. An infinite stretch of territory produced naturally a psychology, a philosophy, that was easily dominated by a sense of the infinite and the eternal. Thus the geographical sense has aided in the development of the special spiritual sense that is the characteristic of Hindu thought and culture, of Hindu mind with its special gift of a synthetic vision. Thus the physical conditions of spiritual development were fully recognised and taken advantage of by the founders of the various sects and creeds of India, who always sought to present before their respective followers through appropriate formulæ the widest possible geographical horizon, with its inevitable effects upon their mental outlook.

Along with the special prayers for the various faiths aiming at the presentation of the conception of the entire country as a single geographical

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unit, one indivisible whole, of which all the parts were equally sacred and essential, organic and integral, there were again certain regulations prescribed for the performance of the ceremonies common to all Hindus irrespective of their particular faiths, which also would appear on a close examination and analysis to produce the same effect and to aim at the very same ideal. I mean the regulations prescribed in our Smritis regarding the performance of the most universal of the Hindu ceremonies, which is indeed one of the fundamental distinguishing marks separating Hindu society from all other societies of the world. Those regulations prescribe certain places where alone it is recommended that the sraddha should be performed, and in the geographical distribution of these places we shall find that there is not a single part of the vast Indian continent which has been ignored and excluded. A good list of the places is to be found in the *Vishnu Smriti*, where they are mentioned in the following order :—

1. Pushkara in Northern Rajputana. A sraddha done at Pushkara will, it is stated, bear eternal fruits ; and by bathing there, one is immediately absolved of all sins.
2. Gaya.

## THE NATIONALISM OF HINDU SECTS 63

3. The place of the Akshayavata, one of which is traced in Behar, and another at Allahabad.
4. The hill of Amarakantaka, which is on the Mekhala mountain in the Vindhya range.
5. Varaha hill in the Sambalpur division.
6. Anywhere on the banks of the Narmada.
7. Anywhere on the banks of the Yamuna.
8. Specially anywhere on the banks of the Ganga.
9. Kusavarta on the mountain called Tryambaka, where the Godaveri takes its rise.
10. Binduka in the Deccan.
11. Nilaparvata.
12. Kanakhala near Hardwar.
13. Kubjamra, which is the name of a plain in Orissa.
14. Bhṛigutunga, which is the name of a mountain near the Amarakantaka in the Himalayas.
15. Kedara, the famous peak of the Himalayas.
16. Mahalaya mountain.
17. Nadantika river.
18. Sugandha river.
19. Sakambhari, identified with modern Shambhar in Rajputana.
20. The sacred place on the Phalgu.
21. Mahāganga, which is another name of the Gāṅgā.
22. Trinalikagrama near Salagrama.

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23. Kumaradhara, which is the name of a lake in Kashmir. According to the *Vayupurana*, the lake was created by the God Kumara by a stroke of his arrow causing water to stream forth from the Krauncha mountain.
24. Prabhasa.
25. Anywhere on the banks of the river Sarasvati.
26. Hardwar.
27. Prayaga.
28. The mouths of the Ganga.
29. Naimisaranya.
30. Benares.

This list gives the names of the various places marked out for the proper performance of the sraddha, and it will be seen that in their selection every part of India has been drawn upon and represented. [There are again special rivers mentioned, such as the Godaveri, Gaumati, the Vetravati of Central India; the Vipasa, the Vitasta, the Satadru, and the Chandrabhaga, the Irawadi and the Sindhu of the Punjab; the five rivers of the South, viz. the Krishna, the Vena, the Tunga, the Bhadra, and the Kona. Without multiplying further passages, the one just quoted from the *Vishnu Smriti* will suffice to bear out the truth of the contention herein urged, viz. that the underlying principle of the determination of



these sacred places was to treat the entire country as a single sacred unit and spread the conception of such sacredness among the unlettered millions of India, who were all to think of these holy places in connection with the performance of that ceremony which has had the widest possible, nay, universal currency among the Hindus as a people, whatever might be the special sects or creeds to which they belonged.] Besides, we should also recognise the other great influence exercised upon the minds of those who perform the ceremony of sraddha at any of these sacred places. The performance of the funeral ceremony naturally creates a vital bond of association and connection which will bind for ever the unfortunate performer of that ceremony with the new place far away from his own native land, and by virtue of this association with his dear departed ones the new and unfamiliar spot comes to have a most familiar and cherished place in the heart of the man himself. In this way are broken down the physical barriers of space, which would otherwise restrict considerably his geographical horizon or the extent of the country in which he takes a personal interest. A much wider area now dawns upon his geographical consciousness, in which he comes to feel an intense personal interest due to new associations connected with the performance of melancholy duties.

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Thus, like the institution of pilgrimage itself, the geographical basis fixed by our Sastras for the other institution of the sraddhas will have the effect of producing ultimately the same effects as we have noticed in connection with the working of the former system, viz. training the mind of the people, unlettered and uncultured, in the easiest and the most natural manner, in habits of conception of the physical limits of the vast motherland which would be otherwise incapable of comprehension by the untutored minds.

We have thus seen how our ancient culture, and Samskrit literature, in which that culture is represented, have throughout contributed towards the creation of that primary factor of nationalism, viz. the sense of the possession of a common country to love and to serve, to live for and to die for, of which the different parts are to be regarded with a feeling of uniform sacredness as essential members co-operating towards the good of the common whole. We have here, as it were, a scheme of religious decentralisation, akin to administrative decentralisation, by means of which numerous religious centres have been created throughout the length and breadth of the country for the development of a high level of spiritual culture, even as in the administrative sphere we find the creation of innumerable centres of local

autonomy by means of which a high level of public spirit, political consciousness and progress is sought to be created, and, in the sphere of the military, forts and garrisons set up at various centres to distribute the military power of the realm evenly among its different parts so as to make its influence uniformly felt throughout the country.

## NATIONALISM AS A HINDU POLITICAL IDEAL

Just as Hindu religion has been instrumental in spreading the conception of a common fatherland in the whole of India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin among the masses by means of appropriate prayers, ceremonies, and obligatory visits to the numerous places of pilgrimage which do not recognise at all the divisions of provinces, similarly Hindu politics in ancient times also did not encourage the growth of any narrow notions limiting the extent of the motherland. The success of the early missionaries of Aryan culture in propagating it throughout the continent signalised itself by its designation by the single name of Bharatavarsha, after the name of the eponymous hero Bharata who was the embodiment of the culture of his race. The name Bharatavarsha is thus not a mere geographical expression like the term India, having only a physical reference, but it has a deep historical significance. It signifies the complete accomplish-

ment of the work initiated by the Aryan forefathers of colonising the whole country and bringing its different parts under the unifying discipline of a common culture and civilisation. Bharatavarsha is thus another name for Aryanised and Hinduised India, betokening the conquest of a new thought and a new faith with their special means of self-expression developed through appropriate literature, disciplines, and institutions, social, economical, and political. Thus, the application of a single individualising appellation to a vast stretch of territory with parts divided by endless varieties and peopled by many races, speaking many tongues, professing many faiths and owning many cultures, was the first step taken towards the assimilation of the entire country as the one indivisible motherland and the living objective of national service. But this process of assimilating was also aided by politics. A sense of possession is always followed by a sense of appropriation, utilisation, and enjoyment. Accordingly it became the natural and legitimate ideal of the Hindu king in ancient India to make the area of his authority coincide with that of the whole country, to make his actual jurisdiction embrace the entire territory which he morally claimed as his own native land. Thus the establishment of an undisputed and paramount

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sovereignty of the whole of India up to the limits of the ocean became the objective of kingly activity in ancient times. The ideal is thus put forward by the sacred work *Aitareya Brahmana* :

“Monarchy at its highest should have an empire extending right up to natural boundaries ; it should be territorially all-embracing up to the very ends uninterrupted, and should constitute and establish one state and administration in the land up to the seas.”

The territorial synthesis leads the way to the political synthesis, and is in turn emphasised by it. The evolution of the name Bharatavarsha was inevitably followed by its natural political consequences in the assimilation of the physical area implied by it to the indigenous political authority or system.

It is thus a mistake to suppose that the conception of paramount sovereignty is something strange to Hindu political thought and was imported into India from foreign countries. It has even been asserted that the founder of the Mauryan Empire was only imitating the models and methods set by the Achæmenian Empire of Persia. It is however forgotten that, long before the days of that Persian Empire, the ideal of political suzerainty was preached in all the sacred works of Hindus as a perfectly legitimate and

laudable ideal to be realised by the Kshatriya kings of ancient India.] If terms or names are to be taken as symbols of realities, if a mere word cannot grow except on the basis of some fact accomplished, then the abundance of the various terms, names, and words indicative of overlordship or suzerainty in Vedic literature is highly significant. [A reference to the several Vedic concordances and indexes will show the various passages in which are to be found the uses of such definitely significant terms as "Adhiraja," "Rajadhiraja," "Samraj," "Ekaraj," and even "Sarvabhauma"] but lest we doubt the reality and the substance behind these terms and symbols, we are confronted by the remarkable fact that there were special ceremonies developed in connection with the inauguration and installation of such paramount sovereignty, of which elaborate details and descriptions are preserved in some of our most sacred works which concern themselves solely with religious realities, with rites and institutions, and not with imaginative inventions having no application in actual life. Probably the most confirmed and extreme prejudice against Hindu culture and Sanskrit literature cannot lay the charge against our sacred works like the *Aitareya Brahmana* or *Satapatha Brahmana* that their contents have no connection

with life and its actual practices, but partake of the character of poetry or fiction, as a type of literary composition. The truth of the matter is that the serious and sincere way in which those particular ceremonies are treated of in our sacred works cannot but justify our claiming for them a complete reality which was perfectly attainable and frequently attained in those days. The sacred books generally speak of three characteristic ceremonies, viz. those of the *Vajapeya*, the *Rajasuya*, and the *Asvamedha*, of which the performance can only be claimed by a king who succeeds by means of his conquest in making himself the king of kings. For minute details and descriptions of these ceremonies the reader is referred to *Satapatha Brahmana*, *Aitareya Brahmana*, *Katyayana Srauta Sutra*, *Asvalayana Srauta Sutra*, *Taittiriya Sanhita*, *Taittiriya Brahmana*, *Sankhyayana Srauta Sutra*, *Atharvaveda*, *Maitrayani Sanhita*, *Kathaka Sanhita*, *Vajasaneyi Sanhita*, all of which are invested in the Hindu mind with a degree of sanctity and seriousness in the face of which it will be a sacrilege and a profanation for us to regard them as books merely meant for the cultivation of the imagination and not serving the actual purposes of life. The Hindu religious books are all practical books comprising details of ceremonies actually performed by the Hindus



in prosecution of the ideals laid down therein. We cannot, therefore, light-heartedly reject the evidence of our religious literature regarding the ceremonies connected with Imperial coronations and their necessary political significance.

Alo~~ng~~ with these terms and ceremonies indicative of the conception of an all-India overlordship the books fortunately preserve for us lists of kings who are said to have succeeded in carrying the conception into actual execution. Lists of such pariah~~ant~~ kings are to be found in the *Aitareya Brahmana*, the *Satapatha Brahmana*, the *Sankhyayana Srauta Sutra*, the *Mahabharata*, and most of the Puranas. It is not possible to establish the historicity of all these great kings of old according to the accepted standards of accuracy and scientific criticism. But the lists are highly significant as embodying a genuine tradition about the realisation in ancient India of the legitimate Kshatriya ideal of an undisputed sovereignty over the whole of India up to the seas. Besides, one of the three ceremonies, viz. Asvamedha, can claim its actual performances in perfectly historical times. The historical list of Asvamedhins in Indian history includes the following names :

- |                  |                 |
|------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Pushyamitra.  | 4. Adityasena.  |
| 2. Samudragupta. | 5. Pulakesi II. |
| 3. Kumaragupta.  |                 |

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The theory has, therefore, to be definitely abandoned that the conception of paramount sovereignty was unknown to ancient India until it was realised by Chandragupta Maurya. We can at least claim that the idea itself was much older than the Mauryan Emperor, who need not have gone to far-off Persia for inspiration and guidance in the matter of accomplishing his projected political unification of as much of the country as possible. The sacred works preserved for him a rich storehouse of national tradition on the subject, the glorious record of many an illustrious hero who preceded him in the work of bringing the whole of India under the 'umbrella' of one central authority. In the historical period we have, besides Chandragupta Maurya, no less than three successive kings, each of whom attained the political status of becoming the king of kings, viz :

1. Asoka.
2. Samudragupta.
3. Harshavardhana.

The cyclical reappearance of these overlords in the course of Indian history served to keep clear and fresh in the popular consciousness a sense of the unity and individuality of the mother-country as it uttered itself in politics, just as it

has always been kept clear and fresh by means of religion. [Thus both politics and religion helped to fix in the popular mind of ancient India the consciousness of the possession of a common country to live and to serve, which is the primary and indispensable basis of an abiding nationalism.]

## SAMSKRIT LITERATURE AND ITS BEARING ON NATIONAL LIFE

If we agree as to the harmonious development of national life in all its phases and aspects in ancient India in the twofold domain of material and spiritual progress, there will be no difficulty in our accepting the position that Samskrit literature, which was the indigenous vehicle of the culture of the country in ancient times, was also possessed of those elements and resources which enabled it to minister adequately to the manifold interests of a wholesome national development. So far as the interests of religious and spiritual life are concerned, it is universally admitted that Samskrit literature was more than able to fulfil its proper part in that regard. It is, however, forgotten that Samskrit literature is not exclusively religious or philosophical in its character. It may be assumed on mere *a priori* grounds that it could not but have fulfilled in a large measure the material ends of national life in the ancient days of Hindu India, when the country was culturally

self-contained and independent to a very large extent, so that the mental aids to her material development must have been supplied by her own indigenous literatures.

So far as the ends of a healthy national development are concerned, the most fundamental consideration is a living consciousness of a common country, born of an intimate knowledge of its different parts, culminating in an acute sense of nationalism, finding in the whole country the material basis of its activity. It has been already demonstrated that Sanskrit literature is specially efficacious in creating a sense of attachment to the mother-country akin to religious devotion in its fervour, and a consequent larger conception and mental outlook, which are essential to nation-building in a country like India with its special problems and conditions. But besides supplying this indispensable basis of nationalism and ensuring its growth on a most solid foundation—the foundation of abiding religious sentiments and convictions—the cause of national development in various directions was also amply served by the literature of the country in ancient days. We can claim on the basis of undisputed facts and the testimony of trustworthy history and the researches of Western scholars that in point of economic progress and material development

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ancient India won for herself an honoured place in the comity of nations of the old world, and we may therefore assume the necessary progress and development of an adequate literature together with an appropriate educational machinery and organisation by which such progress and development were achieved. But apart from this *a priori* assumption, we may also point to certain facts about the existence of such works in Samskrit as have a direct bearing on material welfare.

[The indigenous principle of classification of the manifold ends of national life divided them into four principal departments, designated as Dharma, Artha, Kama, and Moksha. Round each of these departments naturally developed its appropriate literature.] Of these we need not refer in this connection to the literature bearing upon Moksha or spiritual emancipation, for the strength of Samskrit literature in this regard is admitted on all hands, and is too well known to need any elaboration on the present occasion; but we may try to indicate in a broad survey the quantity and the quality of the literature that is available in relation to the other topics.

Firstly, as regards Artha, or material welfare proper, we may point out that Samskrit literature considers it under the following four principal

divisions, each of which embraced quite a variety of subjects and works, as shown below :—

(a) Agriculture, under which were also included all the subsidiary or allied occupations and sciences that go with it, such as farming, horticulture, sericulture, botany, zoology, with special reference to cattle-rearing, physiography, meteorology, and the like. These various subjects are called by the indigenous names of Krishividya, Vanaspatisaṣṭram, Kosakarakeetavidya, Pasupalya, Bhūsaṣṭram, Ritavidya, and the like. Each of these subjects has developed a voluminous literature of its own, but unfortunately much of that literature is lost, and the portion that is available is still mostly in manuscript awaiting publication. For instance, references are to be found to works on botany known as Vrikshayurveda ; to works on horses, or Asvasaṣṭra, of which the traditional authority is Śalihotra ; to works on elephants, or Gajasaṣṭra, of which the traditional authority is Palakapya ; and so forth. But the works themselves cannot be traced. An account of the speculation of the Hindus on the subject of botany is to be found in the work of a most learned scholar of modern times, viz. *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*, by Dr Brajendranath Seal.

(b) Secondly, there was the division called Varta, which embraced commerce and its allied occupa-

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tions, and subjects called by the indigenous names of Vittasastram, Dravyagunam, Vanijyavidya, etc. In such monumental works as the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya and the *Brihat-Sanhita* of Varahamihra we have chapters giving detailed accounts of the economic products of India.]

(c) There was a division called Silpa, which comprised all the subjects belonging to the twofold division of pure and applied science. It thus included mathematics, physics, astronomy, and other subjects connected with the various arts and crafts of civilised life. [It may not be out of place in this connection to record the achievements made by the Hindus in these various scientific and practical subjects. In arithmetic the world owes the decimal notation to the Hindus. Algebra was represented by such well-known names as Aryabhata and Bhaskaracharya. The solution of quadratic equations was first made by the Hindus, who were also the first to apply algebra to astronomical investigation and geometrical demonstrations. Geometry arose in India in connection with the construction of altars and their enclosures according to the various figures. Trigonometry is also the special invention of the Hindus, and Bhaskara wrote a book on spherical trigonometry. Astronomy was represented by many famous names, such as those of Aryabhata, the author



of *Suryasiddhanta*, who boldly maintained the rotation of the earth on its axis and explained the true cause of the eclipses of the sun and moon. In his *Golapada* he gives us the names of the twelve divisions of the solar zodiac. His calculation of the earth's circumference was fairly accurate. He was followed by Varahamihra, the famous author of *Brihat-Sanhita*, and by Brahmagupta, the author of *Brahmasphutasiddhanta*, in which he ascertained the calculations of lunar and solar eclipses, the position of the moon's cusps, and the conjunctions of the planets and the stars. After Brahmagupta came Bhaskara, the author of *Siadhanta-Siromani*. Dr Seal's book just mentioned explains the Hindu speculations on physics.

As regards the many arts and crafts which were the necessary handmaids of civilisation, the progress made in ancient India is a matter of history. Though it is difficult to substantiate it by reference to extant literary works bearing on them, yet their existence in ancient times cannot be disputed. [There are references to the sixty-four fine arts in many works, all of which were taught in the ancient Indian universities like Taxila.]

(d) Lastly, there was a fourth division called Ayurveda, under which were included the various branches of medical science, including pharmacy, surgery, anatomy, osteology, chemistry, physi-

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ology, etc. [In the medical sciences the most famous names are those of Charaka and Susruta, the founders of the Ayurvedic system of medicine, which is still holding its own against the other medical systems of the world.] An account of Hindu achievements in the domain of anatomy and osteology is given in the works of Dr Seal and Dr Hoernle. Progress in pharmacy is established by the efficacy of the various medicines prescribed by the Ayurvedic system. [As regards the progress of Hindu chemistry we have the two original and monumental volumes by the renowned chemist, Dr P. C. Ray of Calcutta.]

The second division that we shall consider is what is known [in the Sastras as Kama, which is used in a broad sense to mean practically Kala, or the arts. Under this may be included such variety of subjects as grammar, philology, literature, prosody, rhetoric, criticism, logic, history, and so forth, of which the indigenous names are Siksha, Kalpa, Vyakarana, Nirukta, Chhanda, Jyotisha, Itihasa, Purana, Kavya, Sahitya, etc. There is a history of the literature bearing on each subject which is represented by various works. The subject of grammar, for instance, in Sanskrit literature is represented by many works and many schools of grammar, each of which has developed various commentaries

The last division of learning is called by the name of Dharma, which is used in a broad and special sense to mean the code of regulations and laws both for the social and political organisation. Our ancient Sastras recognised the fundamental importance of the family to the nation ; they held that a healthy national life could not be built except on the basis of a healthy domestic life, and accordingly they gave themselves to a systematic and scientific study of sociology. Elaborate regulations and restrictions have been laid down in Smritis, which address themselves to all possible aspects of the social and domestic life, and govern the various relations in which human beings can stand to one another as members of a community. Family life is indeed the basis of national life ; the nation is the glorified family, the expanded family, the family writ large. The recognition of this fundamental principle of nation-building is the real reason why we have such a singularly elaborate literature bearing on domestic and social organisation, the like of which is not to be found in any other literature of the world. The Smritis constitute a unique type of literature, the like of which is not to be found in any other country, and form one of the most characteristic products of Hindu culture. The importance of the discipline of domestic life was so deeply felt and

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widely appreciated that it probably influenced even the mind of the great Rishi poet Valmiki in his choice of the subject of his monumental masterpiece, the *Ramayana*, for the most important aspect of the *Ramayana* is not the heroic or the historical but the domestic. It is the representation of an idealised domestic life ; we find in it the mirror of domestic perfections, the pattern of domestic manners and virtues by which the domestic life of humanity may be safely governed. The *Ramayana* really represents the ideal father, the ideal mother, the ideal son, the ideal husband, the ideal wife, the ideal brother, the ideal master, the ideal devotee, the ideal friend, in the persons of the various characters that are introduced in the epic. The *Ramayana* is, therefore, one of the greatest moral forces that have been moulding the domestic life of the Hindu community from time immemorial up to the present day ; and, whatever might be their status in the modern political world, it will be admitted on all hands that, in point of felicities of the domestic life and the successful organisation of the family as the unit of society and the State, the Hindus do not lag behind any of the progressive and politically independent nations of the earth, for the culture that goes to the making of a happy family and a well-developed domestic life has been the national

possession of the Hindus from a very remote antiquity.

There are various works in Sanskrit literature treating of such subjects as Sadachara, Sadharana Dharma, Srautakritya, Samskaravidhi, Prayaschitta, etc., which are all connected with the various aspects and possible phases of the family or domestic life.

Along with the social organisation the regulation of the political organisation was also included within the purview of the various Sastras bearing on Dharma, and the books relating to the regulations of the State are generally known by the technical term of Nitisastras. There are various books, mostly in manuscript, bearing on polity, and my esteemed friend and pupil, Kumara Narendranath Law, M.A., B.L., Premchand Roychand Scholar of Calcutta, has lately prepared an exhaustive list of numerous manuscripts and works traced on this subject. [Among the extant publications we may mention the three monumental works, viz. the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya, the *Kaman-daki*, and the *Sukranitisara* ; but we know how each of these authorities refers to a multiplicity of authors and schools of thought preceding it. Kautilya, for instance, speaks of ten different schools of political thought that preceded him, and on every minor topic he always quotes the

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opinions of his predecessors for purposes either of precedent or criticism.]

It may be objected that these works, on polity possessed only a theoretical importance, and embodied ideal precepts and maxims, which were never applied to the actual conditions of political life or to the solution of actual administrative problems. An answer to this criticism will, however, be easily found if we simply consider the character of [the most important of the Hindu works on political science and statecraft, namely, the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya.] The majority of Western scholars have been agreed as to the authenticity, to the authorship and the age of that remarkable literary production, the discovery and publication of which the world owes to the Government of Mysore. [No scholar can reasonably doubt that the author of the work was no other than Chanakya, the first minister of Chandragupta, the Mauryan Emperor, who was materially assisted by him in the foundation and governance of his vast empire, which presented, on account of its extraordinary physical extent and the accompanying variety of conditions, most complex and difficult administrative problems that could only be satisfactorily grappled with and solved by a man of Chanakya's genius and encyclopædic erudition. Unlike Aristotle's *Politics*

or Plato's *Republic*, the *Arthashastra* presents a judicious combination of theoretical discussion with practical illustrations of political principles and details of administration, and a predominant note of realism which is born only of a living experience of actual problems and contact with facts. All the familiar problems and topics of administration which claim the attention of the modern Governments of the world find their due treatment in the ancient book. We have chapters devoted to the consideration of such eternal topics of Indian administration as forests, mines, irrigation, famine, land revenue, census, central and local governments, cattle and live stock, agriculture and commerce, arts and crafts, and public finance ; and it would appear from the treatment of each of these topics that the author was not merely an academic expert in political theories, but also a most practical administrator, whose generalisations were drawn from a wide area of experience, who was in touch with all the various departments of administration, the heads of which seem to have supplied him with materials and facts which have been incorporated in the book itself by the author as the first minister.

We have now given a rough idea of the secular branches of Sanskrit literature which in the ancient days of Hindu India were found capable

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of ministering to the various practical ends and interests of a wholesome national life and development, by virtue of which India was enabled to a large extent to claim and maintain for a long time a predominant position in the ancient commercial world. We are always in the habit of confining our attention exclusively to the religious and philosophical branches of Samskrit literature, the dazzling splendour of which should not blind us to its other branches, which were also fairly well developed. It is high time that a school of scholars should grow up who will devote themselves assiduously to the sacred task of vindicating the ancient culture of the country, which was not at all found wanting in the matter of promoting the harmonious development of the entire nation in all the manifold fields of human activity, material and moral, secular and spiritual, physical and religious.



## THE CULTURAL EQUIPMENT OF SAMSKRIT LITERATURE

To Samskrit literature was given the mission and function of ministering to the harmonious development of ancient India in the different fields of national activity, so far as that development could be accomplished by means of intellectual instruments, literary and cultural aids. What English literature is to the growth of the English people, that was Samskrit literature in relation to the growth of the Hindus. It is difficult in modern times to estimate precisely the magnitude, importance, and value of the part played by Samskrit literature in the material and moral development of the country in the days of its ancient history, for now we find that towards the same end are co-operating quite a number of languages and literatures with English in the central and dominant position, which are all vying with one another in extending their sphere of action and influence. In ancient times, however, Samskrit was the sole medium of communication of the cultured classes,

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the only vehicle of higher learning and culture in the community, and was thus enjoying for ages an unchallenged monopoly in supplying the nation with all the mental and intellectual aids that were necessary for its development in the two broadly distinguished spheres of material and spiritual progress. [Accordingly, we find that Samskrit literature has also grown with the growth of the nation ; it has grown in response to the developing requirements of a wholesome national life that was winning for the country an honoured place in the old-world comity of nations. It has gone on gaining in vastness and variety, width and depth, with the ever-expanding stream of national life.] It is this correspondence of the literature to the life of the country that explains the phenomenal variety of Samskrit literature, the variety which is but a reflection of the variety of achievements accomplished by the people whose literature it was. In the first place, as has been already pointed out, we must dismiss the cheap assumption widely made that Samskrit literature is principally religious and philosophical in its character. It is of course true that the religious and philosophical branches of Samskrit literature are the richest in the world, but this extraordinary growth in one direction should not blind us to its growth in other directions also. On this point, it is

also to be remembered that [Sanskrit literature contains within itself not only the religious literature of the Hindus proper and Brahmanas, but also of the Buddhists and the Jains.] Being thus the chosen vehicle of expression of three such important religions of the world, it is no wonder that the religious side of Sanskrit literature appeals to us with a most powerful effect on account of its magnitude and bulk. But, as has been pointed out above, the very mission of Sanskrit literature during the ages in which it was the unrivalled vehicle of the country accounts for its remarkable variety and the vastness of its volume. With regard to the variety, I may just give a rough idea by referring to the principal topics on which there are important Sanskrit works available. We have intentionally excluded from our purview the works bearing on Moksha or spiritual culture. The most remarkable work bearing on the practical departments of national life is Kautilya's *Arthashastra* cited above, and it is now too well known to need any description of its contents. It is at once a work on economics and politics regarded both as science and art. Next to this work we may mention the almost equally remarkable work, Vatsyana's *Kamasutra*, in which there is a most interesting chapter on regulations concerning domestic economy, including such topics as the kitchen,

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the kitchen garden, the stores, 'etc. The next similar work is the *Brihat-Sanhita* of Varahamihra, which is replete with information about the secular aspects of national welfare. There is, again, quite a rich crop of literature bearing upon the exact and abstract sciences, like arithmetic, algebra, trigonometry, geometry, and the concrete sciences, like astronomy, medicine, anatomy, physics, chemistry. Some of the renowned books on metaphysics contain much of physics.] Similarly, much literature has undoubtedly grown round each of the sixty-four fine arts to which we have a constant reference in Sanskrit works. For instance, as Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastry has shown, music itself claims an extensive literature. [Bhuvananda Kavikanthabharana of Bengal, who was a contemporary of Sher Shah, wrote an encyclopædic work giving an account of the eighteen sciences of the Hindus, in which he gives a separate account of music and mentions scores of authors of musical works who flourished in ancient times. Similarly, dancing as an art is treated of by Kohala in several chapters in his work on the *Natyasastra*, which explains the various motions connected with that art. Kohala also mentions the various schools of dramatic art that preceded him, each school having developed its own sutras, bhashyas, vartikas, niruktas, sam-

grahas, and karikas. In the field of history we may mention *Harshacharita*, *Rajatarangini*, *Ramacharita*, *Navavikramacharita*, *Prithvirajacharita*. It is superfluous to name the various works on poetry, drama, and philosophy, but from the account just given it is sufficient to have an idea of the extraordinary range of subjects dealt with in Samskrit literature, in spite of the fact that much of that literature has been lost owing to the political convulsion that swept over the country.]

[The volume of Samskrit literature is evident from the consideration of a few typical facts. In 1891 Afrecht published his *Catalogus Catalogorum* enumerating over 30,000 individual Samskrit works. Two later volumes published by him added 10,000 more to the stock, and yet unexplored treasures of Samskrit literature in various places of India still await discovery. Even quite recently some of the countries outside India have yielded their buried treasures of Samskrit literature —e.g. the deserts of Gobi and Taklamakan. Even China, Japan, Korea, Tibet, and Mongolia are giving fresh proofs of the extraordinary volume of this literature. The other proof of its vastness is to be found in the fact that in all the principal Samskrit works representative of the principal subjects we have invariably a reference to the works of preceding authors and schools. Panini, for

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instance, refers to fifteen different schools of grammar that flourished before him; Kautilya refers to ten different schools; similarly, Kohala and Vatsayana also refer to various predecessors and schools of thought on the numerous topics dealt with by them.

All this vastness and variety are ultimately due to the extraordinary longevity of the literature; and even if we date its beginning, with European scholars, from 1500 B.C., it still presents a length of life which is hardly equalled by any other literature of the world.] Max Müller, indeed, said that Samskrit literature went to sleep for seven centuries, from the rise of Buddhism in the fourth century B.C. to the rise of the Gupta Empire in the third century A.D., but the results of modern scholarship achieved since the days of Max Müller have proved the falsity of his position. For instance, in the centuries before the Christian era the literary life of the country was represented by such monumental masterpieces as the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya, the *Natyashastra* of Kohala, the dramatic literature of Bhasa, and the *Mahabhashya* of Patanjali. In the centuries immediately following the Christian era we have such famous names as those of Asvaghosha, the renowned guru of the Emperor Kanishka, the celebrated chemist Nagarjuna, the founder of the Mahayana school

of Buddhism, together with his illustrious pupils Aryadeva and Maitreyanatha, who all flourished in the interval preceding the Gupta period.] In fact, in no period of Indian history do we find any serious interruption of the continuous progress of Sanskrit literature, as the result of which we find that it is possessed of an abundance and a variety that are unique in the literatures of the world.

## CONCLUSION

LET us now summarise the contributions of Hindu culture to the cause of nationality in India. The foundations of nationality were, as we have already seen, well and truly laid in the very earliest period of our history in the people's possession of a fixed and defined territory, followed by their gradual realisation of it as their common motherland, claiming their homage and service. This realisation was consciously stimulated by an appropriate literature, religious as well as secular, which evoked a widespread feeling of reverence for the country. The country came to be deified, and glorified as being not merely Heaven upon earth, but higher than Heaven itself. But this transfiguration was not a mere attitudinising, or merely due to any play of imagination. The country becomes a spiritual entity because the spiritual enters more into its conception than the material. The country is adored because it is but the embodied type of a living culture. Accordingly, its physical limits were always corresponding



with its ideal limits : the country was spreading with the spread of the culture and ideals it stood for. The Vedic river hymn, as we have seen, had its Epic expansion. The original home of the Hindu, limited by the Gangā and the Yamunā in the east, and by the Sarasvatī in the south, extended so as to embrace ultimately the entire continent in successive marches and ever expanding circles. For the country becomes identified with the cultural *environ*, and the ideal country is thus ever carried with the race in its migrations and conquests. It is thus that Brahmāvarta, that "holy land" and original home of the Indo-Aryan between the Sarasvatī and the Drishadvatī (Manu, ii. 17), extends and expands into Brahmarshi-dēśa (comprising Kurukshetra and the country of the Matsyas, Panchālas, and Surasenakas (*ib.*, 19)), and this again into Madhyadesa (between the Himalayas in the north, the Vindhyaś in the south, Prayaga in the east, and Vinascana in the west) and Āryāvarta (lying between these two mountains and extending as far as the eastern and western oceans (*ib.*, 21, 22)), "that land where the black antelope naturally roams." Beyond that lay "the country of the Mlecchas," only to be absorbed in the course of historic evolution in the "holy land," which is continuously spreading until it attains the full limit of its size and stature

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in the continent of Bhāratavarsha, defined in the Puranas as the whole stretch of space between the Himalayas and the southern seas. The country follows the culture; nay, the culture is one's country and the country one's culture. The soul moulds the body as the body expresses the soul, but the genius of the nation is a vast presence which transcends the actual physical or geographical embodiment, and in its ideal possibilities can indeed embrace the whole world of man. Thus the evolution of India as the mother-country of the Indians has but followed the lines of the cosmic process revealing the Universal in the Particular and the Particular in the Universal. Here is no insular culture lacking in universality, nor a disembodied one which is homeless, and therefore infructuous and sterile.

But this peculiarity has its own effects upon the course of Indian history. Where the country is more a cultural than a material possession, it appeals less to the instinct of appropriation. There is more of disinterested sharing, more of community of life and enjoyment. India thus early became the happy home of many races, cults, and cultures, coexisting in concord, without seeking overlordship or mutual extermination. With this high and complex initial responsibility India becomes the land of composite systems in respect

of race, language, civil and personal law, social structure, and religious cult. Other national systems exclude the possibility of such radical diversities, and break down in the attempt to unify them. Féderation and Imperialism have perhaps been born too late for their task.

Such composite systems are built up necessarily on the basis of an extended unit of society. Here the social and political composition is based on the group, and not the individual, as the unit : *e.g.* the family, the village community, the caste, and various other similar corporations, of which a special study is made in another work of mine entitled *Local Government in Ancient India* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 2nd ed., 1920). Such a principle of social construction minimises the friction and collision of atomic units and helps to harmonise the parts in and through the whole. Biologically speaking, such constructions correspond to the more developed forms of organic life which, in their nervous interconnections, show a greater power of integration than the looser and more incoherent organisms lower down in the evolutionary series.

Accordingly, it should be further noted, it is the quasi-instinctive postulates and conventions of group-life which come to be formulated as *law*, and not the mandate, command, or decree of a

single, central authority in the State. Law, under these conditions, is not an artifice, but a natural growth of consensus and communal life. Thus ever new social and political constructions arise by the original and direct action of the groups and communities in the State, and not by the intervention of the absolute sovereign power and its creative fiat, as under all centralised constitutions.

The nationality formed on such principles is a composite nationality, and not one of the rigid, unitary type. The relation of the State to its constituent groups becomes, under this scheme, one of copartnership, each maintaining the others in their place. It is not the State that, by its sanction or charter, creates its own constituent bodies or corporations, but, on the other hand, the groups establish, and are established by, the State.

The genius of the Hindus has adhered firmly to this fundamental principle of political organisation amidst the most trying and adverse conditions in the course of their history. Even when the State ceased to be a national or organic one (as under the Mahomedan rule, for instance) they fell back upon the resources and possibilities of that ultimate political creed to work out the necessary adjustments and adaptations to the new situation as means of their self-preservation as a people. They clung fast to their time-honoured

and confirmed conception of the State, which was based upon a respect for the original and primary rights of group-life, for the sanctity of natural groupings, the inviolability of the vital modes of human association, to which a full scope was, accordingly, never denied. And thus the Hindu State came naturally to be associated, and indeed very largely identified, with a multitude of institutions and corporations of diverse types, structures, and functions, in and through which the many-sided genius of the race expressed itself. It was these intermediate bodies between the individual and the State which mattered most to the life of the people, to the conservation of their culture, as the real seats and centres of national activity. Accordingly, when a State of this complex composition and structure happens to pass under foreign control, the nation can maintain the freedom of its life and culture by means of that larger and more vital part of the State which is not amenable to foreign control, and is, by design, independent of the central authority. An elaborately devised machinery of social and economic self-government amply safeguards the interests of national life and culture. What is lost is but an inferior and insignificant limb of the body politic: its more vital organs are quite intact. It is as if the mere outwork has fallen:

the main stronghold of national life stands firm and entire against the onslaughts of alien aggression; protected by a deep and wide gulf of separation and aloofness from the domain of central authority, which can find no points of substantial contact with the life of the people and no means of controlling the institutions expressing and moulding that life. It is thus that Hindu culture has had a continuous history uninterrupted by the foreign domination to which a national culture would otherwise succumb.

A complete exposition of this composite type of nationality and polity, such as stands to the credit of India as her special achievement, must wait for another opportunity and occasion. But, in passing, we may as well broadly indicate the lines of its actual operation, and also of its possibilities as an instrument for the unification of the human race or the federation of man. The principles of the Indian political constructions tend naturally, as a closer analysis will show, to reconcile the conflicting claims and ideals of Nationalism and Internationalism in a stable synthesis towards which the League of Nations is hopelessly striving. The relations obtaining within the State between the central authority and the constituent groups on which depend so largely its internal order and peace, form the plan and

pattern of its external relations also. Comparative politics, indeed, point to a kind of correspondence between the principles governing the internal constitution of States and the principles governing their external expansion. The *intra*-State and the *inter*-State relations are fundamentally of the same type. The State that is of a central type, and thus absorbs the original and originating groups in its own unitary life, will also exhibit the same militarist spirit of domination and aggression in its movement of expansion by absorbing other States. Similarly, the expansion or extension of the Indian State will not be a process of absorption by assimilation or extermination of external States, neighbourly or rival, but will be governed by those principles, already referred to, which regulate the internal constitution of the State itself in relation to its constituent groups. Those are the principles of a generous comprehension that broaden the basis of an inter-State convention under which all subject peoples are established in their own conventions and all subject States in their own constitution or customary law.

The problems before the League of Nations, of reconciling the self-determination of individual sovereign States with the interests of the collective brotherhood of all the States, will defy solution under the militarist and unitary principles of

political formation such as we meet with in the West, but they are amenable to the other method of comprehension which has been explained as the basic principle of the Indian type of State in both its internal and external relations. It is hoped that the Indian experiment in Nationality which seeks, and is called upon, to unify different ethnic stocks and cultures, different systems of law and cult, different groups and corporations, in an all-embracing and all-comprehensive polity, will be found to be a much-needed guide in our progress towards that "far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves," peace on earth and goodwill among men.

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