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A STATISTICAL SURVEY OF EDUCATION OF THE INFIRM IN INDIA

BY

K. BHATTACHARYYA, B.A. (GALLAUDET, U.S.A.)

The Education of the Infirm in the West

The growth and advancement of civilisation in modern times is manifested in various humanitarian activities in ameliorating the lot and condition of the defectives and infirms. Advanced nations have made, in course of the last half a century, long strides in removing the miseries of these unfortunate and afflicted people. As a result, a large number of special institutions for them has sprung up in all the important cities and towns of Europe, America and Japan. In each of these countries, education has been made compulsory for the children of school-going age, and neither have the special needs of the infirms been overlooked, nor is enthusiasm lacking. The united efforts of the people and the State have made it possible to bring forth special devices on the scientific basis in the educational system. The fundamentals of these have been based on psycho-physiological researches of the present times. The educational system has been brought to such a standard that the boys and the girls turn out to be useful members of the society and for this purpose high grade training colleges for teachers have been established to specialize in the art of teaching so that the standard of education may be maintained efficiently.

This educational system has been inaugurated not only from the humanitarian point of view but also from a sense of sanctity of human life as well as its social and economic value.

The deaf-mutes and the blind are brought up and trained as self-respecting and earning citizens like their normal brethren. Many of these infirms have highly developed their intellect and culture, and have attained remarkable success in some of the learned professions, such as education, law, journalism, etc. Also a great many persons have been and are trained up in the useful arts and industries. Many a talent might have withered away, had not the gateways of knowledge been opened to them by these scientific methods; ignorance would otherwise have made the world a perfect blank, and a place of suffering only to them. The pleasantness of life would have been totally denied to them, if the love and sympathy of a group of high-souled people had not come to them.

Modern nations have been so conscious of their sense and responsibility to these unfortunates that the best type of men and brains are devoting their time and untiring energy to develop and bring this educational system to a high order of perfection. They have formed voluntary central organisations, and all the provincial institutions are co-ordinated for the common end. Books and magazines are published to disseminate the researches and newest developments of thought for advancing education, and also the text-books and magazines in Braille for the blind, and special and simplified text books for the deaf-mutes are brought out according to their needs. Due to these concentrated efforts, wonderful inventions of apparatus and appliances have been made, otherwise such marvellous achievements in the teaching of the infirm would not have been at all possible. The inventions of such complicated apparatus and machines as Braille Writer, Braille Printing Machine, Talking Book Machine and very many other necessary appliances, as well as games for the blind, the Hearing Testing Machine, special type of Sonotone to help the semi-deaf to develop normal speech naturally, show what a deep love for humanity these people have and what marvels can be attained when head and heart work conjointly.

The science of special teaching has almost reached its climax. Even in cases of double afflictions where all the gateways are shut up, these unfortunate people are trained and educated to a great extent to soften down their miseries of life. A most remarkable instance of what special training can achieve is found in the person of the world-renowned Helen Keller who was born both deaf-mute and blind. Besides, the cases of blind-feeble-mindedness, and deaf-mute-feeble-mindedness are also solved along with the problems of the education and care of the feeble-minded in general.

Amidst many-sided activities of modern life, the danger of feeble-mindedness is not indifferently looked at. The feeble-minded children are not only educated and trained in handicrafts to the extent of their capacity, but there are also arrangements for their permanent care in most cases; and for the safety of the society, they are even segregated and sterilised where necessary.

Apart from these permanent infirms, the partial defectives are also properly attended to with thoroughness and care to restore their senses to a condition as near the normal as possible. Children with constitutional defects in sight are sent to the 'Sight Saving' Schools or classes specially meant for them. It has been experienced by these special arrangements that bad eye-sight and ever increasing blindness have been arrested, to the gain of the society. There is a considerable number of persons who grow deaf at the adult age, commonly called the 'Adult Deaf' and they are taught lip-reading so that they may easily pull through their daily life and avocations. It is statistically found that one out of ten children considered normal suffers from one or the other forms of speech defects. The defects in speech might have arrested the career of a large number of people who rose high in profession, had not the subject been scientifically treated and the defects cured.

They are not contented only in imparting education but their efforts have been directed towards the prevention of the causes of these infirmities, particularly of blindness, in the

light of modern medico-physiological researches, and the resultant effect is that the number of the blind has been reduced astonishingly.

Facilities for special education are offered very generously and liberally irrespective of any denomination or pecuniary circumstances. Munificent donations pour in no less liberally than for the general or professional education for normals. The society is not thus economically over-burdened on their score.

Social science does not stop here only, finding out remedial measures for the infirms, but careers are thrown open to them in the public service and in corporations in accordance with the capacity and capability of the individuals. As a result of the kindness and sympathy now shown in all the advanced countries to the infirms, both by the people and the state, they are given many special facilities, *e.g.*, by railways and other transport-services. In addition to these, the 'After Care' is so thorough and benevolent that they are given legal status by the state, as well as special insurance protection against the risk of life and similar other amenities. Thus their life is made as happy almost as that of normal men and women. All these are nothing but the real index of the depth of the fellow-feeling lying within the advanced nations.

Love of Man which forms the basis of the civilisation of Europe and America is reflected in the care and active sympathy not only for the infirms of their own race or country but also for the infirms of other nations. The training institutions of highest repute extend their most cordial hospitality to foreign students. They are eager to show their practical sympathy for the less advanced nations, so much so, that facilities are given to students of other nationalities to obtain the requisite training on scholarships and other privileges like free board residence. The best attention is bestowed upon them to help them to acquaint themselves with the modern methods of this special training. The central co-ordinating organisations always help foreign countries by supplying

appliances and literature containing the results of up-to-date researches, free of cost in many cases. Thus for the educational, social and economic welfare of all types of infirms, the advanced nations do not leave any avenue unexplored.

An Extract from the International Report on the education of the Deaf-Mute, 1892, London

The educational condition of the deaf-mutes in the more advanced countries, with comparative figures for India from this Report.

TABLE I

No.	Name of the Country	Deaf-Mute Population	No. of Schools.	No. of Students	No of Teachers.
1	United States of America	33,878	126	10,946	1 347
2	Great Britain & Ireland	19 237	95	8,222	462
3	France	22,610	71	4,098	598
4	Germany	38,489	99	6,497	798
5	Austria	19,701	38	2,339	277
6	Belgium	1.989	12	1,265	181
7	Italy	*	47	2,519	234
8	Sweeden	4,266	9	726	128
9	India *	2,30,895	23	882	67

The above figures for the advanced nations have been compiled as far back as in 1892 and a great progress has been made in course of the last 45 years. So to speak there is now no illiteracy amongst the children of school-going age.

* According to this Survey Report.

TABLE II

An extract from the League of Nations, Health Organisation Report on the Welfare of the Blind in various countries, Geneva, 1929.

The Table shows the educational condition of the Blind in advanced countries with comparative figures for India from this Report.

No.	Name of the Countries.	Blind Population.	No. of Schools.	No. of Pupils.	No. of Teachers.
1	U. S. A.	52,567	80	6,084	863
2	Germany	34,703	28 & 14 classes	5,669	158
3	England	46,882	76	*	*
4	France	28,945	25	3,475	*
5	India†	601,370	24	910	75

Statistical Accounts of the Infirms in India

(Indian Census Report, 1931.)

The attempt to record physical disabilities through the medium of the Census was abandoned in England and Wales ten years ago as a failure and earlier still in the United States of America. An authority on the census of U. S. A. writes : "One of the reasons for not including entries regarding physical and mental defects on Population Schedules of the 12th Census (1900) of the United States was the realisation of the impossibility of getting accurate informations on these points in a large number of cases, not only on account of the difficulty of defining the degree of impairment which constitutes a defect, but because of the sensitiveness of persons affected and their concealment of such defects in themselves and members of the families." Accordingly the advanced nations with the joint efforts of the

* Could not be gathered. † According to this Survey Report.

authorities of the various institutions and the local administrations make this survey on a more comprehensive line in order to solve the various problems of the infirms in the right manner. As, such an enquiry is exceedingly difficult at the present stage in India, the Census authorities of our country have decided not to abandon the attempt altogether, since the figures which the Census is able to provide afford some basis for an estimate of the approximate numbers in the light of the differences between the figures obtained from local surveys and the Census returns for the same area. Some discrepancies seem very difficult to surmount, and these are mainly due to unintentional omissions, imperfect diagnosis on the part of the particularly inexpert enumerators, intentional suppression of the infirmities by the guardians, and also owing to reluctance of parents to recognise their existence so long as there is any hope that it may be a case of mere backward development. Instructions were given to the enumerators in the Indian Census that persons blind of both eyes, deaf-mutism either congenital or acquired after birth, and insanity in the form of active mental derangement were only to be recorded. The feeble-minded, cretin or idiot, the short-sighted and blind of one eye, were not to come into the return at all.

The tables below show the total number of persons suffering from deaf-mutism and blindness for the last fifty years. The decrease from 1881 to 1891, was regarded by the Census Commissioner for that year as due to increasing accuracy of enumeration. In 1901 the still further decrease was again attributed in part to the same cause and in part to the severe famine mortality. But the theory of increasing accuracy as an explanation of decreasing infirmity was after all found as a delusion, since the result of introduction of the method of scientific and accurate survey—particularly in the last three Censuses—show a gradual increase in the figures for the infirms, except for the decreasing figures for deaf-mutes for 1921 which was due to the influenza epidemic mainly in the province of Bihar and Orissa.

TABLE III

Total number of persons afflicted. (Indian Census Report, 1931, Vol. I, Part I, Page 254.)

Infirmity.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881
Deaf-mutes	230,895	189,644	199,891	153,168	196,861	197,215
Blind	601,370	47 ·,637	443,653	354,104	458,868	526,748

TABLE IV

Number afflicted per 1,00,000 of population

Infirmity.	1931.	1921	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.
Deaf-mutes	66	60	64	52	75	86
Blind	172	152	142	121	167	229

The tables below show the total population both for the general and the infirms in India as recorded by the Census of 1931, with the figures for the children of school-going age, which has been calculated between the ages of 5-15 years. (*Vide* Census Report, 1931, Vol. I, pp. 190-203.)

TABLE V

	Males.	Females.	Boys. Bet. 5-15.	Girls. Bet. 5-15.
Deaf-Mute	137,680	93,215	37,065	24,692
Blind	284,741	316,629	27 802	18,875
Deaf-Mute and Blind (Double afflicted)	611	461	*203	*138

Total General Population: Male ... 181,828,923.
Female ... 171,008,855.

* By $\frac{1}{3}$ calculation of the double-afflicted population.

Problems of the Deaf-Mute and the Blind in India

Modern India is a nation in the making, and all constructive work with oneness of purpose is essentially required in the various phases of the life of the people. This constructive work embraces all the aspects of developing the individual man and woman in all harmony with his or her environment. In India everything is a problem requiring solution by extensive and intensive work. The problem of the infirms, their low percentage in comparison with the vast mass of the population notwithstanding, is no less a problem of the country from the humanitarian and economic point of view. Many may think that the time and energy spent upon such a small group in the entire population is nothing but waste when we think of the more crying needs of the vast inert mass. But we should approach the problems from the point of view of humanity as well as social welfare. Higher talents have been found even in our country amongst the deaf-mute and the blind all of which would have gone to waste had there not been whatever small institutions we have at present. Many of these infirms are found with keen intellect which can compare favourably with the average intelligent people of our country. These can be turned into social assets provided proper opportunities are created for them.

Table I collected from the International Report, 1892, London, on the Educational Condition of the Deaf-Mute of the various countries of the world, and the Table II prepared for the Blind of all the countries under the auspices of the League of Nations, Health Department, show what efforts are being made by the advanced nations for the cause of humanity. This reveals a striking contrast with the present state of India. India does not appear to grasp the gravity of the cause which even the League of Nations has taken up and is regarding it as an international affair of considerable importance.

Although very inadequate, there are several institutions in different parts of the country for which certain individuals took the

initiative; and the sympathy of some members of the generous public made them what they are now. In some cases their practical demonstrations and concrete results were able to make the Government disposed to help and co-operate with them, although to a very meagre extent. It will perhaps be idle to think that all these initiatives are to be taken primarily by the Government only, and the people are to rest content shifting their duty and responsibility from their own shoulders. Of course, the Government has no institution worth the name, excepting a small school for the Blind, but neither there is any move on the part of the people showing positive sympathy towards the cause of these people numbering a little below a million, although much may be and can be expected of them.

It will be a sound economic policy to try to open as many institutions as possible. From the Census Report of 1931 it has been calculated that there are 230,895 deaf-mutes and 601,370 blind in India. Economically, these people are practically a toll upon the society to the extent of about Rs. 60,000,000 in the minimum, annually. Will it not then be more economic as well as humanitarian to turn these elements into useful productive factors and thus relieve the society of the burden?

The Statistics on the Present Condition of Education of the Infirms in India, has been compiled to show what progress has been made in our country, and what should be and is to be done by the joint effort of the government and the people. The annexed tables will show the details of such conditions of the infirms in different Provinces and States. These tables show that out of 230,895 deaf-mutes and 601,370 blind only 882 deaf-mutes and 910 blind (*vide* Tables X and XVII) are receiving some sort of education in India. It has then become an urgent necessity that a real move should be made with all earnestness and seriousness both by the government and the people. Taking note of the distribution of the infirms by Districts, it is imperative to start one school at least for 2 or 3 Districts, which may partially

meet the present demand through the co-operation of the provincial governments and local bodies, with the ultimate object of opening one school in each district throughout the country in course of time. This can only be made possible if the initiative is taken up by the government and public-spirited people. In order to open such a large number of schools, an army of trained teachers is required. At the same time, to direct this policy and also to maintain a high standard of efficiency, the Central and Provincial Goverments should create departments for these special branches. It should also be the look out of the Central and Provincial Governments to introduce the most modern methods of teaching in these schools. In the head-quarters of each province there should be a very well-equipped and high grade institution to meet the needs of brighter and more ambitious students, with a model training department to turn out efficient teachers as well. Since the education of these infirms is not merely for an academic purpose but more for industrial training for their economic independence, special attention should be paid to open high grade industrial departments in the schools at each of the provincial head-quarters. To give the project a practical shape a sufficient number of capable students should be sent abroad with state scholarships for acquiring proper qualification in the art of teaching. In this connection it will perhaps not be out of place to say that one can not refrain from noting what an unfortunate thing it is that out of so many hundreds of young men going to foreign countries each year for receiving general and vocational education, not even a small percentage would appear to feel the necessity for this sort of special education.

The teaching of the infirms involves work of both head and heart, and the spirit of philanthropy and love is an essential element required for this calling. To cope with the situation, the supply of teachers can be, at the outset, partially mitigated if the existing institutions in the different parts of the country, particularly those with foreign-trained teachers, admit a

minimum number of properly qualified and suitable students for training. The Government should also ask such institutions, specially those receiving state support of any kind, to offer best facilities to them; and to serve this end the Government and the Local Bodies should make provision to help these candidates with adequate stipends.

An attempt should also be made even under the present conditions by the existing institutions to try to raise the standard and efficiency of this special form of education by holding conferences and by the exchange of thoughts and ideas between different schools as they grow in course of experience in their teaching. Two distinctly separate central organisations, one for the deaf-mute and the other for the blind, should be started in co-operation with the Central and Provincial Governments, from which the publication of necessary books and magazines both for the use of teachers and the students, manufacture of necessary educational materials such as pictures, charts, embossed books and pictures and other appliances, can be conducted. Many things can be attempted and brought to a successful end in spite of the many difficulties present by the united efforts of those who are pursuing this calling. It is our earnest hope that the Central Government will take the initiative in forming a Committee to consider the matter of the education of the infirms, and invite the Provincial Governments' co-operation. The time has come to adopt a definite policy for this special kind of education.

There is no dearth of philanthropically-minded men who are also gifted with an imagination in this land. The public should be awakened to the sense of this duty towards their unfortunate fellow-beings, and the conjoint work of the people and the Government will be able to remove this great sign of backwardness in our nation.

Problems of the Feeble-minded in India

There is no statistics of the feeble-minded, which is a very important matter for the protection of society. The Wood

Committee appointed in England found out that 8 per thousand of the general population are feeble-minded. An attempt and effort should be made as far as practicable to ascertain the numerical strength of feeble-minded, imbecile, etc., as the abnormal growth of this number is always a menace to the society. Education and segregation of this class is of great importance for the welfare of the nation. From the figures of the feeble-minded population of other countries, the number in India cannot be expected to be smaller, India being particularly a poor country. Practically no attention has been paid in this direction, excepting for only two small schools in Bengal, which are insignificant for the whole country.

Problems of the Double-Afflicted in India

The cause of the double-afflicted, that is, the deaf-mute-feeble-minded and the blind-feeble-minded, should be undertaken along with the problems of the feeble-minded, while that of the deaf-mute-blind, either the schools for the deaf-mute or the blind should take the initiative. No attempt has hitherto been made to educate the deaf-mute-blind, whose number is expected to be larger than what was shown in the Census Report of 1931 (*vide* Table V).

Problems of the Partially Defectives, the Adult-Deaf and the Prevention of Blindness

The partially-defectives are those who have defects in speech and sight which can be corrected and cured if the ordinary schools adopt the scientific methods of teaching and system of treatment.

The schools for the deaf-mute should not ignore the cause of the adult-deaf, and they should adopt the special course for them to give them a substitute for hearing and make their life useful.

The Prevention of Blindness should not be lost sight of. The Public Health Department should educate and convince the people of the importance and the possibilities of the preventive measures to save the sight of new-born babes. It is self-evident

that the cause of the astounding number of the blind is due to ignorance and apathy towards the solution of the problem.

Statistical Figures of 1935

Some latest figures on the Education of the Infirms in British India only, received from a Press Note issued in June, 1937, by the Government of India, is given below.

No.	Province.	No. of schools for the Deaf-Mute.	No. of schools for the Blind.	No. of schools for the Feeble-minded.	No. of Deaf-Mute students.	No. of Blind students.	No. of Feeble-minded students.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	Madras	6	4	...	372	144	...
2.	Bombay	5	3	...	183	136	...
3.	United Provinces	*	2	...	...	78	...
4.	Bengal	6	1	2	318	83	38
5.	Punjab	...	2	...	...	67	..
6.	Burma	1	2	...	23	58	...
7.	Bihar and Orissa	...	2	...	...	100	...
8.	C.P. and Berar	1	1	...	20	23	...
9	Delhi	1	...	...	40	...	,,,
	Total	20	17	2	956	689	38

* There is one private school, enrolment is not known.

A Statistical Account of the Present Educational Condition of the Infirms in India

The questionnaire with the replies under the various heads has been tabulated according to the nature of the topics. The reports of the combined schools, that is, the school for the deaf-mute and the blind, have been arranged under the two sections, "On the Education of the Deaf-Mute, and On the Education of the Blind," respectively.

Slight occasional inaccuracies and discrepancies have remained in the Report which was unavoidable, as some institutions did not fully deal with some of the items in the questionnaire

A

Statements of the Educational Condition of the Infirm supplied by the Governments of the various Provinces and the States

The questionnaire was sent to the Departments of Education of 23 different Provinces and States. Some of the Directors of Public Instruction and the Superintendents of Education have very kindly and liberally helped the work of this survey by giving answers to the questionnaire in full. While a few others, though they complied with my request, could not deal with and furnish all the information for various reasons.

The cases of the Departments which have replied to the questionnaire have duly been discussed herein under the title of the particular items, as follows :—

Group I. Educational Facilities open to the Infirms.
Group II. General and Medical Inspection of the Institution for the Infirms.
Group III. Provision for the Prevention of Blindness.

Summaries of the answers to the questionnaire have been represented below specifying the name of the particular Province and State. Two items, one "On the employment of the

educated and qualified Deaf-Mutes and the Blind," and the other, " On the starting of the schools directly under the control of Government," were not included in the above titles, which were some of the points in the questionnaire, since all have answered in the negative, that is, there is no provision for their employment, and the Governments do not contemplate to open schools of their own.

Group I

Educational Facilities open to the Infirms

1. Assam

There is no school for the infirms in the Province of Assam. The Government of Assam only awards six scholarships, 3 for the blind and 3 for the deaf and dumb every year tenable in the Schools for the Blind, and the Deaf and Dumb in Calcutta, for such period as is required in each case.

The scholarships are limited to 24 in number to be tenable at any time. The value of the scholarships for the blind is Rs. 15 each monthly, and that for the deaf-mute is Rs. 18. These scholarships are regarded as enough to cover the cost of residence and tuition of the holders.

2. Travancore State

As there is no school for the infirms in the State, the Department is paying grants to certain Travancore pupils studying in the schools for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind at Pallamcottah, Madras.

3. Bihar and Orissa

This Province has no institution for the deaf-mute. A few students are maintained by the Government and by certain District Boards at the Calcutta school.

There are two Government-aided schools for the blind in the Province. The monthly grant in these schools does not exceed two-thirds of the monthly cost of the school, and the non-

recurring grant does not ordinarily exceed the sum subscribed locally.

The expense per capita provided by the Government for the education of the defectives is Rs. 47·31, while, for the normal children up to the high schools, it is Rs. 4·5 only.

4. Bombay

There are three schools for the blind and four schools for the deaf-mute aided by the Government. These schools are paid maintenance grants not exceeding two-thirds of the admitted expenditure provided that the grants shall not exceed, (1) the difference between the admitted expenditure and the local assets, and (2) the amount of grant arrived at on the basis of Rs. 120 for each pupil in average attendance up to 30 pupils and at Rs. 100 for each additional pupil, subject to funds being available.

5. Punjab

There are two schools for the blind in the Province, one purely Government and the other aided.

The aided school is given a fixed lump sum grant of Rs. 300 per annum, as no definite rules for the purpose have been laid down. Recently a building grant of Rs. 8,000 has been sanctioned by the Government for this institution.

The Government school for the blind gets a per capita grant of Rs. 197, whereas Rs. 8-2 is given in the aided school.

6. Central Provinces

There are two Government-aided schools in the Province, one for the deaf-mutes and the other for the blind.

Recurring grants are paid for half the expenditure on (*a*) Staff, (*b*) Servants, (*c*) Rent of building and (*d*) Contingencies. Building grants are paid at one-third and furniture grants are paid at half of the expenditure.

7. Madras

There are six aided schools in the Province, of which three are for the blind, one for the deaf-mute and the blind, and two for the deaf and dumb.

(*a*) Teaching grant to schools for the defectives is normally based on half the approved net cost for the preceding financial year, *i.e.*, half the excess of the approved recurring expenditure over the income from tuition fees.

Approved recurring expenditure will comprise expenditure on the staff, establishment, rent and taxes, ordinary repairs and upkeep, contingencies and other miscellaneous items as the Director considers reasonable. The members of the staff should be qualified to teach the defective children. General conditions of the school are also considered at the time of payments of teaching grants.

(*b*) In addition to the teaching grant some managements are also paid boarding grants in respect of the destitute residential inmates of the Institution. Though these institutions are generally paid at the rate of Rs. 3 per mensem for each destitute defective pupil subject to a maximum of $\frac{2}{3}$ of the net boarding charges of the previous financial year, two institutions located at Palamcottah receive higher rate of grant with reference to a special order of Government subject to a maximum of Rs. 3,000 each year. In addition, travelling allowance is also paid to pupils joining these two schools up to a maximum of Rs. 240.

Grants of a non-recurring nature may be given, not exceeding half the total cost, for the following purposes :—

Purchasing lands for schools, hostels and play-ground, erecting, improving and repairing the school and hostel buildings ; purchasing furniture, school materials of all descriptions both for academic and industrial purposes.

Grants may also be given in connection with approved expenditure on physical training and games when such expendi-

ture exceeds the amount of game fees collected from pupils and staff.

The cost of education paid by the Government per capita for the infirms is Rs. 34 and for the normal children up to secondary schools is Rs. 5 approximately.

8. Burma

There are three aided schools in the Province, two for the blind (one being a branch) and one for the deaf-mute.

The total amount of recurring grants shall not exceed the difference between the total income from all sources other than recurring grants and the total recurring expenditure in the year. The non-recurring grant shall not exceed half the total cost of purchasing lands for school building and erecting or repairing buildings.

The expense per capita provided by the Government for defectives is Rs. 127 and for the normal children up to high school is Rs. 20 only.

9. Bengal

There are six aided schools for the Deaf-Mutes, one aided school for the Blind and one unaided school for the Feeble-minded in the Province. The expense per capita provided by the Government for the education of the defectives is Rs. 59·2 whereas that for the normal is Rs. 6·4.

Group II

General and Medical Inspection of the Schools for the Infirms

1. Bihar and Orissa

General inspection is conducted by controlling and inspecting officers including the Divisional Inspector of Schools and the members of the school committee. There is no arrangement for medical inspection by Government.

2. Bombay

The schools for the defectives are inspected by the inspecting officers of the Education Department every year. There is no arrangement for medical inspection.

3. Punjab

There is arrangement for both general and medical inspection of the schools for the blind by the Government.

4. Central Province

There is no arrangement either for general inspection or for medical inspection of these schools by the Government.

5. Burma

Provisions exist for the general inspection of these schools by the Inspector of Schools. Before 1st April, 1932, there was arrangement for medical inspection by the Government, but for financial stringency it has been suspended.

6. Madras

Inspecting Officers of the Department inspect these schools. Medical inspection has not yet been introduced in these schools.

Note.—None of the above Governments mentioned that the inspection is carried on by specialists.

GROUP III

Provision for the Prevention of Blindness

1. Madras

The Government have been taking action for the prevention of blindness in consultation with the Director of Public Instruction and the Director of Public Health.

The measures suggested in this regard are (1) inclusion of instruction of the subject in the curriculum under hygiene for

all schools (which is already being done), and (2) the publication of a pamphlet on the prevention or relief of blindness in simple and non-technical language and in a form suitable for elementary school teachers. Action is being taken regarding the latter measure.

2. Burma

This is done by distribution of Public Health Pamphlets on the prevention of blindness and by free distribution of eye tablets in poor localities.

3. Central Province

There is a Blind Relief Committee which is supported by the Government. The Junior Red Cross Pamphlet on the Prevention of Blindness is included in the Syllabus for normal schools.

B

Education of the Deaf and Dumb in India

(1) Nature and type of the schools :—

There are 26 schools for the deaf-mute in India, including five departments for the deaf-mutes in the five combined schools, that is, in the schools both for the deaf-mute and the blind. The three combined schools—one at Mysore, and two at Baroda are State (Feudatory State) schools, and the schools at Bangalore and Coimbatore are purely Municipal schools, while the remaining schools are run by voluntary committees with partial assistance from the Provincial Governments and Local Bodies. Excepting the Municipal and State schools as stated above, these schools have been started by the efforts of the philanthrophically-minded public. For the education of the deaf-mute in India in Western methods, initative was first taken by some philanthropists towards the close of the last century, and only three institutions in those days saw the light, at Bombay,

at Calcutta and at Madras, while the others gradually came into existence in course of these 37 years.

The schools at Rangoon, Baroda and Pallamcottah have fully residential arrangements ; and the schools at Bangalore and Coimbatore are merely day schools; while the rest, some already have and others intend to have (when finance will permit) arrangements for both day and residential scholars.

There is neither any Nursery School System in operation in any institution for children of pre-school age, nor any special industrial school for the grown up deaf-mutes.

(2) The System of Co-education :—

Two thirds of the total number of schools have replied in the questionnaire in favour of co-educational system allowed in their schools, while of the rest some from the very beginning have completely separate arrangements and others have the arrangements of co-education limited to a certain age. Out of the schools replying in favour of co-education, the schools at Pallamcottah, Rangoon, and Bangalore have a good number of girls on their rolls, while the others have very few. Of the schools which have completely separate arrangements, the schools at Calcutta and Mylapore (Madras) are noteworthy, and the Poona school which allows co-education to a limited age is worth mentioning.

(3) Enrolment of Pupils by Age and Sex :—

The total number of deaf-mute pupils attending these 23 schools in India is 882, of whom 242 are girls and 640 are boys, that is, ·9 per cent. of girls and 1·5 per cent. of boys of the deaf-mute population of school-going age ; and ·3 per cent. of the total deaf-mute population are receiving some sort of education. Out of this total number of pupils in all these schools 468 are day scholars of whom 323 are boys and 145 are girls ; while there are 414 residential scholars of whom 317 are boys and 97 are girls.

(4) Number of Pupils by Age and Sex :—

TABLE VI

The following table shows the distribution of children in some schools which have supplied the figures.

Age.	Boys.	Girls.
0—5	17	8
5—10	188	90
10—15	236	93
15—20	79	16
Above	3	8

(5) Number of Pupils by Religion :—

TABLE VII

The following table shows the distribution of children in some schools which have supplied the figures.

Religion.	Boys.	Girls.
Hindus	416	129
Muhammadans	62	10
Christians ...	38	30
Buddhists	11	3
Sikhs	2	...
Parsees	2	1

(6) Number of Ex-Students :—

The total number of pupils as supplied by some schools who either have completed the course or left the schools after having some training is roughly 1691 since the establishment of all these schools in India.

(7) Total number of Teachers engaged :—

The total number of teachers working in all the departments in all these schools is 117 of whom 98 are men and 19 are women. Out of these 67 are in the academic section, 57 of them being men and 10 women; while 50 are in the industrial departments, 41 men and 9 women. The number of teachers in the academic section as found in replies of the questionnaire in proportion to the total number of pupils on the roll shows that per 13 children one teacher has been engaged.

(8) Age limit for admission and discharge; and restriction regarding religion or caste :—

Most schools according to their rules for admission allow the children to enter the school between the ages of 4 and 16, but practically almost none gets into the schools before the age of 6. Although as a rule all the schools allow pupils to stay in them up to the age of 20, most of them have provision for them to stay even above that age.

No school appears to have got any restriction regarding religion, caste or provinciality.

(9) Method of Teaching and the Period of the Course :—

The schools at Poona and Nunguneri (Madras) use both the Sign and Oral Methods of teaching; while the rest strictly follow Pure Oral Method, that is, teaching speech and lip-reading. The course generally covers a period varying from 6 to 8 years in all these schools. In some schools they have a course extending to 10 years.

(10) Standard of Education :—

The standard of education imparted in all these schools is generally of the Lower Primary Stage and some have kept their standard up to the Upper Primary Grade for very bright and exceptional students.

The medium of instruction in almost all the schools is the vernacular of the respective Province or State. The Rangoon school teaches through the medium of English, although its students are all Burmese. The Calcutta school, although it receives children from different Provinces of Northern India, having different though closely related languages and dialects (*e.g.*, Hindusthani both in Hindi and Urdu forms, the Bihari dialects, Oriya and Bengali), teaches through the medium of Bengali and Hindi only. The Delhi school which has students of four different languages, namely, Hindustani (in its two forms Hindi and Urdu), Punjabi and Bengali, has proper arrangements to teach through three of these Hindi, Urdu and Bengali. Apart from teaching the vernaculars, the schools at Pallamcottah, Mylapore, Nagpur, Bombay and Delhi have got in their curriculum provision for an elementary knowledge of English also.

(11) Industrial Education and the Employment of Students :—

Besides purely academic instruction, *i.e.*, to read and write, every school has some sort of arrangement to teach industries and handicrafts of various description suitable to the capacity of the children. For grown up pupils according to the individual aptitude one or two industries only are taught which they generally resort to as their profession in future life. The following list will give an idea of the different industries that are taught in various schools, either one or more in each of them as necessary :—For Boys—1. Carpentry. 2. Weaving. 3. Tailoring. 4. Smithy. 5 Cane and Wicker Work. 6. Clay Modelling. 7. Sculpture. 8. Wood-carving. 9. Cap-making. 10. Engraving. 11. Elementary Electrical and

Mechanical Engineering. 12. Book-binding. 13. Envelope-making. 14. Draftsmanship. 15. Drawing and Painting. 16. Printing. 17. Textile Printing and Dyeing.

For Girls—1. Knitting. 2. Embroidery Work. 3. Sewing and Cutting. 4. Brass Engraving

In addition to the above-mentioned industries and handicrafts, many have started business, *e.g.*, in cycle repairing, grocery, photography, steel trunk making, dealing in stationery, spectacles-making, etc.; while many others are working as typists, turnsmen, vicemen, lithographers, industrial teachers in schools for the deaf-mutes, etc.

The students who got their training in a well-equipped school have generally found a good job after finishing their courses and apprenticeship. Apart from the students working in various capacities outside, many have been absorbed by many of these schools in their industrial departments. The maximum salaries earned by some students of the Calcutta school have come even up to about Rs. 250 per month. Some of the students of the Calcutta school have been employed as ticket collectors and electric fitters in the railways, draftsmen in the P. W. D. (Bengal), designers in the Calcutta Mint, and a pupil of that School, Mr. Bipin Chandra Chaudhuri, who after finishing his course in the Calcutta School of Arts, joined the Royal Academy of Art, London, and has returned after successfully securing the Diploma.

(12) Training of Teachers :—

Some schools have departments for training of teachers. The Calcutta school generally allows admission to candidates who are not below the B.A. or B. Sc grade of an Indian University. The period of training is one year in the Calcutta school. Other schools which have training departments for prospective teachers, which are rather below the Calcutta standard, and the course varies from 1 to 3 years. The fees charged by some of these schools vary from Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 per month.

Thus although some of these schools have training departments, only that of the Calcutta school is noteworthy. It has turned out 56 properly qualified teachers since its foundation to supply the needs of practically the whole of India.

The schools at Calcutta, Rangoon, Mylapore, Pallamcottah, and Delhi have got in their staff one or more teachers trained abroad who are familiar with the up-to-date scientific methods.

(13) Financial Condition of the Schools :—

Apart from the income from the subsidies from the Provincial Governments and Local Bodies, excepting the purely Municipal and State schools, every school has to depend upon public charity to meet its ever expanding expenses. The amount of fees charged from the students is very small, in relation to the cost of the education imparted. There are some schools which give education entirely free and others make every possible concession for poor and deserving students. The Municipal and State schools are wholly maintained by these bodies and by the Governments respectively.

Only the schools at Calcutta, Mylapore, Rangoon, and Ahmedabad have got endowment funds created by the public-spirited donors.

(14) Salaries of the Teachers and their Protection :—

The salaries of the teachers in the Municipal and State schools are more or less satisfactory, and their services are pensionable. The salaries of the teachers at Nagpur, Calcutta, Poona, Ahmedabad, and Delhi vary, with a start from Rs. 40 to Rs. 60 up to a grade of Rs. 150 or Rs. 250 per month. The foreign-trained teachers in Calcutta school get a special start with a good grade.

The schools at Pallamcottah, Mylapore, Calcutta, Poona, Nagpur, Ahmedabad and Mymensingh have provision for a Provident Fund for teachers. The teachers of other schools,

excepting a very few which have not replied in the questionnaire are poorly paid, and have no protection at all.

(15) Causes of Deafness :—

The general causes of deafness of the pupils, that have been recorded by most of the schools, are small-pox, typhoid, ear-running, fall, and shocks particularly for the acquired cases, and as about congenital cases almost no school gave any cause excepting a very few which cited the cause as syphilis for a very small percentage.

Most of the schools have proper arrangements for medical examination before admission and also periodically during the school course.

(16) Miscellaneous :—

There exist no such organisations which do the welfare work in the matter of after-care of the deaf-mute. There is neither any firm nor any voluntary association which manufactures special appliances for the education of the deaf-mute. No magazine has ever been published either for the use of teachers or the pupils. Only one book, " Muk-Siksha " in Bengali, giving a short sketch on the history of the education of the deaf-mutes in the West and also in India, and describing different Western Methods of teaching the deaf-mute, along with a few lessons, has been written and published by Mr. Mohini Mohan Majumdar, late teacher of the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School. Neither any school nor any individual teacher has ever made any attempt to conduct lip-reading class for the adult-deaf.

Ever since the education of the deaf-mute began in India the Conventions of the Teachers of the Deaf were held very lately during the Easter of 1935 and the X'mas of 1936, under the auspices of the Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School, convened by Mr. S. N. Banerjee, M.A., Vice-Principal of the School.

TABLE VIII

This table shows the names and addresses of the institutions for the deaf-mutes, the names of the founders, the present head, and the year of establishment.

No.	Name and Address of the Institution.	Estd. in.	Name of the Founders.	Name of the Present Head.
1	School for the Deaf-Mute, Nisbeth, Bombay.	1885	Late Dr. Leo Meurin	†
2	Calcutta Deaf and Dumb School, 2 3, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta	1893	Late Mr. Umes Ch. Dutt ,, ,, Sri Nath Saha. ,, ,, J. N. Banerjee. Mr. M. M. Majumdar	Mr. A. C. Chatterji
3	Deaf and Dumb School, Pallamcottah, Madras.	1896	Miss F. Swainson	Miss E. Morgan
4	Central Institute for the Defectives, Mysore.	1901	Mr. M. Srinivasa Rao	Mr. C. Krisnaswami
5	School for the Deaf Mute, Narangpur, Ahmedabad.	1908	Mr. Pran-Shankar ,, Lalubhai Desai	Mr. P. R. Nanderbarkar
6	Muk-Vidyalaya (Deaf-Blind School), Madan Bay, Baroda State.	1909	Mr. P. R. Nanderbarkar	Mr. Ganes Vinayak Badhire
7	Deaf and Dumb School, Barisal, Bengal.	1911	Mr. Harendranath Mukherjee.	Mr. B. C. Chacravarti
8	School for the Deaf and Blind Mehsana, Baroda State.	1913	Mr. Dinkarrai Anantrai Trivedi	The Founder
9	The C. E. Z. M. School for the Deaf and Dumb, Mylapore, Madras.	1913	Miss Swainson	Miss J. Oakley.
10	Bhonsla Deaf and Dumb School, Walker Road, Nagpur, C. P.	1915	Mr. V. V. Gadge	The Founder
11	Dacca Deaf and Dumb School, Dacca, Bengal.	1916	Mr. S. G. Hart ,, R. N. Dass ,, S. C. Ghose ,, J. C. Kushari	Mr. J. C. Kushari
12	The Mary Chapman College for the Teachers and School for the Deaf, Rangoon, Burma.	1920	Miss M. Chapman	Mr. & Mrs. H. W. Green
13	Sree Meenakshi Deaf and Dumb School, Madura, Madras.	1920	Mr. and Mrs. Swaminatha Pillai.	†

TABLE VIII (*contd.*)

No.	Name and Address of the Institution.	Estd. in.	Name of the Founders.	Name of the Present Head
14	Municipal Deaf and Dumb School, Bangalore City, Mysore.	1921	The Municipality.	Srimati V. Lakshamma.
15	Chittagong D af and Dumb School, Chittagong, Bengal.	1923	Mr. R. C. Hazari	Mr. A. T. Mukherji.
16	N G. Gondhaleker's Deaf and Dumb School, Poona City, Bombay.	1924	Mr. N. G. Gondhaleker.	The Founder
17	Mymensingh Deaf and Dumb School, Mymensingh, Bengal.	1925	Mr H. N Mukherjee.	The Founder
18	The U. P. Deaf and Dumb School, Allahabad, U.P.	1929	Mr. Sukhdeo Mishra.	The Founder
19	The Deaf and Dumb School, Nanguneri, Tinnevelly, Madras.	1930	Miss G. Gnanaratnammal.	The Founder
20	Rajshahi Deaf and Dumb School, Rajshahi, Bengal.	1931	Members of the Bar.	Mr. Bhola Nath Ghatak.
21	Delhi Deaf and Dumb School, Delhi.	1931	Mr. Kalidas Bhattacharyya.	The Founder
22	Municipal Deaf and Dumb School, Coimbatore, S. India.	1931	The Municipality.	Mr S. Nataranjan.
23	Murshidabad Deaf and Dumb School, Berhampur, Bengal.	1934	Mr. Kalidas Bhattacharyya and Mr. Gopaldas Niyogi-Chaudhuri.	Mr. Gopaldas Niyogi-Chaudhuri.
24	* Deaf and Blind Inst., Teynampet, Madras.	...		
25	* Deaf and Blind Inst , The Priory, Cathedral, Madras.	...		
26	* Prof. Date's School for the Deaf-Mute, Bombay.	...		

* No information was supplied by these schools nor could be gathered.

† Not supplied.

TABLE IX

This table shows the number of pupils by sex in schools and boardings, number of teachers by sex in academic and industrial departments, and the total number of ex-students.

No.	Deaf and Dumb Institutions.	Students on roll.		Students in Boarding.		No. of Teachers. Acad. De		Indst De.		Ex Students.
		Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
1	Rangoon School	16	12	16	12	5	...	...	...	100
2	Calcutta ,,	154	53	89	27	15	5	13	...	430
3	Barisal ,,	13	...	11	...	1	...	1	...	82
4	Chittagong ,,	15	7	5	...	2	...	1	...	33
5	Mymensingh ,,	15	4	5	...	2	...	1	..	33
6	Rajshahi ,,	8	2	1	...	1	...	...	...	...
7	Murshidabad ,,	5	3	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
8	Dacca ,,	13	5	8	3	2	...	...	...	*
9	Allahabad ,,	17	...	2	...	2	...	1	...	...
10	Delhi ,,	14	3	...	...	2	..	1	...	...
11	Nagpur ,,	14	4	1	1	2	...	1	...	74
12	Baroda ,,	27	3	27	3	3	...	6	...	55
13	Mehsana ,,	28	5	25	5	3	...	4	...	100
14	Mysore ,,	23	3	23	3	4	...	2	...	80
15	Bangalore ,,	13	10	...	...	...	1	...	1	57
16	Ahmedabad ,,	29	2	25	2	5	...	2	...	305
17	Poona ,,	27	13	...	...	3	1	3	...	15
18	Nisbeth, Bombay	35	4	17	...	*	*	*	*	*
19	Mylapore School	53	45	43	38	2	1	4	8	295
20	Pallamcottah ,,	57	51	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
21	Nunguneri ,,	19	3	19	3	1	2	1	...	32
22	Madura ,,	22	5	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
23	Coimbatore ,,	23	5	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
	TOTAL ...	640	242	317	97	57	10	41	9	1,691

* Not supplied by the schools.

Table X

This table shows the Number of Schools and the children receiving education in each Province and State, and also the total Deaf-Mute population with numbers of children of school-going age.

The table has been arranged by Provinces and States. Many Provinces and States have no schools, but their infirm children are sent out to the schools of other Provinces and States, although to a very small percentage.

No.	Province or State	No. of School.	No. of pupils attending.		Deaf-Mute * Population.		Deaf-Mutes † School-going age,	
			Boys.	Girls	Males.	females.	Boys.	Girls.
1	Burma ...	1	16	12	9,115	7,852	1 841	1,525
2	Assam ...	...	...	...	3,859	2,921	1,428	1,015
3	,, States ...	...	...	...	125	73	‡	‡
4	Bengal ...	7	223	74	21.301	14.136	6,710	4,365
5	,, States ...	...	...	...	259	169	78	38
6	Bihar ...	...	...	...	10,323	6,518	4,167	2,482
7	Orissa ...	...	...	...	1,726	944	‡	‡
8	Chota-Nagpur ...	...	...	...	2,060	1,832	‡	‡
9	Bihar and Orissa States	...	...	...	1 439	1,033	444	326
10	United Provinces ...	1	17	...	15.756	9,559	3,941	2 422
11	U. P. States ...	...	...	...	271	157	76	38
12	Delhi ...	1	14	3	104	44	19	9
13	Punjab ...	...	...	...	10,258	5 903	2 839	1.792
14	,, States ...	...	...	...	465	370	125	93
15	,, ,, Agency	...	...	...	1,621	912	379	209
16	Jammu and Kashmir States	...	...	...	3,481	2,306	1,029	744
17	Bombay Presy. ...	3	91	19	7,380	4,873	2,621	1,476
18	Sind ...	...	...	...	3,591	1 517	‡	†
19	Aden ...	...	...	...	13	2	‡	‡
20	Central Provinces ...	1	14	4	5 165	3,461	1,469	945
21	Berar ...	...	...	...	2 385	1,692	‡	‡
22	C. P. States ...	...	...	...	711	556	237	183
23	Bombay States ...	...	...	...	1,845	1,328	381	292
24	Baroda State ...	2	55	8	694	572	183	133
25	Baluchistan ...	...	...	...	204	74	3	1
26	,, State ...	...	...	...	192	112	‡	‡

TABLE X (*contd.*)

No.	Province or State.	No. of School.	No. of Pupils attending.		Deaf-Mute* Population.		Deaf-Mute of School Age. †	
			Boys.	Girls.	Males.	females.	Boys.	Girls.
27	Central India Agency	...	...	...	1,078	818	300	185
28	Gwalior State ...	...	...	...	739	567	99	62
29	Rajputana Agcy. ...	...	...	...	1,896	1,230	403	241
30	N.W.F. Province ...	...	...	...	1,074	523	289	136
31	Ajmer Merwara ...	...	...	...	261	149	34	22
32	Madras Presy. ...	5	174	109	18,741	14,567	5,775	4,401
33	Other Madras States	...	...	...	248	180	86	52
34	Cochin State ...	...	...	...	283	205	96	59
35	Travancore State ...	...	...	...	1,760	1,123	511	298
36	Mysore State ...	2	36	13	2,254	1,696	729	598
37	Hyderabad State ...	...	...	...	2,209	1,533	363	267
38	Sikim State ...	...	...	...	89	75	35	25
39	Western India States Agency	...	...	...	2,041	1,585	360	245
40	Coorg ...	...	...	...	55	46	15	13
41	Andaman and Nicobar Islands.	...	...	...	6	2	...	...
	TOTAL :—INDIA ...	23	640	242	137,680	93 215	37,065	24,692

* Census of India, Vol. I, Part II, Pages 190-91 (Report, 1931).

† Calculated between the ages of 5 and 15, Census, 1931, Vol. I, Part II, pages 192-203.

‡ Is includesd in the figures of the preceding Provinces or Presydencies.

TABLE XI

Showing the Distribution of Children in Schools by Religion.

No.	In schools of different Provinces or States	Hindus.		Muhammadans.		Christians.		Others.	
		Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.
1	Burma	1	...	4	3	...	6	11 (Buddhist	3
2	Bengal	195	64	28	5	2	1	2(Sikh)	
3	United Provinces	14	...	3	...	...	...	...	...
4	Delhi	8	2	3	...	3	1	...	...
5	Bombay Presy.	56	16	13	...	19	3	2 (Parsee)	1
6	Baroda State	51	8	4	...	...	...	...	...
7	Mysore State	13	10	...	...	...	...	...	...
8	Central Provinces	14	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
9	Madras Presy.	64	25	7	2	14	19	...	...
	Total ...	416	129	62	10	38	30	15	4

TABLE XII

Showing the Distribution of Children in Schools by Age.

No.	In schools of diff. Provinces or States.	age 0-5.		age 5-10.		age 10-15.		age 15-20.		Above.	
		Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.
1	Bengal	2	2	76	33	77	28	42	8	3	...
2	United Prov.	2	...	8	..	7	...	...	...	...	...
3	Delhi	1	...	3	1	4	2	6	...	...	...
4	Bombay Presy.	7	2	29	5	14	4	6	4	...	...
5	Baroda State	1	...	9	2	36	5	10	...	...	...
6	Mysore State	...	...	5	7	7	3	1	...	...	...
7	Central Prov.	...	...	7	3	5	1	2	...	...	...
8	Madras Presy	4	4	51	39	86	50	12	4	...	8
	Total ...	17	8	188	90	236	93	79	16	3	8

N.B.—The figures in the above two tables have been given to show a rough estimate of the distribution, adequate information not being supplied by many schools. Homes have not been included.

C

The Education of the Blind in India

(1) The Type and Nature of the Schools :—

During the last part of the 19th Century, only four schools were started by some philanthropists and Christian missionaries, and in course of the last 37 years the existence of the remaining schools, excepting one Government school at Lahore and three combined schools at Baroda and Mysore, is due to the efforts of the charitably minded public.

There are 24 schools for the blind in India including the five Combined Schools and two Homes, one at Bombay and the other at Baloda Bazar, C. P. The Dehra Dun Institution apart from its elementary educational instruction has the provision for the permanent care of its inmates.

The majority of the schools are purely residential, while some schools admit day scholars although of negligible percentage. The reason is quite obvious. There is no Nursery Type of school in India.

(2) The System of Co-Education :—

Four schools have the Co-educational system, only two of them have larger number of girls and the other two have only one girl in each. The schools at Rangoon, Pallamcottah and Ranchi have completely separate arrangements and the Calcutta School extends co-education to a limited age. The school at Dehra Dun admits girls and women only.

(3) Enrolment of Pupils :—

There are 805 pupils in all these schools of whom 651 are boys and 154 are girls, that is, 2·3 per cent. of boys and ·8 per cent. of girls of the blind population of school age and 0·1 per cent. of the total blind population of the country are receiving education. Besides this there are 60 girls and women

in Dehra Dun school, 30 boys and adults in N. S. D. Homes Bombay and 15 men in Baloda Bazar Home, C. P.

Out of the total number of blind pupils 766 are residential scholars of whom 618 are boys and 148 are girls ; and 39 are day scholars, consisting of 33 boys and 6 girls.

(4) Number of Pupils by Age and Sex :—

The following table shows the distribution of pupils in some schools which have supplied figures for age and sex :—

TABLE XIII

Age.	Boys.	Girls.
0—5	3	1
5—10	47	18
10—15	210	44
15—20	169	51
Above	46	18

(5) Number of Pupils by Religion :—

The following table shows the distribution of pupils in some schools which have supplied figures for religion :—

TABLE XIV

Religion.	Boys.	Girls.
Hindus	356	16
Muhammadans	36	1
Christians	172	127
Parsees	4	...
Buddhists	15	9
Animists & others	3	...

(6) Number of Ex-students :—

Since the introduction of this special education for the blind the total number of pupils who either have completed the course or left the school after having some education is about 1619 only.

(7) Total Number of Teachers engaged :—

The total number of teachers working in all the departments is 108, of whom 75 are in the academic department, 55 being men and 20 women, and 33 are in the industrial departments of whom 29 are men and 4 are women.

(8) Admission of Pupils :—

Generally all the schools allow admission to the children between the ages of 6 and 16, and allow to stay in school up to the age of 22, sometimes more in special cases. None has any restriction regarding religion or province.

(9) Standard of Education Imparted :—

The majority of the schools impart education up to the Primary Grade and a few up to the Upper Primary Standard. The Calcutta School has kept its standard up to Matriculation for selected students.

(10) Period of the course and the Medium of Instruction :—

The period of the course in schools which have the Lower and Upper Primary Standards varies from 6 to 8 years, while that of the Calcutta School is between 10 to 12 years.

All the schools follow the Braille System of teaching the blind to read. The medium of instruction is through the vernaculars of the respective Provinces for Primary Grades. In addition to this, the children in most of the schools are taught elementary English to help them to a certain extent in their practical life. Only the schools at Calcutta and Patna teach Bengali, Hindi, English and Sanskrit as well.

(11) Academic Achievement :—

As regards the academic achievements of the ex-students, the Lahore and Calcutta schools are noteworthy. The Lahore School has a record of 2 students, one of whom passed the Matriculation and the other B.A. The Calcutta school has more brilliant records in as much as it has turned out 8 Matriculates, 1 Intermediate, and 3 B.A.'s and 2 M.A.'s, one of them being a double M.A. of the Calcutta University.

(12) Industrial Education and Employment of Students :—

One or more of the handicrafts of the following descriptions are taught in different schools for the Blind :

1. Wicker and Cane Work. 2. Loom Work. 3. Mat-making. 4. Spinning and Weaving. 5. Button-making. 6. Rattan Work. 7. Knitting.

Vocal and instrumental music as a special subject is taught in almost all the schools.

Many of the students have been absorbed in the teaching staff of their own institutions and many others have found employment elsewhere in one or other way suiting to their own acquisition. Their average monthly income varies from Rs. 15 to Rs. 50 and the higher qualified persons are in the more comfortable situation in life.

It will not be out of place to mention the creditable career of some of the students of the Calcutta Blind School :—

(*a*) Mr. Nagendra Nath Sen, M.A. (Cal.) in Philosophy and Economics, now a Lecturer in the Bangabasi College, Calcutta.

(*b*) Mr. Bankim Chandra Ray, M.A. (Cal.) in History, a Research Scholar who has been working as Lecturer at the Diocesan College, Calcutta.

(*c*) Mr. Kamal Kanta Majumdar, B.A., Head Master, Patna Blind School.

(13) Training of Teachers :—

The Calcutta School, the Victory Memorial School and the U. L. C. M. School have regular Teachers' Training Department and they train teachers to supply the needs of other institutions, and there are also a few who train their own teachers. The period of the course for training in Calcutta and U. L. C. M. School is one and two years, and the minimum qualification required is Matriculation and Standard VIII, respectively.

The American Mission School, the Calcutta School and the Victory Memorial School have foreign trained-teachers on their staff.

(14) Financial Condition of the Schools :—

The majority of the schools do not charge any fees and many also provide free residence and food, and the rest have a very nominal charge for school fees and boarding expenses.

Excepting the Government and State schools all other schools are financed by grants-in-aid of the Government and the Local Bodies, and by public charity and by endowments.

The Nagpur and the Calcutta schools, and the American Mission School and the Victory Memorial School have got large endowment funds.

(15) The Salaries of the Teachers and their Protection :—

The salaries of the teachers of the Government and the State schools are more or less satisfactory and their services are pensionable. Excepting the Calcutta, Rangoon, Karachi, U.L.C.M., the Victoria Memorial and the Victory Memorial schools, the salaries of the teachers of all others are deplorably poor.

Only the schools at Calcutta, Karachi, and Rentachintala have provision for Provident Fund.

(16) Causes of Blindness :—

The general causes of blindness that have been recorded by majority of the schools are Syphilis, Small-Pox, Trachoma, Sore-Eyes and lack of proper care at birth.

(17) Education of the Double-Afflicted :—

Although there is an appreciable number of persons afflicted with deaf-mutism and blindness, no attempt has ever been made to educate such cases.

(18) Prevention of Blindness :—

There are a few organisations which do the work of Prevention of Blindness in India. The names of the following organisations are worth mentioning for carrying on some sort of preventive measures :—

(*a*) The Association for the Prevention of Blindness, Calcutta.
(*b*) The Blind Relief Association, Bombay.
(*c*) The All India Blind Relief Association, Bombay.
(*d*) The Blind Relief Association, Nagpur.
(*e*) The Servants of India Society, Poona.
(*f*) Indian Red Cross Society.

Some of the Provincial Governments have also undertaken the work of prevention through their Health Departments and assistance is rendered to voluntary organisations with grants-in-aid.

(19) Miscellaneous :—

There is only one association for the blind known as the Madras Association for the Blind, the object of which is to promote the welfare of the blind, to train teachers for the blind, and to assist in opening and maintaining schools for the blind within the Presidency of Madras. Besides this there is no other organisation which works for the after-care problem, or for the manufacture of the educational materials for the blind.

Only a few papers on the education of the blind and the prevention of blindness were published by Mr. H. D. Chhatrapati, Principal, Victoria Memorial School, but no books were ever published on the subject. A magazine "Light to the Blind" used to be published by Mr. P. N. V. Rao of the Mysore School.

In 1922, a Conference of Teachers for the Blind was held in Bombay to discuss the various problems on the education of the blind in India.

There is only one Steriotyping machine in the Victory Memorial School for the printing of embossed books for the blind. With the help of this, some school readers have been published, and it is intended to employ blind labour throughout the Department.

(20) The Braille System :—

Different adaptations based upon the original Braille System, such as, "The Urdu and Hindi Braille," commonly called Sheriff's System; the "Indian Braille," known as Dr. Nilkanth Rai's System; the "Oriental Braille" known as Knowel and Garthwait's System; "The Sindhi Braille" by P. M. Advani of Karachi and "The Shah Braille" by the late Lal Behari Shah, founder of the Calcutta School, are in use in majority of the schools in India. Many of the educationists have suggested that there should be a uniform system for the Indian languages. Having this particular purpose in view, Mr. P. M. Advani made a thorough study of the different systems and devised a new one which he submitted to the Second Oriental Conference held in Calcutta in 1922. The subject requires serious attention, and with the effort and mutual understanding of all the educationists experienced in the particular line if a uniform system be devised based on the phonetic principles of the different families of the Indian languages, much benifit could be done to both the education of the blind in India and the problem of printing embossed books in Indian languages.

Table XV

Showing the names and addresses of the institutions, names of the founders, the present head and the year of establishment.

No.	Names and Addresses of Schools for the Blind	Estd.	Name of the founder.	Name of the present Head.
1	The Industrial School for the Blind, Rajpur, Dehra Dun.	1887	Miss A. Sharp.	Miss H. E. Youngs.
2	T. D. J. A. School for the Blind, Pallamcottah, Madras.	1890	Miss A. J. Askwith	Mr. W. G. Speight.
3	Industrial Home and School for the Blind, Behala, Calcutta.	1897	Late Lal Behari Shah.	Mr. A. K. Shah.
4	S. P. G. Blind School, Ranchi, Bihar.	1898	Mrs. O'Connor.	Miss H. Espiner.
5	American Mission School for the Blind, Dadar, Bombay.	1900	Miss Anna Millard.	Mrs. G. Ross Thomas.
6	Mission Schools for the Blind: (*a*) St. Michael's School for Blind Boys, Kemmendine, Rangoon. (*b*) St. Raphal's School for Blind Girls, Moulmein, Burma.	1901	By a Committee.	Rev. Turner
7	Victoria Memorial School for the Blind, Tardeo, Bombay.	1902	The Victoria Memorial Committee.	Mr. H. D. Chhatrapati.
8	Government School for the Blind, Lahore, Punjab.	1906	Punjab Government,	Mr. Bodh Raj.
9	U. L. C. M. School for the Blind, Rentachintala, Madras.	1912	Mrs. G. Albreght.	Rev. J. Russel Fink.
10	The N. S. D. Industrial Home for the Blind, Kumbharwada, Bombay.	1917	Messrs. Shiv Lall M. Shah and Dr. N. D. Chhatrapati.	*

TABLE XV (*contd.*)

No	Names and Addresses of Schools for the Blind.	Estd.	Names of the Founders.	Names of the present Head.
11	Lal Singh Man Singh Industrial School for the Blind, Mainpuri, U. P.	1920	Late Lal Singh and Man Singh.	
12	Patna Blind School, Patna, Bihar.	1922	Mr. B. N. Mittra.	Mr. Kamal Kant Majumder.
13	Andha-Vidyalaya (Institute for the Blind), Amritsar, Punjab.	1923	Vidalaya Committee.	Mr. Mangal Dev
14	Ida Rieu Poor Welfare Association's School for the Blind, Karachi, Sindh.	1923	The Association.	Mr. P. N. Advani
15	Ahmedi School for the Blind, Aligarh, U. P.	1927	Late Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan Sahib	Mr. Mahabub Elahi.
16	Blind Boys' Institute, Dhantoli, Nagpur.	1928	C. P. & Berar Blind Relief Associasion.	Mr. Wamanrao Wadegaonker
17	School & Home for the Blind, Niam, Allahabad, U. P.	*	*	Mr. W. B. Hayes.
18	Victory Memorial School for the Blind, Poonamalle, Madras.	1930	Mr. Willam Bell.	The Founder.
19	The Krishna Kumar Singhiji School and Home for the Blind, Bhavnagar, Kathiawar.	1931	Mr. N. D. Netarwala.	The Founder.
20	School for the Blind, Kunnamkulam, Cochin State.	1934	Kt. Mathew, Esq.	*
21	Home for the Blind, Baloda Bazar, C. P.	*	*	Rev. M. P. Davis.

Note.—For departments for the Blind in Deaf-Mute and Blind Schools, *vide* Table VIII, pages 29 and 30.

Information not supplied.

Table XVI

This table shows the number of pupils by sex in schools and boardings, number of teachers by sex in academic & industrial departments and the total number of ex-students.

No.	Schools for the Blind.	Pupils in School.		Pupils in Boarding		Number of Teachers.				Ex-Students.
						Acd. Dept.		Ind. Dept.		
		Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	
1	Rangoon School	31	18	31	18	5	3	1	1	*
2	Calcutta ,,	61	20	61	20	7	2	5	1	412
3	Patna ,,	26	...	24	...	6	...	...	...	50
4	Ranchi ,,	46	21	36	16	2	1	2	...	200
5	Allahabad ,,	10	...	10	...	1	...	1	...	*
6	Mainpuri ,,	4	...	4	...	1	...	...	...	...
7	Lahore ,,	29	...	20	...	1	...	2	...	301
8	Amritsar ,,	38	1	38	1	3	...	2	...	128
9	Karachi ,,	33	...	32	...	5	...	2	...	176
10	Nagpur ,,	22	...	22	...	1	...	1	...	22
11	Bhavnagar ,,	21	...	21	...	*	...	*	...	*
12	Aligarh ,,	10	...	10	...	*	...	*	...	*
13	Mysore ,,	43	...	43	...	3	1	2	...	43
14	Baroda ,,	15	...	15	...	1	...	2	...	*
15	Mehsana ,,	24	1	23	...	2	...	2	...	*
16	American Mission School.	26	16	26	16	2	2	1	...	254
17	Victoria Memorial School.	67	...	57	...	5	...	2	...	*
18	U. L. C. M. School	18	18	18	18	2	4	1	...	33
19	Pallamcottah School.	71	58	71	58	7	7	3	2	*
20	Victory School.	54	1	54	1	*	*	*	*	*
21	Cochin School.	2	...	2	...	1	...	...	...	...
	Total Pupils ...	651	154	618	148	55	20	29	4	1 619

22 Rajpur School :—60 (Girls & Women).

23 N. S. D. Home :—30 (Boys and Adults).

24 Baloda Bazar Home :—15 Men.

* Information not supplied.

TABLE XVII

This table shows the number of schools and the children receiving education in each Province and State, and also the total blind population with school-going age.

The table has been arranged by Provinces and States. Many Provinces and States have no school, but a very small percentage of their children is sent out to the schools of other Provinces and States.

No.	Province or State.	No. of Schools.	No. of pupils attending School.		Blind † Population.		Blind ‡ of School-age.	
			Boys	Girls.	Males.	Females.	Boys.	Girls.
1	Burma	1	31	18	12,751	14,976	807	592
2	Assam	...	...	...	4,556	4 666	481	327
3	Do. States	...	...	...	358	346	(*)	(*)
4	Bengal	1	61	20	19,834	16,906	2 259	1,268
5	Do States	...	...	...	337	322	30	24
6	Sikim State	...	...	...	14	12	3	2
7	Bihar	2	72	21	15,755	16,491	3,447	2,032
8	Orissa	...	...	...	2,805	2.791	(*)	(*)
9	Chota Nagpur	...	...	...	4,458	5,454	(*)	(*)
10	Bihar & Orissa States.	...	...	...	2 501	3 077	432	343
11	United Provinces	4	24	60	66,224	75,754	6,401	4,205
12	U. P. States	...	...	...	1,222	1,419	141	86
13	Delhi	...	...	...	342	314	28	17
14	Punjab	2	67	1	30,405	26,849	2.314	1,798
15	Do. States.	...	...	...	503	452	30	20
16	Do. Do. Agency	...	...	...	6,233	5,231	432	307
17	N. W. F. Province.	...	...	...	1,351	1,112	152	94
18	Baluchistan.	...	...	...	458	323	5	1
19	Do. States	...	...	...	525	389	(*)	(*)
20	Kashmir & Jammu State.	...	...	...	2,888	2,811	263	217
21	Bombay Presy.	3	123	16	15,638	17,319	1,808	1,256

TABLE XVII (*contd.*)

No.	Province or State.	No. of Schools.	No. of pupils attending Schools.		Blind † Population		Blind ‡ of School-age.	
			Boys.	Girls.	Males.	Females.	Boys.	Girls.
22	Sind	1	33	...	4,436	3,687	*	*
23	Aden	...	...	...	50	24	*	*
24	Bombay States	...	...	..	2 895	3,095	300	199
25	Baroda States	2	39	1	3,090	4,943	233	163
26	Western India States Agency	1	21	...	6,266	9,543	509	370
27	Rajputana Agency	...	...	...	13,782	17,845	1,048	695
28	Central Provinces	2	37	...	12,885	20,573	1,691	1,085
29	Berar	...	...	...	4,316	5,150	*	*
30	C. P. States	...	...	...	1,686	2,461	224	176
31	Central India Agency	...	...	...	5,643	8,014	653	494
32	Gwalior State	...	...	...	2,425	3,984	140	134
33	Ajmer-Merwara	...	1 ...	...	968	1,194	70	49
34	Madras	3	43	77	24,258	27,623	2,241	1,659
35	Travancore	...	...	...	1,810	1,381	217	143
36	Cochin State	1	2	...	758	837	84	69
37	Other Madras States	...	...	...	217	181	12	13
38	Mysore State	1	43	...	3,556	2,997	514	371
39	Hyderabad State	...	...	...	6,480	6,036	824	661
40	Coorg	...	...	...	58	42	9	4
41	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	...	...	...	4	5	...	1
	Total—India	24	696	214	284,741	316,629	27,802	18,875

* Included in the figure for the preceding Province or Presidency.

† Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, Part II, Pages 190-91.

‡ Calculated between the ages 5 and 15, Census, 1931, Vol. I, Part II, Pages 192-203.

TABLE XVIII

Blind Children distributed in Schools by Religion and Sex.

No	Province or State where the school is.	Hindus.		Muhammadans.		Christians.		Others.	
		Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.
1	Burma	...	...	...	...	16	9	15 (Buddhist)	9
2	Bengal	51	10	3	1	6	9	1	...
3	Bihar & Orissa	30	...	3	...	37	21	2 (Animist)	...
4	United Provinces	6	...	11	...	7	...	...	...
5	Punjab	51	1	4	...	2	...	...	...
6	Sind	22	...	10	...	1	...	...	...
7	Bombay	59	...	4	...	26	16	4 (Parsee)	...
8	Baroda	38	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
9	Central Province	22	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10	Madras	12	4	...	...	77	72	...	...
11	Kathiawar State	21	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12	Mysore State	43	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
13	Cochin State	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
	Total ...	356	16	36	1	172	127	...	...

TABLE XIX.

Blind Children distributed in Schools by Age and Sex.

No.	Province or State.	0-5.		5-10.		10-15.		15-20.		above.	
		Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.
1	Burma	...	...	4	4	12	9	14	5	...	...
2	Bengal	...	...	5	3	30	8	26	9	...	...
3	Bihar & Orissa	2	...	14	...	30	2	10	3	16	13
4	U. P.	1	...	5	...	5	...	3	...	...	...
5	Punjab	...	...	9	1	31	...	23	...	4	...
6	Sind	...	...	...	...	8	...	12	...	13	...
7	Bombay	...	1	5	3	36	5	43	6	9	1
8	Baroda	...	...	...	...	19	1	5	...	...	...
9	C.P.	...	...	1	...	11	...	10	...	...	...
10	Madras	...	...	4	7	28	19	23	28	4	4
	Total ...	3	1	47	18	210	44	169	51	46	18

The figures in the above two tables have been given to give only a rough estimate, adequate information not having been supplied by some schools.

D

The Education of the Feeble-minded in India

There are only two schools for the feeble-minded children in India, both being in the Province of Bengal. "The Children's House" in Kurseong was founded by Miss S. de la Place in

1918, and the " Bodhana Niketan " formerly in Jhargram, Midnapur, now in Belgharia, 24-Parganas, was started by Mr. Girija Bhushan Mukherjee in 1933. Both the institutions admit children without any restriction of religion or caste. The age of admission has been kept up to 20 years, and the inmates are allowed to stay permanently if necessary. The institutions are purely of residential character. " The Childrens House " is a private Institution while the " Bodhana Niketan " is maintained by public charities, school fees and with partial grants-in-aid from the Government and the local bodies. " The Children's House " charges a fee of Rs. 60 and the " Bodhana Niketan " Rs. 20 per month per pupil. In " The Children's House " there are 28 students, of whom 20 are boys and 8 are girls. Of the students, 19 boys and girls are Christians, and 1 boy is a Parsee. In the " Bodhana Niketan " there are 11 students of whom 9 are boys and 2 are girls ; and 7 boys and 2 girls are Hindus and 1 boy is Sikh and the other is a Christian.

" The Children's House " has got 6 teachers, 4 women and 1 man in the academic department and 1 woman in the industrial department. The " Bodhana Niketan " has 5 teachers, 1 man is in the academic department and 3 men and 1 woman in the industrial department.

The specialized method of teaching feeble-minded children in both the institutions is based upon the most up-to-date method of sense training. Special exercises, massages and medical gymnastics are applied when necessary. The education imparted is elementary, suiting to the capability of the pupils. They are also taught some handicrafts such as weaving, basket-making, carpentry, clay-modelling, etc. In a way an attempt is made to make their life happy and useful.

APPENDIX I

Questionnaire Form sent to the Government of Provinces and States

Regarding the Survey on the present educational condition of the blind, the deaf-mute, and the feeble-minded in India, to be answered by the Education Department.

1. Number of schools in the Province or State :—

The schools for—

	Government.	Aided.	Unaided.
(*a*) The Blind.			
(*b*) The Deaf-Mute			
(*c*) The Feeble-minded.			

2. On what criterion do the Government give recurring and non-recurring grants to these schools?

3. What is the expense per capita provided by the Governments for the education of—

(*a*) The defectives. Rs.....

(*b*) The Normal children up to high schools. Rs....

4. What aid do the Government extend to Infirm children desiring education in case where there are no schools for the particular class in the Province or State?

5. Is there any provision of the Government for—

(*a*) General inspection of these schools.....; if so, do the inspectors have the requisite knowledge for the function and to give suggestion for improvement.

(*b*) Medical inspection of these schools.....; if so, in case any remedial defect comes into view as a result of inspection, is there any arrangement for giving effect to the doctor's suggestions ?

(*c*) Do the Government consider the employment of the educated and qualified deaf-mute and blind?

(*d*) Do the Government contemplate opening schools for the defectives under their own direction and control?

(*e*) Do the Government have any arrangement for the Prevention of Blindness, if so, how is it conducted?

APPENDIX II

No.....

Form of Questionnaire

GROUP I

A Survey on the present condition of the education of the Blind, the Deaf-Mute, and the Feeble-minded in India.

1. Name and address of the school.....
.....
2. Founded by..... ; in.....
3. Age limit for admission ; between.....
4. Maximum age up to which pupils are allowed to stay in school.....
5. Have you got any restriction regarding caste and creed ?.....
   If so, what are those.....
6. School fee per month..... Admission fee.....
7. How many freeships and half-freeships are allowed at present in your school ?..... How many are allowed free board ?.....
8. Boarding charges per month.....

   (*a*) Does this charge include: meals, tiffin, washing, barber, and doctor and medicine ?.....
   (*b*) Does the school supply bedding ?.....

9. Number of students in school :—

	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
(*a*) Hindus			
(*b*) Muhammadans			
(*c*) Christians			
(*d*) Others			

10. Number of students in boarding :—

	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
(*a*) Hindus			
(*b*) Muhammadans			
(*c*) Christians			
(*d*) Others			

11. Graded age of the children in your school :—

Between	Boys.	Girls.
0—5		
5—10		
10—15		
15—20		
above		

*12. Distribution of students in your school according to :—

(*a*) By different Provinces or States ?
(*b*) By different Districts ?

Please give the number separately for boys and girls.

13. Period of the course ?.....
*14. Up to what standard is general education imparted ?
15. Method of teaching ?.....
16. Different vernaculars taught in the school ?.....
.....
17. Are these vernaculars taught by different teachers who have the respective vernaculars as their mother tongue ?.....
18. What other languages beside the vernaculars are taught ?.....
.....
19. What are the different vernaculars of the Province or State ?.....
.....
*20. Names of Provinces. States or Districts which send deserving students to your school. In such case, please state number of students and amount of stipend per head.
21. Any deaf-mute and blind (deaf-blind) student in your school ? If so, How many ?..... What is the result ?.....
.....
22. How many of your students have passed :—

(*a*) Matric..... (*b*) Intermediate.....
(*c*) B.A..... (*d*) M.A.....
(*e*) Any other recognised examination of the Government.

*23. Names of different industries taught in schools ?
*24. What are the main occupations of your ex-students ?
25. Do you provide employment to your ex-students in your school ?
(*a*) If so, how many are now employed ?.....

(*b*) On what job ?.....
(*c*) Average pay ?.....

*26. Please state cases of ex-students who have got remarkable position either in profession, or business, or in service.

*27. Any of your ex-student has been or is abroad, if so, object?

28. Total number of students that have been educated in your school since establishment.....

29. Do you allow the system of co-education or have separate arrangements for boys and girls ?.....

*30. What are the general causes of the defect of your children ?

*31. Distribution of the present students according to the different nature of the families they come from.

32. What are the arrangements for the medical inspection of the children before admission and periodically ?

GROUP II

1. Number of teachers (in academic dept.) men ... women ...
2. ,, ,, ,, (in industrial dept.) ,, ... ,, ...
3. ,, ,, ,, (in other dept.) ,, ... ,, ...
4. ,, ,, ,, (resident of the boarding) ,, ... ,, ...
5. Name of the present Head..... .....
   Designation ....
6. Salary of the present Head..... ....Grade..... .....
7. Average salaries of the assistants.....Grade.....
8. Any provident fund or pension ?.....

   (*a*) What is the system of provident fund, if any ?.....
   .....

9. Age of retirement for teachers.....
10. Have you got any Department for the training of teachers ? If so, please state :

    (*a*) Period of the course.....
    (*b*) Fee per month.....
    (*c*) Minimum general qualification required.....
    (*d*) Is your Diploma recognised ?.....In what way ?.....
    .....
    (*e*) How many have received the Diploma ?.....

11. If you have got no training dept.:

(*a*) Where do you send teachers for training ?.....
.....

(*b*) Or you train your own teachers, if so, how many are they ?.....

(*c*) How many teachers in your school are trained from a recognised Training School or College ?.....

*(*d*) Where were those teachers trained ?

*12. How many are trained in foreign countries ?

(*a*) Names and address of the College or University ?

(*b*) Names of such teachers ?

GROUP III

1. Is it a dual School ?.....
2. Is it a purely industrial school ?.....
3. Type of school :—(*a*) Government.....(*b*) Municipal.....
Public.....Private.....
4. School building: Own or rented ; if rented, amount of rent p. m. Rs.....
5. Boarding: Own or rented ; if rented, amount of rent p.m. Rs.....
6. Amount of annual subsidy from :—Government.....;
Municipality.....; Dt. Board.....
Any other recognised organisation.....
7. Average annual income fr m: Donation.....; Subscription.....;
Industrial Dept.....; From any other source.....
8. Total edowment fund: Rs..... Income from interest.....
9. Total amount of income (average of 4 years) Rs.....
10. Annual expenditure for: School. Rs.....Boarding. Rs.....
11. Total annual expenditure (average for 4 years) Rs.....

GROUP IV

1. If you are aware of the existence of the following: in your Province or State, then please state as required, with names and addresses.

(*a*) Any school for the feeble-minded.

(*b*) Any special industrial school, for the deaf-mute or the blind.

(*c*) Any welfare organisation that does work on after-care and education.

(*d*) Any organisation that does Prevention work.
(*e*) Any Lip-Reading class for adult-deaf.
(*f*) Any association that manufactures special appliances for the education of the blind, the deaf-mute and the feeble-minded.
(*g*) Any All-India Teachers Association exists, or was ever formed.
(*h*) Any Braille printing plant.
(*i*) Any magazine exists, or was ever published.
(*j*) Any organisation started by educated deaf-mute or blind for their own welfare.

*2. Names and addresses of schools for the deaf-mute or the blind in your Province or State.
*3. Was there any attempt to establish any school in your Province or State, which having been established ceased to continue; if so by whom was that established and why ceased to continue ?
*4. Any conference of teachers ever held ? If so where and when ?
*5. Is there any book on the subject written by Indian author ? If so, please give the names of the books and their authors.
*6. Has there been any survey of this type before? If so, when and who made it.
7. Please send charts of the Braille Alphabet that is used for different vernaculars in your school.

*(*a*) Please give the names who adapted the different systems.

8. Please mention any other special feature of your school that you think necessary.
9. Please send prospectus, rules and regulations, last annual report, etc., of your school.
*10. Suggestions.

Date....., *1933*. *Signature*.

* Answers to be given on the reverse side of this Form.

STUDIES IN RABINDRANATH'S PROSODY

BY

AMULYADHAN MUKHOPADHYAY

CHAPTER I

VERSE-TYPES IN RABINDRANATH'S POETRY

In studying the types of verse in Rabindranath's poetry, we are taking the word '*verse*' in its strict prosodic sense *as implying the line proper*, the prosodic integer larger than the measure or bar. The bar is, of course, the molecule of poetical composition, the unit variously manipulated to build up the poetic structure; the essential character of any particular poetical composition depends upon the length and character of the bar and the principle of bar-arrangement. But the perception of a poetic form is not complete simply with the reading or the hearing of a bar until there is the further perception of a pattern weaving the bars into an artistic whole; or, in other words, the prosodic verse is the smallest form of a poetic composition. Hence we find that whenever a reference is made to a poetical composition, a line or verse is the minimum that is quoted. A study of verse-types will therefore indicate the fundamental qualities of the poet's rhythmic idea, of his instinct for artistic form and expression.

The rhythmic quality of a verse depends upon (*i*) the number of bars and (*ii*) the mutual relation between them, over and above the rhythmic properties of the bars themselves. The number of bars to a complete verse should be at least two; at times we come across monometric verses in certain varieties of the stanza, but in such cases they are used only in association with verses with two or more measures and are to be considered

only as elliptical lines varying the flow of the rhythm and introducing an element of sudden stop or arrest in the movement of verse. The maximum number of bars to the verse is usually limited to four, the usual figure of units in every kind of symmetrical arrangement. Instances of pentametric verse are also met with as in the following lines from Palātakā :

যারা আমার | সাঁঝ সকালের | গানের দীপে | জ্বালিয়ে দিলে | আলো

or, তুচ্ছ বাইশ | বছর আমার | ঘরের কোণের | ধূলায় পড়ে | থাক্

But it should be noted that nowhere do we have a full pentametric verse; what we get is a verse of four measures followed by a sort of half-measure that impresses as a sort of extra tag; in other words, they impress as hyper-catalectic tetrameter verses ; the tendency is to read the lines as

যারা আমার | সাঁঝ সকালের | গানের দীপে | জ্বালিয়ে দিলে
আলো

and তুচ্ছ বাইশ | বছর আমার | ঘরের কোণের | ধূলায় পড়ে
থাক্

Moreover the measure in these instances is the lightest in Bengali prosody, *viz.*, a four-morae bar. It is extremely doubtful whether it is possible to have even such a catalectic pentameter verse with bars of more than four morae.

The rhythmic impression of a particular verse is connected with the particular arrangement of bars within the verse. If the bars are equal, we have a level rhythm with smooth, easy flow. Very generally it is found that the last bar in a verse happens to be shorter, even though the other bars may be co-equal. This is generally due to the importance attached to the major breath-pause at the end of the verse, for which the catalexis in the last measure prepares the mind. It will, therefore, be more proper to classify such verses as instances of level rhythm, or, more exactly, as of quasi-level rhythm. But in verses where the last bar is considerably shorter than the staple bar—shorter by the length of an entire beat at least—we

have instances of falling rhythm. In such verses there is a quick, tripping movement suitably symbolising a quivering quality in the thought or feeling. Again there may be lines with a rising rhythm in which the last bar is longer than the preceding ; here, there is a slow, dragging movement, suggesting a solemnity and a sense of vastness. The different rhythmic qualities of the several systems of arrangement may be easily perceived from the following instances. The staple bar in every case is the commonest measure in Bengali poetry, that is to say, a bar of 8 morae.

Level rhythm—দূর হ'তে শুনি যেন | মহাসাগরের গান (8+8)

Quasi-level rhythm—দিন শেষ হ'য়ে এল | আঁধারিল ধরণী (8+7)

Falling rhythm—তাহারে শুধানু হেসে | যেমনি (8+3)

Rising rhythm—বিদায়-গোধূলি আসে | ধূলায় ছড়ায়ে ছিন্নদল (8+10)

Other arrangements are also possible but they do not seem to agree very well with the genius of the language. For instance, Bengali prosody does not favour the amphibrachic and the cretic movements in verses or verse-molecules of three units. It is to be noted that the rhythmic arrangements noted above are the only ones possible in composing beats into bars. A bar of 4 morae shall have 2 beats arranged as 2+2, or as (rarely) 1+3 or 3+1. A bar of 5 morae shall have 2 beats arranged as 3+2 or 2+3. A bar of 6 morae shall have 2 beats arranged as 3+3, 2+4 or 4+2. A bar of 7 morae shall have 2 beats arranged as 4+3 or 3+4. A bar of 8 morae shall have either 2 beats, 4+4, or 3 beats, 2+3+3 or 3+3+2, other combinations are ruled out on account of their incompatibility with the rhythmic quality of Bengali verse. For similar reasons, a bar of 10 morae can have beats arranged only as 3+3+4, or 4+4+2, or 4+3+3, or 2+4+4. (A fuller explanation with examples is to be found in my essay—*Bānglā Chander Mūl-Sūtra*).

With these preliminary remarks we pass on to survey the verse-types in Rabindranath's poetry.

A.—The Dimeter (the verse of two measures).

We may have four systems of arrangement of the dimeter according to the rhythmic principle adopted.

A (1)—The Dimeter with Level rhythm.

The dimeter with strictly level rhythm is not frequent in Bengali prosody as the natural tendency is to have the last bar shorter in order to emphasise the major pause that indicates the end of the verse. The type is also not too frequent in Rabindranath's poetry. He has, however, examples of this type with every kind of bar. Sometimes, however, verses have only been used as subsidiary lines in a stanza.

A (1) (i)—The Dimeter with Level rhythm and 4-morae bars.

Verses of this type are principally found in popular nursery-rhymes, proverbs, etc. As the 4-morae bar is the lightest of measures and the dimeter the simplest of verses, this is the type that easily impresses children. The following are a few examples from older literature—

(*a*) জল পড়ে | পাতা নড়ে
(*b*) কালো জল | লাল ফল (শিশুশিক্ষা)
(*c*) দিনে রোদ | রাতে জল
তাতে বাড়ে | ধানের বল (খনার বচন)
(*d*) ধিন্‌তা ধিনা | পাকা নোনা
ডাল্ ভাতে ভাত্ | চড়িয়ে দেনা (ছেলে ভুলানো ছড়া)

Rabindranath has not written any poem entirely with this type of verse. Although the quick 4-morae bar is a favourite with him, he probably felt it to be too light for his poetry. It is to be found only as a subsidiary line in a stanza where the principal line is a trimeter or tetrameter ; *e.g.*,

ওরে দুয়ার | খুলে দে রে | বাজা শঙ্খ | বাজা ;
গভীর রাতে | এসেছে আজ | আঁধার ঘরের | রাজা।
বজ্র ডাকে | শূন্য তলে
বিদ্যুতেরি | ঝিলিক্ ঝলে, etc. (আগমন—খেয়া)

A (1) (ii)—The Level Dimeter with 5-morae bars.

This is also used only as a subsidiary line in a stanza. (It does not appear to have been used by any previous poet.)

আরঙজেব | ভারত যবে | করিতেছিল | খান্ খান্
মারবপতি | কহিলা আসি | করহ' প্রভু | অবধান
গোপন রাতে | অচল গড়ে
নহর যারে | এনেছে ধরে, etc. (মানী—কথা)

The 5-morae bar is a syncopated measure really and a triple-time (3-morae) beat is an essential constituent of it. The triple-time beat has an unstable equilibrium. On account of this the 5-morae bar has a quality of swing and overflow. It was rarely in use before Rabindranath.

A (1) (iii)—The Level Dimeter with 6-morae bars.

The 6-morae bar comes nearest to the normal phrase in common speech. An examination of the commonest Bengali names will shew how prevalent is the tendency in Bengali. Names like রবীন্দ্রনাথ, দীনেশচন্দ্র, সুবোধচন্দ্র, সুনীতিকুমার, প্রিয়রঞ্জন, খগেন্দ্রনাথ, মহাম্মদ্-আলি, আমীর হোসেন, শাহীদুল্লাহ্, are either equal to or closely approximate to a bar of 6-morae. Rabindranath had early realised the importance of the 6-morae bar and made extensive use of it even in his early career as a poet. Here are a few instances of level dimeter with 6-morae bars—

(*a*) মেঘ গরজনে | বরষা আসিবে
মদির-নয়নে | বসন্ত হাসিবে (নির্ঝরের স্বপ্নভঙ্গ—প্রভাত সঙ্গীত)

(*b*) নীরবে দেখাও | অঙ্গুলি তুলি
অকূল সিন্ধু | উঠেছে আকুলি
দূরে পশ্চিমে | ডুবিছে তপন | গগন কোনে (নিরুদ্দেশ যাত্রা—সোনার তরী)

The 6-morae dimeter has been used independently as the normal verse, but more often it is used as a subsidiary line in a stanza as in example (*b*) above.

A (1) (iv)—The Level Dimeter with 7-morae bars.

The 7-morae bar is also a syncopated measure and, like the bar of 5 morae, is characterised by a quality of swing and overflow, though it is slightly slower on account of the presence of the quadruple-time (4-morae) beat, the largest beat in use in Bengali. Its use is very rare in older Bengali where it is only to be found sometimes as a substitute for the bar of 8 morae, due to a misapprehension of the true nature of the Payār. Rabindranath has a number of poems in this long swinging measure, and instances of the level dimeter as the following :

পূরব মেঘমুখে | পড়েছে রবিরেখা
অরুণ রথ চূড়া | আধেক যায় দেখা (প্রভাত-উৎসব—প্রভাত-সঙ্গীত)

are met with very early in his poetry.

A (1) (v)—The Level Dimeter with 8-morae bars.

The 8-morae bar has always been the commonest in Bengali. In quality it is slow and stable, and principally on account of its stable equilibrium, it easily lends itself to every kind of manipulation. The true level dimeter in this measure is not, however, common in older Bengali but can be found in such lines from Rabindranath as

কী জানি কী হলো আজি | জাগিয়া উঠিল প্রাণ
দূর হ'তে শুনি যেন | মহাসাগরের গান (নির্ঝরের স্বপ্নভঙ্গ—প্রভাত-সঙ্গীত)

A (1) (vi)—The Level Dimeter with 10-morae bars.

The 10-morae bar is an exceedingly slow, solemn measure and in effect it is sometimes stately and sometimes heavy, dragging, "like a wounded snake, its slow length along." In older poetry it was only used as the third measure in *dīrgha tripadī* but now it is more extensively used. Instances of level dimeter in this measure may be found, though not very frequently, in Rabindranath ; *e.g.*,

(*a*) ওর প্রাণ আঁধার যখন | করুণ শুনায় বড়ো বাঁশি
দুয়ারেতে সজল নয়ন | এ বড়ো নিষ্ঠুর হাসিরাশি (কাঙালিনী—কড়ি ও কোমল)

(*b*) সেই রবি উঠেছে সকালে | ফুটেছে সমুখে সেই ফুল
ও কখন খেলাতে খেলাতে | মাঝখানে ঘুমিয়ে আকুল (শান্তি—কড়ি ও কোমল)

A (2)—The Dimeter with Quasi-level rhythm.

For reasons already explained, the dimeter with quasi-level rhythm is far more frequent than the true level dimeter. The second measure is just shorter than the first or the staple measure, but not short enough to give the impression of falling rhythm. The quasi-level dimeter is found to make use of the 6-morae and 8-morae bars, the two commonest measures in Bengali

(*i*) 6+5.

আজি এ প্রভাতে | রবির কর
কেমনে পশিল | প্রাণের পর (নির্ঝরের স্বপ্নভঙ্গ—প্রভাত-সঙ্গীত)

Previously it was known as *ekābali.*

(*ii*) 8+7.

দিন শেষ হ'য়ে এল | আঁধারিল ধরণী
কাননে প্রাসাদ-চূড়ে | নেমে আসে রজনী (দিনশেষে—চিত্রা)

The formula is the same as in *mālati.* But *mālati* was supposed to be made up of a Payār verse with an extra monosyllable at the end. But in the examples given above, the last bar is an independent bar of 7 morae obeying its own laws of structure and is not a joinery with a 6-morae bar and a monosyllable.

(*iii*) 8+6.

This is the commonest verse-type in the history of Bengali prosody, the formula of the traditional Payār verse. It is, however, not as frequent in Rabindranath's poetry as it might be expected to be. One reason why Rabindranath avoids this type may be that he wanted to make his poetry free from the languid associations of the Payār. The Payār, if properly handled, may be a very stately and impressive as well as a very delicate and smooth verse. Its potentialities are immense. But it was so often accepted as the only vehicle of poetry and used

with such monotony by previous writers that a dull, languid and monotonous colouring has come to be associated with it. It is precisely this traditional languor and dullness and monotony against which Rabindranath's poetry, his philosophy, his religion and his life constitute a spirited protest, and it is not, therefore, surprising that he should feel a repugnance for the Payār. Of course, verses in 8+6 are met with often in his poetry. No body who has written verses extensively in Bengali can avoid it, its importance can hardly be challenged. But there are ways of using it. Rabindranath does not use it exclusively in any long poem, *unless* he is writing blank verse. The practice of Madhusudan has definitely established the eight-and-six verse as the staple line of Bengali blank verse, and shewn how it can be made the vehicle of spirited thought and animated feeling. Outside the realm of blank verse Rabindranath's use of this verse as the regular unit is confined to the sonnet and the epigram where terse and compact thought is more important than free overflow of emotion. We have the sonnet in Payār verse, that is, in rhymed distich with lines of eight-and-six in a poem like বঙ্গমাতা (পুণ্যপাপে দুঃখে সুখে পতনে উত্থানে, etc. [চৈতালি]). His epigrammatic and gnomic poems in চৈতালি, কণিকা and elsewhere are in this verse. It is very rarely that one finds Rabindranath pouring the new wine of his romantic poetry in the old bottle of Payār verse as he does in পদ্মা (চৈতালি). In one long poem হিং টিং ছট্ Rabindranath writes the true and traditional Payār. The poem is, however, a trenchant satire on the stupidity of the older school and only confirms the suggested reasons for his avoidance of the Payār verse.

A (3)—The Dimeter with Falling rhythm.

Rabindranath makes extensive use of the falling dimeter, although in older Bengali we do not come across verses in this rhythm. Level and quasi-level rhythm were all that they were accustomed to, the sharp fall in quantity in passing from one measure to the other in a true falling dimeter was unknown.

The sharp falling rhythm is one of the innovations of Rabindranath in Bengali poetry and he exploits this successfully to introduce a quick, dancing movement. In fact this taste for the falling rhythm is one of the cardinal facts in Rabindranath's artistic career. It is associated with softness and grace, with ease and keen sensibility, with an attitude of non-resistance, almost of squeamishness in the moral world.

I. (*a*) 4+2.

[Notice the exceedingly quick and graceful rhythm with something of a dancing quality.]

একটি ছোট | মালা
(তোমার) হাতের হবে | বালা
একটি ছোট | ফুল
(তোমার) কানের হবে | দুল (স্বপ্নশেষ—ক্ষণিকা)
যেথায় ফুটে | কাশ
তটের চারি | পাশ (দুই তীরে—ক্ষণিকা)

(*b*) 4+3. [Seldom used independently.]

মনেরে আজ | কহ যে
সত্যেরে লও | সহজে (বোঝাপড়া—ক্ষণিকা)

II. (*a*) 6+3.

[It is seldom used independently, although it is used frequently in association with longer lines.]

তুমি বিচিত্র | রূপিণী (চিত্রা—চিত্রা)
শুধু অকারণ | পুলকে (উদ্বোধন—ক্ষণিকা)

(*b*) 6+2.

[A favourite type with Rabindranath owing to the very sharply falling rhythm.]

তবে আর কী বা | চাই
পরাণের সাধ | তাই (নির্ঝরের স্বপ্নভঙ্গ—প্রভাত-সঙ্গীত)
ওই শোন, ভাই | বিশু
পথে শুনি "জয় | যীশু" (ধর্ম্মপ্রচার—মানসী)

III. (*a*) 7+5.

On account of its composition with stable and unstable beats the 7-morae bar permits catalexis in various ways when it is the second measure in a falling dimeter. When the second measure happens to be of 5 morae, the association of two syncopated measures in consecution gives a fine swing to the verse; *e.g.*,

বেলা যে পড়ে এল | জলকে চল্ (বধূ—মানসী)

গাহিছে কাশীনাথ | নবীন যুবা (গানভঙ্গ—সোনার তরী)

(*b*) 7+4.

সমাজ সংসার | মিছে সব

মিছে এ জীবনের | কলরব (বর্ষার দিনে—মানসী)

(*c*) 7+3.

রূপ না দিলে যদি | বিধি হে (গুপ্ত প্রেম—মানসী)

The extremely short character of the second bar gives rise to a sense of sudden arrest quite in keeping with pathos of the line.

(*d*) 7+2.

তটের বুকে লাগে | জলের ঢেউ

তবে সে কলতান | উঠে

বাতাসে বন-সভা | শিহরি কাঁপে

তবে সে মর্ম্মর | ফুটে (গান-ভঙ্গ—সোনার তরী)

Here the very short second bar impresses merely as a sort of tag to balance the unstable 7-morae bar to which it is attached.

IV. (*a*) 8+5.

[It produces an impression of check in the flow of rhythm.]

গগনে গরজে মেঘ | ঘন বরষা

তীরে একা বসে আছি | নাহি ভরসা (সোনার তরী—সোনার তরী)

(*b*) 8+3.

[The emotional effect is of the same quality as of the verse in 7+2.]

আর বেয়ে কাজ নাই | তরণী (দিনশেষ—চিত্রা)

ভাসিছে পূরবীগীতি | আকাশে (ঐ)

A (4)—The Dimeter with Rising rhythm.

The rising rhythm is not in favour in Bengali which puts the stress generally at the commencement of a word and *never* at the end of a word. In arrangement of beats in the bar and of bars in the verse also, it fights shy of the rising rhythm, though, of course, the rising rhythm cannot be said to be unusual or infrequent. But the rise is never a sharp rise, it is always gentle; it gives the impression almost of a stately attitudinising, a sort of stretching out into larger proportions or proper height. In spite of all Rabindranath's variety of metres, verses with rising rhythm are not so common in his poetry as verses with falling rhythm. The types used by him are illustrated below—

I. 4+6.

সারাদিন | অশান্ত বাতাস
ফেলিতেছে | মর্ম্মর নিশ্বাস (উৎসর্গ—চৈতালি)

II. 6+8.

হেন কালে এলো | সন্ধ্যা-ধূসর পথে
করুণ-নয়ন | তরুণ পথিক রথে
ফেনার ঘর্ম্মে | আকুল অশ্বগুলি
বসনে ভূষণে | ভরিয়া গিয়াছে ধূলি। (ভ্রষ্টলগ্ন—কল্পনা)

III. 7+8.

যে জন চলিয়াছে | তারি পাছে সবে ধায়
নিখিলে যত প্রাণ | যত গান ঘিরে তায়
.....
যে জন পড়ে থাকে | একা ডাকে মরণে,
সুদূর হ'তে হাসি | আর বাঁশি শোনা যায় (ক্ষণিক মিলন—মানসী)

IV. 8+10.

By far the commonest among rising dimeters is the line in eight-and-ten. Rabindranath was not the first to make use of it, he has acknowledged that his elder brother Dwijendranath Tagore was the first to use it in poetry. The possibility of this combination is easily suggested from the formula of *dīrgha*

tripadī (8+8+10) from which only the first member need be dropped to give a verse in eight-and-ten. The experiment has been eminently successful and to-day the verse of eight-and-ten is the most solemn in Bengali, and its "long resounding pace" gives a solemnity of tone to lines like the following :—

(*α*) এ কথা জানিতে তুমি | ভারত-ঈশ্বর সাজাহান
কালস্রোতে ভেসে যায় | জীবন যৌবন ধনমান (সাজাহান—বলাকা)

(*β*) গোষ্ঠে যবে সন্ধ্যা নামে | শ্রান্তদেহে স্বর্ণাঞ্চল টানি,
তুমি কোনো গৃহপ্রান্তে | নাহি জ্বালো সন্ধ্যাদীপ খানি (উর্ব্বশী—চিত্রা)

(*γ*) হে নিস্তব্ধ গিরিরাজ | অভ্রভেদী তোমার সঙ্গীত
তরঙ্গিয়া চলিয়াছে | অনুদাত্ত, উদাত্ত, স্বরিত (হিমাদ্রি—উৎসর্গ)

B.—The Trimeter (the verse with three measures).

The trimeter is one of the most favourite verse-types in Rabindranath. No other poet has made such an extensive use of it as Rabindranath, nor has so many varieties of it to his credit. The trimeter is of course a very old type of verse and has always been popular, having been known as the Lachari and Tripadi in different periods in the history of Bengali poetry. Any verse integer with three units in its composition has a swing about it and therefore beats, bars and lines with triple components are very frequent in the poetry of Rabindranath who has an instinctive love for what is dynamic and pulsating in experience. In his great love for trimetric verse Rabindranath has exhausted every possible sort of permutation and combination and has not been content merely using the traditional forms. The mutual adjustment between the various members of a trimetric verse always demands a fine taste and sense of rhythm ; Rabindranath has, however, been eminently successful in his bold departures from the traditional forms and inventions of newer types.

The older rule of balancing the rhythm in trimetric verse (whether of the shorter or of the longer variety) was only one—

$$1+1+1',$$

if l is taken to mean a bar of staple length, l′ a bar of greater length, and ′l a bar of shorter length.

Rabindranath constructs his trimeters with various other formulas as well, noticing that the rhythm of verse might be balanced in a tripodic structure in many ways besides having two equal bars followed by a longer third.

B (*1*)—l+l+l.

This type was previously unknown.

(*i*) 4+4+4.

মিথ্যে তুমি | গাঁথ্‌লে মালা | নবীন ফুলে,
ভেবেছ কি | কণ্ঠে আমার | দেবে তুলে ? (উৎসৃষ্ট—ক্ষণিকা)

(*ii*) 5+5+5.

আবার প্রাণে | নূতন টানে | প্রেমের নদী
পাষাণ হ'তে | উছল-স্রোতে | বহায় যদি, (শূন্যহৃদয়—মানসী)

(*iii*) 6+6+6.

কহিলাম আমি, | "সঁপিয়া এসেছি | পূজা-উপহার
আমার বীণায় | ছিল যে একটি | সুবর্ণ তার (নীরবতন্ত্রী—চিত্রা)

(*iv*) 10+10+10.

চেয়ে যেন মা'র মুখপানে | বালিকা কাতর অভিমানে | বলে, "মাগো এ কেমন ধারা ?
(কাঙ্গালিনী—কড়ি ও কোমল)

B (*2*)—l+l′×′l or l+′l+l′.

(*i*) 8+10+6.

(α) ঈশানের পুঞ্জমেঘ | অন্ধবেগে ধেয়ে চলে আসে | বাধাবন্ধ হারা
গ্রামান্তের বেণুকুঞ্জে | নীলাঞ্জন ছায়া সঞ্চারিয়া, | হানি' দীর্ঘধারা
(বর্ষশেষ—কল্পনা)

(β) বঙ্গ তারে আপনার | গঙ্গোদকে অভিষিক্ত করি | নিল চুপে চুপে
বণিকের মানদণ্ড | দেখা দিল পোহালে শর্ব্বরী | রাজদণ্ডরূপে (শিবাজী)

(*ii*) 8+6+10.

এই কল্লোলের মাঝে | নিয়ে এস কেহ | পরিপূর্ণ একটি জীবন
নীরবে মিটিয়া যাবে | সকল সন্দেহ, | থেমে যাবে সহস্র বচন
(মঙ্গলগীতি—কড়ি ও কোমল)

B (*3*)—1+1+1′.

(*i*) 6+6+8. [The same formula as in LAGHU TRIPADI, but Rabindranath does not always make the first two bars rime.]

কেমনে পশিল | গুহার আঁধারে | প্রভাত পাখীর গান
না জানি কেন রে | এত দিন পরে | জাগিয়া উঠিল প্রাণ
(নির্ঝরের স্বপ্নভঙ্গ—প্রভাত সঙ্গীত)

(*ii*) 8+8+10. [The same formula as of DIRGHA TRIPADI, but Rabindranath does not always make the first two bars rime.]

(*α*) যেথায় পুরাণো গান | যেথায় হারানো স্মৃতিযেথা আছে বিস্মৃত স্বপন,
সেইখানে সযতনে | রেখেদিস্ গানগুলি | রচে দিস্ সমাধি শয়ন
(সন্ধ্যা—সন্ধ্যা-সঙ্গীত)

(*β*) ছোট ছোট হাসিমুখ | জানে না ধরার দুখ | হেসে আসে তোমাদের দ্বারে
নবীন নয়ন তুলি | কৌতুকেতে দুলি দুলি | চেয়ে চেয়ে দেখে চারিধারে
(আশীর্ব্বাদ—কড়ি ও কোমল)

B (*4*)—1+1+′1.

This is the trimeter with falling rhythm (trimeter catalectic) and is, as might be expected, one of the most frequent in the poetry of Rabindranath.

I. (*a*) 4+4+2.

ওরে কবি | সন্ধ্যা হ'য়ে | এল,
কেশে তোমার | ধরেছে যে | পাক।
বসে' বসে' | ঊর্দ্ধপানে | চেয়ে
শুন্‌তেছ কি | পরকালের | ডাক্ ? (কবির বয়স—ক্ষণিকা)
কৃষ্ণকলি | আমি তারেই | বলি
কালো তারে | বলে গাঁয়ের | লোক্ (কৃষ্ণকলি—ক্ষণিকা)

(*b*) 4+4+3.

নাইক আমার | কোনো গরব | গরিমা
যেমন করেই | কর আমায় | বঞ্চিত,
তুমি না রও | তোমার সোনার | প্রতিমা
রবে আমার | মনের মধ্যে | সঞ্চিত (তথাপি—ক্ষণিকা)

II. (*a*) 5+5+2.

ঘুমের দেশে | ঘুমায় রাজ | বালা
তাহারি গলে | পরায়ে দিনু | মালা (নিদ্রিতা—সোনার তরী)

(*b*) 5+5+3.

মনের কথা | রেখেছি মনে | যতনে
ফিরিছ মিছে | মাগিয়া সেই | রতনে (প্রত্যাখ্যান—সোনার তরী)
আবার মোরে | পাগল ক'রে | দিবে কে ? (শূন্যহৃদয়—মানসী)

III. (*a*) 6+6+5.

বুঝেছি আমার | নিশার স্বপন | হ'য়েছে ভোর
মালা ছিল, তার | ফুলগুলি গেছে, | রয়েছে ডোর (ভুলভাঙ্গা—মানসী)

(*b*) 6+6+4.

(কেন)—বাজাও কাঁকন | কণকন, কত | ছলভরে—
(ওগো)—ঘরে ফিরে চল, | কনক-কলসে | জল ভরে' (লীলা—কল্পনা)

(*c*) 6+6+3.

(*a*) (আমি)—কেবলি স্বপন | করেছি বপন | বাতাসে
(তাই)—আকাশ কুসুম | করিনু চয়ন | হতাশে (কাল্পনিক—কল্পনা)

(*β*) ভৈরবী আর | গেয়োনাকো এই | প্রভাতে (ভৈরবী গান—মানসী)

(*d*) 6+6+2.

তোমরা হাসিয়া | বহিয়া চলিয়া | যাও
কুলু কুলু কল্ | নদীর স্রোতের | মত (তোমরা ও আমরা—সোনার তরী)

IV. (*a*) 8+8+6.

নদীতীরে বৃন্দাবনে | সনাতন একমনে | জপিছেন নাম
হেন কালে দীনবেশে | ব্রাহ্মণ চরণে এসে | করিল প্রণাম
(স্পর্শমণি—কথা ও কাহিনী)

(*b*) 8+8+5.

যদি—ভরিয়া লইবে কুম্ভ | এস ওগো এসো মোর | হৃদয় নীরে
(হৃদয়-যমুনা—সোনার তরী)

B (5).—1+1′+1′.

(*Rarely used.*)

The rising movement is too evident here.

(*i*) 6+8+8.

যে সমুদ্রতলে | মনোদুঃখে আত্মঘাতী | চির নির্ব্বাপিত ভাতি
(তারকার আত্মহত্যা—সন্ধ্যা-সঙ্গীত)

(*ii*) 8+10+10.

মোরে কর সভাকবি | ধ্যান মৌন তোমার সভায় | হে শর্ব্বরী, হে অবগুণ্ঠিতা,
তোমার আকাশ জুড়ি | যুগে যুগে জপিছে যাহারা | বিরচিব তাহাদের গীতা।
(রাত্রি—কল্পনা)

B (*6*)—1+'1+'1.

(*i*) 8+6+6.

একদা তুলসীদাস | জাহ্নবীর তীরে | নির্জ্জন শ্মশানে
সন্ধ্যায় আপনমনে | একা একা ফিরে | মাতি নিজ গানে
(স্বামিলাভ—কথা ও কাহিনী)

It will be noticed from a study of the above that Rabindranath has experimented with every possible permutation in trimetric verse, excepting the possible permutations $l+'l+l$ and $l+l'+l$, that is to say, where he has two equal bars and an unequal third, he always has the unequal member in one of the extremes, never in the middle. This confirms my view already stated on p. 3 and first enunciated in my *Principles of Bengali Prosody* that the genius of Bengali language abhors cretic or amphibrachic movement in a verse or a measure.

Previously the use of internal rhymes was thought to be essential in trimetric (Tripadī) verse. Although Rabindranath is prodigal in his use of rimes (end-rimes as well as internal rhymes) he does not consider it to be essential that there must be rime to connect the first two bars in a trimetric verse. The natural impulse of a trimetric verse is enough to carry the reader through and interconnect the measures.

C.—The Tetrameter (the verse with four measures).

The tetrameter was not to the fore in older Bengali poetry in which the dimeter and less extensively the trimeter were the only varieties in use. The tetrameter was in use only in certain popular nursery rhymes. Later on Bhāratchandra gave it some sort of a vogue. In Rabindranath's poetry the tetrametric verse is extensively used, though the types are not as various as those

of trimetric verse. Practically we come across only two types—the level tetrameter and the catalectic (quasi-level or gently falling) tetrameter.

C (1)—Tetrameter with level rhythm.

(*i*) 4+4+4+4 (*used only with stressed metre*).

জলে বাসা | বেঁধেছিলেম | ডাঙায় বড় | কিচিমিচি
সবাই গলা | জাহির করে | চেঁচায় কেবল | মিছিমিছি

(পত্র—কড়ি ও কোমল)

(*ii*) 7+7+7+7

এসেছে সখা সখী | বসিয়া চোখোচোখী, | দাঁড়ায়ে মুখোমুখী | হাসিছে শিশুগুলি
এসেছে ভাই বোন | পুলকে ভরা মন, | ডাকিছে ভাই ভাই | আঁখিতে আঁখি তুলি

(প্রভাত উৎসব—প্রভাত-সঙ্গীত)

(*iii*) 8+8+8+8

বনের মর্ম্মের মাঝে | বিজনে বাঁশরি বাজে, | তারি সুরে মাঝে মাঝে | ঘুঘু দুটি গান গায়।
ঝুরু ঝুরু কত পাতা | গাহিছে বনের গাথা, | কত না মনের কথা | তারি সাথে মিশে যায়।

(বনের ছায়া—কড়ি ও কোমল)

(*iv*) 10+10+10+10

জীবনের পরপার হ'তে | প্রতিক্ষণে মর্ত্ত্যের আলোতে | পাঠাইছ তব চিত্তখানি | মৌনপ্রেমে সজল-কোমল
মৃত্যুর নিভৃত স্নিগ্ধ ঘরে | বসে আছ বাতায়ন পরে, | জ্বালায়ে রেখেছো দীপখানি | চিরন্তন আশায় উজ্জ্বল

(মৃত্যু-মাধুরী—স্মরণ)

N.B.—The first two, sometimes the first three, bars rime together except when 4-morae bars are used.

C (2)—Catalectic tetrameter

The catalectic tetrameter is the commonest in use in Rabindranath's poetry, and makes use of bars of almost every kind.

I. (*a*) 4+4+4+2 (*used only with stressed metre*).

(*a*) মনে পড়ে | সুয়োরাণী | দুয়োরাণীর | কথা
মনে পড়ে | অভিমানী | কঙ্কাবতীর | ব্যথা
(বিষ্টি পড়ে টাপুর টুপুর—কড়ি ও কোমল)

(*β*) চিন্তা দিতেম | জলাঞ্জলি, | থাক্‌তো নাকো | ত্বরা,
মৃদু পদে | যেতেম, যেন | নাইকো মৃত্যু | জরা (সেকাল—ক্ষণিকা)

(*b*) 4+4+4+3
দিনের শেষে | ঘুমের দেশে | ঘোম্‌টা পরা | ঐ ছায়া
....
ওপারেতে | সোনার কূলে | আঁধার মূলে | কোন্ মায়া (শেষ খেয়া—খেয়া)

II. (*a*) 5+5+5+2

(*a*) সকাল বেলা | কাটিয়া গেল | বিকাল নাহি | যায় (অপেক্ষা—মানসী)

(*β*) মর্ম্মে যবে | মত্ত আশা | সর্পসম | ফোঁসে
অদৃষ্টের | বন্ধনেতে | দাপিয়া বৃথা | রোষে (দুরন্ত আশা—মানসী)

(*b*) 5+5+5+3
হৃদয় যেন | পাষাণ হেন | বিরাগ-ভরা | বিবেকে।
....
আবার দুটি | নয়নে লুটি | হৃদয় হরে' | নিবে কে ? (শূন্য হৃদয়—মানসী)

(*c*) 5+5+5+4
বসন কার | দেখিতে পাই | জ্যোৎস্না লোকে | লুণ্ঠিত
....
বদন কার। দেখিতে পাই | কিরণে অব- | গুণ্ঠিত
(মদনভস্মের পরে—কল্পনা)

III. (*a*) 6+6+6+2
ভূতের মতন | চেহারা যেমন | নির্ব্বোধ অতি | ঘোর
যা কিছু হারায় | গিন্নী বলেন | কেষ্টা বেটাই | চোর (পুরাতন ভৃত্য—চিত্রা)

(*b*) 6+6+6+3
সব ঠাঁই মোর | ঘর আছে, আমি | সেই ঘর মরি | খুঁজিয়া ;
দেশে দেশে মোর | দেশ আছে, আমি | সেই দেশ লবো | যুঝিয়া
(প্রবাসী—উৎসর্গ)

(*c*) 6+6+6+4

আজি আসিয়াছ | ভুবন ভরিয়া | গগনে ছড়ায়ে | এলোচুল

... .

আকুল করেছো | শ্যাম সমারোহে | হৃদয়-সাগর | উপকূল

(আবির্ভাব—ক্ষণিকা)

(*d*) 6+6+6+5

আনন্দময়ী | মূরতি তোমার, | কোন্ দেব তুমি | আনিলে দিবা ?

অমৃত সরস | তোমার পরশ, | তোমার নয়নে | দিব্য বিভা।

(পতিতা—কাহিনী)

IV. (*a*) 7+7+7+2

খাঁচার পাখী ছিল | সোনার খাঁচাটিতে | বনের পাখী ছিল | বনে

একদা কি করিয়া | মিলন হ'ল দোঁহে | কি ছিল বিধাতার | মনে

(দুই পাখী—সোনার তরী)

(*b*) 7+7+7+5

দীঘির কালো জলে | সাঁঝের আলো ঝলে, | দু'ধারে ঘন বন | ছায়ায় ঢাকা,

গভীর থির নীরে | ভাসিয়া যাই ধীরে, | কোকিল ডাকে তীরে | অমিয় মাখা।

আসিতে পথে ফিরে | আঁধার তরু শিরে | সহসা দেখি চাঁদ | আকাশে আঁকা।

(বধূ—মানসী)

V. (*a*) 8+8+8+6

অর্দ্ধেক জীবন খুঁজি | কোন ক্ষণে চক্ষু বুজি | স্পর্শ লভেছিলো যার | এক পল-ভর,

বাকি অর্দ্ধ ভগ্ন প্রাণ | আবার করিছে দান | ফিরিয়া খুঁজিতে সেই | পরশ-পাথর।

(পরশ-পাথর—সোনার তরী)

(*b*) 8+8+8+5

রাশি রাশি ভারা ভারা | ধান কাটা হ'ল সারা | ভরা নদী ক্ষুরধারা | খর পরশা

(সোনার তরী—সোনার তরী)

(*c*) 8+8+8+3

আমার হৃদয় প্রাণ | সকলি করেছি দান, | কেবল সরমখানি | রেখেছি।

চাহিয়া নিজের পানে | নিশি দিন সাবধানে | সযতনে আপনারে | ঢেকেছি !

(লজ্জা—সোনার তরী)

N. B.—The first two bars often rime together.

CHAPTER II

Types of stanzas in Rabindranath's poetry

A stanza has been defined as "a collection of lines arranged in an ordered batch and generally on some definite rhyme-scheme." It is the largest grouping of prosodic units in which the influence of a rhythmic pattern is distinctly felt. Very often it coincides with a clear division from the standpoint of meaning as well, and thus corresponds to a paragraph of prose; but this need not be so always, and sometimes the meaning of a poem runs from one stanza to another, and sometimes a distinct point of division into sense-groups is reached in the middle of a stanza. This is so in blank verse and any other verse obeying similar principles; but even outside the blank verse illustrations may be found in stanzas like the following :—

শুনি রাজা কহে, "বাপু জানত হে, করেছি বাগান খানা,
পেলে দুই বিঘে প্রস্থে ও দীর্ঘে সমান হইবে টানা,
ওটা দিতে হবে।".....

The pattern in the stanza may sometimes emphasise the element of unity in a poem, sometimes it emphasises the element of variety. It must be remembered, however, that when an impression of fundamental unity or of variety is sought to be emphasised through the medium of the stanza, the impression being diffused over too long a space becomes rather weak. The scope of pattern-weaving is almost unlimited in the stanza, and hence the stanza is generally made the vehicle of the element of variety.

In older Bengali there was practically no variety at all in respect of stanzas. The rhyming couplet was practically the only stanza in use. In the 19th century when a renaissance in prosody began with the study of western literature, newer types of stanzas were tried and popularised. No one, however, has enriched Bengali prosody with such a plenty of beautiful stanzas as Rabindranath whose whole poetic career has been a search for variety in beauty. It is almost a task of Herculean labour to catalogue and properly classify all the various stanza-forms used by Rabindranath. All that we can do is to explain the structural principles of his stanzas and draw attention to the more familiar and popular types. In any analysis of stanza-forms in Rabindranath it should be borne in mind that frequently he puts in a tag or coda at the commencement or at the end of his stanzas. This must have been suggested by his familiarity with the musical refrain. For instance,

ভেবে ছিলেম চেয়ে নেবো চাইনি সাহস ক'রে
সন্ধ্যেবেলায় যে মালাটি—গলায় ছিলে পরে—আমি চাইনি সাহস করে
(দান—খেয়া)

A—Two-line stanzas

Two-line stanzas are the most frequent in the history of Bengali prosody, and they are no less frequent in the poetry of Rabindranath. These may be divided into several classes :

A (a)—Two-line stanzas with congruent lines

The commonest are stanzas in which the two lines are identical in point of structure having exactly the same formula of verse-construction. Usually they are joined together into a stanza by means of a rhyme, and form a couplet. Examples of the couplet have already been given in illustrating the various kinds of verse.

A (b)—Two-line stanzas with incongruent but equimetric lines

Sometimes the two lines of the stanza happen to be incongruent but have the same number of bars to the line. But even when the lines are incongruent the stanza has only one staple bar which determines the general rhythmic character of the whole stanza and gives it the necessary unity. Over and above that there is also the rhyme at the end of the lines joining them into a stanza. We shall give a few illustration—

(1) $8(II_a, II_a)$

(*i*) 8+6 ; 8+8

কহিতেছ—"আমাদের—কী হয়েছে ক্ষতি ?
যেমন আছিলো আগে—তেমনি রয়েছে জ্যোতি
(তারকার আত্মহত্যা—সন্ধ্যাসঙ্গীত)

(2) $8\ (III_a, III_a)$

(*i*) 8+6+6, 8+8+6

কতবার মনে করি | পূর্ণিমা-নিশীথে | স্নিগ্ধ সমীরণ,
নিদ্রালস আঁখি সম | ধীরে যদি মুদে আসে | এ শ্রান্ত জীবন !
(শ্রান্তি—মানসী)

(*ii*) 8+8+10, 8+8+6

যাবে যদি, যাও যাও | অশ্রু তবে মুছে যাও | এইখানে দুঃখ রেখে যাও,
যে বিশ্রাম চেয়েছিলে, | তাই যেন সেথা মিলে, | আরামে ঘুমাও।
(কোথায়—কড়ি ও কোমল)

The formula of a stanza is here indicated by means of a simple notation. I, II, etc., indicate the number of bars to the lines. The letters *a*, *b*, etc., at the foot of the Roman numerals stand as keys to the rhyme scheme. The Arabic numeral at the commencement placed outside brackets indicate the number of morae in the staple bar. Thus 8 (II_a, IV_a) means a stanza in which the staple bar is of 8 morae, there are two lines in which the first has 2 bars, the second 4 bars and they are joined together by a rhyme (*a*, *a*)

'II means a catalectic dimeter, 'III means catalectic trimeter and so on.

^II means a hyper-catalectic dimeter and so on.

A(c)—Two-line stanzas with a varying number of bars to the line.

(1) II_a, I_a

(*i*) 10+10, 10

ওকি শুধু দুয়ার ধরিয়া | উৎসবের পানে রবে চেয়ে,
শূন্যমনা কাঙালিনী মেয়ে ?
(কাঙালিনী—কড়ি ও কোমল)

(*ii*) 4+6, 6

সে কেবল | হাসির যন্ত্রণা
আর কিছু না
(তারকার আত্মহত্যা—সন্ধ্যাসঙ্গীত)

(2) III_a, I_a

(*i*) 4+4+4, 4

তোমার তরে | সবাই মোরে | কর্‌চে দোষী
হে প্রেয়সী
(ক্ষতি-পূরণ—ক্ষণিকা)

(*ii*) 6+6+8, 8

কেঁদেছি হেসেছি | ভালো যে বেসেছি | এসেছি যেতেছি সরে'
কি জানি কিসের ঘোরে
(উচ্ছৃঙ্খল—মানসী)

(*iii*) 8+8+10, 10

হয়তো একটি হাসি | একটি আধেক হাসি | সম্মুখেতে ভাসিয়া বেড়ায়
কভু ফোটে, কভু বা মিলায়
(সন্ধ্যা—সন্ধ্যাসঙ্গীত)

(3) III_a, II_a

(*i*) 6+6+8, 6+8

এ মুখের পানে | চাহিয়া রয়েছ | কেন গো অমন করে' ?
(তুমি) চিনিতে নারিবে | বুঝিতে নারিবে মোরে !
(উচ্ছৃঙ্খল—মানসী)

(4) II_a, III_a

(*i*) 8+6, 8+8+10

হেথায় নূতন খেলা | আরম্ভ হয়েছে
আবার বাজিছে বাঁশি | আবার উঠিছে হাসি | বসন্তের বাতাস বয়েছে
(পুরাতন—কড়ি ও কোমল)

(*ii*) 10+10, 8+8+10

সে গান না শুনে কেহ যদি | যদি তারা হারাইয়া যায়—
সন্ধ্যা তুই সযতনে | গোপনে বিজনে অতি | ঢেকে দিস্ আঁধারের ছায়
(সন্ধ্যা—সন্ধ্যাসঙ্গীত)

(*iii*) 10+10, 10+10+10

তাই বুঝি আঁখি ছল্‌ছল্, | বাষ্পে ঢাকা নয়নের তারা!
চেয়ে যেন মার মুখ পানে | বালিকা কাতর অভিমানে | বলে, "মাগো এ কেমন ধারা?
(কাঙালিনী—কড়ি ও কোমল)

(5) II_a, IV_a

(*i*) 4+3, 4+4+4+3

মনে রে আজ | কহ যে
ভাল মন্দ | যাহাই আসুক্ | সত্যেরে লও | সহজে
(বোঝাপড়া—ক্ষণিকা)

(ii_a) 6+2, 6+6+6+2

তোমার পাইনে | কূল
আপনা মাঝারে | আপনার প্রেম | তাহারো পাইনে | তুল
(ধ্যান—মানসী)

(ii_b) 6+3, 6+6+6+3

শুধু অকারণ | পুলকে
ক্ষণিকের গান | গারে আজি প্রাণ | ক্ষণিক দিনের | আলোকে
(উদ্বোধন—ক্ষণিকা)

(*iii*) 7+7, 7+7+7+7

লইবি পথ হতে | পাখীর কলতান
যূথীর মৃদু শ্বাস | মালতী মৃদু বাস | অমনি তারি সাথে | যারে যা নিয়ে প্রাণ
(প্রভাত উৎসব—প্রভাত-সঙ্গীত)

(iv_a) 8+6, 8+8+8+6

এখনো সে বাঁশি বাজে | যমুনার তীরে
এখনো প্রেমের খেলা | সারাদিন সারাবেলা | এখনো কাঁদিছে রাধা | হৃদয় কুটীরে
(একাল ও সেকাল—মানসী)

(*iv*$_b$) 8+8, 8+8+8+8

বকুল কুড়ায় কেহ | কেহ গাঁথে মালাখানি ;
ছায়াতে ছায়ার প্রায়, | বসে' বসে' গান গায় | করিতেছে কে কোথায় |
চুপি চুপি কানাকানি
(বনের ছায়া—কড়ি ও কোমল)

(*v*) 10+10, 10+10+10+10

উৎসবের হাসি কোলাহল | শুনিতে পেয়েছে ভোর বেলা,
নিরানন্দ গৃহ তেয়াগিয়া | তাই আজ বাহির হইয়া | আসিয়াছে ধনীর দুয়ারে | দেখিবারে
আনন্দের খেলা
(কাঙালিনী—কড়ি ও কোমল)

(*vi*) 10+10, 8+8+8+6

জীবনের বসন্তে যাহারে | ভালোবেসেছিলে এক দিন,
হায় হায় কী কুগ্রহ | আজ তারে অনুগ্রহ ? | মিষ্ট কথা দিবে তারে | গুটি দুই তিন !
(নারীর উক্তি—মানসী)

(6) IV$_a$, II$_a$

(*i*) 8+8+8+8, 8+8

কবি যে হল আকুল | একি রে বিধির ভুল | মথুরার কেন ফুল | ফুটেছে আজি লো সই ?
বাঁশরি বাজাতে গিয়ে | বাঁশরি বাজিল কই ?
(মথুরায়—কড়ি ও কোমল)

(*ii*) 4+4+4+2, 4+2

কোন্ হাটে তুই | বিকোতে চাস্ | ওরে আমার | গান
কোথায় পাবি | স্থান ?
(যথাস্থান—ক্ষণিকা)

(7) IV$_a$, III$_a$

(*i*) 6+6+6+2, 6+6+2

আমরা দুজনে | ভাসিয়া এসেছি | যুগল প্রেমের | স্রোতে,
অনাদি কালের | হৃদয়-উৎস | হতে।
(অনন্ত প্রেম—মানসী)

(8) III_a, IV_a

(*i*) 8+6+10, 8+8+8+6

কে তুমি দিয়েছ স্নেহ | মানব হৃদয়ে | কে তুমি দিয়েছ প্রিয়জন |
বিরহের অন্ধকারে | কে তুমি কাঁদাও তারে | তুমিও কেন গো সাথে | কর না ক্রন্দন ?

(শূন্য গৃহে—মানসী)

(*ii*) 8+8+5, 8+8+8+5

মরণ লভিতে চাও | এসো তবে ঝাঁপ দাও | সলিল মাঝে
স্নিগ্ধ, শান্ত, সুগভীর, | নাহি তল, নাহি তীর, | মৃত্যু সম নীল নীর | স্থির বিরাজে

(হৃদয়-যমুনা—সোনার তরী)

(9) I_a, II_a

(*i*) 6, 8+6

প্রিয়ার ভবন
বঙ্কিম সঙ্কীর্ণ পথে | দুর্গম নির্জ্জন |

(স্বপ্ন—কল্পনা)

(10 I_a, III_a

(*i*) 10, 8+8+10

হেথাও তো পশে সূর্য্যকর
ঘোর ঝটিকার রাতে | দারুণ অশনি-পাতে | বিদীরিল যে গিরি-শিখর

(নূতন—কড়ি ও কোমল)

(*ii*) 6, 8+8+6

হায় কোথা যাবে !
অনন্ত অজানা দেশ, | নিতান্ত যে একা তুমি, | পথ কোথা পাবে ?

(কোথায়—কড়ি ও কোমল)

N.B.—In many cases the stanzas included in the last group might be said to be composed of two congruent lines, of which one member happens to have a bar or two represented by a period of rest, that is to say, of two lines with an identical formula, one of which happens to be elliptical. But this cannot be asserted always, *cf.*, types 5 (*vi*), 4 (*i*), 4 (*n*)

B—Three-line stanzas

Three-line stanzas were practically unknown before Rabindranath. It must be admitted, of course, that even in Rabindranath's poetry the use of three-line stanzas is restricted.

B(a)—Three-line stanzas with congruent lines

Theoretically a large number of types are possible under this head, but actually we come across only a few types.

(1γ) II_a, II_b, II_b

(*i*) 4+6, 4+6, 4+6

কেন গো কি | হয়েছিলো তার
একবার | শুধালে না কেহ
কী লাগি সে | তেয়াগিলো দেহ

(তারকার আত্মহত্যা—সন্ধ্যাসঙ্গীত)

(2*a*) III_a, III_a, III_a

(*i*) 6+6+5, 6+6+5, 6+6+5

নিত্য তোমায় | চিত্ত ভরিয়া | স্মরণ করি
বিশ্ববিহীন | বিজনে বসিয়া | বরণ করি
তুমি আছ মোর | জীবন-মরণ | হরণ করি

(2β) III_a, III_b, III_a

(*i*) 8+6+6, 8+6+6, 8+6+6

বিজ্ঞান-লক্ষ্মীরা প্রিয় | পশ্চিম-মন্দিরে | দূর সিন্ধু-তীরে
হে বন্ধু গিয়েছ তুমি; | জয়মাল্যখানি | সেথা হতে আনি'
দীন হীনা জননীর | লজ্জানত শিরে | পরায়েছ ধীরে

(জগদীশচন্দ্র বসু —কল্পনা)

(3*a*) IV_a, IV_a, IV_a

(*i*) 7+7+7+7, 7+7+7+7, 7+7+7+7

পেয়েছি এতো প্রাণ | যতই করি দান | কিছুতে যেন আর | ফুরাতে নারি তারে |
আয় রে মেঘ আয় | বারেক নেমে আয় | কোমল কোলে তুলে | আমারে নিয়ে যা রে
কনক পাল তুলে | বাতাসে দুলে দুলে | ভাসিতে সাধ গেছে | আকাশ পারাবারে

(প্রভাত উৎসব—প্রভাত-সঙ্গীত)

The symbols *α*, *β*, *γ*, Δ...stand for the various possible rhyme-schemes in a three-line stanza; *α* indicates a a a
β ,, a b a
γ ,, a b b
Δ ,, a a b

B(b)—Three-line stanzas with a varying number of bars to the line

Three-line stanzas with a varying number of bars to the line are commoner than those with congruent lines. This is only natural, seeing that in any rhythmic composition of three units, co-equality of the several members is not usually preferred on account of its incompatibility with an impression of swing which is the mark of a tripartite rhythm.

* (1) II+II+III

(*i*) (γ) 6+2, 6+2, 6+6+8

জাগিয়া উঠেছে | প্রাণ
উথলি উঠেছে | বারি
প্রাণের বাসনা | প্রাণের আবেগ | রুধিয়া রাখিতে নারি

(নির্ঝরের স্বপ্নভঙ্গ—প্রভাত-সঙ্গীত)

(*ii*) (△) 6+6, 6+6, 6+6+8

শিখর হইতে | শিখরে ছুটিব,
ভূধর হইতে | ভূধরে লুটিব,
হেসে খল্ খল্ | গেয়ে কল্ কল্ | তালে তালে দিব তালি

(নির্ঝরের স্বপ্নভঙ্গ—প্রভাত-সঙ্গীত)

(*iii*) (△) 6+6, 6+6, 6+6+5

প্রাণেতে আমাতে | মুখোমুখি আজ
চিনি' লব দোঁহে | ছাড়ি ভয় লাজ,
বক্ষে বক্ষে | পরশিব দোঁহে | ভাবে বিভোল

(ঝুলন—সোনার তরী)

(*iv*) (△) 8+8, 8+8, 8+8+10

গগন সঘন অব, | তিমির মগন ভব
তড়িত চকিত অতি | ঘোর মেঘ রব,
শাল তাল তরু | সভয় তবধ সব | পন্থ বিজন অতি ঘোর

(মরণ—ভানুসিংহ ঠাকুরের পদাবলী)

(*v*) (*a*) 8+6, 8+6, 8+8+10
হৃদয়ের অতি দূর | —দূর—দূরান্তরে
মিলাইয়া কণ্ঠস্বর | তোর কণ্ঠস্বরে
কে জানে রে কোথাকার | উদাসী প্রবাসী যেন | তোরি সাথে তোরি গান করে
(সন্ধ্যা—সন্ধ্যাসঙ্গীত)

(2) III+II+III
(*i*) (*β*) 6+6+8, 6+6, 6+6+8
গভীর নিশীথে | একাকী যখন | বসিয়া মলিন প্রাণে,
চমকি' উঠিয়া | দেখিবি তরাসে
আমিও র'য়েছি | ব'সে তোর পাশে, | চেয়ে তোর মুখ পানে।
(রাহুর প্রেম—ছবি ও গান)

(3) II+II+IV
(*i*) (*a*) 4+2, 4+2, 4+4+4+2
যেথায় ফুটে | কাশ
তটের চারি | পাশ,
শীতের দিনে | বিদেশী সব | হাঁসের বস | বাস
(দুই তীরে—ক্ষণিকা)

(*ii*) (△) 4+4, 4+4, 4+4+4+2
অলক সাজ্‌ত | কুন্দ ফুলে
শিরীষ পর্‌ত | কর্ণমূলে
মেখলাতে | দুলিয়ে দিত | নব-নীপের | মালা
(সেকাল—ক্ষণিকা)

(*iii*) (△) 5+5, 5+5, 5+5+5+2
সকল গান, | সকল প্রাণ
তোমারে আমি | করেছি দান,
তোমারে ছেড়ে | বিশ্বে মোর | তিলেক নাহি | ঠাঁই
(আশঙ্কা—মানসী)

(*iv*) (*a*) 6+2, 6+2, 6+6+6+2
ওঠ, ওঠ ভাই, | জাগো,
মনে মনে খুব | রাগো !
আর্য্য শাস্ত্র | উদ্ধার করি, | কোমর বাঁধিয়া | লাগো !
(ধর্ম্মপ্রচার—মানসী)

(*v*) (△) 6+6, 6+6, 6+6+6+2

বাক্যের ঝড়, | তর্কের ধূলি
অন্ধ বুদ্ধি | ফিরিছে আকুলি,
প্রত্যয় আছে | আপনার মাঝে | নাহি তা'র কোন | ত্রাস

(১১, নৈবেদ্য)

(*vi*) (γ) 7+4, 7+4, 7+7+7+4

স্বপ্ন যদি হ'ত | জাগরণ,
সত্য যদি হ'ত | কল্পনা,
তবে এ ভালবাসা | হ'ত না হত-আশা | কেবল কবিতার | জল্পনা

(মেঘের খেলা—মানসী)

(*vii*) (*a*) 7+5, 7+5, 7+7+7+5

সবার মাঝে আমি | ফিরি একেলা
কেমন ক'রে কাটে | সারাটা বেলা !
ইটের পরে ইট | মাঝে মানুষ কীট | নাইকো ভালোবাসা | নাইকো খেলা।

(বধূ—মানসী)

(*viii*) (γ) 7+5, 7+3, 7+7+7+3

গোপনে ভালোবাসি | পরাণ ভরি'
পরাণ ভরি উঠে | শোভাতে।
যেমন কালো মেঘে | অরুণ-আলো লেগে | মাধুরী উঠে জেগে | প্রভাতে

(গুপ্ত প্রেম—মানসী)

(*ix*) (*a*) 8+6, 8+6, 8+8+8+6

কত মিলনের গীত | বিরহের শ্বাস,
তুলেছে মর্ম্মর তান | বসন্ত বাতাস,
সংসারের কোলাহল | ভেদ করি' অবিরল | লক্ষ নব কবি ঢালে | প্রাণের উচ্ছ্বাস

(ভবিষ্যতের রঙ্গভূমি—কড়ি ও কোমল)

(4) III+III+IV

(*i*) (*a*) 8+6+6, 8+6+6, 8+8+8+6

শত শত প্রেমপাশে | টানিয়া হৃদয় | একি খেলা তোর ?
ক্ষুদ্র এ কোমল প্রাণ, | ইহারে বাঁধিতে | কেত এত ডোর ?
ঘুরে' ফিরে' পলে পলে | ভালবাসা নিস ছলে, | ভালো না বাসিতে চাস্ | হায় মনোচোর !

(প্রকৃতির প্রতি—মানসী)

(5) IV+III+IV

(i) (a) 6+6+6+3, 6+6+3, 6+6+6+3

কে তুমি বসিয়া | উদাস মূরতি | বিষাদ-শান্ত- | শোভাতে
ভৈরবী আর | গেয়োনাকো এই | প্রভাতে—
গৃহছাড়া এই | পথিক-পরাণ | তরুণ হৃদয় | লোভাতে।

(ভৈরবী গান—মানসী)

(6) II+IV+IV

(i) (γ) 6+6, 6+6+6+2, 6+6+6+2

তুমি প্রশান্ত | চির নিশিদিন,
আমি অশান্ত | বিরাম বিহীন | চঞ্চল অনি | বার,
যতদূর হেরি | দিগ্‌দিগন্তে | তুমি আমি একা | কার

(ধ্যান—মানসী)

(ii) (a) 7+5, 7+7+7+5, 7+7+7+5

হায় রে রাজধানী | পাষাণ-কায়া!
বিরাট মুঠি তুলে | চাপিছ দৃঢ়বলে | ব্যাকুল বালিকারে | নাহিকো মায়া!
কোথা সে খোলা মাঠ | উদার পথ ঘাট, | পাখীর গান কই, | বনের ছায়া

(বধূ—মানসী)

(7) II+IV+II

(i) (a) 7+5, 7+7+7+5, 7+5

দেবে না ভালোবাসা, | দেবে না আলো!
সদাই মনে হয় | আঁধার ছায়াময় | দীঘির সেই জল | শীতল কালো,
তাহারি কোলে গিয়ে | মরণ ভালো

(বধূ—মানসী)

(8) I+I+I I

(i) (a) 10, 10, 8+8+10

দেখ হোথা নূতন জগৎ
ওই কারা আত্মহারাবৎ
যশ অপযশ বাণী | কোনো কিছু নাহি মানি | রচিছে সুদূর ভবিষ্যৎ

(কবির প্রতি নিবেদন—মানসী)

C—Quatrains (Four-line stanzas) *

The quatrain is very frequently met with in Rabindranath's poetry, and its varieties are many.

C(a)—Quatrains with congruent lines

(1) II+II+II+II

(*i*) 4+4, etc. [*xaya*]—

পঞ্চাশোর্দ্ধে | বনে যাবে
এমন কথা | শাস্ত্রে বলে,
আমরা বলি | বানপ্রস্থ
যৌবনেতেই | ভালো চলে, (শাস্ত্র—ক্ষণিকা)

(*ii*) 6+2, etc. [*aaab*]—

প্রথম শীতের | মাসে
শিশির লাগিল | ঘাসে
হু হু ক'রে হাওয়া | আসে
হি হি ক'রে কাঁপে | গাত্র (শীতে ও বসন্তে—চিত্রা)

(*iii*) 6+8, etc. [*abab*]—

মুদিত আলোর | কমল কলিকাটিরে
রেখেছে সন্ধ্যা | আঁধার পর্ণপুটে।
উতরিবে যবে | নব-প্রভাতের তীরে
তরুণ কমল | আপনি উঠিবে ফুটে। (যাত্রাশেষ—গীতালি)

(*iv*) 8+6 etc. [*abab*]—

নিমেষে ঘুরিল ধরা, | ডুবিল তপন,—
সহসা সম্মুখে এল | ঘোর অন্তরাল,
নয়নের দৃষ্টি গেল, | রহিল স্বপন,
অনন্ত আকাশ, আর | ধরণী বিশাল। (বিচ্ছেদ—মানসী)

* The letters within brackets indicate the rhyme-scheme.

(2) III+III+III+III

(*ia*) 4+4+2 etc. [*xaya*]—

ভাগ্য যবে | কৃপণ হ'য়ে | আসে
বিশ্ব যবে | নিঃস্ব তিলে | তিলে,
মিষ্ট মুখে | ভুবন-ভরা | হাসি
ওষ্ঠে শেষে | ওজন দরে | মিলে (যথা সময়—ক্ষণিকা)

(*ib*) 4+4+2 etc. [*aaab*]—

ঠাকুর, তব | পায়ে নমো | নমঃ
পাপিষ্ঠ এই | অক্ষমেরে | ক্ষম,
আজ বসন্তে | বিনয় রাখ | মম,
বন্ধ কর | শ্রীমদ্ভাগ | বত। (যুগল—ক্ষণিকা)

(*iia*) 5+5+2 etc. [*abab*]—

কহিলা হবু, | "শুন গো গবু | রায়
কালিকে আমি | ভেবেছি সারা | রাত্র
মলিন ধুলা | লাগিবে কেন | পায়
ধরণী পরে | চরণ ফেলা | মাত্র (জুতা আবিষ্কার—কল্পনা)

(*iib*) " [*xaya*]—

একদা রাতে | নবীন যৌ | বনে
স্বপ্ন হ'তে | উঠিনু চম | কিয়া,
বাহিরে এসে | দাঁড়ানু এক | বার
ধরার পানে | দেখিনু নির | খিয়া
(নিদ্রিতা—সোনার তরী)

(*iii*) 6+6+2 etc. [*xaya*]—

অঙ্গে অঙ্গ | বাঁধিছ রঙ্গ | পাশে
বাহুতে বাহুতে | জড়িত ললিত | লতা,
ইঙ্গিত রসে | ধ্বনিয়া উঠিছে | হাসি
নয়নে নয়নে | বহিছে গোপন | কথা।
(তোমরা ও আমরা—সোনার তরী)

(*iv*) 6+6+3 etc. [*abab*]—

প্রিয়তম, আমি | তোমারে যে ভাল | বেসেছি
দয়া করে' কোরো | মার্জ্জনা, কোরো | মার্জ্জনা
পাখীর মতন | তব পিঞ্জরে | এসেছি
তাই বলে' দ্বার | কোরো না রুদ্ধ | কোরো না। (মার্জ্জনা—কল্পনা)

C(b)—Quatrains with incongruent, equimetric lines

(1) 11+11+11+11

(*i*) 8+10, 8+10, 8+8, 8+ 0 [*abab*]—

কোথাও পড়েছে আলো, | কোথাও বা অন্ধকার নিশি
কোথাও সফেন শুভ্র, | কোথাও বা আবর্ত্ত আবিল,
সৃজনে প্রলয়ে মিশি | আক্রমিছে দশ দিশি
অনন্ত প্রশান্ত শূন্য | তরঙ্গিয়া করিছে ফেনিল। (নিষ্ঠুর সৃষ্টি—মানসী)

(*ii*) 7+5, 7+ , 7+5, 7+2 [*xaya*]

রাজার ছেলে যেত | পাঠশালায়,
রাজার মেয়ে যেত | তথা।
দু'জনে দেখা হ'ত | পথের মাঝে
কে জানে কবেকার | কথা।
(রাজার ছেলে ও রাজার মেয়ে - সোনার তরী)

(*iii*) 6+6, 6+6, 6+6, 6+3 [*aaab*]

কোথা গেল সেই | মহান্ শান্ত—
নব নির্ম্মল | শ্যামল কান্ত
উজ্জ্বল নীল | বসন প্রান্ত
সুন্দর শুভ | ধরণী (নগর-সঙ্গীত—চিত্রা)

(*iv*) 6+5, 6+5, 6+6, 6+5 [*aaxa*]

মহা উল্লাসে | ছুটিতে চায়
ভূধরের হিয়া | টুটিতে চায়
প্রভাত কিরণে | পাগল হইয়া
জগৎ মাঝারে | লুটিতে চায়
(নিঝরের স্বপ্নভঙ্গ—প্রভাত-সঙ্গীত)

C(c)—Quatrains with a varying number of bars to the line

These may be classified according to the principles of selection of units that are variously permuted into different stanza-types.

Stanzas with 3 tetrameters and 1 trimeter

(1) IV+III+IV+IV

(*i*) 6+6+6+3, 6+6+3, 6+6+6+3, 6+6+6+3 [*aaaa*]

$$= \frac{6}{3c}\,(^{c}\mathrm{IV}_{a}+{}^{c}\mathrm{III}_{a}+{}^{c}\mathrm{IV}_{a}+{}^{c}\mathrm{IV}_{a})—$$

ওই) মন-উদাসীন, | ওই আশাহীন, | ওই ভাষাহীন | কাকলি
দেয়) ব্যাকুল পরশে | সকল জীবন | বিকলি'।
দেয়) চরণে বাঁধিয়া | প্রেম-বাহু-ঘেরা | অশ্রু-কোমল | শিকলি।
হায়) মিছে মনে হয় | জীবনের ব্রত, | মিছে মনে হয় | সকলি।
(ভৈরবী গান—মানসী)

Stanzas with 3 trimeters and 1 dimeter

(2) III+II+III+III

(*i*) $\frac{6}{8h}\,(^{h}\mathrm{III}_{a}+\mathrm{II}_{,}+{}^{h}\mathrm{III}_{a}+{}^{h}\mathrm{III}_{a})—$

কোথাকার এই | শৃঙ্খল-ছেঁড়া | সৃষ্টি ছাড়া এ ব্যথা
কাঁদিয়া কাঁদিয়া | গাহিয়া গাহিয়া
অজানা আঁধার- | সাগর বাহিয়া | মিশায়ে যাইবে কোথা
এক রজনীর | প্রহরের মাঝে | ফুরাবে সকল কথা।
(উচ্ছৃঙ্খল—মানসী)

(3) III+III+II+III

(*i*) $\frac{6}{3c}\,(^{c}\mathrm{III}_{a}+{}^{c}\mathrm{III}_{a}+{}^{c}\mathrm{II}_{b}+{}^{c}\mathrm{III}_{b})—$

কুঞ্জকুটীরে | অয়ি ভাবাকুল- | লোচনা,
ভূর্জ্জপাতায় | নব গীত কর | রচনা
মেঘমল্লার | রাগিণী।
এসেছে বরষা | ওগো নব অনু- | রাগিণী। (বর্ষামঙ্গল—কল্পন)

* (4) III+III+III+II

(*i*) $\frac{6}{3c}$ (^{c}III$_a$+^{c}III$_a$+^{c}III$_b$+^{c}II$_b$)—

ঐ আসে ঐ | অতি ভৈরব | হরষে
জল-সিঞ্চিত | ক্ষিতি সৌরভ- | রভসে
ঘন গৌরবে | নব-যৌবন | বরষা
শ্যাম গম্ভীর | সরসা (বর্ষামঙ্গল—কল্পনা)

(*ii*) $\frac{6}{3c}$ (^{c}III$_a$+^{c}III$_a$+^{c}III$_a$+^{c}II$_b$)—

একটি স্বপ্ন | মুগ্ধ সজল | নয়নে,
একটি পদ্ম | হৃদয়-বৃন্ত- | শয়নে,
একটি চন্দ্র | অসীম চিত্ত- | গগনে,
চারিদিকে চির | যামিনী (চিত্রা—চিত্রা)

Stanzas with 3 dimeters and 1 tetrameter

* (5) II+II+IV+II

(*i*) $\frac{6}{2c}$ (^{c}II$_a$+^{c}II$_a$+^{c}IV$_b$+^{c}II$_b$)—

পঞ্চ নদীর | তীরে
বেণী পাকাইয়া | শিরে
দেখিতে দেখিতে | গুরুর মন্ত্রে | জাগিয়া উঠেছে | শিখ্
নির্ম্মম নি | ভীক্ (বন্দীবীর—কথা ও কাহিনী)

(*ii*) $\frac{7}{2c}$ (^{c}II$_a$+^{c}II$_a$+^{c}IV$_a$+^{c}II$_a$)—

গগন ঢাকা ঘন | মেঘে
পবন বহে খর | বেগে
অশনি ঝন ঝন | ধ্বনিছে ঘন ঘন, | নদীতে ঢেউ উঠে | জেগে,
পবন বহে খর | বেগে।

(নদীপথে—সোনার তরী)

(*iii*) $\frac{7}{4c}$ („ „ „ „)—

সে কথা শুনিবে না | কেহ আর
নিভৃত নির্জ্জন | চারিধার
দু-জনে মুখোমুখী | গভীর দুখে দুখী; | আকাশে জল ঝরে | অনিবার;
জগতে কেহ যেন | নাহি আর। (বর্ষার দিনে—মানসী)

(iv) $\frac{7}{5c}$ ($^{c}\mathrm{II}_{a}+{}^{c}\mathrm{II}_{a}+{}^{c}\mathrm{IV}_{a}+{}^{c}\mathrm{II}_{a}$)—

জীবনে যত পূজা | হ'ল না সারা
জানি হে জানি তাও | হয় নি হারা
যে ফুল না ফুটিতে | ঝরেছে ধরণীতে | যে নদী মরুপথে | শুকাল ধারা
জানি হে জানি তাও | হয় নি হারা।

(v) $\frac{8}{6c}$ ($^{c}\mathrm{II}_{a}+{}^{c}\mathrm{II}_{a}+{}^{c}\mathrm{IV}_{a}+{}^{c}\mathrm{II}_{a}$)—

নদী ভরা কূলে কূলে, | ক্ষেতে ভরা ধান।
আমি ভাবিতেছি বসে | কি গাহিব গান।
কেতকী জলের ধারে | ফুটিয়াছে ঝোপে ঝাড়ে, | নিরাকুল ফুলভারে | বকুল বাগান,
কানায় কানায় পূর্ণ | আমার পরাণ।
(ভরা ভাদরে—সোনার তরী)

(vi) $\frac{8}{5c}$ (〃 〃 〃 〃)—

গগনে গরজে মেঘ | ঘন বরষা
তীরে একা বসে আছি | নাহি ভরসা
রাশি রাশি ভারা ভারা | ধান কাটা হ'ল সারা | ভরা নদী ক্ষুর ধারা | খর পরশা
কাটিতে কাটিতে ধান | এল বরষা।
(সোনার তরী—সোনার তরী)

Stanzas with 3 dimeters and 1 trimeter

(6) II+II+III+II

(i) $\frac{8}{6c}$ ($^{c}\mathrm{II}_{a}+{}^{c}\mathrm{II}_{b}+{}^{10b}\mathrm{III}_{a}+{}^{c}\mathrm{II}_{b}$)—

যেন রে প্রহর নাই, | নাইক প্রহরী
এ যেন রে দিবা হারা | অনন্ত নিশীথ,
নিখিল, নির্জ্জন, স্তব্ধ, | শুধু শুনি জলশব্দ | কলকল, কল্লোল-লহরী,
নিদ্রা-পারাবার যেন | স্বপ্ন-চঞ্চলিত।
(মরণ স্বপ্ন—মানসী)

Stanzas with 2 dimeters and 2 tetrameters

(7) II+IV+II+IV

(*i*) $\frac{7}{5c}$ (^{c}II$_a$ + ^{c}IV$_a$ + ^{c}II$_a$ + ^{c}IV$_a$)—

"বেলা যে প'ড়ে এল, | জল্‌কে চল্‌"
পুরানো সেই সুরে | কে যেন ডাকে দূরে | কোথা সে ছায়া, সখি, | কোথা সে জল,
কোথা সে বাঁধা ঘাট, | অশথ-তল ?
ছিলাম আনমনে | একেলা এক কোণে | কে যেন ডাকিল রে | "জল্‌কে চল্‌"
(বধূ—মানসী)

(৮) IV+II+IV+II

(*i*) 6 (^{3c}IV$_a$ + ^{4c}II$_b$ + ^{3c}IV$_a$ + ^{4c}II$_b$)—

ভালবেসে সখি, নিভৃতে যতনে | আমার নামটি | লিখিয়ো
তোমার মনের | মন্দিরে
আমার পরাণে | যে গান বাজিছে | তাহারি তালটি | শিখিয়ো
তোমার চরণ- | মঞ্জীরে (যাচনা—কল্পনা)

(*ii*) $\frac{4}{2c}$ (^{c}IV$_a$ + ^{c}II$_b$ + ^{c}IV$_a$ + ^{c}II$_b$)—

সূর্য্য গেল | অস্তপারে | লাগ্‌ল গ্রামের | ঘাটে
আমার জীর্ণ | তরী,
শেষ বসন্তের | সন্ধ্যা হাওয়া | শস্যশূন্য | মাঠে
উঠ্‌ল হাহা | করি। (পরামর্শ ক্ষণিকা)

* (৯) IV+II+II+IV

(*i*) $\frac{4}{2c}$ (^{c}IV$_a$ + II$_b$ + II$_b$ + ^{c}IV$_a$)—

হের গো ঐ | আঁধার হ'ল | আকাশ ঢাকে | মেঘে
ও পার হ'তে | দলে দলে
বকের শ্রেণী | উড়ে চলে
থেকে থেকে | শূন্য মাঠে | বাতাস ওঠে | জেগে
(চিরায়মানা—ক্ষণিকা)

(*ii*) $\frac{5}{2c}$ ($^{c}IV_a + II_b + II_b + {}^{c}IV_a$)—

সকাল বেলা | কাটিয়া গেল | বিকাল নাহি | যায়,
দিনের শেষে | শ্রান্ত ছবি
কিছুতে যেতে | চায় না রবি
চাহিয়া থাকে | ধরণী পানে | বিদায় নাহি | চায়।

(অপেক্ষা—মানসী)

(*iii*) $\frac{6}{3c}$ ($^{c}IV_a + II_b + II_b + {}^{c}IV_a$)—

বহে মাঘ মাসে | শীতের বাতাস | স্বচ্ছ-সলিলা | বরুণা।
পুরী হতে দূরে | গ্রামে নির্জ্জনে
শিলাময় ঘাটে | চম্পক-বনে
স্নানে চলেছেন | শত সখীসনে | কাশীর মহিষী | করুণা।

(সামান্য ক্ষতি—কথা ও কাহিনী)

(*iv*) $\frac{6}{2c}$ ($^{c}IV + II + II + {}^{c}IV$)—

"বন্ধু, তোমরা | যাও ফিরে যাও | এখনো সময় | নয়"
নিশি অবসান | যমুনার তীর
ছোট গিরিমালা | বন সুগভীর,
গুরু গোবিন্দ | কহিলা ডাকিয়া | অনুচর গুটি | ছয়।

(গুরু গোবিন্দ—মানসী)

Stanzas with 2 trimeters and 2 tetrameters

(0) IV + III + IV + III

(*i*) $5\ (^{4c}IV_a + {}^{3c}III_b + {}^{4c}IV_a + {}^{3c}III_b)$—

পঞ্চশরে | দগ্ধ ক'রে | ক'রেছো একি | সন্ন্যাসী
বিশ্বময় | দিয়েছো তারে | ছড়ায়ে
ব্যাকুলতর | বেদনা তার | বাতাসে উঠে | নিঃশ্বাসি'
অশ্রু তার | আকাশে পড়ে | গড়ায়ে।

(মদন-ভস্মের পর—কল্পনা)

(*ii*) 4 ($^{3c}IV_a + {}^{2c}III_b + {}^{3c}IV_a + {}^{2c}III_b$)—

সাঁজের বেলা | ভাঁটার স্রোতে | ও-পার হ'তে | এক টানা
একটি ছুটি | যায় যে তরী | ভেসে।
কেমন ক'রে | চিন্‌বো ওরে | ওদের মাঝে | কোন্ খানা
আমার ঘাটে | ছিল আমার | দেশে।

(শেষ খেয়া—খেয়া)

Stanzas with 2 trimeters and 2 dimeters

(11) II+III+II+III

(*i*) 6 ($II_c + {}^{8h}{}_aIII + II_y + {}^{8h}III_a$)—

ঢালিয়া আমার | প্রাণের আঁধার
বেড়িয়া রাখিব | তোর চারিধার | নিশীথ রচনা করি।
কাছেতে দাঁড়ায়ে | প্রেতের মতন,
শুধু ছুটি প্রাণী | করিব যাপন | অনন্ত সে বিভাবরী।

(রাহুর প্রেম—ছবি ও গান)

(12) III+II+III+II

(*i*) 6 ($^{5c}III_a + {}^{2c}II_b + {}^{5c}III_a + {}^{2c}II_b$)—

অনেক ভক্ত | এসেছে তোমার | চরণ-তলে
অনেক অর্ঘ্য | আনি
আমি অভাগ্য | এনেছি বহিয়া | নয়ন-জলে
ব্যর্থ সাধন | খানি (সাধনা—চিত্রা)

(13) III+II+II+III

(*i*) 4 ($^{2c}III_a + II_b + II_b + {}^{2c}III_a$)—

তবে আমি | যাই গো তবে | যাই
ভোরের বেলা | শূন্য কোলে
ডাক্‌বি যখন | খোকা ব'লে,
বল্‌বো আমি | —নাই সে খোকা | নাই। (বিদায়—শিশু)

(*ii*) 6 (^{8h}III+II+II+^{8h}III)—

অনন্ত কালের | সঙ্গী আমি তোর | আমি যে রে তোর ছায়া,
কিবা সে রোদনে | কিবা সে হাসিতে
দেখিতে পাইবি | কখনো পাশেতে
কখনো সম্মুখে | কখনো পশ্চাতে | আমার আঁধার কায়া

(রাহুর প্রেম—ছবি ও গান)

Miscellaneous stanza-schemes

(14) $I_a+II_a+I_x+II_a$

যদি কেহ শুধাইতো = 8
আমি জানি | কী যে সে কহিতো = 4+6
যত দিন বেঁচেছিলো = 8
আমি জানি | কী তারে দহিতো। = 4+6

(তারকার আত্মহত্যা—সন্ধ্যাসঙ্গীত)

(15) I+I+III+I (*aabb* or *aaaa*)

(*a*) দুর্ভিক্ষ শ্রাবস্তিপুরে যবে = 10
জাগিয়া উঠিল হাহারবে = 10
বুদ্ধ নিজ ভক্তগণে | শুধালেন জনে জনে | —ক্ষুধিতের অন্নদান সেবা = 8+8+10
তোমরা লইবে বল কেবা। = 10

(নগরলক্ষ্মী—কথা ও কাহিনী)

(*b*) আজি এই আকুল আশ্বিনে = 10
মেঘে-ঢাকা দুরন্ত দুর্দ্দিনে = 10
হেমন্ত ধানের ক্ষেতে | বাতাস উঠেছে মেতে | কেমনে চলিব পথ চিনে ? = 8+8+10
আজি এই দুরন্ত দুর্দ্দিনে। = 10

(ঝড়ের দিনে—কল্পনা)

(16) I+III+II+I (*aabb*)

তুমি মোরে পার না বুঝিতে ? } = 10
প্রশান্ত বিষাদ ভরে | দুটি আঁখি প্রশ্ন করে' | যখ মোর চাহিছে খুঁজিতে, } = 8+8+10
চন্দ্রমা যেমন ভাবে | স্থির নত মুখে } = 8+6
চেয়ে দেখে সমুদ্রের বুকে। } = 10

(দুর্ব্বোধ—সোনার তরী)

(17) III+II+IV+IV (*xaaa*)

ভয় নাই তোর, | ভয় নাই ওরে, | ভয় নাই, =6+6+4
কিছু নাই তোর | ভাবনা— =6+3
যে শুভ প্রভাতে | সকলের সাথে | মিলিবি, পূরাবি | কামনা, =6+6+6+3
আপন অর্থ | সে দিন বুঝিবি | জনম ব্যর্থ | যাবে না। =6+6+6+3
(কুঁড়ি—উৎসর্গ)

D—Five-line stanzas

Properly speaking, all stanzas with more than four lines are compound stanzas combining shorter stanza-types by means of a rhyme-scheme. The five-line stanza is thus a combination of a two-line and a three-line stanza. Rabindranath, however, has given currency to certain important types of five-line stanzas and it is necessary to point them out distinctly.

Stanzas with two dimeters and three tetrameters.

(1) $\overset{\frown}{\text{II}+\text{II}}+\overset{\frown}{\text{IV}+\text{IV}+\text{IV}}$

(*i*) $\frac{7}{5}$C ($\text{II}_a+\text{II}_a+\text{IV}_a+\text{IV}_a+\text{IV}_a$)—

মাঠের পরে মাঠ, | মাঠের শেষে
সুদূর গ্রামখানি | আকাশে মেশে।
এধারে পুরাতন | শ্যামল তাল বন | সঘন সারি দিয়ে | দাঁড়ায় ঘেঁসে।
বাঁধের জলরেখা | ঝলসে যায় দেখা | জটলা করে তীরে | রাখাল এসে।
চলেছে পথখানি | কোথায় নাহি জানি, | কে জানে কতো শত | নূতন দেশে।
(বধূ—মানসী)

* (2) $\overset{\frown}{\text{IV}+\text{IV}}+\overset{\frown}{\text{II}+\text{II}+\text{IV}}$

(*i*) $\frac{4}{2c}$ ($^c\text{IV}_a+^c\text{IV}_a+\text{II}_b+\text{II}_b+^c\text{IV}_a$)—

রাত্রি এসে | যেথায় মেশে | দিনের পারা | বারে,
তোমায় আমায় | দেখা হ'ল | সেই মোহানার | ধারে ;
সেইখানেতে | সাদায় কালোয়
মিলে গেচে | আঁধার আলোয়,
সেইখানেতে | ঢেউ ছুটেচে | এ পারে ঐ | পারে।
(গীতিমাল্য, ১)

(*ii*) $\frac{5}{2c}$ ($^cIV_a + {}^cIV_a + II_b + II_b + IV_a$)—

কম্পিত এ | হৃদয়খানি | তোমার কাছে | তাই
দিবস নিশি | জাগিয়া আছি | নয়নে ঘুম | নাই
সকল গান, | সকল প্রাণ
তোমারে আমি | করেছি দান,
তোমারে ছেড়ে | বিশ্বে মোর | তিলেক নাহি | ঠাঁই।

(আশঙ্কা—মানসী)

(*iii*) $\frac{6}{3c}$ ($^cIV_a + {}^cIV_a + II_b + II_b + {}^cIV_a$)—

বিপুল গভীর | মধুর মন্দ্রে | কে বাজাবে সেই | বাজনা।
উঠিবে চিত্ত | করিয়া নৃত্য | বিস্মৃত হবে | আপনা।
টুটিবে বন্ধ, | মহা আনন্দ,
নব সঙ্গীতে | নূতন ছন্দ,
হৃদয় সাগরে | পূর্ণ চন্দ্র | জাগাবে নবীন | বাসনা।

(বিশ্বনৃত্য—সোনার তরী)

(*iv*) $\frac{6}{3c}$ ($^cIV_a + {}^cIV_a + {}^cII_b + {}^cII_b + {}^cIV_a$)—

চারিদিকে তার | কত আসা-যাওয়া | কত গীত কত | কথা,
মাঝখানে শুধু | ধ্যানের মতন | নিশ্চল নীর- | বতা।
দূরে গেলে তবু | একা
সে শিখর যায় | দেখা
চিত্ত-গগনে | আঁকা থাকে তার | নিত্য-নীহার- | রেখা।

(অচল স্মৃতি—সোনার তরী)

(3) IV + II + II + IV + IV

(*i*) $\frac{5}{2c}$ ($^cIV_a + II_b \cdot II_b + {}^cIV_a + {}^cIV_a$)—

জগৎ পারা- | বারের তীরে | ছেলেরা করে | মেলা।
অন্তহীন | গগনতল
মাথার পরে | অচঞ্চল
ফেনিল ওই | সুনীল জল | নাচিছে সারা | বেলা।
উঠিছে তটে | কী কোলাহল | ছেলেরা করে | মেলা॥

(শিশুলীলা—শিশু)

Stanzas with three dimeters and two tetrameters.

(4) $\overbrace{\text{II}+\text{IV}}+\overbrace{\text{II}+\text{II}+\text{IV}}$

(*i*) $\frac{6}{2c}\,({}^{c}\text{II}_{a}+{}^{c}\text{IV}_{a}+\text{II}_{b}+\text{II}_{b}+{}^{c}\text{IV}_{a})$—

নৃপতি বিম্বি- | সার
নমিয়া বুদ্ধে | মাগিয়া লইলা | পাদ-নখ-কণা | তার,
স্থাপিয়া নিভৃত | প্রাসাদ কাননে
তাহারি উপরে | রচিলা যতনে
অতি অপরূপ | শিলাময় স্তূপ | শিল্পশোভার | সার।

(পূজারিণী—কথা ও কাহিনী)

Stanzas with two dimeters and three trimeters.

(5) $\overbrace{\text{III}+\text{II}}+\overbrace{\text{III}+\text{III}+\text{II}}$

(*i*) $\frac{6}{8h}\,({}^{8h}\text{III}_{a}+{}^{8h}\text{II}_{a}+{}^{8h}\text{III}_{b}+{}^{8h}\text{III}_{b}+{}^{8h}\text{II}_{b})$—

অনাদি বিরহ | বেদনা ভেদিয়া | ফুটেছে প্রেমের সুখ
যেমনি আজিকে | দেখেছি তোমার মুখ।
সে অসীম ব্যথা | অসীম সুখের | হৃদয়ে হৃদয়ে রহে,
তাইত আমার | মিলনের মাঝে | নয়নে সলিল বহে,
এ প্রেম আমার | সুখ নহে, দুখ নহে।

(পূর্ব্বকালে—মানসী)

(6) $\overbrace{\text{III}+\text{III}}+\overbrace{\text{II}+\text{II}+\text{III}}$

(*i*) $\frac{6}{3c}\,({}^{c}\text{III}_{a}+{}^{c}\text{III}_{a}+\text{II}_{b}+\text{II}_{b}+{}^{c}\text{III}_{a})$—

(আমি) কেবলি স্বপন | করেছি বপন | বাতাসে,
(তাই) আকাশ-কুসুম | করিনু চয়ন | হতাশে,
ছায়ার মতন | মিলায় ধরণী,
কূল নাহি পায় | আশার তরণী,
মানস-প্রতিমা | ভাসিয়া বেড়ায় | আকাশে।

(কাল্পনিক—কল্পনা)

Stanzas with two trimeters and three tetrameters.

(7) III+IV+IV+IV+III

(i) $\frac{8}{5}\, c\,(\mathrm{III}_a+\mathrm{IV}_a+\mathrm{IV}_a+\mathrm{IV}_a+\mathrm{III}_a)-$

(যদি) ভরিয়া লইবে কুম্ভ | এস ওগো এস, মোর | হৃদয়-নীরে।
তল তল ছল ছল | কাঁদিবে গভীর জল | ওই দুটি সুকোমল | চরণ ঘিরে।
আজি বর্ষা গাঢ়তম, | নিবিড় কুন্তল সম | মেঘ নামিয়াছে মম | দুইটি তীরে।
ওই যে শবদ চিনি, | নূপুর রিণিকি ঝিনি, | কে গো তুমি একাকিনী | আসিছ ধীরে।
(যদি) ভরিয়া লইবে কুম্ভ, | এস ওগো এস, মোর | হৃদয়-নীরে।

(হৃদয়-যমুনা—সোনার তরী)

E—Six-line stanzas

Six-line stanzas are among the commonest in Rabindranath's poetry. Just as Rabindranath may claim to have popularised the six-morae measure, he may similarly claim to have done the same with regard to the six-line stanza. Somehow the number six appears to have a very intimate relationship with Rabindranath's rhythmic activity. Being the lowest common multiple of the prime numbers 2 and 3, which give the root formulae of all our rhythmic creations, and indicate respectively the conditions of stable and unstable equilibrium, the number 'six' gives the widest scope for free manipulation of the prime units and introduction of rhythmic variety.

E(a)—Six-line stanzas with equimetric lines

(1) III+III+III+III+III+III

(i) rhyme scheme—*a a a b a b*—

দুখ পশে যবে | মর্ম্মের মাঝ | খানে = 6+6+2
তোমার লিখন | স্বাক্ষর যেন | আনে, = 6+6+2
রুক্ষ বচন | যতই আঘাত | হানে = 6+6+2
সকল আঘাতে | তব সুর উঠে | জাগিয়া = 6+6+3
শত বিশ্বাস | ভেঙে যদি যায় | প্রাণে = 6+6+2
এক বিশ্বাসে | রহে যেন মন | লাগিয়া = 6+6+3

(নৈবেদ্য)

(*ii*) rhyme scheme—*a a b a a b*—

প্রেমে প্রাণে গানে | গন্ধে আলোকে | পুলকে = 6+6 3
প্লাবিত করিয়া | নিখিল দ্যুলোক | ভূলোকে = 6+6+3
তোমার অমল | অমৃত পড়িছে | ঝরিয়া। = 6+6+3
দিকে দিকে আজি | টুটিয়া সকল | বন্ধ = 6+6+3
মূরতি ধরিয়া | জাগিয়া উঠে আ- | নন্দ ; = 6+6+3
জীবন উঠিল | নিবিড় সুধায় | ভরিয়া = 6+6+3

(গীতাঞ্জলি, ৬)

(২) II+II+II+II+II+II

(*i*) rhyme scheme—*a a b a b a*—

একদা এলোচুলে | কোন্ ভুলে ভুলিয়া = 7+7
আসিল সে আমার | ভাঙা দ্বার খুলিয়া। = 7+7
জ্যোৎস্না অনিমিখ | চারিদিক সুবিজন, = 7+8
চাহিল একবার | আঁখি তার তুলিয়া। = 7+7
দখিন বায়ুভরে | থরথরে কাঁপে বন = 7+8
উঠিল প্রাণ মম | তারি সম দুলিয়া। = 7+7

(ক্ষণিক মিলন—মানসী)

(*ii*) rhyme-scheme—a a a b c b—

পথে সে মালাখানি | গেল ভুলে, = 7+4
রাজার ছেলে সেটি | নিল তুলে, = 7+4
আপন মণিহার | মনোভুলে = 7+4
দিল সে বালিকার | করে, = 7+2
রাজার ছেলে ঘরে | ফিরিয়া এল, = 7+5
রাজার মেয়ে গেল | ঘরে। = 7+2

(রাজার ছেলে ও রাজার মেয়ে—সোণার তরী)

E (b)—Stanzas with a varying number of bars to the line
Stanzas with 4 dimeters and 2 trimeters

* (1) $\overline{II+II+III}+\overline{II+II+III}$

(*i*) $\frac{4}{3c}$ $(II_a+II_a+{}^cIII_b+II_c+II_c+{}^cIII_b)$—

খোকা মা-কে | শুধায় ডেকে—
"এলেম আমি | কোথা থেকে,
কোন্ খানে তুই | কুড়িয়ে পেলি | আমারে ?"
মা শুনে কয় | হেসে কেঁদে
খোকারে তার | বুকে বেঁধে,—
"ইচ্ছা হয়ে | ছিলি মনের | মাঝারে।
(জন্মকথা—শিশু)

(*ii*) $\frac{6}{5c}$ $(II_a+II_a+{}^cIII_b+II_c+II_c+{}^cIII_b)$—

তুমি জান মোর | মনের বাসনা,
যত সাধ ছিল | সাধ্য ছিল না,
তবু বহিয়াছি | কঠিন কামনা | দিবস নিশি,
মনে যাহা ছিল , হয়ে গেল আর
গড়িতে ভাঙিয়া | গেল বারবার,
ভালোয় মন্দে | আলোয় আঁধার | গিয়েছে মিশি
(সাধনা—চিত্রা)

(*iii*) $\frac{6}{3c}$ $(II_a+II_a+{}^cIII_b+II_c+II_c+{}^cIII_b)$—

"প্রভু বুদ্ধ লাগি | আমি ভিক্ষা মাগি,
ওগো পুরবাসী | কে রয়েছ জাগি"
অনাথ-পিণ্ডদ | কহিলা অম্বুদ- | নিনাদে।
সদ্য মেলিতেছে : তরুণ তপন
আলস্যে অরুণ , সহাস্য লোচন
শ্রাবস্তী পুরীর | গগন-লগন- | প্রাসাদে।
(শ্রেষ্ঠ ভিক্ষা—কথা ও কাহিনী)

There are other forms in this type; *e.g.*, $\frac{6}{8h}$ $(II_a + II_a + {}^{h}III_b + II_c + II_c + {}^{h}III_b)$ in রাহুর প্রেম (ছবি ও গান); $6({}^{2}II_a + {}^{c}{}^{c}II_a + {}^{sh}III_a + II_b + II_b + {}^{sh}III_a)$ in আত্মসমর্পণ (মানসী)

Stanzas with 4 dimeters and 2 tetrameters

* (2) $\overline{II + II + IV} + \overline{II + II + IV}$

(*i*) $\frac{4}{2c}$ $(II_a + II_a + {}^{c}IV_b + II_c + II_c + {}^{c}IV_b)$—

তবু মনে | প্রবোধ আছে—
তেম্‌নি বকুল | ফোটে গাছে,
যদিও সে | পায় না নারীর | মুখ-মদের ছিটা,
ফাগুন মাসে | অশোক ছায়ে—
অলস প্রাণে | শিথিল গায়ে—
দখিন হতে | বাতাস টুকু | তেম্‌নি লাগে | মিঠা।

(সেকাল—ক্ষণিকা)

(*ii*) $\frac{5}{2c}$ $(II_a + II_a + {}^{c}IV_b + II_c + II_c + {}^{c}IV_b)$—

কত না শোভা | কত না সুখ,
কত না ছিল | অমিয়-মুখ,
নিত্য-নব | পুষ্প-রাশি | ফুটিত মোর | দ্বারে,
ক্ষুদ্র আশা | ক্ষুদ্র স্নেহ,
মনের ছিল | শতেক গেহ,
আকাশ ছিল, | ধরণী ছিল | আমার চারি | ধারে।

(*iii*) $\frac{6}{2c}$ $(II_a + II_a + {}^{c}IV_b + II_c + II_c + {}^{c}IV_b)$—

ভুলুবাবু বসি | পাশের ঘরেতে
নামতা পড়েন | উচ্চ স্বরেতে
হিষ্টি কেতাব | লইয়া করেতে | কেদারা হেলান্ | দিয়ে ;
দুই ভাই মোরা | সুখে সমাসীন,
মেজের উপরে | জ্বলে কেরাসিন,
পড়িয়া ফেলেছি | চ্যাপ্টার তিন, | দাদা এমে, আমি | বিএ

(বঙ্গবীর—মানসী)

(3) $\overbrace{IV+II}+\overbrace{II+II}+\overbrace{IV+II}$

(*i*) $\frac{6}{4c}$ ($'IV_a + II_a + II_b + II_b + 'IV_a + 'II_a$)—

বহুদিন হ'ল | কোন্ ফাল্গুনে | ছিনু আমি তব | ভরসায় ;
এলে তুমি ঘন | বরষায়।
আজি উত্তাল | তুমুল ছন্দে,
আজি নবঘন | বিপুল মন্দ্রে
আমার পরাণে | যে গান বাজাবে | সে গান তোমার | কর সায়।
আজি জল ভরা | বরষায়।
(আবির্ভাব—ক্ষণিকা)

Stanzas with 4 trimeters and 2 dimeters

(4) $\overbrace{III+III}+\overbrace{II+II}+\overbrace{III+III}$

(*i*) $4\ (III_a + III_a + II_b + II_b + III_c + III_c)$—

দীঘির জলে | ঝলক্ ঝলে | মাণিক্ হীরা,
শর্ষে ক্ষেতে | উঠ্‌চে মেতে | মৌমাছিরা।
এ পথ গেছে | কত গাঁয়ে
কত গাছের | ছায়ে ছায়ে
কত মাঠের | গায়ে গায়ে | কত বনে।
আমি শুধু | হেথায় এলেম | অকারণে।
(পথে—ক্ষণিকা)

(*ii*) $\frac{6}{3c}$ ($'III_a + 'III_a + II_b + II_b + 'III_c + 'III_c$)—

উঠেছিল চাঁদ | নিশীথ-অগাধ | আকাশে,
দুলেছিল ফুল | গন্ধ-ব্যাকুল | বাতাসে,
তরু-মর্ম্মর | নদী কলতান
কানে লেগেছিল | স্বপ্ন সমান,
দূর হতে আসি | পশেছিল গান | শ্রবণে,
যে রজনী যায় | ফিরাইব তায় | কেমনে ?
(ব্যর্থ যৌবন—সোণার তরী)

Similarly, we have $\frac{6}{5c}$ ($^{c}III_a + {}^{c}III_a + II_b + II_b + {}^{c}III_a + {}^{c}III_a$) in ভুলে (মানসী) and ভুলভাঙা (মানসী)।

Stanzas with 4 trimeters and 2 dimeters

(5) $\overbrace{III+IV}+\overbrace{III+III}+\overbrace{IV+III}$

(i) $\frac{6}{3c}$ ($^{c}III_a + {}^{c}IV_a + III_b + III_b + {}^{c}IV_a + {}^{c}III_a$)—

আবার মোরে | পাগল করে | দিবে কে ?
হৃদয় যেন | পাষাণ হেন | বিরাগ-ভরা | বিবেকে।
আবার প্রাণে | নূতন টানে | প্রেমের নদী
পাষাণ হ'তে | উছল স্রোতে | বহায় যদি।
আবার দুটি | নয়নে লুটি | হৃদয় হরে | নিবে কে ?
আবার মোরে | পাগল করে' | দিবে কে ?

(শূন্য হৃদয়—মানসী)

(6) $\overbrace{III+III}+\overbrace{IV+IV}+\overbrace{III+III}$

(i) $\frac{8}{6}$C ($III_a + III_a + IV_b + IV_b + III_c + III_c +$)—

কোথা হ'তে দুই চক্ষে | ভরে' নিয়ে এলে জল | হে প্রিয় আমার
হে ব্যথিত, হে অশান্ত, | বল আজি গাব গান | কোন সান্ত্বনার ?
হেথায় প্রান্তর-পারে | নগরীর এক ধারে | সায়াহ্নের অন্ধকারে | জ্বালি দীপখানি
শূন্য গৃহে অন্যমনে | একাকিনী বাতায়নে | বসে আছি পুষ্পাসনে | বাসরের রাণী ;
কোথা বক্ষে বিঁধি কাটা | ফিরিলে আপন নীড়ে | হে আমার পাখী !
ওরে ক্লিষ্ট, ওরে ক্লান্ত, | কোথা তোর বাজে ব্যথা, | কোথা তোরে রাখি ?

(সান্ত্বনা—চিত্রা)

Stanzas with 4 tetrameters and 2 dimeters

* (7) $\overbrace{IV+IV}+\overbrace{II+II}+\overbrace{IV+IV}$

(i) $\frac{4}{2c}$ ($^{c}IV_a + {}^{c}IV_a + II_b + II_b + {}^{c}IV_a + {}^{c}IV_a$)—

রূপসীরা | তোমার পায়ে | রাখে পূজার | থালা,
বিদুষীরা | তোমার গলায় | পরায় বর- | মালা।

ভালে তোমার | আছে লেখা
পুণ্যধামের | রশ্মি রেখা,
সুধাস্নিগ্ধ | হৃদয় খানি | হাসে চোখের | পরে,
সর্ব্বশেষের | গানটি আমার | আছে তোমার | তরে।

(কল্যাণী—ক্ষণিকা)

(ii) $\frac{5}{4c}$ ($^cIV_a + {}^cIV_a + II_b + II_b + {}^cIV_a + {}^cIV_a$)—

আরঙজেব | ভারত যবে | করিতেছিল | খান্-খান্—
মারব-পতি | কহিলা আসি | করহ প্রভু | অবধান—
গোপন রাতে | অচল গড়ে
নহর যাঁরে | এনেছে ধরে
বন্দী তিনি | আমার ঘরে | সিরোহিপতি | সুরতান,
কি অভিলাষ | তাঁহার পরে | আদেশ মোরে | কর দান।

(মানী—কথা ও কাহিনী)

(iii) $\frac{6}{3c}$ ($^cIV_a + {}^cIV_a + II_b + II_b + {}^cIV_a + {}^cIV_a$)—

আজি কী তোমার | মধুর মূরতি | হেরিনু শারদ | প্রভাতে,
হে মাতঃ বঙ্গ | শ্যামল অঙ্গ | ঝলিছে অমল | শোভাতে।
পারে না বহিতে | নদী জল-ধার,
মাঠে মাঠে ধান | ধরে নাকো আর,
ভাকিছে দোয়েল, | গাহিছে কোয়েল | তোমার কানন- | সভাতে।
মাঝখানে তুমি | দাঁড়ায়ে জননী | শরৎ কালের | প্রভাতে।

(শরৎ—কল্পনা)

(8) $\overset{\frown}{IV} + \overset{\frown}{II} + \overset{\frown}{II} + \overset{\frown}{IV} + \overset{\frown}{IV} + \overset{\frown}{IV}$

(i) $\frac{6}{2c}$ ($^cIV_a + II_b + II_b + {}^cIV_a + {}^cIV_a + {}^cIV_a$)—

(আমি) একাকিনী যবে | চলি রাজপথে | নব-অভিসার | সাজে,
নিশীথে নীরব | নিখিল ভুবন,
না গাহে বিহগ | না চলে পবন,
মৌন সকল | পৌর ভবন | সুপ্ত নগর | মাঝে ;
শুধু) আমার নূপুর | আমারি চরণে | বিমরি বিমরি | বাজে ;
অধীর মুখর | শুনিয়া সে স্বর | পদে পদে মরি | লাজে।

(গৃহশত্রু—চিত্রা)

Stanzas with 3 tetrameters and 3 dimeters

(9) $\overset{\frown}{\text{II}+\text{IV}}+\overset{\frown}{\text{II}+\text{II}}+\overset{\frown}{\text{IV}+\text{IV}}$

(*i*) $\frac{4}{2c}$ ($^{c}\text{II}_{a}+{}^{c}\text{IV}_{a}+\text{II}_{b}+\text{II}_{b}+{}^{c}\text{IV}_{a}+{}^{c}\text{IV}_{a}$)—

আছে, আছে | স্থান !
একা তুমি, | তোমার শুধু | একটি আঁটি | ধান।
না হয় হবে | ঘেঁষাঘেষি,
এমন কিছু | নয় সে বেশি,
না হয় কিছু | ভারি হবে | আমার তরী | খান
তাই বলে' কি | ফির্‌বে তুমি ? | আছে, আছে | স্থান !

(যাত্রী—ক্ষণিকা)

(*ii*) $\frac{6}{3c}$ ($^{c}\text{II}_{a}+{}^{c}\text{IV}_{a}+\text{II}_{b}+\text{II}_{b}+{}^{c}\text{IV}_{a}+{}^{c}\text{IV}_{a}$)—

শুধু অকারণ | পুলকে
ক্ষণিকের গান | গা'রে আজি প্রাণ | ক্ষণিক দিনের | আলোকে !
যারা আসে যায়, | হাসে আর চায়,
পশ্চাতে যারা | ফিরে না তাকায়,
নেচে ছুটে ধায়, | কথা না শুধায়, | ফুটে আর টুটে | পলকে,
তাহাদেরি গান | গা'রে আজি প্রাণ | ক্ষণিক দিনের | আলোকে !

(উদ্বোধন—ক্ষণিকা)

(10) $\overset{\frown}{\text{IV}+\text{II}}+\overset{\frown}{\text{IV}+\text{II}+\text{II}+\text{IV}}$

(*i*) $\frac{4}{2c}$ ($^{c}\text{IV}_{a}+{}^{c}\text{II}_{a}+{}^{c}\text{IV}_{a}+{}^{c}\text{II}_{b}+{}^{c}\text{II}_{b}+{}^{c}\text{IV}_{a}$)—

যতবার আজ | গাঁথনু মালা | পড়ল খসে' | খসে'—
কি জানি কার | দোষে।
তুমি হেথায় | চোখের কোণে | দেখ্‌চ বসে' | বসে'।
চোখ দুটিরে | প্রিয়ে
শুধাও শপথ | নিয়ে
আঙুল আমার | আকুল হল | কাহার দৃষ্টি- | দোষে।

(অপটু—ক্ষণিকা)

(11) $\overset{\frown}{\text{IV}}+\overset{\frown}{\text{IV}}+\overset{\frown}{\text{II}}+\overset{\frown}{\text{II}}+\overset{\frown}{\text{II}}+\overset{\frown}{\text{IV}}$

(*i*) $\frac{6}{3c}$ ($^{c}\text{IV}_{a}+{}^{c}\text{IV}_{a}+\text{II}_{b}+\text{II}_{b}+{}^{c}\text{II}_{c}+{}^{c}\text{IV}_{c}$)—

বলিনে ত কারে, | সকালে বিকালে | তোমার পথের | মাঝেতে,
বাঁশি বুকে ল'য়ে | বিনা কাজে আসি | বেড়াই ছদ্ম | সাজেতে,
যাহা মুখে আসে | গাই সেই গান
নানা রাগিণীতে | দিয়ে নানা তান,
এক গান রাখি | গোপনে,
নানা মুখপানে | আঁখি মেলি চাই, | তোমাপানে চাই | স্বপনে।

(অন্তরতম—ক্ষণিকা)

Stanzas with 2 tetrameters, 2 trimeters and 2 dimeters

(12) $\overset{\frown}{\text{IV}}+\overset{\frown}{\text{III}}+\overset{\frown}{\text{II}}+\overset{\frown}{\text{II}}+\overset{\frown}{\text{IV}}+\overset{\frown}{\text{III}}$

(*i*) $\frac{6}{3c}$ ($^{c}\text{IV}_{a}+{}^{c}\text{III}_{a}+\text{II}_{b}+\text{II}_{b}+{}^{c}\text{IV}_{a}+{}^{c}\text{III}_{a}$)—

নীল নব ঘনে | আষাঢ় গগনে | তিল ঠাঁই আর | নাহি রে,
ওগো আজ তোরা | যাস্‌নে ঘরের | বাহিরে।
বাদলের ধারা | ঝরে ঝর্ ঝর্
আউষের ক্ষেত | জলে ভর-ভর
কালিমাখা মেঘে | ওপারে আঁধার | ঘনিয়েছে, দেখ্ | চাহি রে!
ওগো আজ তোরা | যাস্‌নে ঘরের | বাহিরে!

(আষাঢ়—ক্ষণিকা)

(13) $\overset{\frown}{\text{IV}}+\overset{\frown}{\text{IV}}+\overset{\frown}{\text{II}}+\overset{\frown}{\text{II}}+\overset{\frown}{\text{III}}+\overset{\frown}{\text{III}}$

(*i*) 6 ($^{2c}\text{IV}_{a}+{}^{2c}\text{IV}_{a}+\text{II}_{b}+\text{II}_{b}+{}^{3c}\text{III}_{c}+{}^{3c}\text{III}_{c}$)—

নিশি দু'পহর | পঁহুছিনু ঘর | দু'হাত রিক্ত | করি'।
তুমি আছ একা | সজল নয়নে | দাঁড়ায়ে দুয়ার | ধরি'।
চোখে ঘুম নাই | কথা নাই মুখে,
ভীত পাখী সম | এলে মোর বুকে ;
আছে আছে, বিধি, | এখনো অনেক | রয়েছে বাকি,
আমারো ভাগ্যে | ঘটেনি ঘটেনি | সকলি ফাঁকি।

(কৃতার্থ—ক্ষণিকা)

Miscellaneous six-line stanzas

(14) $\frac{5}{2c}$ ('III_a + 'III_a + II_b + II_b + 'IV_a + 'III_a)

রচিয়াছিনু | দেউল এক | খানি
অনেক দিনে | অনেক দুখ | মানি,
রাখিনি তা'র | জানালা দ্বার
সকল দিক | অন্ধকার,
ভূধর হ'তে | পাষাণ ভার | যতনে বহি' | আনি
রচিয়াছিনু | দেউল এক | খানি।

(দেউল—সোণার তরী)

(15) $\frac{8}{6}$ C(III_a + III_a + IV_b + IV_b + III_a + II_a)

দোলেরে প্রলয় দোলে | অকূল সমুদ্র-কোলে | উৎসব ভীষণ!
শত পক্ষ ঝাপটিয়া | বেড়াইছে দাপটিয়া | দুর্দ্দম পবন।
আকাশ সমুদ্র সাথে | প্রচণ্ড মিলনে মাতে | অখিলের আঁখিপাতে | আবরি তিমির,
বিদ্যুৎ চমকে ত্রাসি | হা হা করে ফেন রাশি | তীক্ষ্ণ শ্বেত রুদ্র হাসি | জড়-প্রকৃতির।
চক্ষুহীন কর্ণহীন | গেহহীন স্নেহহীন | মত্ত দৈত্যগণ
মরিতে ছুটেছে কোথা | ছিঁড়েছে বন্ধন।

(সিন্ধুতরঙ্গ—মানসী)

This is one of the grandest stanzas in Rabindranath's poetry.

Poly-verse stanzas

Normally Rabindranath does not use a stanza of more than six lines, but occasionally he uses longer stanzas. These long stanzas are really combinations of shorter ones joined together by a rhyme-scheme or a close connection of thought, frequently by both. Sometimes again he simply wedges a sort of refrain between the lines of a normal stanza and gets a new form. Some of these poly-verse stanzas are shewn below.

Seven-line stanzas

(1) $\frac{5}{2c}$ ($^cIV_a + {}^cIV_a + II_b + II_b + {}^cIV_a + {}^cIV_x + {}^cIV_a$)

মর্ম্মে যবে | মত্ত আশা | সর্পসম | ফোঁসে
অদৃষ্টের | বন্ধনেতে | দাপিয়া বৃথা | রোষে
তখনো ভালো | মানুষ সেজে
বাঁধানো হুঁকা | যতনে মেজে
মলিন তাস | সজোরে ভেঁজে | খেলিতে হবে | কসে।
অন্নপায়ী | বঙ্গবাসী | স্তন্যপায়ী | জীব
জন দশেকে | জটলা করি | তক্তপোষে | বসে।

(দুরন্ত আশা—মানসী)

A similar scheme is found in the first stanza of সুরদাসের প্রার্থনা (মানসী) where the formula is $\frac{6}{2c}$ ($^cIV_a + {}^cIV_a + II_b + II_b + {}^cIV_a + {}^cIV_x + {}^cIV_a$).

(2) $\frac{6}{8}$ h($II_a + II_b + II_a + II_b + II_c + II_e + II_b$)

মুদিত আলোর | কমল কলিকাটিরে
রেখেছে সন্ধ্যা | আঁধার পর্ণপুটে।
উতরিবে যবে | নব প্রভাতের তীরে
তরুণ কমল | আপনি উঠিবে ফুটে।
উদয়াচলের | সে তীর্থপথে আমি
চলেছি একেলা | সন্ধ্যার অনুগামী,
দিনান্ত মোর | দিগন্তে পড়ে লুটে।

(যাত্রাশেষ—গীতালি)

(3) An unusual form—

$6\ (^{2c}IV_a + {}^{2c}IV_a + {}^{2c}II_b + {}^{2c}II_b + {}^{5c}I_a + {}^{2c}IV_a)$

(আমি) হব না তাপস, | হব না, হব না | যেমনি বলুন্ | যিনি।
(আমি) হব না তাপস | নিশ্চয় যদি | না মেলে তপ- | স্বিনী।
(আমি) করেছি কঠিন | পণ
(যদি) না মিলে বকুল | বন,
(যদি) মনের মতন | মন,
না পাই জিনি
(তবে) হব না তাপস, | হব না, যদি না | পাই সে তপ- | স্বিনী।

(প্রতিজ্ঞা—ক্ষণিকা)

Eight-line stanzas

There are many eight-line stanzas which simply duplicate quatrains, especially quatrains with a rhyme-scheme *a a a b*. Examples may be found in poems like নগরসঙ্গীত (চিত্রা) where the first eight lines give the formula

$$\frac{6}{3c}\ (\overbrace{\text{II}_a+\text{II}_a+\text{II}_a+{}^{c}\text{II}_b}+\overbrace{\text{II}_c+\text{II}_c+\text{II}_c+{}^{c}\text{II}_b});$$

similarly, in শীতে ও বসন্তে (চিত্রা) we have the formula

$$\frac{6}{2}\ \text{C}(\overbrace{\text{II}_a+\text{II}_a+\text{II}_a+\text{II}_b}+\overbrace{\text{II}_c+\text{II}_c+\text{II}_c+\text{II}_b}).$$

Some eight-line stanzas, however, use only one quatrain along with two couplets, the latter being used either consecutively or on the either flank of the quatrain; an instance of the former is to be found in মার্জ্জনা (চিত্রা) where the formula is

$$\frac{6}{3}\ \text{C}(\overbrace{\text{III}_a+\text{III}_b+\text{III}_a+\text{III}_b}+\overbrace{\text{III}_c+\text{III}_c}+\overbrace{\text{III}_d+\text{III}_d})$$

with a sort of refrain tagged at the end; an instance of the latter type may be found in উদাসীন (ক্ষণিকা) where the formula for the stanza is

$$\frac{6}{3}\ \text{C}(\overbrace{\text{IV}_a+\text{III}_a}+\overbrace{\text{III}_b+\text{III}_b+\text{III}_c+\text{III}_a}+\overbrace{\text{IV}_a+\text{III}_a}).$$

Frequently, again, eight-line stanzas are constructed upon a different principle; one couplet is associated with two three-line stanzas. Instances may be found in the batch of eight lines from সুরদাসের প্রার্থনা (মানসী) quoted below, which give the formula

$$\frac{6}{2c}(\overbrace{{}^{c}\text{IV}_a+{}^{c}\text{IV}_a}+\overbrace{\text{II}_b+\text{II}_b+{}^{c}\text{IV}_c}+\overbrace{\text{II}_d+\text{II}_d+{}^{c}\text{IV}_c}).$$

তোমারে কহিব | লজ্জা-কাহিনী | লজ্জা নাহিকো | তায়,
তোমার আভায় | মলিন লজ্জা | পলকে মিলায়ে | যায়।
যেমন রয়েছে | তেমনি দাঁড়াও
আঁখি নত করি | আমা-পানে চাও
খুলে দাও মুখ | আনন্দময়ী, | আবরণে নাহি | কাজ।

নিরখি তোমারে | ভীষণ মধুর,
আছ কাছে তবু | আছ অতি দূর,
উজ্জ্বল যেন | দেব-রোষানল, | উদ্যত যেন | বাজ।

Sometimes very intricate rhyme-schemes connect the verses in an eight-line stanza; for instance, in **হোরিখেলা** and **বিবাহ** in **কথা-ও-কাহিনী**, the formula for the stanza is

$$\frac{4}{2}\,C(\overbrace{{}^{r}III_{r}+{}^{r}III_{a}}+\overbrace{{}^{r}III_{b}+{}^{r}III_{b}}+\overbrace{{}^{r}III_{b}+{}^{r}III_{a}}+\overbrace{{}^{r}III_{y}+{}^{r}III_{a}})$$

Longer stanzas are also found in Rabindranath's poetry occasionally. They variously combine shorter forms of stanzas by means of a rhyme-scheme. A nine-line stanza is found in **নিরুদ্দেশ-যাত্রা** (**সোনার তরী**) which gives the formula

$$\frac{6}{5c}(\overbrace{{}^{r}III_{a}+{}^{r}III_{a}}+\overbrace{II_{b}+II_{b}}+\overbrace{{}^{r}III_{c}+II_{d}}+\overbrace{II_{d}+{}^{r}III_{c}+{}^{r}III_{c}}).$$

A ten-line stanza is found in **বিশ্বদেব** (**উৎসর্গ**) with the formula

$$6(\overbrace{{}^{3c}IV_{a}+{}^{3r}IV_{a}}+\overbrace{II_{b}+II_{b}}+\overbrace{{}^{2r}IV_{c}+II_{d}}+\overbrace{II_{d}+{}^{3c}IV_{e}}+\overbrace{{}^{3c}IV_{e}+{}^{3c}IV_{e}}).$$

An eleven-line stanza is found in **দেশের উন্নতি** (**মানসী**) with the formula

$$\frac{5}{2c}\,(\overbrace{{}^{r}IV_{a}+{}^{r}IV_{a}}+\overbrace{II_{b}+II_{b}}+\overbrace{{}^{r}IV_{a}+II_{c}}+\overbrace{II_{c}+{}^{r}IV_{a}}+\overbrace{II_{d}+II_{d}+{}^{r}IV_{a}}).$$

A twelve-line stanza is to be found in **তুলনায় সমালোচনা** (**সোনার তরী**) with the formula

$$\frac{6}{5c}\,(\overbrace{{}^{r}III_{a}+{}^{r}III_{a}}+\overbrace{{}^{r}III_{b}+{}^{r}III_{b}}+\overbrace{II_{c}+II_{c}+{}^{r}III_{d}}+\overbrace{II_{e}+II_{e}+{}^{r}III_{d}}$$

$$+\overbrace{{}^{r}III_{f}+{}^{r}III_{f}}).$$

Many such combinations of shorter stanzas are possible.

Often, however, Rabindranath gets the most splendid stanza-effects by wedging in shorter lines with some sort of abruptness in a regular stanza scheme. These shorter lines delightfully break through the pattern and bring in the required element of surprise that is indispensable in any effective rhythmic scheme.

A well-known instance is the famous stanza in **উর্ব্বশী** with the formula

$$\frac{8}{10h}\ (\overbrace{{}^{h}II_a + {}^{h}I_a} + \overbrace{{}^{h}II_b + {}^{h}II_b} + \overbrace{{}^{h}II_c + {}^{h}II_c} + \overbrace{{}^{a\,c}I_c + {}^{a\,c}II_d + {}^{a\,c}I_d}).$$

The normal line is of 18 morae, a dimeter with bars of 8 and 10. The clever introduction of shorter lines prevents monotony and gives time for preparation for the next batch of lines. It is to be noticed that the shortest line occurs after the successive long lines in the middle of the stanza. Another such instance may be found in **ঝুলন** (**সোণার তরী**), where the formula is

$$\frac{6}{5c}\ (III_a + I_a + II_b + II_b + III_a + III_a + I_a),$$

the second and the last lines being inserted to vary the rhythmic pattern. The same is the principle of stanza-construction in a poem like **অন্ধকার** (**পূরবী**), where the formula is

$$\frac{8}{10h}\ (\overbrace{{}^{h}II_b + {}^{h}I_b} + \overbrace{{}^{h}II_b + {}^{h}II_b + {}^{h}I_c} + \overbrace{{}^{h}II_d + {}^{h}II_d + {}^{a\,c}I_c}).$$

This is the principle extensively exploited in the poems in **বলাকা**।

CHAPTER III

The Sonnet in Rabindranath's Poetry

In connection with a study of stanza forms it will be interesting to notice Rabindranath's treatment of the sonnet. The sonnet form was popularised by Madhusudan Dutt who called his own attempts simply চতুর্দ্দশপদী কবিতাবলী or poems complete in fourteen verses. Madhusudan took the common Bengali verse, that is, the Payār verse in eight-and-six as the vehicle of the sonnet and since then the practice has been followed by other poets including Rabindranath. In the earliest type of the sonnet that Rabindranath wrote, that is, in the sonnets in Kāri-o-Komal, Rabindranath does not exactly follow Madhusudan. In Madhusudan's sonnets the movement of verse follows that of blank verse; Rabindranath avoids the blank-verse rhythm at first. Moreover Madhusudan is stricter in following the division of the sonnet into the octave and the sestet. One single thought is presented in the first eight lines and in the next six there is another thought, connected with but giving a sharp turn to the thought in the octave. In Rabindranath's early sonnets, however, there is a leisurely sequence of ideas which presents one single thought and there is no sudden turn of thought from the octave to the sestet. Further, Madhusudan follows the traditional rhyme-scheme of the sonnet far more strictly than Rabindranath. Madhusudan generally uses only four, sometimes five, rhymes, while Rabindranath frequently uses as many as seven, and only rarely does he drop down to six, five or four. In arranging his rhymes Madhusudan avoids putting in rhyming couplets except sometimes in the last two lines; but Rabindranath frequently has a number of rhyming couplets in his sonnets. The rigour of the sonnet structure is, to some extent, absent in the sonnets of Rabindranath. A

comparison between the two sonnets, respectively by Madhusudan and Rabindranath, which are quoted below, will well illustrate the difference between the two types.

বাল্মীকি

(from Madhusudan's চতুর্দ্দশপদী কবিতাবলী)

স্বপনে ভ্রমিনু আমি গহন কাননে
একাকী। দেখিনু দূরে যুবা একজন,
দাঁড়ায়ে তাহার কাছে প্রাচীন ব্রাহ্মণ,
দ্রোণ যেন ভয়শূন্য কুরুক্ষেত্র রণে।
"চাহিস বধিতে মোরে কিসের কারণ?"
জিজ্ঞাসিলা দ্বিজবর মধুর বচনে।
"বধি তোমা হরি আমি লব সব ধন"
উত্তরিলা যুবজন ভীম গরজনে।
পরিবরতিল স্বপ্ন। শুনিনু সত্বরে
সুধাময় গীতধ্বনি; আপনি ভারতী,
মোহিতে ব্রহ্মার মন, স্বর্ণবীণা করে,
আরম্ভিলা গীত যেন—মনোহর অতি।
সে দুরন্ত যুবজন, সে বৃদ্ধের বরে,
হইল, ভারত, তব কবি-কুল-পতি।

The blank-verse movement of the rhythm; the well-marked division of thought between the octave and the sestet, and, to some extent, between the first quatrain and the second, the rhyme-scheme (*abba baba cdcdcd*)—these features in the above sonnet deserve special notice.

বঙ্গমাতা

(from Rabindranath's চৈতালি)

পুণ্যপাপে দুঃখে সুখে পতনে উত্থানে
মানুষ হইতে দাও তোমার সন্তানে;
হে স্নেহার্ত্ত বঙ্গভূমি, তব গৃহ ক্রোড়ে
চিরশিশু করে আর রাখিয়ো না ধ'রে।
দেশ দেশান্তর মাঝে যার যেথা স্থান
খুঁজিয়া লইতে দাও করিয়া সন্ধান।

পদে পদে ছোটো ছোটো নিষেধের ডোরে
বেঁধে বেঁধে রাখিয়ো না ভালো ছেলে ক'রে।
প্রাণ দিয়ে, দুঃখ স'য়ে, আপনার হাতে
সংগ্রাম করিতে দাও ভালোমন্দ সাথে।
শীর্ণশান্ত সাধু তব পুত্রদের ধ'রে
দাও সবে গৃহছাড়া লক্ষ্মীছাড়া ক'রে।
সাত কোটি সন্তানেরে, হে মুগ্ধ জননী,
রেখেছো বাঙালী ক'রে, মানুষ করো নি।

The latter was written by Rabindranath when he had fully matured his poetic powers. It is to be noticed that it gives only a succession of couplets, the rhyme-scheme being *aa bb cc dd ee ff gg*. There is no division of thought between the octave and the sestet, one single idea being developed throughout the whole poem. This is, of course, an extreme case of departure from the proper form of the sonnet; but for Rabindranath it was never a very happy

"pastime to be bound
Within the sonnet's scanty plot of ground."

The rigorous and detailed rules of the strict sonnet form can never be congenial to a poet like Rabindranath whose genius always feels restive under restraints and is always inclined to express itself in new and original forms. The sonnet does not require a divine prodigality of poetic art, but rather suppleness and restraint; it demands a balance of judgment, a meditative habit rather than fervour of emotion. Rabindranath could not, therefore, fully reconcile himself to the strict Petrarchan form of the sonnet. In his earliest attempts in Kari-o-Komal he tries to follow the traditional form of the sonnet, but almost every time he has a rhyming couplet at the end, thus imitating the Shakespearean form. Typical is a poem like প্রাণ where the rhyme-scheme is *ab ab cd cd ef ef gg*. It will be noticed that the octave divides itself into two unconnected quatrains, and the sestet into a quatrain and a separate couplet. Thus the structure is looser than in the sonnet proper. But so far as

the thought-element is concerned, there is not the leisurely, meditative quality, nothing of that slow evolution of thought from the first quatrain to the second and the sharp turn in the sestet.

As might be expected, Rabindranath does not consistently adhere to the rhyme-scheme *abab, cdcd, efef, gg*. In the first quatrain the rhyme-scheme is sometimes *aaba* (*e.g.*, in প্রার্থনা in কড়ি ও কোমল), sometimes it is even *aabb* (*e.g.*, in সিন্ধুতীরে in কড়ি ও কোমল) ; in the second quatrain the rhyme-scheme is sometimes *ccdd* (*e.g.*, in আত্ম-অপমান in কড়ি-ও-কোমল) ; while the sestet has its variations in the rhyme-scheme, being *effecf* in সিন্ধুতীরে (কড়ি ও কোমল) and *efefef* in পবিত্রজীবন (কড়ি ও কোমল). But such variations are rare and very generally Rabindranath turns his sestet into a quatrain *plus* a couplet. From a study of the various rhyme-schemes in his sonnets it is apparent that Rabindranath has a tendency for putting in couplets ; the true sonnet, however, avoids the couplet since it is always devising means to draw out the sense and the rhythmic expectation from line to line so that the entire sonnet may stand as a well-cemented piece of masonry, no single portion hanging out loosely from the remaining.

It was a happy thought on the part of Rabindranath to have attempted writing sonnets with verses of 18 morae. The solemn and slow movement of the 18-morae verse (with bars of 8 and 10) is quite appropriate to the sonnet. The type is found in use as early as কড়ি ও কোমল in poems like চিরদিন. So far as the rhyme-scheme is concerned, the sonnet with 18-morae verses has the same features as the sonnet with 14-morae verses. In the four sonnets entitled চিরদিন, the rhyme-schemes are respectively (1) *abba, cbcd, defc, gg* ; (2) *abba, ccad, cdcd, ff* ; (3) *abbaca, dccd, effc* ; (4) *abba, baba, cdcddc*. These several rhyme-schemes indicate how the poet's genius felt restive under the conventions of the sonnet and wrestled with them in order to express itself freely. The third rhyme-scheme above is specially noticeable for its curious mixture of quatrain-forms.

In a few poems Rabindranath even tried writing sonnets with verses of 20 morae (with bars of 10 and 10). Instances may be found in poems like সন্ধ্যার বিদায়, যৌবন-স্বপ্ন and ক্ষণিক মিলন in কড়ি ও কোমল। Somehow, however, the verse of ten-and-ten has never been popular or been very happily exploited in Bengali. The probable reason is that the measure of 10 morae is too long to be used as a staple measure and should only be used in association with shorter measures.

In the maturer stages of his poetic career Rabindranath frankly breaks with the conventions of the sonnet. In the চৈতালি group of sonnets he mostly gives us only a sequence of couplets in each. Sonnets like দেবতার বিদায়, বৈরাগ্য, সামান্য লোক, প্রভাত, দুর্লভ জন্ম, খেয়া, etc., may be cited as instances. Very rarely is a sonnet like পুণ্যের হিসাব marked by something of the elaborate rhyme-scheme of the sonnet proper but even in the sonnet পুণ্যের হিসাব the sestet is simply a collection of three rhyming couplets. In another sonnet, *viz.*, দিদি the first four lines rhyme in the proper fashion of the sonnet but thereafter the sonnet scheme breaks down and we get only a series of rhyming couplets. In the 18-morae sonnets in উৎসর্গ (*e.g.*, in হিমাদ্রি) we also get a series of rhyming couplets.

In the classes of sonnets already described the rhythmic flow is that of common verse, with the metrical pause and the breath-pause generally coinciding. But Rabindranath has also written sonnets with a blank-verse movement. The earliest specimen may be found in সোনার তরী in sonnets like বন্ধন and গতি. In চিত্রা the blank-verse movement is found in sonnets like মরীচিকা, in চৈতালি it may be found in sonnets like দিদি. But its best examples are to be found in some of the sonnets in নৈবেদ্য (*e.g.*, in Nos. 22, 23, 30, etc). But in these instances where Rabindranath writes sonnets in blank-verse the rhyme-scheme is usually *aa bb cc dd ee ff gg*, so that we get only 14 lines of Rabindranath's characteristic rhyming blank-verse and nothing more. It is rarely that we come across the sonnet scheme proper along with blank-verse rhythm as we

do in বন্ধন (সোনার তরী) where we have a blank-verse movement along with the elaborate rhyme-scheme of the sonnet, *abba, cdcd, ee, fefe*.

It has to be noted, however, that even in বন্ধন (সোনার তরী) the characteristics of the sonnet as practised by Madhusudan Dutt are not fully preserved. The division according to progress of thought is not into an octave followed by a sestet, but rather into a sestet followed by an octave. In the later stages of his career Rabindranath avowedly discards the traditional division into an octave plus a sestet, and, in lieu of that, divides the fourteen lines of the sonnet variously into groups according to his choice. The paragraphing of the sonnets in নৈবেদ্য well illustrates how Rabindranath does this. In No. 22 (মধ্যাহ্নে নগর মাঝে পথ হতে পথে, etc.) the division is into a sestet followed by an octave; in No. 24 it is into a couplet *plus* a sestet *plus* a quartet *plus* a couplet; in No. 25 it is into a couplet followed by two consecutive sestets; in No. 26 the first twelve lines are grouped together as embodying one single thought and the last two embody a separate thought. Similarly, in No. 27 the division is 2+8+4; in No. 32 it is 4+8+2; in No. 33 it is 9+5; in No. 39 it is 1+8+3+2; and so on. These instances are enough to shew how the impulsive genius of Rabindranath seeks variety of form and effect even in the sonnet and could never brook the rigorous self-discipline that a complete success in the sonnet requires.

Finally, it has to be noted how at times Rabindranath writes poems that have all the marks of a sonnet proper except in the number of lines. In কড়ি ও কোমল there is such a poem with 22 lines, *viz.*, সমুদ্র, the rhyme-scheme giving two octaves and a sestet—

ababbcbc, dadacfef, ghghii.

In the same work there is a poem with 13 lines which seems to be an impeccable example of an 18-morae sonnet unless we count the number of lines. The rhymes are so arranged (*ababaccdabdab*) that one hardly notices that the octave has been shortened.

CHAPTER IV

Rabindranath's Blank-verse

Blank-verse proper, or verse with two dimensions, in which the sense-groups and metrical groups cross and recross each other like the warp and the woof of a fabric, was really innovated in Bengali by Madhusudan Dutt who derived his inspiration from Milton. The transplantation of an exotic is always a most delicate task and unless suitable soil is found for it in the new environments it is hardly likely to grow. Madhusudan Dutt had noticed that the drawled metrical style of Bengali verse had remarkable elasticity and permitted positioning of a breath-pause within the measure. The commonest type of verse in the drawled style was Payār and Madhusudan made the Payār line the vehicle of his blank verse. All subsequent writers of Bengali blank-verse have practically followed the lead given by Madhusudan.

Rabindranath has written in blank-verse extensively but he has departed from Madhusudan's practice in some respects. Madhusudan's is blank-verse *par excellence* doing away with the conventions of common verse altogether. Specially he avoids rhyme for which he had a contempt as great as Milton's, looking upon it merely as the "invention of a barbarous age, to set off wretched matter and lame metre," as "a thing of itself trivial and of no true musical delight." But rhyme is of very great importance in Rabindranath's poetry, even in the best blank-verse that he has written. Even in blank-verse Rabindranath's essentially musical instinct demands that the element of regularity should be effectively dated at least by the recurrence of a rhyme, if not by the position of a breath-pause. This is a feature in Rabindranath's poetry shewing how his genius is essentially

different from that of Madhusudan Dutt or, say, of Milton. "Apt numbers" are not alone enough for him, his instinct does not urge him to overleap the barriers of verse lightly; "the jingling sound of like endings" has a great charm for him. Even in the midst of all variety Rabindranath has an eye to regularity; even when his genius soars sublime he hears the clear call of the earth.

In fact I suspect that the presence of rhyme in Rabindranath's blank-verse is not due to his desire to implement blank-verse, but rather to his desire to introduce variety in common rhyming verse. It is not a case of rhyme being super-added as an additional prosodic device to his blank-verse; rather it is a case of the blank-verse movement being introduced in his ordinary rhyming verse for the sake of variety, rhyme being an original and indispensable feature of almost all his characteristic verse. In his reminiscences he speaks of the poetic world and its magic being revealed to him through the simple music of the verse জল পড়ে পাতা নড়ে. It was not so much the symmetrical structure and the balanced movement that impressed him as the element of rhyme, as the welcome surprise of the recurrence of the end-rhyme, something which links the past with the present and creates an expectation for the future and thus stirs the mind to the perception of a principle of harmony in the phenomenal world.

That this is so may be understood from the antecedents of Rabindranath's characteristic blank-verse. Rabindranath's blank-verse with all its characteristic features is found at first in মানসী in poems like মেঘদূত, অহল্যার প্রতি, বিদায়, শেষ উপহার। All these were composed in 1890. Their precursors are to be found in certain sonnets written in the immediately preceding years. A tendency to displace the full breath-pause from the end of the line is at times noticed in a sonnet like তবু (composed 1887); it is also to be found sometimes in poems like বিচ্ছেদ (composed 1888). Of course these cannot be included in the category of blank-verse, yet one notices the tendency to divorce the sense-pause from the metrical pause in lines like the following :

চারিদিকে শস্যরাশি* | চিত্রসম স্থির, ॥**
প্রান্তে নীল নদীরেখা, | **দূর পরপারে ॥*
শুভ্র চর,** আরো দূরে* | বনের তিমির ॥
দহিতেছে অগ্নিদীপ্তি | * দিগন্ত মাঝারে। ॥** (বিচ্ছেদ—মানসী)

In the 2nd and 3rd lines above one notices how the full breath-pause has been shifted from its usual place at the end of a verse and placed on one occasion at the end of a measure and on another within the measure at the end of a beat. When these tendencies are found to predominate in a poem then it can be said to be written in blank-verse; and that is what we find in a poem like মেঘদূত। The following typical lines from মেঘদূত will be illustrative—

অন্ধকার রুদ্ধগৃহে | একেলা বসিয়া ॥
পড়িতেছি মেঘদূত,** | গৃহত্যাগী মন ॥
মুক্তগতি মেঘপৃষ্ঠে | লয়েছে আসন ॥
উড়িয়াছে দেশদেশান্তরে।**

It should be noticed that in another respect such blank-verse is different from Madhusudan's. In his blank-verse Madhusudan strictly conforms to the division of each line into bars of eight and six, while Rabindranath has various methods of bipartite division, into eight and six, ten and four, six and eight, etc. and even of tripartite division into six and six and two, four and six and four, etc. It is not to be supposed that Madhusudan's blank-verse is monotonous, lacking in variety. So far as division into sense-groups is concerned, Madhusudan's blank-verse is very rich in variety. As the breath-pauses and metrical pauses are too frequently divorced from each other in Madhusudan's blank-verse, the sense-groups and metrical groups freely crossing and recrossing each other, the essential element of unity would be lost sight of unless Madhusudan conformed to a rigid metrical pattern, that is to say, unless he had the metrical pauses falling regularly. The position of a metrical pause after 8 morae is indicated by the end of a word there and a long drawl.

For Rabindranath it seems enough that each varse has 14 morae, that is to say, that the major metrical pause comes after a regular interval and the position and even the number of minor metrical pauses within the verse are left undetermined. He can afford to take this liberty on account of two peculiar features of his blank-verse. First, every verse rhymes; the arresting quality of the rhyming syllable effectively reminds of the element of regularity, chiming the end of a metrical period. Moreover, the end of the verse very frequently coincides also with a breath-pause, so that the significance of the rhyming syllable is increased and thus its recurrence is enough to indicate the element of regularity in the verse. Secondly, Rabindranath never goes to the extreme in divorcing the metrical pause and the sense-pause. Although in his blank-verse the major metrical pause does not conicide with a major sense-pause, every metrical pause almost invariably coincides with a sense-pause, major or minor. Thus Rabindranath's blank verse does not usually possess the two-dimensional quality that is pre-eminently present in Madhusudan's blank-verse. On account of this Rabindranath's blank-verse is smoother in movement and easier to construe. But a verse which rhymes regularly and has its metrical pauses almost always coinciding with a breath-pause would hardly be distinguishable from common verse, unless there was variety at least in the position of the minor metrical pauses, that is, unless the bars were of varying length and undetermined by any convention or pattern. The characteristics explained here may be illustrated from the two extracts below :—

ছিল আশা,* মেঘনাদ,* | মুদিব অন্তিমে ॥
এ নয়ন দ্বয় আমি | তোমার সম্মুখে ;** ॥
সঁপি রাজ্যভার,* পুত্র,* | তোমায়,* করিব ॥
মহাযাত্রা ! ** কিন্তু বিধি | *—বুঝিব কেমনে ॥
তাঁর লীলা ?* ভাঁড়াইলা | সে সুখ আমারে !** ॥
ছিল আশা,* রক্ষঃকুল- | রাজ-সিংহাসনে ॥
জুড়াইব আঁখি,* বৎস,* | দেখিয়া তোমারে,* ॥

বামে রক্ষঃকুললক্ষ্মী | রক্ষোরাণীরূপে ॥
পুত্রবধূ !** বৃথা আশা !** | (মেঘনাদবধ কাব্য, 9th Canto)

আমার পৃথিবী তুমি ॥
বহু বরষের ;** | তোমার মৃত্তিকা সনে* ॥
আমারে মিশায়ে লয়ে* | অনন্ত গগনে* ॥
অশ্রান্ত চরণে,** | করিয়াছ প্রদক্ষিণ* ।
সবিতৃমণ্ডল,* | অসংখ্য রজনী দিন* ॥
যুগযুগান্তর ধরি ;** | আমার মাঝারে* ॥
উঠিয়াছে তৃণ তব,** | পুষ্প ভারে ভারে* ॥
ফুটিয়াছে,** | বর্ষণ করেছ তরুরাজি* ॥
পত্রফুলফল গন্ধরেণু ;** | তাই আজি* ॥
কোনো দিন আনমনে* | বসিয়া একাকী* ॥
পদ্মাতীরে ** | সম্মুখে মেলিয়া মুগ্ধ আঁখি* ॥
সর্ব্ব অঙ্গে সর্ব্ব মনে* | অনুভব করি** ॥
তোমার মৃত্তিকা মাঝে* | কেমনে শিহরি* ॥
উঠিতেছে তৃণাঙ্কুর ;** (বসুন্ধরা—সোনারতরী)

The absence of a rigid metrical pattern to serve as the background for a display of the rich variety provided by the arrangement of sense-groups, is the feature that distinguishes such verse from the blank-verse of Madhusudan. Later on it will be shown how it anticipates the verse of Balākā.

It will be noticed that in Rabindranath's characteristic blank-verse, the pause comes after an even number of syllables. When he first experimented with blank-verse, then at times Rabindranath used to place a pause after an odd number of syllables as he does in the following instance—

কি স্বপ্নে কাটালে তুমি | দীর্ঘ দিবানিশি,
অহল্যা,* পাষাণ রূপে | ধরাতলে মিশি etc. (অহল্যার প্রতি—মানসী)

In such cases Rabindranath is obviously under the influence of Madhusudan who often used to place his breath-pauses after an

odd number of syllables. He does so in the following cases, for example :

নিশার স্বপন সম | তোর এ বারতা
রে দূত !** অমরবৃন্দ | যার ভুজবলে
কাতর,** সে ধনুর্দ্ধরে | রাঘব ভিখারী etc.

(মেঘনাদবধ কাব্য, 1st Canto

But instances when Rabindranath placed a pause after an odd number of syllables in blank-verse are extremely rare, and subsequently he deliberately set his face against it as being incompatible with the drawled or masculine metre in which all blank-verse is written. How can we reconcile his view with the practice of Madhusudan ?

No pause can be placed within a bar except between beats. But as the bar of 8 morae may contain a beat of 3 morae, and so also the bar of 6 morae, there is no *a priori* argument why a pause may not occur after an odd number of syllables in blank verse written in eights and sixes. In fact it does so in Madhusudan's blank verse and that this does not imply any detriment to rhythm is proved from the fact that Madhusudan's blank-verse has had a popular vogue on the Bengali stage. Why did then Rabindranath feel a repugnance for this practice?

The explanation is that Rabindranath's blank-verse is essentially different from Madhusudan's. Rabindranath never likes that a metrical pause should occur except where there is a breath-pause or sensepause as well. In his blank-verse every breath-group is a metrical group. No breath-pause occurs, therefore, except at the end of a bar. In the Bengali drawled or masculine metre the bars in use have an even number of syllables A word or a word-group with an odd number of morae has an unstable equilibrium about it. In blank-verse free resolution of lines into bars and free combination of bars into lines is essential on account of the predominance of the element of variety, every bar should have a stable—perhaps, a neutral—equilibrium. Blank-verse cannot, therefore, contain

a bar with an odd number of morae. Since Rabindranath would not place a breath-pause except at the end of a bar, it is clear why he thinks a pause at the end of an odd number of morae repugnant to blank verse. On the other hand, according to the idea of rhythm in Madhusudan's blank-verse, the division into sense-groups and the division into metrical groups are to serve separate motifs altogether and should be distinct from each other. Madhusudan therefore liked to place a breath-pause within a metrical group or bar but of course he had to place it between beats. From his standpoint there is an advantage in placing a pause after a beat of 3 morae, for on account of the unstable equilibrium of a group of 3 morae there is no motive to relax the effort of the vocal organs, there is no chance of confusing the sense-pause with the metrical pause. There is only a halt, a sudden pull-up, and once more the effort goes on till the end of the measure is reached. Thus the connection between the two divisions of the metrical group or the bar is more clearly felt and understood, and the difference in quality and effect between the breath-pause and the sense-pause is more distinctly appreciated.

Comparing Rabindranath's characteristic blank-verse with Madhusudan's we may sum up by saying that Rabindranath's verse is nearer to common speech and normal syntax, but lacks something of the impetuous flow and the architectonic quality of Madhusudan's blank-verse. Rabindranath's blank-verse is akin to the blank-verse of Dryden and Keats in rhythmic effect, not to the blank-verse of Milton with its "planetary wheelings" and "graded sequence."

The remarks made above with regard to Rabindranath's blank-verse in lines of 14 morae hold good *mutatis mutandis* with regard to his blank-verse in lines of 18 morae. The earliest instance of this is to be found in শেষ উপহার (মানসী). Its best examples may be found in poems like সমুদ্রের প্রতি (সোনার তরী), এবার ফিরাও মোরে (চিত্রা), ভাষা ও ছন্দ (কাহিনী). To Rabindranath belongs the credit of innovating this type of blank-verse. The

usual constituents of such a verse are bars of 8 and 10. But, as in the case of Rabindranath's blank-verse in lines of 14 morae, each line is variously resolvable into subgroups, four-and-four-and-ten, four-and-eight-and six, etc.

Not all blank-verse of Rabindranath is rhymed. In the earlier stage of his poetical career Rabindranath wrote unrhymed blank-verse, especially in his dramas and dramatic poems like রাজা ও রাণী, বিসর্জ্জন and চিত্রাঙ্গদা। But even such blank verse of Rabindranath is to some extent different from Madhusudan's blank-verse. We take a few instances—

(1) এ কি মুক্তি !** | এ কি পরিত্রাণ !** | কি আনন্দ* ॥
হৃদয় মাঝারে !** | অবলার ক্ষীণ বাহু* ॥
কি প্রচণ্ড সুখ হ'তে* | রেখেছিল মোরে* ॥
বাঁধিয়া বিবর মাঝে !** | উদ্দাম হৃদয়* ॥
অপ্রশস্ত অন্ধকার* | গভীরতা খুঁজে* ॥
ক্রমাগত যেতেছিল* | রসাতল পানে !** ॥
মুক্তি! মুক্তি আজি !** | শৃঙ্খল বন্দীরে ॥
ছেড়ে* | আপনি পলায়ে গেছে !** etc.

(রাজা ও রাণী, Act IV, Sc. iv)

(2) তোরেও কি গেছে ॥
ফাঁকি দিয়ে* | মায়ার দেবতা ? | ** দেবতায় ॥
কোন্ আবশ্যক ?** | কেন তা'রে ডেকে আনি* ॥
আমাদের ছোট-খাটো* | সুখের সংসারে** ? ॥
তারা কি মোদের ব্যথা বুঝে ? | **পাষাণের ॥
মত* | শুধু চেয়ে থাকে ; | ** আপন ভায়েরে* ॥
প্রেম হতে বঞ্চিত করিয়া,* | সেই প্রেম ॥
দিই তারে, | ** সে কি তার কোনো কাজে লাগে ?** ॥

(বিসর্জ্জন, Act III, Sc. iv)

(3) কাল রাত্রে | * কিছু নাহি ॥
মনে ছিল দেব !** | সুখ স্বর্গ | * এত কাছে ॥
দিয়েছিল ধরা | ** পেয়েছি কি না পেয়েছি* ॥
করিনি গণনা | * আত্ম-বিস্মরণ-সুখে !** ॥

আজ প্রাতে উঠে, | * নৈরাশ্য ধিক্কার বেগে* ॥
অন্তরে অন্তরে | * টুটেছে হৃদয় ।** | মনে ॥
পড়িতেছে* | একে একে রজনীর কথা** ॥ etc. (চিত্রাঙ্গদা)

Comparing such blank verse with Rabindranath's more characteristic and rhyming blank verse, we notice not merely the absence of rhyme but also the absence of any regular breath-pause at the end of each line. True run-on verse in which there is no room for a breath-pause at the end of a line may be met with here as also in Madhusudan's blank verse. But at the same time we notice the absence of any rigid pattern with regard to the arrangement and combination of bars in the line. Every line is 14 morae long, but the scheme of bar-division gives various formulas like 4+6+4, 6+8, 8+6, 2+4+8, etc. In fact in such blank verse, also, every sense-pause or breath-pause indicates the end of a bar as well, and bars are not cut up by any caesura or sense-pause. In this respect it is different from Madhusudan's blank verse. Later on, however, Rabindranath began to write in his characteristic rhymed blank verse in his dramatic poems like **মালিনী, বিদায় অভিশাপ, গান্ধারীর আবেদন**, etc. ; he had felt that in discarding a rigid pattern in the arrangement of bars as well as rhyme, his unrhymed blank verse dangerously approached the border-land of prose.

CHAPTER V

Irregular and Free Verse in Rabindranath's Poetry

Although the phrase 'unity in diversity' is open to criticism from various standpoints, it is perhaps the most handy as a distinctive appellation of rhythm. The science of metrics is principally concerned with discovering the principles of unity or regularity in poetical compositions. But variety is no less important in the production of the ultimate rhythmic effect. Some of the most impressive and effective verses derive their rhythmic quality from the greater importance attached to the element of variety in them.

The molecule of verse is the measure or bar, constituted (according to the fundamental principles of Bengali prosody) by a definite arrangement of beats. A number of measures constitutes a prosodic line, and a batch of lines constitutes a stanza. The poet may observe regularity in his choice of successive bars, either repeating bars of the same type or choosing bars of different types and arranging them according to an obvious pattern; in the number of bars to the line and in the total length of the line; in the type of the lines constituting a stanza, either making them congruent or arranging lines of different types according to an obvious pattern, the pattern being often made prominent by a rhyme-scheme; also, in his choice of patterns in successive stanzas.

Commonly, regularity is observed in all these respects. Regularity is strictly conformed to not merely in the metrical schemes of traditional Payār or Tripadi but also in such elaborate schemes as in poems like উর্ব্বশী (চিত্রা) or সিন্ধুতরঙ্গ (মানসী). Of course, the patterns of verse and of stanza in such poems

themselves contain a certain variety. But once the pattern is understood, the element of surprise is excluded altogether.

There may be poems in which regularity is observed in certain respects only, the poem being irregular, that is, refusing to follow any uniformity or any settled pattern, in other respects. Such poems may be said to be more or less irregular. We have such irregularity in the Palātakā metre. Let us take a few specimen lines.

মা কেঁদে কয়, | "মঞ্জুলী মোর | ঐ তো কচি | মেয়ে,
ওরি সঙ্গে | বিয়ে দেবে ? | বয়সে ওর | চেয়ে
পাঁচগুণো সে | বড়ো ;
তাকে দেখে | বাছা আমার | ভয়েই জড় | সড়,
এমন বিয়ে | ঘট্‌তে দেবো | না কো।"

We notice here that there is only one type of bar, viz., the 4-morae bar used throughout. This uniformity in the length of the bar supplies the connecting link between the lines. Neither the length of the lines nor the number of bars in each line is fixed. There is no pattern in the weaving of lines, there is no stanza-scheme. Similar is the structure of the poem সাগরিকা in মহুয়া although there the 5-morae bar has been used.

সাগর জলে | সিনান করি' | সজল এলো | চুলে
বসিয়াছিলে | উপল-উপ | কূলে,
শিথিল পীত | বাস
মাটির পরে | কুটিল-রেখা | লুটিল চারি | পাশ।

There may be a more extreme form of verse, in which the element of regularity is completely subordinated to the motive for variety. The choice and composition of verse molecules are entirely governed by the requirements of emotion at the moment. No principle of regularity is observed, no settled pattern in any respect is followed. But is this verse at all? The use of bars (properly constituted according to the

rules of Prosody) entitles this to be called verse. Specimens may be found in lines like the following, which are, however, extremely rare in Rabindranath. He could never be very happy in utter repudiation of patterns or rules of regularity in verse.

বৃথা এ ক্রন্দন। = 6
হায় রে দুরাশা। = 6
এ রহস্য, এ আনন্দ | তোর তরে নয়। = 8+6
যাহা পাস্ | তাই ভালো, = 4+4
হাসিটুকু, কথাটুকু | নয়নের দৃষ্টিটুকু, | প্রেমের আভাস। = 8+8+6
সমগ্র মানব | তুই পেতে চাস্, = 6+6
একী দুঃসাহস। = 6

(নিষ্ফল কামনা—মানসী)

There is here no regularity either in the length of the bars, the number of bars to the line, or the total length of lines. Nor is there a pattern according to which the lines have been woven together.

The element of variety may be introduced into verse in another way. The poet may observe perfect regularily in the structure of his verse, in his choice of bars and their combination into lines, but at the same time he may introduce variety in the position of the sense-pauses. Usually the metrical pause and the sense-pause coincide. But they need not always do so; and it is on account of the divorce between sense-pauses and metrical pauses that blank verse possesses such rich variety and expressive quality. The best example of blank verse of this type is found in the works of Madhusudan.

But followers of Madhusudan like Nabinchandra Sen and others did not exactly imitate Madhusudan's blank verse. They did not like to have a major sense-pause where no metrical pause was at all expected. Rabindranath also has never liked to divorce the metrical pause from the sense-pause completely. In the chapter on "Rabindranath's blank-verse" we have noticed how

he differs from Madhusudan in his handling of blank verse. While he oftener makes the sense-pauses and metrical pauses coincident, he freely varies the lengths and arrangement of bars within the line. There is, of course, regularity in the length of the line, that is, in the position of the major metrical pause. On account of this Rabindranath's blank verse cannot be said to be free verse, although, if we consider the bar-scheme alone, such blank verse may appear to be free verse. The extract from রাজা ও রাণী quoted in the chapter on blank verse might also be written in the following manner and given the look of free verse :—

এ কি মুক্তি !	=4
এ কি পরিত্রাণ !	=6
কি আনন্দ | হৃদয় মাঝারে !	=4+6
অবলার ক্ষীণ বাহু	=8
কি প্রচণ্ড সুখ হতে | রেখেছিল মোরে	=8+6
বাঁধিয়া বিবর মাঝে ।	=8
উদ্দাম হৃদয়	=6
অপ্রশস্ত অন্ধকার | গভীরতা খুঁজে	=8+6
ক্রমাগত যেতেছিল | রসাতল পানে ।	=8+6
মুক্তি, মুক্তি আজি ;	=6
শৃঙ্খল বন্দীরে ছেড়ে | আপনি পলায়ে গেছে ।	=8+8

This is not a fancy method of rewriting the passage, but an exact graphical representation of the flow of rhythm. There is no alteration in the manner of reading. But when the passage is written as blank verse, the element of a certain regularity is consciously recognised; we recognise a repeating pattern in the position of an inevitable metrical pause at the end of every 14 morae. When rewritten as free verse, the flow of rhythm is just the same, the same stops and pauses are there. But there is no recognition of any sort of pattern at all. It should always be remembered that lines of verse and metrical pauses have reference to a recognised pattern.

The name 'free verse' is not applied and should not be applied to any kind of verse in which some sort of regularity is clearly observed. The above extract from রাজা ও রাণী is therefore rightly excluded from the category of free verse.

Bearing these remarks in mind we shall be able to understand the character of the Balākā metre, which strikes many as a thorough innovation with nothing in common with any kind of verse that Rabindranath had written previously. Actually, however, the Balākā verse did not spring all of a sudden like a fully-armed Minerva. It came by way of natural development out of the verse-types he had used earlier.

We have seen how the blank verse of রাজা ও রাণী stands almost midway between standard blank verse and free verse. It is rhyme-less. If rhyme be introduced into it, then an additional device is obtained to emphasise some aspect of the verse. The rhyming syallable is always a centroid syllable, a syllable of importance, regulating the flow of rhythm, attracting attention and suggesting the pattern of verse. The rhyming syllables may be placed at the end of the lines made up according to the blank verse plan. In that case the importance of the metrical pause at the end of every 14 morae would be emphasised and the 14-morae line would be clearly accepted as the foundation of the verse. Then we get the characteristic rhyming blank verse of Rabindranath. Again, the rhyming syllables might be placed at the end of the lines made up according to the free verse plan. In that case, although there might be a metrical pause at the end of every 14 morae, its importance will be lost; the 14-morae group would not be clearly recognisable as the foundation of metrical regularity. Yet it would not perhaps be proper to call such verse simply 'free verse,' seeing that there is after all an element of regularity.

That is exactly the case with regard to a number of poems written in the Balākā metre. Below we quote an extract from poem No. 17 in BALĀKĀ..

হে ভুবন
আমি যতক্ষণ
তোমারে না বেসেছিনু ভালো
ততক্ষণ তব আলো
খুঁজে খুঁজে পায় নাই তার সব ধন।
ততক্ষণ
নিখিল গগন
হাতে নিয়ে দীপ তার শূন্যে শূন্যে ছিল পথ চেয়ে।

The flow of rhythm and the stops and pauses remain intact even if the extract above is written and read as follows:

হে ভুবন * আমি যতক্ষণ * তোমারে না
বেসেছিনু ভালো ** ততক্ষণ * তব আলো *
খুঁজে খুঁজে পায় নাই * তার সব ধন। **
ততক্ষণ * নিখিল গগন * হাতে নিয়ে
দীপ তার * শূন্যে শূন্যে ছিল পথ চেয়ে। **

Except for the occurrence of rhyming syllables at the end of smaller sense-groups, there is no difference between such verse and Rabindranath's blank verse in রাজা ও রাণী. The presence or absence of the rhyming syllables does not affect the rhythmic flow. The metrical pause at the end of every 14 morae is not certainly less pronounced than at the end of many blank verse lines like the following:

(1) শৃঙ্খল বন্দীরে
ছেড়ে আপনি পলায়ে গেছে। (রাজা ও রাণী)

(2) পাষাণের
মত শুধু চেয়ে থাকে; (বিসর্জ্জন)

(3) মনে
পড়িতেছে একে একে রজনীর কথা (চিত্রাঙ্গদা)

The Balākā metre is not, of course, always a disguised form of blank verse. Sometimes ordinary stanza schemes of regular

verse are to be found in Balākā poems. Let us take the following lines for instance :

এ কথা জানিতে তুমি, | ভারত-ঈশ্বর সাজাহান	=8+10=18
কাল স্রোতে ভেসে যায় | জীবন যৌবন ধন মান ;	=8+10=18
শুধু তব অন্তর বেদনা	=0+10=10
চিরন্তন হয়ে থাক্ | সম্রাটের ছিল এ সাধনা।	=8+10=18
রাজশক্তি বজ্র সুকঠিন	=0+10=10
সন্ধ্যারক্তরাগ সম | তন্দ্রাতলে হয় হোক লীন,	=8+10=18
কেবল একটি দীর্ঘশ্বাস	=0+10=10
নিত্য উচ্ছ্বসিত হ'য়ে | সকরুণ করুক্ আকাশ	=8+10=18
এই তব মনে ছিল আশ।	=0+10=10

The extract above has all the marks of regular common verse. Bars of 8 and 10 morae are used according to a regular order. The patterns of the stanzas are clearly those which Rabindranath has made use of previously. The only objection to call it regular verse may be that one single stanza scheme is not strictly adhered to. But change in stanza schemes is found in many poems in Rabindranath which nobody would think of calling anything but regular verse. Instances may be found in a number of poems in কড়ি ও কোমল and মানসী।

There are, of course, poems in বলাকা which do not conform to the principles of any regular verse nor can be said to be blank verse in disguise. These come nearer to free verse. We take the following lines as typical :—

যদি তুমি মুহূর্ত্তের তরে
ক্লান্তি ভরে
দাঁড়াও থমকি,'
তখনি চমকি'
উচ্ছ্রিয়া উঠিবে বিশ্ব পুঞ্জ পুঞ্জ বস্তুর পর্ব্বতে ;
পঙ্গু মূক কবন্ধ বধির আঁধা
স্থূলতনু ভয়ঙ্করী বাধা
সবারে ঠেকায়ে দিয়ে দাঁড়াইবে পথে ;—

অণুতম পরমাণু আপনার ভারে
সঞ্চয়ের অচল বিকারে
বিদ্ধ হবে আকাশের মর্ম্মমূলে
কলুষের বেদনার শূলে।
ওগো নটী, চঞ্চল অপ্সরী,
অলক্ষ্য সুন্দরী,
তব নৃত্য-মন্দাকিনী নিত্য ঝরি' ঝরি'
তুলিতেছে শুচি করি'
মৃত্যুস্নানে বিশ্বের জীবন।
নিঃশেষ নির্ম্মল নীলে বিকাশিছে নিখিল গগন।

This looks like free verse certainly. Each line ends with a rhyming syllable, and these rhyming syllables provide a connecting link between the successive lines, an arbitrary number of them going to form a sort of verse-paragraph. The end of a line or the occurrence of a rhyming syllable indicates the position of a pause, minor or major. But if we analyse the passage into constituent bars and their natural combinations or prosodic verses, it is possible to discern the presence of some sort of a pattern. The passage above might then be written as follows :

	Bar division.	No. of bars.
যদি তুমি মুহূর্ত্তের তরে | ক্লান্তিভরে * দাঁড়াও থমকি,'	= 10+10=	II
তখনি চমকি' | উচ্ছিয়া উঠিবে বিশ্ব | পুঞ্জ পুঞ্জ বস্তুর পর্ব্বতে ;	=6+8+10=	III
পঙ্গু মূক | কবন্ধ বধির আঁধা | স্থূলতনু ভয়ঙ্করী বাধা	=4+8+10=	III
সবারে ঠেকায়ে দিয়ে | দাঁড়াইবে পথে ;—	= 8+6=	II
অণুতম পরমাণু | আপনার ভারে | সঞ্চয়ের অচল বিকারে	=8+6+10=	III
বিদ্ধ হবে | আকাশের মর্ম্মমূলে | কলুষের বেদনার শূলে।	=4+8+10=	III
ওগো নটী, চঞ্চল অপ্সরী, | অলক্ষ্য সুন্দরী,	= 10+6=	II
তব নৃত্য-মন্দাকিণী | নিত্য ঝরি' ঝরি'	= 8+6=	II
তুলিতেছে শুচি করি' | মৃত্যুস্নানে বিশ্বের জীবন।	= 8+10=	II
নিঃশেষ নির্ম্মল নীলে | বিকাশিছে নিখিল গগন।	= 8+10=	II

In the revised method of writing the passage, no arbitrary divisions have been made. Each line has been made co-equal

with a full prosodic verse, beginning after the intaking of breath and ending at its complete exhalation. The marks of bar-division have been put just where a distinct impulse ends. The rhyme-scheme in the original has not been accepted as a guide in these respects. Rhyme is only an accessory aid to metre, and not its basis. In Balākā the printed lines only indicate the intricate rhyme-scheme and not the prosodic verse always. Intra-verse rhymes are frequent and their influence counteracts any suggestions of looseness on account of the absence of a rigid pattern regarding the length of bars.

However, in the passage as rewritten above with the prosodic bars and verses properly marked, distinct stanza-patterns are noticed, though, of course, no one single pattern is consistently adhered to. The verses are not of any uniform or regularised length, but there is regularity with regard to the number of bars to each verse. This, along with the influence of rhyme, gives an impression altogether foreign to the nature of free verse. The passage above does not deserve to be called free verse any more than the following—

কতবার মনে করি | পূর্ণিমা-নিশীতে | স্নিগ্ধ সমীরণ, = 8+6+6 = I I
নিদ্রালস আঁখি সম | ধীরে যদি মুদে আসে | এ শ্রান্ত জীবন = 8+8+6 = II
মাঝি গান গেয়ে যায় | বৃন্দাবন-গাথা | আপনার মনে, = 8+6+6 = II
চিরজীবনের স্মৃতি | অশ্রু হ'য়ে গলে আসে | নয়নের কোণে = 8+8+6 = II

In this manner some prosodic pattern can almost always be discovered in Balākā poems. The very use of rhymes implies the influence of some pattern. The artistic consciousness of Rabindranath always invents some beautiful rhythmic pattern for his verse.

In the analysis of verse-patterns in Balākā, it has to be remembered that the insertion of hypermetric phrases or words, from time to time, is one of the special features of this metre. These phrases do not come within the verse-schemes, yet they exercise a great influence over the rhythm, quickening the

rhythmic flow and breaking through the monotony of a pattern. In fact the great charm of the Balākā metre is due to the evanescent character of the rhythmic patterns. Almost always we feel that there is a pattern suggested, it appears to grow and take shape and the next moment it passes away into something different. It perpetually "haunts" and, from time to time, "startles" and "waylays" the reader. Its forms are as various and as changeful as those of Shelley's Cloud. It can "hardly be packed into a narrow" fixed stanza-type, it seems to "break through language and escape." This impression is to a large extent due to the skilful use of hypermetric phrases. Let us take the following lines—

নীরবে প্রভাত-আলো পড়ে
তাদের কলুষরক্ত নয়নের পরে ;
শুভ্র নব মল্লিকার বাস
স্পর্শ করে লালসার উদ্দীপ্ত নিশ্বাস ;
সন্ধ্যাতাপসীর হাতে জ্বালা
সপ্তর্ষির পূজাদীপ-মালা
তাদের মত্ততা পানে সারারাত্রি চায়—
হে সুন্দর, তব গায়
ধূলা দিয়ে যারা চলে' যায় !
হে সুন্দর,
তোমার বিচার ঘর
পুষ্পবনে,
পুণ্য সমীরণে,
তৃণপুঞ্জে পতঙ্গগুঞ্জনে,
বসন্তের বিহঙ্গকূজনে,
তরঙ্গ-চুম্বিত তীরে মর্ম্মরিত পল্লববীজনে। (Poem No. 11)

A sequence of regular stanzas will be discernible if the hypermetric phrases are carefully distinguished in the passage above. In that case the passage may be scanned as below—

নীরবে প্রভাত-আলো পড়ে — 10
তাদের কলুষরক্ত | নয়নের পরে — 8 + 6

শুভ্র নব মল্লিকার বাস — 10
স্পর্শ করে লালসার | উদ্দীপ্ত নিশ্বাস ; — 8 + 6
সন্ধ্যাতাপসীর হাতে জ্বালা — 10
সপ্তর্ষির পূজাদীপ-মালা — 10
তাদের মত্ততা পানে | সারারাত্রি চায়— — 8 + 6
[হে সুন্দর,] তব গায় * ধূলা দিয়ে | যারা চলে যায় ! = 8 + 6
[হে সুন্দর,] তোমার বিচার ঘর | পুষ্পবনে, পুণ্য সমীরণে, — 8 + 10
তৃণপুঞ্জে পতঙ্গগুঞ্জনে, — 10
বসন্তের বিহঙ্গকূজনে, — 10
তরঙ্গ-চুম্বিত তীরে | মর্ম্মরিত পল্লববীজনে। — 8 + 0

From the passage analysed it will be clear how some sort of a pattern is almost always discernible behind the Balākā metre. Speaking generally of the characteristics of this metre we may say—

(1) The printed lines only indicate the elaborate rhyme-scheme. They do not always stand for the larger metrical groups or proper prosodic verses. Rabindranath abhors to have a bar cut up by sense-pauses, and in his later poetry the bar is almost always equal to a sense-group. Yet he felt that a device to draw out the rhythm from one verse to another would be a great advantage, and in Balākā the intricate rhyme-scheme does this very effectively.

(2) The normal prosodic line is 18 moræ or 14 moræ long, that is, equal to a line of Rabindranath's blank verse, and has the same prosodic structure.

(2*a*) There are longer and shorter verses as well, containing one, two or three bars. The bars are of 10 moræ, 8 moræ, 6 moræ or 4 moræ, that is, of any length permissible in a staple bar of masculine metre.

(3) These verses are arranged in various patterns to constitute stanzas, often similar to stanzas in common use. Quatrains and couplets are the commonest, but three-lined and five-lined stanzas are also found.

(4) Metrical groups and sense-groups coincide. The major sense-pause falls at the end of a verse.

(5) Hypermetric phrases occur at times at the beginning or the end of bars to break the monotony of a too obvious stanza-scheme, to imply a sudden rush of feelings, to quicken the sluggish flow of verse.

(6) The occurrence of a rhyming syllable indicates a sense-pause.

Rabindranath's poetic instinct never felt quite happy in divorcing the sense-pause from the metrical pause, which is the essential feature of blank verse proper. Yet he felt the beauty and expressive capacity of the rich variety of blank verse. In Balākā at last he seemed to have discovered a metrical type flexible enough for modulation to every shade of feeling, rich and various, tipped with rhyme and not compelling him to divorce the sense-pause from the metrical pause.

CHAPTER VI

Stages in the development of Rabindranath's prosody

A careful study of Rabindranath's prosody is calculated to throw an interesting light upon the intimate features of his poetic genius. There has always been a subtle connection between his poetic realisations and the form of his poetry. A study of the evolution of his prosody is valuable not merely as an exposition of his poetic technique but also as an auxiliary to the appreciation of the more intimate aspects of his poetry.

It is possible to divide Rabindranath's poetic career into several periods, and each of these periods into a few sub-periods corresponding to one or more of his works. The development of Rabindranath's prosody went on *pari passu* with the development of his poetic powers. It is proposed to trace the process of this development in this chapter.

Rabindranath began to write very early but his earliest works are not remarkable for any striking poetic qualities. However valuable they may be for a bibliographer, they have little interest for those who are primarily concerned with the individual qualities of Rabindranath's poetry. His first works like BANAPHUL may, therefore, be dismissed out of our survey here. There Rabindranath is merely imitating the forms and ideas prevalent in contemporary poetry. Rabindranath had yet to discover that he had an individual poetic genius; he was yet only an echo of others. We may call this period the Juvenile Stage in Rabindranath's poetic career. It ends about the year 1880 when the poet was about 19 years old.

The Period of Apprenticeship

The marks of an individual poetic consciousness are first discerned in the SANDHYA-SANGIT poems of Rabindranath. There is an atmosphere of gloom and unrest in the poems included here,—the throes of a great mind first learning to be conscious of its individual self. High designs, lofty ambitions, high-strung aspirations make themselves felt, though vaguely at first. He was just passing from adolescence to youth, the yearning for something great and distant was agitating him. The world that he knew was too narrow and limited. But he was not yet fully aware of the scope and direction of this yearning. There is a seething unquietness, there is a depressing gloom.

These remarks also apply to the prosody of SANDHYA-SANGIT. Here for the first time we find the poet trying to free himself from the tyranny of tradition, we find that his metres echo his most intimate, personal realisations. In his reminiscences the poet himself has confessed that this was the period of his emancipation from conformity to convention. Whatever he wrote now might not have any great intrinsic worth, but it was perfectly his own, original in thought and expression. The metrical forms are un-orthodox and somewhat crude and unpolished. The flow of rhythm is not even or smooth; it is somewhat impeded and unsteady. But it is in close correspondence with the prevailing unquietness and uncertainty of his poetry. There is a sort of fumbling for more beautiful things, noticeable both in the form and content of the poems in Sandhya Sangit.

By this time the poet has realised that the traditional Payār and Tripadi will not serve as proper vehicles of his poetry. But he has yet to discover a new and happy mode of prosody. There is no lack of novelty, of course, in the form of the poems. He is twisting and straining the older types and combining them in every possible way. But he cannot evolve any single type that can satisfy him entirely. He does not stick to a single stanza-

type for any length of time. Too often, in course of the same poem, he changes from one form of stanza to another.

So far the poet's ingenuity is solely exercised in inventing new types of stanzas. He practically fights shy of the Payār stanza because of its traditional association; the old bottle is not good enough for the new wine of his romantic poetry. He is kinder to the traditional Tripadi, for, inspite of its traditional associations, there is a swing about its movement that has always appealed to the romantic mind of the poet. In fact the trimeter is one of the most favourite verses in Rabindranath. But the eagerness for novelty is even there, he is beginning to follow formulas like 8+8+6, 8+6+6, 8+6+10 in his trimetric verses. But more remarkable is his practice of forming stanzas with incongruent lines, very often with lines varying not merely in length but also in the number of measures. Occasionally tetrameters are also met with but they are generally used only in combination with dimeters and trimeters.

Another prosodic feature of these poems is the use of elliptical verses. A verse with a smaller number of measures is purposely put in with a view to indicate an intensity of feeling which leaves the poet almost stunned for the time being and after which he can speak only with bated breath.

Apart from a strenuous effort after novelty there is little else remarkable about the prosody of these poems. The poet writes here in the drawled metrical style usual at the time. But his handling of the metre is not very happy. He finds the closed syllables rather difficult to manage. He tries to avoid them as far as possible, sometimes having recourse to the poetic licence of putting in simpler spellings of words for the more difficult. But this results in robbing the rhythm of all claims to virility; and moreover such substitutions are only rarely possible. They give an affected tone to the metre.

In short the poet's attempt to create a new sort of rhythmic beauty in these poems is not very successful. The poet himself noticed it and began to devise new metrical principles.

Bhānu Siṃher Padābalī

The exquisite lyrics included in BHANU SIMHER PADABALI were composed almost simultaneously with the Sandhya Sangit poems. They are not in modern Bengali but in the artificial Braja-buli dialect affected by Vaishnava poets. The great advantage of Braj-buli over Bengali consists in its abundant use of long syllables which are rarely in use in Bengal. It is, therefore, possible to create a happy rhythmic cadence within the measure itself in Braj-buli by suitable permutation of longs and shorts. It was probably a consciousness of the limitations of the current Bengali metres that led the poet to metrical experiments in Braja-buli. Another thing noticeable about these poems is the poet's adherence to one stanza form throughout an entire poem while in SANDHYA SANGIT he repeatedly changes from one form of stanza to another in course of a poem. There he had tried to bring about a feeling of rhythmic beauty through variety in stanza-forms. But now he had begun to realise the futility of trying to create a sense of happy variety by these means.

Prabhāt Saṅgīt

A new chapter begins in the poetic career of Rabindranath with the composition of PRABHAT SANGIT poems. The shadow that lowers over SANDHYA SANGIT poems is now off, and there is the fresh joy of a soul that has just perceived a principle of beauty linking every object with every other in this world. Impotent desires are now replaced by the deep joy of an inner realisation.

Along with this inner realisation comes also a realisation of important truths of Bengali prosody. For the first time he realises the importance of the bar or the measure in Bengali prosody. He now makes use of one particular type of bar throughout a poem or a distinct division of a long poem. Previously he had not very clearly realised that the necessary

unity of a poem or of a batch of lines is provided by the use of a staple bar. In SANDHYA SANGIT we find that his attention is practically confined to lines and stanzas, and he tries variously to manipulate them to produce a sense of variety. But thereby the necessary element of unity was weakened to such an extent that the rhythmic flow became impeded and uncertain. But now he had learnt the secret of preserving this essential element of unity while producing all sorts of variety by manipulation of verse-types and stanza-forms.

Another concomitant feature of his prosody in this period is that he no more seeks variety at any cost. He is henceforward very happy in inventing beautiful patterns and following them consistently through an entire poem. He is no more haunted by his old fear of monotonous couplets, of conformity with orthodox types. Having mastered the secret of Bengali prosody, *viz.*, that the bar is the molecule of Bengali verse, he can now freely invent new patterns of verses and stanzas which he can keep to consistently without having to fall back upon the orthodox Payār and Tripadi. Variety, he felt, could be produced within the pattern itself, and therefore there was no need of changing the pattern every now and then. The lesson is not fully mastered as yet, but it is understood.

Progress is noticeable in certain other respects as well. The poet has learnt that a bar is made up of beats and that every bar has a particular rhythmic quality on account of the arrangement of beats within it. It was this knowledge that prompted him to write long poems with seven-moræ bars, which was rather a sort of innovation. The syncopated seven-moræ bar with its unequal beats has a dynamic quality in it and in his new enthusiasm he found this to be an excellent vehicle of his feelings. His happy freedom in the use of time-honoured measures like the eight-moræ and six-moræ bars is also due to his appreciation of the relation between the beats in a bar.

But there is yet weakness in one respect. He does not fully know how to manage the closed syllables. He is writing,

of course, in the traditional drawled metre and its secrets are not fully revealed to him even now. He has, however, noticed that the difficulty in harmonising the closed syllables in the verse is really confined to cases where there is a consonantal nexus between two plosives ; where the subsidiary consonant happens to be a nasal or semi-vowel, the difficulty is practically absent. In PRABHAT SANGIT, therefore, we find that whenever he uses compound letters, he is almost always confining himself to those which have a nasal or a semi-vowel as the subsidiary member.

In a few rare instances, however, he splits a compound letter between two syllables, using the previous closed syllable as equivalent to two moræ. But the instances are so very rare that they may be said to be due to his desire to emphasise a particular word and not to any anticipation of his later practice.

Chabi o Gān

The poems included in CHABI O GAN are practically contemporaneous with the PRABHAT SANGIT poems, and possess almost the same prosodic features. The only new feature about them is the greater complexity of stanza-forms. He is not satisfied with simple couplets or quatrains, and is beginning to invent more attractive patterns.

Kaṛi o Komal

The period which commenced with PRABHAT SANGIT reached its culmination in KARI O KOMAL.

The poems included in this volume touch various aspects of life with a deeper sympathy. Mere emotionalism and vague sentimentality are replaced by an appreciation of beauty in actual human life. In prosody, also, the fumbling and uncertainty of touch noticeable more or less in all the earlier works, are no longer there. It is now throughout masterly, always indicating the skill of an adept.

The improvement is most remarkable in the poet's handling of the drawled metre. The use of compound consonants in this metre presented a problem to the poet. In his earlier works he does not tackle it very successfully. According to the fundamental principles of Bengali prosody a closed syllable may be shortened into one mora provided this shortening does not occur in more than two consecutive syllables. It is therefore possible to use compound consonants with almost unrestricted liberty in the drawled metrical style in Bengali since it is possible to change the tempo at will in this style. But in order to produce a happy prosodic effect certain principles of cadence have to be observed here. In order to preserve a balance while weighting the metre the following devices are usually adopted—

(*i*) To have the same number of compound consonants in measures which are prosodically equivalent.

(*ii*) To distribute the compound consonants between equivalent beats in a bar so that the bar balances itself without reference to any other bar corresponding to it.

(*iii*) To put in a compound consonant in a bar only when it is associated with a prosodically longer or shorter bar.

(*iv*) To have the shortened compound consonants counterbalanced by lengthened closed syllables.

(*v*) To weight the verse throughout with a sufficient number of closed syllables so that even the open syllables are affected by their proximity and read like heavy syllables.

(*vi*) To observe a certain principle of harmony with regard to the number of compound consonants in successive bars, in accordance with the emotional effect intended.

Some of these devices were quite mastered by the poet when he wrote the poems included in KARI O KOMAL, especially the devices (*i*), (*ii*), (*iii*), and (*iv*) above. But the devices (*v*) and (*vi*) are yet to be mastered by him.

In the majority of the poems in KARI O KOMAL, Rabindranath uses the bar of 8 or 10 moræ as the staple bar. In these poems, therefore, the rhythmic effect is solemn and slow. There

is, however, a number of poems written in the popular stressed metre, that is, in catalectic tetrameters with bars of 4 moræ. Just a few poems in this metre are found in his earlier works, but here for the first time he has written a considerable number of good poems in this popular metre. Of course he has yet to understand the potentialities of this metre.

The couplet is the commonest stanza here. Complicated stanza-forms are practically absent. But the sonnet with its rich beauty attracts him. Most of them are in verses of 14 moræ, but there are a few in verses of 18 moræ and 20 moræ. Their features are more elaborately explained in the chapter on Rabindranath's sonnets.

Mānasī

A new period in the poetic career of Rabindranath begins with MANASI. It is the first record of the poet's consciousness of soul. There is as yet no question of complete self-realisation; so far as spiritual achievement is concerned, the process can only be said to have just begun. The beginning is with an appreciation of the spiritual longings, although this longing is, from the spiritual standpoint, only the yearning of

> An infant crying in the night:
> An infant crying for the light:
> And with no language but a cry.

This cry of the soul is the burden of the poems in MANASI. There is a tone of sadness, of bitter criticism, or of a plaintive sigh about them. But there is difference between this sadness and the sadness in SANDHYA SANGIT. In SANDHYA SANGIT it was due to a vague emotionalism; in MANASI it is due to a genuine and profound realisation of the cravings of the soul, of the many limitations that beset it in the world of hard reality.

With MANASI begins a new chapter in the prosody of Rabindranath. He now begins writing in a new metrical style, consistently using a closed syllable as equal to two moræ. In

this manner he solves the vexed problem about their quantity. The Gordian knot is cut, and a new channel is opened. It is the speech-sound metre, or the feminine metre of Bengali. (Its characteristics are explained and discussed in my essay—BANGLA CHANDER MULSUTRA.)

With MANASI poems Rabindranath's apprenticeship in prosody has definitely ended. His powers have now blossomed out fully. He commands both the masculine (the traditional drawled metre) and the feminine metres with perfect ease. There is an immense variety of stanza-forms. Almost all the more important types of stanzas in Rabindranath's prosody are to be found in MANASI. He has learnt the prosodic value of the 6-moræ bar and he uses it extensively. The use of the 8-moræ bar is equally extensive. The syncopated bars of 5 and of 7 moræ are also in use. It should be noticed that there are no verses with 4-moræ bars and the use of 10-moræ bars also is very restricted. The extreme lightness and gaiety of 4-moræ bars as well as the slow and heavy movement of the 10-moræ bars is equally abhorrent to the steady self-possession of the MANASI period. The characteristic rhyming blank verse of Rabindranath is also first met with in MANASI and his handling of such blank verse is worthy of a perfect master. All the glory and wealth of the poet's prosodic gifts are there in MANASI.

Sonār Tarī

It is in SONAR TARI that Rabindranath first reveals himself as a mystic. Henceforward mysticism was to be a silver thread running through all his more important poems. The sense of something beyond, of a far-off beauty pervading the known and the natural is noticeable throughout the book. Rabindranath does not yet kick off the footstool of concrete reality. In certain poems he deals with common human experience so as to shew that there is a mystic reality abiding in it. In certain other poems he speaks directly of mystic visions.

Although there is a profound change with regard to thought and feeling in SONAR TARI, there is no such important change in respect of metrical form. There is, of course, evidence of ripening powers. There is considerable variety in stanza-forms, but less than in MANASI. A process of sifting seems to be going on, forms that indicate mere ingenuity are gradually discarded. The light 4-moræ bar is not called into service but the 10-moræ bar is more in use. Especially noticeable is the excellent quality of his characteristic rhyming blank verse in 14-moræ as well as 18-moræ lines. There are a number of sonnets with blank verse rhythm and an intricate rhyme-scheme, and a few others with blank verse rhythm and couplet rhyme.

Chitrā

In CHITRA the characteristics are practically the same as in SONAR TARI. With regard to the thought and feeling we notice a greater intensity of the mystic qualities, a concentration and force that are wanting in the SONAR TARI poems. With regard to their prosodic features we remark that the stanza-forms are generally simpler, although there is a rather elaborate stanza used in ঊর্ব্বশী. Both 14-moræ and 18-moræ verses are in use in blank verse, and the blank-verse rhythm is now more elastic. Syncopated bars of 5-moræ and of 7-moræ are avoided, their uneven and, to some extent, jolting rhythm seems to disagree with the spirit of Indian summer that pervades the poems in CHITRA.

Chaitāli

In CHAITALI the poet turns away for the time being from his mystic visions and once more gives himself up to a sympathetic view of various aspects of life. Reminiscences from personal experience and from literature mostly supply the material. The poems are all in a low key and seek to catch a moment's glimpse of a rare or passing beauty. They have

something in common with the short stories that Rabindranath wrote about this time.

In metrical characteristic, also, CHAITALI is different from the works preceding. The poems are all short, most of them being sonnets written in rhyming couplets. The blank verse rhythm is eschewed practically, as being out of accord with the generally staid attitude in the poems. The swinging feminine metre is almost absent, the poet writing almost exclusively in the masculine metre with comparatively fewer compound consonants. He appears almost to return to the old Payār and Tripadi, their languid atmosphere being well-suited to the contents of the work. It is only natural that the 8-morae bar should predominate here.

Kalpanā

In KALPANA we find that the poet's golden fancy finds full play. The mystic vein of SONAR TARI and CHITRA is not very much in evidence. Rather, it is a keen responsiveness to the varied beauties in Nature and in human character that inspires his imagination now. Purely human values, bare impressions now count far more for him than they ever did. This is due to an inner realisation that there is the same divine principle at work in Nature and in the heart of man. Visionary mysticism is no more for him. What was a phantom beckoning to him from afar is discovered on "nearer view" to be a familiar presence.

With this discovery a sort of spiritual freedom is won. In prosody it brings about a lightness of movement, gives it sparkling and sometimes sonorous quality. The joy of this new freedom produces a feeling of perfect harmony, and for the time being the poet turns his back on blank verse. But in his command of non-blank verse the poet shews great mastery. Once more he writes extensively in the feminine metre to which he imparts a fine rhythmic quality by his frequent and skilful use of compound consonants and diphthongs. In this metre

he exploits the lighter measures like the 6-moræ and the 5-morae with great success, employing them in long and elaborate stanzas. The trimeter and the tetrameter are now his favourite verses and he combines them variously in intricate stanzas. There is a poem in the stressed metre, but it is only an early swallow. There are some poems in the masculine metre ; in them also the long sweep of the artist's brush is clearly traceable. Some of the poems here like বর্ষশেষ and রাত্রি reach the very highest key of strength, sonority and expressive quality possible in masculine metre, illustrating the advantage of the skilful use of shortened closed syllables in Bengali verse.

Kathā o Kāhinī

The ballads and tales included in KATHA O KAHINI were written at various periods. Some of them were written earlier than KALPANA poems and belong properly to the SONAR TARI and CHITRA period and have the prosodic characteristics of that period. To this group belong শ্রেষ্ঠ ভিক্ষা, প্রতিনিধি, দেবতার গ্রাস, মস্তক বিক্রয়। The rest belong to a later period chronologically, but many of them have the same features as the earlier poems. Some few like নকল গড়, হোরিখেলা, বিবাহ are written in stressed metre and have the characteristics of ক্ষণিকা poems.

Kṣaṇikā

Another period in the poetry of Rabindranath may be said to begin with KṢANIKĀ. The opening poem enunciates the new philosophy of the poet. He is no longer tied to the world, though he belongs to it ; its changes do not affect him. He has wrought freedom for his soul, he has learnt to follow the natural religion of the soul. The secret of truth, of the very highest happiness, is now revealed to him, and the secret is within his heart. The familiar sights, sounds and experiences of common human life are now charged with a potentiality for the highest happiness, for the supreme beauty. He is no longer

oppressed by the common-sense view of things, that too often lies on the soul "with a weight heavy as frost, and deep almost as life." His heart is light, his mind is gay.

This gaiety and light-heartedness required a special medium for expression, and Rabindranath adapts the stressed metre to his purpose. The 4-morae bar of the stressed metre has a quick and tripping rhythm that is very suitable to express the spirit of the poems. This is not of course an entirely new invention, for the stressed metre was in use in popular nursery rhymes and doggerels. He himself had written a number of poems in this metre in KARI O KOMAL. But now he uses it in serious poetry. Moreover he greatly extends the scope of the stressed metre. Previously the catalectic tetrameter and the catalectic dimeter were the only verses written in this metre. Rabindranath now writes dimeters, trimeters and tetrameters (both catalectic and acatalectic) extensively and freely in this metre.

Although the majority of the poems in KṢAṆIKĀ are in stressed metre, there are several in feminine metre. But his handling of the feminine metre here is to some extent different from that in Kalpanā. He uses fewer closed syllables, so that lengthening of pre-ultimate syllables that gives a swinging quality to the feminine metre is now a rarer phenomenon. The tendency of the stressed metre is to shorten closed syllables; therefore, too frequent lengthening in any poem would be out of accord with the spirit of the work. Even in poems written in feminine metre, the poet tries to introduce a quick movement by avoiding closed syllables as far as practicable. It should be noticed that here the poet avoids slow and solemn masculine metre entirely, and necessarily, of course, blank verse. They would be repugnant to the spirit of KṢAṆIKĀ.

With regard to the stanzas it is noticed that the poet retains his love for long and elaborate types as in KALPANĀ. But very soon we shall see that a greater simplicity is introduced by the poet even in his stanza forms.

Naivedya

This simplification of form is noticed in the next work that he published—NAIVEDYA. The attitude of perfect self-surrender that finds expression in the lyrics, required this simplicity even in the metrical form. The 6-morae bar is generally in use, the verses are either dimeters or catalectic tetrameters. The stanzas are either simple couplets or quatrains combining dimeter couplets with tetrameter couplets. The work includes a large number of sonnets which interpret various aspects of his philosophy of life. As befitting the solemnity and seriousness of the themes, the sonnets are in masculine metre. Their peculiarities have been explained in the chapter on sonnets.

Utsarga and Smaran

In UTSARGA there is the same philosophy of life as in NAIVEDYA, and its various psychological aspects and its bearings on many of the actual problems of life are brought out with lyrical sincerity and a perfect charm. Many of the poems are in feminine metre which, in the hands of Rabindranath, is always the medium for the expression of subtle shades of thought and feeling. Whenever he is introspective and tries to indicate his own personal feelings and aspirations, he finds the swinging feminine metre exactly suited to his requirements, and once more the poet returns to it in UTSARGA. But the elaboration and splendour of the stanza in Kalpanā have been discarded in favour of simpler types as being more in keeping with the spirit of the work. There are also certain poems (in SMARAṆ as well as UTSARGA) in masculine metre, characterised by the seriousness and solemnity that we noticed in similar things in NAIVEDYA. In UTSARGA there are a few sonnets in 18-morae verses with a couplet rhyme-scheme.

Śiśu and Kheyā

In ŚIŚU the poet speaks of the various aspects of the mysterious relationship between mother and son, the most intimate of human relationships, the one charged with a sublime mystic quality. As the words are usually supposed to be those of a young child, he uses colloquial Bengali and the colloquial stressed metre with which the child may be supposed to be familiar on account of his knowledge of nursery rhymes. But there is perhaps a deeper reason. A bareness of statement, an utter simplicity in style have always been the marks of mystic literature; when conveyed in verse, it has found its vehicle in a light, familiar metre. The popular stressed metre is, therefore, best suited for conveying mystic pronouncements. This may be the deeper reason for Rabindranath's preference for the stressed metre in ŚIŚU. But when in the introductory poem he simply tries to convey a romantic sense of wonder, he uses the feminine metre. It need hardly be added that there is a distinction between a romantic sense of wonder and the genuine mysticism of one who "worships in the temple's inner shrine."

In KHEYĀ where the poet practically bids farewell to his old romanticism, we find the same qualities of verse, *viz.*, the use of a stressed metre and simpler stanzas.

Gitāñjali, Gītimālya, Gītāli

These are practically song-books and contain the cream of the poet's mystical and devotional poetry. Rabindranath's songs may also be read as poems, and as such their characteristics may find place in a study of his prosody. Considered as poems the lyrics included in these three books are mostly in the stressed and less frequently in the feminine metre. The measures are usually of 4 moræ or of 6, but at times those of 5 moræ and 7 moræ are also to be found, as for instance, in lyrics No. 4 and No. 146 in Gitāñjali. The stanza-schemes are very simple, corresponding to the four divisions of a typical Indian song.

Prosodically they are either couplets or three-line or four-line stanzas in which a dimeter couplet is followed by one or two tetrameters There are just a few poems in each of the books which are not songs at all but serious poems in masculine or feminine metre. They generally have long verses and rather elaborate stanza-schemes in consonance with the wide compass and subtlety of the thought element in them.

Balākā

Another period begins with BALAKĀ. Here Rabindranath attains the very summit of his powers as a poet and also as a metrical craftsman. His mysticism is as strong as, if not stronger than, ever. But he is no longer content to be merely the devotee who is—spiritually at least—aloof from the world of hard facts and bitterness. We noticed how in KṢAṆIKĀ he had practically turned his back upon the world looking upon it as a vanity fair with false perspectives and wrong values. He sought and perhaps achieved his emancipation away from this world, although he has nothing but admiration for and a sense of the profound spiritual significance of the strenuous "works and days" of the simple-hearted worker. But since that period he had seldom been "one with *his* kind" or tried to understand the significance of sorrows and evils of the world. Now, in a blaze of inspiration, he "rides sublime Upon the seraph-wings of Ecstasy," and sees not only the awful Glory that makes "angels tremble while they gaze" but also "the secrets of the Abyss" of mundane life. With the ecstasy and confidence of a Browning and the philosophic insight of a Bergson, he pries into the darkest aspects of life and the world and discovers a radiance beyond them; like Jacob he wrestles in darkness and triumphs. Whatever had struck him as awry and twisted in the scheme of life is now appreciated as forming a groove of the Potter's wheel. The triumph that his soul now gains is the greatest that he ever won as it neither disregards nor depends upon the facts and conditions of actual life.

With this profound change in the angle of vision there is also a profound change in his prosody. He invents a new and powerful metre that seems to ride rough-shod over all traditional prosodic patterns, and yet possesses a grandeur, a force and a harmony that are beyond the reach of any metres that he or any other poet had previously used. This is popularly called the Balākā metre and has since then set a vogue. Its characteristics are separately discussed under the chapter on 'Irregular and free verse in Rabindranath's prosody.' It need only be mentioned here that this new kind of verse is written exclusively in masculine metre. No other metrical style would permit the liberties of this kind of verse.

Not all the poems in BALĀKĀ are written in this new metre. Quite a number are written in stressed metre and in common verses and stanzas. Prosodically they have the same features as typical poems in KHEYĀ.

Palātakā

In Palātakā the poet reverts to the stressed metre. The series of poems here vividly presents incidents and experiences of common human life that awaken "thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears." The familiarity of the incidents required colloquial Bengali and a stressed metre. But the supra-romantic sense of mystery akin to that in Balākā required a free and unconventional rhythm. The poet does not here conform to any stanza patterns and freely increases or reduces the number of measures to the line according to the character of the thought or emotion at the moment. Superficially the Palātakā metre may seem to resemble the Balākā but actually there is a fundamental difference. In Palātakā poems there is the same type of bar, *viz* , the 4-moræ bar, used throughout a poem. But in Balākā the types of bars used differ from line to line. The character of the Palātakā metre and its difference with the Balākā metre is further explained in the chapter 'Irregular and free verse in Rabindranath's prosody.'

Śisu Bholānāth

In Śiśu Bholānāth aspects of Rabindranath's new mysticism find expression in the poet's interpretation of the feelings of the child towards his mother. For Rabindranath, as for Wordsworth, the child is a

Mighty prophet, seer blest,
On whom those truths do rest
Which we are toiling all our lives to find.

He is therefore called Bholānāth, as in his very ignorance of, or indifference to, worldly values, he is spiritually akin to the Great Lord of Destruction, and, like Him, sublime in his elevation above anything worldly.

Considering this attitude of the poet's we find it natural that the poet should use the Balākā metre when he speaks for himself. But where the thoughts are supposed to be those of the child's he uses the colloquial stressed metre.

Pravāhiṇī and Puravī

A change of tone and attitude is noticed in these two works. He appears to write with a feeling that his life's work is done and it only remains for him to bid farewell to the world. However may the poet feel about the matter, it is for us too sad an idea to be accepted as true. Moreover even in these works the poet shews that he has not ceased to expand his sympathies or to catch new glimpses of truth and beauty. Standing on the brink of the world he casts a retrospective look behind. There is no regret, no desire to cling to this world. On the other hand he feels that there is only one great power that has guided him through life and is now leading him beyond it. A grand consummation seems to beckon from beyond the shores of life, and in the light of that all past acquires a new meaning "till old experience do attain to something like prophetic strain." The poet now knows that his soul is the one abiding element in the transient forms of the world.

It is not surprising that the poet should return to the older forms. His use of stressed metre in these works harks back to KHEYĀ as in ŚIŚU BHOLANATH. He writes also in the masculine metre, and his handling of the metre and of stanza-forms reminds us of KALPANĀ. There are certain poly-verse stanzas which he uses for the first time and in which there is a skilful combination of longer verses with shorter.

Mahuyā, etc.

It is too early to speak definitely of the poetic idealism in the poet's latest works. With regard to the prosodic features we simply note that his command over all the various metrical styles continues unimpaired. He uses the old stanzas with his usual skill, sometimes he invents slightly newer forms. He writes with ease in the Balākā metre as well as in the Palātakā metre which is now extended in scope to include poems in the feminine style as well. One cannot yet say for certain whether Rabindranath has exhausted his metrical gifts or has yet to make fresh innovations in Bengali prosody.

CHAPTER VII

Rabindranath's art And Rhythm

It is a difficult task, but is it not possible to interpret some of the more intimate aspects of Rabindranath's art from a study of his poetic rhythm? Certain broad conclusions can be reached from the survey in the preceding pages.

It should be mentioned here that Rabindranath's artistic realisations are primarily rhythmic. Critics are not unanimous as to the relation between the rhythm and the content of poetry. According to some it is a helpful device in artistic communication. According to others it is the *sine qua non* of communication, creating a sort of "medicated atmosphere" in which "the vivacity and susceptibility both of the general feelings and of the attention" are very greatly increased and the mind is worked up to poetic consciousness. Rabindranath, however, goes beyond either of these schools of criticism. For him rhythm is the quintessence of artistic realisation, and, when expressed in metrical form, it becomes the perceptible symbol of the inner consciousness. It is the reproduction "in the finite mind of the eternal act of creation in the infinite I AM." In his reminiscences he has confessed that very often a tune or a rhythmic pattern suggested to him the thoughts and ideas corresponding to it. It was not setting tune to words, rather finding ideas and words for a tune. There is a perfect fusion between thought and rhythm perceptible in Rabindranath's poetry. A study of Rabindranath's prosody is, therefore, indispensable in any study of Rabindranath's art or poetry.

Coming now to the precise qualities of Rabindranath's art, manifested in his prosody, we notice, first, that he is out and

out a romantic. He is romantic in his defiance of convention. We have noticed how Rabindranath has always tried to avoid following the traditional and conventional types in prosody and does in fact evince a sort of repugnance for them. This has been responsible for his neglect of the Payar and Tripadi, the two commonest and most popular types of verse in Bengali. He has often adopted the principles of structure in them but has almost always fought shy of their associations.

Rabindranath evinces further an impatience of any suggestions of monotony or sameness. An eager search for novelty of effect is always traceable in his poetic efforts. He is always seeking to invent new types of verses and stanzas, by variously combining the types in common use or devised by him. He could never write a long poem in a uniform metre like the epic poets. The habit of changing from one stanza-form to another is a characteristic of his earliest as well as his latest prosody. In his middle period, although he is content to stick to one particular form of stanza in course of a poem, he makes the patterns so elaborate, curious in construction and variegated in effect that no feeling of monotony can at all be engendered. The leisurely meditative quality, the disciplined attitude of mind, the chastened tone that characterise epics like *RAGHUVAMSAM* or the Æneid are not to be found in the poetry of Rabindranath. The very monotony of a standard metre used throughout a long poem induces a levelness in thought and feeling that is absent in the "short swallow flights of song" in Rabindranath's poetry.

In fact Rabindranath is always impulsive like a born romantic. He avoids any suggestion of languor, whether in art or in life. It is, therefore, inevitable that we should find an entire absence of an inner conflict, any sense of strain or effort, or a habit of self-discipline. He is like one of those happy creatures, described by Wordsworth in his Ode to Duty, who "rely upon the genial sense of youth," to whom "love is an unerring light, and joy its own security." It is this impulsiveness inherent in Rabindranath that accounts for his breakaway

from the traditions of the sonnet. He could not reconcile himself or mould his art to the rigid pattern of the sonnet, nor to the rigid metrical structure of Madhusudan's blank verse.

But Rabindranath's romanticism is not simply impulsive or anti-classical. There is the higher romanticism also present in his art—there is the desire to seek and the insight to find unity in variety. This accounts for his wonderful assimilative power, the capacity for absorbing influences from far-off sources and of seizing hold of the latent potentialities of stray hints and suggestions. By the wonderful alchemy of genius he can reduce them into unity and create "something rich and strange" out of them. His poetry is, therefore, full of echoes and reminiscences. He might have some of his verses and stanzas suggested by examples in poets like Keats Yet everything that he writes is strikingly original, fresh stamped by his own genius.

There is another aspect of this desire to find unity in variety. This makes him averse to too regular as well as to too free forms of verse. He does not like to write verse that is all perfect and square according to rule and line, he needs must introduce some element of surprise, complexity or freedom in them. Nor does he like to write pure "free verse", free from implications of any sort of rhythmic pattern. Some suggestion of a pattern is almost essential for him, some "dim-descried" archetype always haunts him. Through complex and elaborate forms of verses and stanzas he tried to give expression to his sense of a unity in variety; perhaps he came nearest to his ideal rhythm in the Balākā metre where patterns quickly form and change in a Protean fashion and elude the intellect like his own Jivan Devatā of whom he writes

"তোমায় নূতন ক'রে পাব ব'লেই হারাই ক্ষণে ক্ষণ"

Although there is an immense variety of verse-types and stanza-types in Rabindranath's poetry, he prefers certain special types. A careful scrutiny of Rabindranath's predilections and preferences in respect of measures, lines and stanzas would reveal

that his own taste is for a dancing rhythm. He likes to introduce an element of sudden swing in his rhythmic compositions. In his search for means to introduce this quality in Bengali verse, he happened to hit upon the modern "feminine metre" in which every closed syllable is doubled. Usually not more than one closed syllable occurs in a Bengali word or a beat in Bengali prosody; he was thus able to introduce a quality of sudden swing into verse by adopting the feminine metre. This love of a dancing lilt in verse explains his love for tripartite and syncopated structures, which he calles অসম and বিষম respectively. He specially loves (1) a tripartite rhythm with the two first members co-equal and the third member longer or stronger—the rhythm of the Greek ode as well as of the common Bengali dance, and (2) a tripartite rhythm with the first and third members co-equal and the second member shorter or longer. We might call the first variety anapaestic and the second amphibrachic (জঘনচপলা) or amphimaceric (মধ্যলঘু). The tripartite rhythm is essentially a dancing rhythm and Rabindranath shows his great love for this sort of rhythm in his extensive use of the 6-moræ bar and of the 6-line stanza. In his verse-types also his predilection for a dancing rhythm is shewn in his very wide use of the trimeter and of the catalectic tetrameter (which has practically the same rhythmic effect as an anapaestic trimeter). The same predilection is also shewn in his preference for sharply falling rhythm in his dimeters and the quick, tripping movement of such verses.

Finally, we might hazard to remark that Rabindrananth's art is essentially feminine. We do not use the epithet in any deprecatory sense. After all the feminine nature may be finer and more sensitive to beauty than the masculine. There are certain qualities of mind associated with the feminine nature which also characterise the poetry of Rabindranath. The impulsive character, the dancing predilection are clearly feminine. The unequal flights of thought and emotion, the sudden rise of intensity and the quick fall as shewn in the succession of long

verses by shorter ones and in the panting effect on account of the insertion of refrains and elliptical lines, bespeak a quivering, if not hysterical, emotive nature that we may call feminine. Feminine is the sensuous quality of his verse, perceptible in his great love of end-rhymes, alliteration, vowel-music and internal rhymes. His verse is soft and graceful and avoids suggestion of harshness or anything like a *tour de force*. It is therefore that he could not reconcile himself to a divorce between sense-pauses and rhythmic pauses, so that his blank verse is melodious, not symphonic. His love of the lighter bars like the 4-moræ and the 6-moræ also indicate a feminine quality in his verse.

CHAPTER VIII

Rabindranath's Services to Bengali versification

Blind admirers of Rabindranath have claimed that until Rabindranath's advent versification in Bengali was extremely lame and unpolished, that his predecessors hardly possessed any sure instinct for metre, that they were guided by mechanical and unscientific rules of thumb, that they could not distinguish between good rhythm and bad. The greatness of Rabindranath as a master of versification is undoubted and it is not necessary to cry down his precursors to establish his claims to greatness. Rabindranath himself would be the last person to deny the proper meed of praise to his predecessors in Bengali versification or to acknowledge the debts he owes to them. His originality is unquestioned but his success as a metrist is largely due to his wonderful power of assimilation. He was quick to discover the latent possibilities in the works done by others and to improve upon them. That is one of the marks of genius.

Rabindranath has been experimenting in Bengali metres almost throughout his entire poetic career. He has invented and popularised numerous metrical types, and, what is more, new metrical styles were propagated and popularised by him. Though it is possible to find instances of unhappy rhythmic effect in his poetry, especially in his earlier attempts in masculine metre, he has throughout shewn an unerring and sure instinct for rhythmic beauty. A few lapses, due to the violation of the rules regarding the arrangement of beats, are sometimes found. Following are some of the few such cases—

(1) উন্মত্ত স্নেহক্ষুধায় | রাক্ষসীর মত তারে বাঁধি (সমুদ্রের প্রতি—সোনার তরী)

(2) যেথায় অনাদি রাত্রি | রয়েছে চিরকুমারী (প্রতীক্ষা—সোনার তরী)

(3) আজিকার বসন্তের | আনন্দ-অভিবাদন (১৪০০ শাল—চিত্রা)

These lapses are due to the non-observance of the principle that within a bar the beats should be co-equal or arranged according to a rising or falling rhythm. Bengali prosody does not countenance a cretic or amphibrachic movement within the bar.

These are, however, spots on the sun and do not detract from his greatness. Although it is not correct to say that he is the originator of the correct principles of Bengali versification, he has certainly widened the scope and increased the variety of Bengali metres immensely. "He found it brick; he left it marble", adding to it a strength, grace and polish unknown earlier. The principal services rendered by him are briefly set forth below.

(1) He has practically invented and popularised a new metrical style, the so-called Matravṛtta of modern Bengali or the feminine metre. It is marked by frequent lengthening of syllables and careful weightage given to speech-sounds. It avoids the vocal drawl, the resonance of the masculine metre. [Its character and its difference with other metrical styles have been discussed in my essay—BĀṄGLĀ CHANDER MŪL-SŪTRA.]

The Matravṛtta rhythm was not unknown in earlier Bengali. The Vaishnava poets wrote a number of poems in this rhythm, and though almost out of use later, it was sought to be revived by many 19th century poets. But they tried to model their quantitative system on the Sanskrit, in which they were unsuccessful. They could only lengthen a syllable according to the exigencies of rhythm. Rabindranath consistently adhered to fixed rules of syllabic lengthening in his Matravṛtta. He was the first to count closed syllables as long and open syllables as short consistently in Matravṛtta style. This new Matravṛtta of Rabindranath does not admit any open syllables as short. These principles are now universally adopted in Bengali Matravṛtta.

Rabindranath has also written a few occasional pieces in which lengthening of open syllables takes place. In them he uses a Sanskritised diction so as to induce the Sanskrit mode of

pronunciation and thus enable the lengthening of classically long vowels. We may mention অয়ি ভুবন মনোমোহিনী, দেশ দেশ নন্দিত করি, হিংসায় উন্মত্ত পৃথ্বী, জনগনমন অধিনায়ক and such other poems as illustrations. Although Rabindranath tries to conform to the Sanskrit rules of quantity, yet a close scrutiny will shew that he is only following the fundamental rules of quantity of the beat-and-bar system (*vide* my essay BĀṄGLĀ CHANDER MŪL-SŪTRA).

(2) His extension of the scope and application of the stressed metre. Previously, the stressed metre was used only in folk poetry, and nursery rhymes and satirical verse. Rabindranath makes it the vehicle of serious poetry as well. Moreover, the catalectic tetrameter and dimeter were the only types of verse written in the stressed metre. Rabindranath writes catalectic and acatalectic dimeters, trimeters and tetrameters and sometimes catalectic pentameters in this verse.

(3) It is wrong to say that Rabindranath was the first poet to manipulate the masculine metre according to correct methods and principles. At their best Bharatchandra, Madhusudan and others are as perfect as Rabindranath. It can only be said that Rabindranath is more generally flawless than any other poet in freely leavening the masculine metre with compound consonants. Rabindranath has not, however, tried to excel in the smoother and droning sort of masculine metre in which Bharatchandra and a few 19th century poets reached a high level of perfection. But in the attainment of a rhythmic harmony in the masculine metre by the use of compound consonants, Madhusudan is perhaps more successful than Rabindranath.

(4) Rabindranath has enriched Bengali prosody by inventing and using an immense variety of stanza-patterns. He pointed out that it was possible freely to invent new types of stanzas, once the fundamental principles of the structure of verse were understood. Thereby the expressive capacity of Bengali verse has been greatly increased.

Certain extremely elaborate stanzas akin to those in use in the odes of European literature were brought into use by him.

To him also belongs the credit of popularising a more flexible type of sonnet.

(5) He has also enriched Bengali prosody and increased its potentialities by bringing into use new types of prosodic verses. Special mention must be made of his extensive use of tetrameters and the variety of structure in his trimeters. The popularising of the 18-moræ line is also due to him.

(6) Early in his career he clearly recognised that the bar and not the line, was the molecule of Bengali verse, and it was this knowledge that enabled him to multiply patterns in verses and stanzas. The lesson has been learnt by other poets since.

(6*a*) His practice has established the 6-moræ bar as one of the most important measures of Bengali prosody. It is the measure that comes nearest to the smallest group of words in the rhythm of ordinary prose.

(6*b*) He discovered the potentialities of 7-moræ and 5-moræ bars and proved the peculiar rhythmic quality of these two syncopated measures.

(7) He realised the importance of the beats constituting a bar and shewed how the mutual relation between and the arrangement of beats might be the source of a rhythmic quality in a bar.

(8) He shewed how the position of sense-pauses might be varied even in regular verse.

(9) He brought into use a new kind of rhyming blank verse.

(10) He experimented in free verse from time to time; popularised a kind of rhyming irregular verse with uniform bars, generally known as the Palātakā metre; wrote extensively in and set the fashion for a kind of rhyming irregular verse, sometimes completely free from conformity with any pattern but often implying some sort of pattern or other, generally known as the Balākā metre.

(11) He brought in a rich grace and sensuous charm into Bengali poetry by his extensive and varied use of rhymes and alliteration, his modulated vowel-music, the richness and beauty of his diction.

UTOPIAS AND VISIONS OF THE FUTURE WORLD

(With special reference to Recent English Fiction)

By

Sri Chandra Sen, M.A.

Introductory

Utopias when they are not satirical in intention may be taken to be the measure of unrealised human aspiration of a particular epoch. The earliest of those on record were merely philosophical discourses such as we find in "The Republic" and the "Laws" of Plato,[1] and showed a serious concern about the questions which every State has to face when aiming at the welfare of its citizens. The Hellenic temper was particularly adapted to abstract speculation, and the dialectical form chosen for the discourses was thus entirely in keeping with it. More writing in the sixteenth century followed the fashion of his time in presenting his "Utopia" as a sort of travel reminiscence. Tudor England was full of tales which travellers brought with them from distant parts which described amazing races and tribes, strange habits and practices of people and the fabulous wealth of unknown lands. His "Utopia" was an eponymous

[1] There is a broad distinction between Plato and other writers on the ideal State, as Richard Garnett points out in his Introduction to "The Republic," Everyman's Library More, Campanella, Bacon, Brockden Brown, etc., all describe ideal communities which are imagined as already existing but "The Republic" is merely an intellectual attempt of whose suitability in the practical sphere Plato himself has expressed strong doubts in the Laws (Bk. V) holding that "the perfect State of Communism and Philosophy was impossible in his own age, though still to be retained as a pattern."

island founded by a certain ancient king[1] where communism and an enlightened criminal justice were the most noticeable factors in the society. In More's "Utopia" there is no hunting. "For they counte huntynge the lowest, the vyleste and mooste abjecte part of boucherie....."[2] He very inconveniently crams some forty people "besydes two bondmen"[3] into every household, all under the rule and order of the good man and his wife, "both very sage, discrete and aunciente persones."[4] Idleness is strictly guarded against by the watchful 'syphograuntes' and he lays down nine hours a day as the rule for all.[5] Bacon's fragmentary 'New Atlantis' is again a traveller's story of which the House of Salomon or the College of Six Days' Works is the basis with its various resources for the study and observation of Nature and for co-ordinating knowledge. Harrington's "Oceana" is a treatise on government of which the literary value appears to be meagre. It falls into four divisions: (*i*) The preliminaries, shewing the principles of Government; (*ii*) The Council of Legislators shewing the Art of making a Commonwealth; (*iii*) The Model of the Commonwealth of Oceana, shewing the effect of such an art; and (*iv*) The Corollary, shewing the consequences of such a

[1] The founder was a king-philosopher and he gave his name to the place which was originally called Abraza and which by reason of the improvement he effected deserved to be called Eutopia, the abode of felicity (pp. 118, xciii). As Mr. A. H. House suggests to me, a contrast seems to be implied between despair and idealism by the name Utopia (Nowhere) with its punning reference to Eutopia.

[2] Sir Thomas More, Utopia, Edited by J. R. Lumby (Camb.), p. 111.

The interesting question may be asked: why social and political speculations of the early modern period were presented in the form of romances in England as well as on the continent? The answer is, any other form would have been too risky to attempt. The kings who reigned in the period of the Renaissance and the reformation were constantly in danger of losing their thrones. Another reason was that the discovery of the New World had quickened the imagination of the old and caused it to see vision and dream dreams. See *A Survey of Socialism*, by E. J. C. Hearnshaw (Macmillan), pp. 127-28.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] This would be intolerable drudgery. Wells makes five hours' work a day the rule in his "Modern Utopia" (Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ld.), p. 210.

Government.[1] The book seems to drag very much as a result of the debates on various subjects which are quoted in full. All the business of the state has, however, been summarised in the form of thirty Orders. During the Civil Wars in England in the seventeenth century the question how a State could be organised on a rational basis had often attracted people. Harrington was preceded by a few years by Hobbes with his "Leviathan." "Oceana" is thus a political treatise which does not describe a state already existing but suggests how under certain conditions a community can grow up in which the individuals will live with greater liberty and social justice. Swift's "Gulliver's Travels," Morris's "News from Nowhere," Lytton's "Coming Race," and Butler's 'Erewhon" which bring the story of the Utopias down to the end of 19th century were not, however, political treatises. The human interest which arises from the play of emotions is more largely present in them than in any of their predecessors.

Wells is the first Utopist to insist upon the necessity of an entire planet for the modern Utopia. The earlier Utopists placed their ideal states nestling securely among rocks or lying in an ocean far from the march of the noisy, intruding, and blundering civilisation of the familiar world.[2]

More than any one in this age Wells has imagined the advent of a new order replacing the old, and has thought of many novel ways in which a transformation may be effected, changing completely the socio-political aspect of the world.[3] He

1 James Harrington, The Oceana and Other Works, London. Printed for A. Miller oppo·ite to the Catherine Street in the Strand, 1747, p. 37. First published in 1656.

2 Lord Erskine in his "Armata" was, however, the first to appreciate the fact that the ideal state to-day requires a whole planet for its situation: see "A Modern Utopia," by H. G. Wells, p. 23.

3 This statement probably needs modification because of the work of Marx, Engels and their followers, whose teaching has now been adopted as the political gospel of a great state. But they were technical writers and important as their ideas are, they have hardly any value as literature. In studying source books, the works of Marx and of others should be carefully treated but our scope prevents us from making any but a bare reference to it. I add this note at the suggestion of Prof. A. H. House.

has preoccupied himself with the question as to how the new order will make its appearance; sanity, he repeatedly tells us, will be its most important characteristic.[1] In "Men Like Gods," the journalist Mr. Barnstaple is suddenly carried into Utopia in a two-seated motor car which he had taken out to enjoy a holiday in the trail of a limousine containing some great leaders of English politics. "In the Days of the Comet" the transforming influence comes from a vapour, poured into the earth from the upper air whose immediate result was to cause in everyone a slumber that lasted for a few hours only but its effect was almost magical. It made men see at once how the earth they lived in could be reorganised to ensure true happiness. In the "Star-Begotten," Wells imagines that "a new sort of human being," born under Martian influence, will take charge of the world and fashion it along Utopian lines.[2] In "The World Set Free," atomic bombs threaten mankind with extinction and cause some leading spirits to assemble together in conference for the establishment of a world state, in which alone Wells sees the guarantee for a progressive civilisation. The idea has, however, been ridiculed by G. K. Chesterton.[3] In "The Food of the Gods," the coming race is imagined by Wells as superhuman in stature, being forty feet in height, whose growth was the result of a food administered to them in their infancy. They had splendid schemes of reconstruction but were baffled at every step by the opposition of "little men." In a final conflict that followed lighter skirmishes, the future depended upon the issue which was not, however, recorded in the book as it closed on the eve of it.

The object of the Wellsian Utopias as their author says in his autobiography is "to define and arrange for myself and for a few other people who inhabit my world, the actual factor necessary to give a concrete working expression to a world-wide

[1] A Modern Utopia, p. 127; see also Wells, "Star-Begotten," p. 182.

[2] Star-Begotten, p. 136.

[3] See Sidney Dark, The Outline of H. G. Wells (Leonard Parsons, 1922), p. 50.

'open conspiracy' to rescue human society from the net of tradition in which it is entangled and to reconstruct it upon planetary lines." [1] Wells has a profound disgust for the world of everyday [2] and a great faith in the future which, he is convinced, can remove every form of obstacle to human welfare. The Kippses found the world a meanly conceived one [3]—they were looking for a house to hire but saw none which fitted in with their idea of comfort and convenience. The author tells us that although their requirement of a tenement seemed simple enough to satisfy, "they were looking either for dreamland of 1975, or thereabouts and it hadn't come." [4] Wells, the Utopian idealist, is filled with anger against the world because it does not see its foolishness in wanting the things that harm it and refusing those that will inevitably make for the true well-being of human society. Everybody ought to agree that all the houses should be provided with baths and that all should wash and be clean so that the contemptuous epithet of 'the great unwashed' may have no occasion to be applied [5] yet as soon as the giant son of Cossar puts his hand to the task of reform in this direction and others, an outcry is raised and attempts were made to kill him and his superhuman collaborators as if they were the confirmed enemy of mankind. The defects of the world of which Wells thinks particularly are its "preventible disorder, preventible diseases and preventible pain" and "harshness and stupid unpremeditated cruelties." [6] He has repeatedly declared the necessity of a "World Pax," [7] regarding war as "a horrible arrest of development" [8] and conquest as a "cruel blundering." In his imagined society, the combative element will be entirely absent.

[1] H. G. Wells, Experiment in Autobiography (Victor Gollancz, 1934), Vol. I, p. 64.
[2] H. G. Wells, A Modern Utopia, p. 347.
[3] H. G. Wells, Kipps (Macmillan, 1920), p. 353.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 355.
[5] H. G. Wells, Food of the Gods (Macmillan, 1904), 217 f.
[6] H. G. Wells, In the Days of the Comet (Macmillan, 1906), p. 17.
[7] H. G. Wells, Star-Begotten, p. 173.
[8] H. G. Wells, William Clissold, Vol. III, p. 615.

Nor will it preserve any of the governments of to-day. It will abolish them along with the flags and armaments that back them. The object it will seek to fulfil will be constructive and far-sighted. "The World republic will be fighting nothing but time and space and death." [1] Perfectly organised, the Wellsian Utopia "is like a well-oiled engine beside a scrap-heap." [2] The comparison is of course with the world which the Utopist seeks to transform. It will be different from this world in its superior deliberateness and a more widespread desire to attain a common goal by a willing co-operation among its citizens.

In one of his earliest fantasias in which he depicts a future state of the world far removed from our time, Wells envisages a biological mutation as a result of the wealth and security of the capitalist class, reducing them to the beautiful futility of the "Eloi," whose intellectual level is the same as that of a five-year old child to-day. The rapid accumulation of wealth places the rich above the need of any kind of labour, all work being done by the wage-earners who gradually form a permanent order in the society between whom and the rich people all social intercourse ceases. A process of differentiation appears in the course of time, and powers and faculties are gradually eliminated as there is no further use for them. The mutation appears fully in the "year eight hundred and two thousand seven hundred and one, A.D." [3] The present temporary difference between the capitalist and the labourer is the key to the whole thing. Wells refers to the closing of a considerable portion of the land in the interest of the rich which had taken place at the date the book was written (1895) as foreshadowing the isolation in which the two halves of the society—the rich and the poor—will permanently reside tending to their differentiation into two distinct species. Wells holds up the picture of the "Eloi" as a warning of the catastrophe that may overtake

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 631.

[2] Wells, A Modern Utopia, p. 170.

[3] H. G. Wells, The Time Machine (Wm. Heinemann), p. 46.

civilised life if normal activities are abandoned from an excessive love of ease and comfort. There is danger too in security because it atrophies by its continued presence those qualities which are required for strong, self-reliant natures. The "Morlocks" who were the wage-earners transformed by evolution had undergone even a greater change from the necessity of working in dark, subterranean caves, and were a ghastly race with nocturnal habits who sheltered themselves from the sun's rays by living in underground cells which they had excavated for their use. Wells asserts that there is a close connexion between intellectual vigour and a world of change, danger, and trouble. "There is no intelligence where there is no change and no need of change. Only those animals partake of intelligence that have to meet a huge variety of needs and danger." [1]

Plato exercised a strong influence upon Wells as an Utopian thinker. In his autobiography, he mentions Plato as a source of inspiration to which he had early responded. He refers to his "Modern Utopia" as "the most Platonic of my books." [2] Morris, too, was under the influence of Plato in his "News from Nowhere." In fact, most works dealing with an ideal state go back to The Republic and the Laws as their source books. The subject will be examined in some detail in the course of our investigation.

Two enquiries may be made in our study of the utopias: Firstly, in what way are the creatures of the future different from us spiritually; and secondly, what is the type of material civilisation that they have evolved? We shall not pause to consider their similarity with us. If mankind is to remain unchanged in the future, there does not seem to be any use in writing about the future. In that case, the present world should suffice for writers.

Wells imagines that in a highly developed state men will not generally employ speech for communication with one another,

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 130.

[2] H. G. Wells, Experiment in Autobiography, Vol. I, p. 178.

a kind of telepathy will take its place.[1] Barnstaple in "Men like Gods" saw the utopians communicate among themselves but they got "the idea before it was clothed in words and uttered in sounds."[2] The utopians explain to him that they "think directly *to* each other."[3] In "A Modern Utopia," however, the dwellers are not psychically so advanced as to dispense with speech. They use it as freely as we do but their language, to suit the requirements of a World State, has been composed out of a dozen separate languages within the framework of English. In "Men Like Gods," the over-worked journalist notes with surprise the great clearness, directness and openness of the Utopian mind which had never known those "fictions, concealments, ambiguities and ignorances as cripple the growing mind of the Earthling."[4] Secrecy and furtiveness in public life, and the wariness, cunning and prevaricating tendencies in the relations between private persons which are so common today all drop out of life in the world after the subtle vapour let loose by the comet does its work of transformation. The power of thought and restraint increase wonderfully.[5] In his latest fantasia, Wells speaks of "a new, simpler, clearer and powerful way of thinking" as the distinguishing marks of the new sort of mind which the cosmic ray was bringing into existence and in which he saw a mutation to which the future might owe the realisation of an ideal condition of happiness and wellbeing.[6]

Wells has, however, much more to say about the increase of the amenities of life in the future. He is persuaded to think

1 It is curious to note that a Tibetan explorer, Madame Alexandra David-Neel, has actually seen the use of telepathy among the Lamas. This is what she says: "Telepathy is a branch of Tibetan secret lore and seems in the Land of Snows to play the part that wireless telegraphy has recently taken in the west.

"Regarding my own experience, I am certain that I did receive on several occasions telepathic messages from Lamas under whom I had practised mental or psychic training" (Magic and Mystery in Tibet, p. 235).

2 Wells, Men like Gods (Cassell, 1923), p. 54.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*, p. 83.

5 Wells, In the Days of the Comet, p. 237.

6 Wells, Star-Begotten.

that there has been a parallel growth of life on Mars and that the Martians are far ahead of the Earthlings in their knowledge of Science. In "The War of the Worlds" [1] he imagines the Martians as invading the earth for the purpose of conquest in huge cylinders. By using heat ray and a certain kind of gas they succeed in routing the earthly hosts wherever the latter oppose their progress. Buildings and all upstanding things crumple and crash down under their fearful heat ray, and their presence in the neighbourhood makes people wild with fear. The Martians who are entirely sexless are more masters of themselves than the Earthlings can be in their present imperfect state. We learn that they have advanced much more than we have done along the path of evolution. "They have become practically brains, wearing different bodies according to their needs, just as men wear suits of clothes, and take a bicycle in a hurry or an umbrella in the wet" [2] A somewhat parallel development is envisaged by Shaw in one of his plays where he assumes the possibility of a complete self-modification at will. A woman who has attained the age of 700 and whose death can be caused only by accident says that she had in the past made herself into all sorts of fantastic monsters. "I walked upon a dozen legs: I worked with twenty hands and a hundred fingers: I looked to the four quarters of the compass with eight eyes out of four heads." [3] The Martians could have made an

[1] The work has been cleverly parodied by C. L. Graves and E. V. Lucas in "The War of the Wenuses" (Arrowsmith, Bristol, 1893). The heat ray of which Wells speaks appears to have been suggested by the 'Vril' in Lytton's "Coming Race." It is a fire "lodged in the hollow of a rod" and can be wielded even by the hand of a child, shattering the strongest fortress and clearing its burning way from the van to the rear of an embattled host. Lytton, The Coming Race, p. 35.

[2] H. G. Wells, The War of the Worlds, p. 214.

[3] The Complete Plays of Bernard Shaw, Back to Methuselah, Part V, p. 958 (Constable & Co., 1931). But Shaw's excursion into the field of evolution may have no other object than to make fun. Shaw seems to think it absurd that life should end just when people have become wise enough to live it worthily. Death coming at such a time negatives the effect of a forward movement which the theory of evolution assumes. But as there is clearly a need of a longer life, the evolutionary process by which the race is improved, will evolve individuals with the capacity to live it. See the Testament of Joad, by

easy conquest of the earth but this they failed to do as they had not reckoned with micro-organisms which soon infected them and shattered all their ambitions of a trans-planetary empire.

Wells thus requires for the happiness and harmony of the world a more scientific equipment for fighting the disease germs. Nearly all infectious and contagious diseases are got rid of by the Utopians in "Men like Gods" as a result of a campaign in which the disciplined population actively co-operate. The insect life, too, has there been deliberately reduced and along with it disappears everything that directly or indirectly owes its existence to it.[1] The picture of a world freed from infection of every kind has appealed to others besides Wells, and Inge in

C. E. M. Joad (Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1937), p. 315. Shaw in the same play (Part II, The Gospal of The Brothers Barnabas) introduces ideas which he seems to have borrowed from Hindu philosophy. The passage is quoted below with the original text in Sanskrit which it recalls. "The Eternal life persists; only It wears out Its bodies and minds and gets new ones, like new clothes. You are only a new hat and frock on Eve." The speaker is Conrad Barnabas, a Professor of Biology, and the remark is addressed to Savvy whose observation that "the old people are the new people reincarnated" (complete plays, p 886) is also a piece of orthodox Hindu philosophy. The Biologist in comparing bodies to clothes is evidently reproducing the ideas contained in the Bhagavadgītā :—

"Vāsāṁsi Jīrṇāni yathā vihāya
Navāni gṛihṇāti naro'parāṇi
Tathā śarīrāṇi vihāya jīrṇā-
nyanyāni saṁyāti navāni dehī" II. 22.

The above passage may thus be rendered in English :—

"Just as a man dons new clothes having cast off
worn out ones, so does a Being discard worn-out
bodies and assume new ones in their place."

Shaw suggests that overwhelming mesmeric powers will distinguish the human beings in the remote future. He is apparently more interested in describing what the evolutionary process will lead to rather than the things man will do by way of science and invention. Wells, on the other hand, is chiefly concerned in his utopias with man's achievements by deliberate effort. Aldous Huxley shows that this effort can be carried to an unwise length and be merely reduced to the attainment of an ideal of a complete and universal uniformity. His "Brave New World" seems to be a warning that "the unlimited invasion of life" by science in which Wells sees the guarantee of man's increasing welfare may only give rise to a dead level of uniformity divorced from true sanity, beauty, and any real human worth.

[1] Wells, Men like Gods, pp. 84-85.

his " Rustic Moralist " tells us that 500 or 1,000 years later, the world have very little of it through a systematic attempt at its elimination. He believes that the League of Nations, freed from its duty of preventing war, will interest itself in questions of public health and will succeed in destroying micro-organisms which now take such a huge toll of human life.[1]

Travel and Freedom of Movement

The freedom of movement is deliberately placed under restraint in More's " Utopia " where licences are needed for travel in which the date of return is to be specified. A man has to furnish himself with letters of the prince and licence as a preparation for travel and has other formalities to satisfy before the necessary permission is granted.[2] In " The New Atlantis " too travelling does not seem to be easy, and it has a deep-seated prejudice against all strangers. The " Atlanteans " allow the voyagers to put ashore and offer them hospitality but they are not at all well-disposed to visitors from abroad. They themselves tell their guests that the solitary situation of their island (Bensalem) in the South seas, the laws of secrecy they observe and their " rare admission of strangers " [3] serve them as an affective screen against the world outside of which, however, they take good care to keep themselves informed. In Harrington's " Oceana " travel on " business, delight or further improvement of his Education " is allowed to a person " upon a pass obtain'd from the Censors in Parlament, putting a convenient limit to the time and recommending him to the Embassadors by whom he shall be assisted." [4] In Lytton's " Coming Race " travelling is unrestricted within certain limits. Nobody is allowed to visit the upper surface of the earth, leaving the

1 W. R. Inge, A Rustic Moralist (Putnam, London, 1937), p. 249.

2 Sir Thomas More, Utopia, p. 93.

3 The Essays or Counsels, Civil and Moral, etc., of Francis Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Albans (Methuen, 1905), p. 153

4 Harrington, Oceana and Other Works, p. 173.

subterranean region where the utopian civilisation has developed since the Great Flood of Noah's time. Our visitor who tells the story is called " Tigh " or "a small barbarian."[1] Distrust of strangers is conspicuous in Butler's " Erewhon." The visitor there travels a long journey for the most part of which he was blindfolded. "A bandage was put upon my eyes every morning, and was only removed at night when I reached the inn at which we were to pass the night."[2] The world in the past did not favour travel, and the imperfect knowledge of the different countries made the governments jealous of admitting strangers in their midst but the situation has become wholly changed to-day, and it is necessary that all restrictions should be withdrawn from the individual's liberty of movement. Wells has repeatedly urged the point and has declared that the World State will offer the facility in an unlimited degree and will allow anyone to settle anywhere or stay as long as he likes. The utmost freedom of going to and fro is essential to the Utopia. Wells imagines, and he tells us that to the modern-minded man no other advantage will seem acceptable as a substitute for this freedom.[3] In the State of the future to which he looks forward, there will be a widespread practice of travelling round the world before love and family make one settle down. In the " Star-Begotten " he returns to the question of freedom of movement and rules that there should be no restriction whatever placed upon man who " will be free to go anywhere he pleases and exercise the rights and duties of a citizen wherever he goes."[4] Obstacles there will be to the freedom of movement but they will arise only from steep mountains and turbid streams and from " the vagaries of climate." Food comfort and dignity are matters which will cause no worry to anyone because they will be provided everywhere in Wells' Cosmopolis.

[1] Lord Lytton, The Coming Race, etc. (World Classics), p. 107.
[2] Samuel Butler, Erewhon (Penguin Books), p. 77.
[3] Wells, A Modern Utopia, p. 44.
[4] Wells, Star-Begotten, p. 173.

Private Property

Plato in his "Republic" imagines an absolute community of goods. Private property of any kind is not tolerated "unless there be the greatest necessity for it,"[1] and necessaries will be "such as temperate and brave warriours may require."[2] Plato upholds even a community of husbands and wives: "That these women (*i. e.*, those selected to be guardians) must all be common to all these men (*i. e.*, those selected to be guardians), and that their children likewise be common; that neither the parent know his own children, nor the children their parent."[3] Plato's views profoundly influenced subsequent Utopists like More, Campanella and others, who saw in property the source of the greatest evil to communities, although they did not always introduce in their Utopias the unrestricted flexibility in the relations between men and women which the Greek philosopher assumes in "The Republic." In More's Utopia, "there is nothinge within the houses that is private or anie mans owne."[4] More holds that a just government is incompatible with private possession; "where possessions be private, where money beareth all the stroke it is harde and almost impossible that there the weale publique maye justelye be governed, and prosperously floryshe."[5] Harrington's "Oceana" does not oppose private property which there usually takes the shape of landed estates, but it places a check upon its indefinite accumulation by laying down that an individual's interest in landed property is never to exceed a revenue of two thousand pounds a year.[6] Among "The Coming Race" of Lytton there is no poverty although private property exists. In "News from

[1] The Republic of Plato, translated by H. Spens Everyman, Bk. III, p. 107.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, Bk. V, p. 154.

[4] Sir Thomas More, Utopia (Cambridge, 1902), p. 71; see also The Republic, Bk. III, p. 107.

[5] Sir Thomas More, Utopia, p. 61.

[6] Harrington, The Thirteenth Order, The Oceana, p. 102.

Nowhere" private property does not exist—it may be classified as the "free store type of Utopia" where one has only to stroll into the market-place where things are accessible to all and take what one needs.[1] No payment is made for service rendered and coins which performed exchanges are regarded merely as museum specimens. Those of the nineteenth century are viewed with particular disapproval as they fail to come up to the Utopian standard of excellence. As for the reward of work, it is the reward of creation. "The wages which God gets, as people might have said time agone."[2] Work is pleasurable either from its own interesting nature or because it has grown into a pleasurable habit. The subtitle for Morris's "News from Nowhere" is "An epoch of rest." It does indeed offer an escape from the unresting competition of the Victorian world in which the vast inequalities of possession led to great hardship in the lower ranks of society and to an extreme form of luxury and display in the upper. Morris abolishes private property, for his own experience showed him its baneful effect upon the individual's character, and its removal seemed to him to be a guarantee of a universal cheerfulness in the society. In his Utopia old and young alike have smiling countenances. The accumulation of property is permitted in Butler's "Erewhon" but the crimes to which it gives rise do not come within the province of the courts but are left to a set of people called "straighteners" who practise like doctors in our world. These men are trained in the soulcraft and would be more appropriately compared with the clergy, and have no connexion with the medical science, the need of which constitutes a grave offence punishable under the law.[3] In "Men like Gods" the new society found property in all but very personal things to be an intolerable nuisance.[4] The author tells

1 William Morris, News from Nowhere (Longmans Green, 1924), 39 f.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 106.

3 Samuel Butler, Erewhon, p. 72.

4 Wells, Men like Gods, p. 59.

that wage slavery had been abolished fifteen hundred years ago.[1] Sidney Dark says, "Wells is as insistent as Chesterton and Belloc that the instinct of man demands that he shall possess property of a real and personal sort, even though he may not be able to own land or shares in railways and factories. His modified Socialism is the antithesis of Communism."[2] Wells will not give up the use of money in his Utopia like Morris and others, viewing it as a source of evil, for he holds that properly used it is a good thing in life and becomes harmful only "when by bad laws and bad economic organisation it is more easily attained by bad men than good."[3] Civilised human life will require it at every step, and its growth, complicated as it is, is as natural as the bones in a man's wrist. "I do not see how one can imagine anything at all worthy of being called a civilisation without it."[4] Wells will thus let private property continue its career but with certain important modifications. All natural sources of force like coal, water, etc., will be permanently controlled by the local authorities under his World State and no private person will be permitted to exploit them to his advantage.

The Use of Machinery

Wells sees in the increasing introduction of machinery the promise of man's victorious emancipation from the necessity of physical labour.[5] Such a possibility he regards as entirely beneficial. In "The Time Machine" (1895) he was a dark prophet and gave a warning about the danger of absolute security and of continued inactivity. But it was not by the use of machinery that the state of things had there arisen. The attitude towards machinery in "A Modern Utopia" does not appear to

1 *Ibid.*, p. 134.

2 Sidney Dark, The Outline of H. G. Wells, p. 105.

3 Wells, A Modern Utopia, p. 149.

4 *Ibid*, p. 79.

5 Cabet in his "Voyage en Icarie" is the first to see in machinery the promise of man's escape from all arduous labours. See "A Modern Utopia," p. 104.

be in conflict with the pessimistic tendency of the earlier work where he anticipated a mutation because he saw about him the sign by which race deterioration generally showed itself. The "Eloi" and the "Morlocks" in "The Time Machine" did not sink below the level of humanity through an increasing use of machinery but because society split itself into two unnatural halves, each choosing or being compelled, to live in the midst of artificial conditions the result of which was gradually to eliminate from their character all capacities for progress to a higher level of excellence, and dragged them down evermore to something sub-human, futile, and in the case of the "Morlocks," ghastly. There is no hint of machinery in Plato. Morris who is an apt disciple of the Greek philosopher in this matter does not introduce machinery in his Utopia for which he chooses a medieval setting. He mentions mechanical barges which are little better than toys, and machine printing about which we, however, learn that it is "beginning to die out along with the waning of the plague of book-making."[1] Wells's attitude, as already suggested, is the reverse of that of Morris—one looks forward and the other backward. For Wells "There appears no limit to the invasion of life by the machine."[2] He suggests the different kinds of mechanical devices that will find a place in the advanced community he imagines with such thoroughness and perspicuity. We hear of pneumatic despatches,[3] of noiseless aeroplanes,[4] of heat ray,[5] of moving roadway[6] and of dozens of other contrivances used for swift locomotion and for comfort and convenience.

[1] Morris, News from Nowhere, p. 21. Morris and Butler are both anti-Machinists. Their attitude is to be related to some important movements in the early part of the 19th century. Of these Luddism is an important example. Workmen who bitterly complained of the machine destroyed some factories. In 1813, eighteen workmen died on the gallows at York for having destroyed machinery (Henry Brougham, *Life and Times*, II, pp. 76-77).

[2] Wells, A Modern Utopia, p. 102.

[3] Wells, When the Sleeper Wakes, p. 214.

[4] Wells, Men like Gods, p. 32.

[5] Wells, The War of the Worlds.

[6] Wells, When the Sleeper Wakes, p. 46.

The tendency to view the machine's ascendancy in civilised life with alarm manifested itself in the Victorian era, and the two most important pictures of Utopia, "News from Nowhere," and "Erewhon" produced during this age, avoid making any use of the machine to facilitate communication and increase the amenities of life. In "The Coming Race" of Lytton (1870), there is no prejudice against machinery whose advance has been even greater than in Europe of Lytton's time.[1] The visitor to "Erewhon" is imprisoned for having been found in possession of a watch, and was conducted to a museum where machinery of all sorts, representing even the latest inventions in the west, were kept on view. There were fragments of steam engine, all broken and rusted, cylinders, pistons, fly-wheels, and railway carriages, in fact all the appliances in use in Europe at the time could be seen in the museum of specimens. Mechanical knowledge four hundred years ago had reached in Erewhon a stage of development greater even than the Victorian world had attained. The rate of its progress was not, however, regarded as a favourable sign by a learned professor in Erewhon who wrote the Book of Machine to show that the machine would rule in the future, and that man's relation to it would be a subordinate one. There is evidently an implied satire on Darwinism in the detailed exposition of the theory he advances. The professor predicted that humanity would ultimately vanish and its place usurped by the machine : "Machines were ultimately destined to supplant the race of man, and to become instinct with a vitality as different from, and

[1] The Luddite activity was spreading so rapidly in the beginning of the nineteenth century that the interests of the capitalist class were severely hit by it, and in March, 1812, Parliament enacted a law by which the death penalty was fixed for those who took part in the destruction of machinery. Lord Byron had opposed the Bill during its passage through the Upper House in the belief that Luddism was a movement for freedom. *See*, Beers—History of British Socialism (G. Bell and Sons), Vol. I., pp. 131 f. Lord Lytton evidently did not share his sentiments on the subject and hence we see his conception of utopia differing on an important particular from that of Morris or Butler.

superior to, that of animals, as animals to vegetable life."[1] This dark prophecy was at the bottom of a struggle between those who favoured the machine and those who were against it at the end of which the anti-machinists carried the day, destroying all machinery and prohibiting its further use in the future. The Book of the Machines is reproduced in Chapters XXIII-XXV of Erewhon, and although a satire, it succeeds in showing with a certain amount of plausibility the manner in which the mechanical is steadily replacing the human : "Are there not probably more men engaged in tending machinery than in tending men? Do not machines eat as it were by mannery ? Are we not ourselves creating our successors in the supremacy of the earth ? daily adding to the beauty and delicacy of their organisation, daily giving them greater skill and supplying more and more of that self-regulating, self-acting power which will be better than any intelligence ? "[2] The future of the machine, absurdly conceived as autonomous and supreme, has caused anxiety to people in more recent times who saw in the increasing importance of the mechanical force for man a just reason for alarm regarding his destiny. Charlie Chaplin has introduced the subject as the theme of his "Modern Times" where machinery appears as both awful and absurd. Chaplin conveys a sense of bewilderment at the indescribable complications to which it is steadily giving rise and suggests how little comfort man really owes to it.

E. M. Forster in his story "The Machine Stops" seems to borrow the idea from "Erewhon" which the learned professor elaborates in his "Book of the Machines." All things in that future world are regulated with reference to what is good for the Machine. Kuno, a character in the story, is a rebel and it is to him and to a few like-minded persons that the realisation comes

[1] Samuel Butler, Erewhon (Penguin Books), p. 80. In Shaw's "Back to Methuselah" (complete plays, p 920) we are told "that a general massacre of men of science took place in twenty first century of pseudo-christian era, when all their laboratories were demolished, and all their apparatus destroyed."

[2] Butler, Erewhon, p. 201.

with a great force that the human species is dying and that the only thing that really lives is the Machine: "We created the Machine to do our will, but we cannot make it do our will now...We only exist as the blood corpuscles that course through its arteries, and if it could work without us, it would let us die." [1] The Machine is worshipped as divine except by a small minority of rebels, and its devotees humbly acknowledge their gratitude to it for clothing, feeding and housing them and for letting them speak to one another through its medium and the gratitude culminates in a devotion which is religious in all but the name when they see it as omnipotent and eternal and bless it, cowed by the sense of their own insignificance in its presence. It is worshipped but not as a unity. To conceive it as a whole and offer it homage in its entirety seems to baffle human intelligence. Thus "One believer would chiefly be impressed by the blue optic plates, through which he saw other believers; another by the mending apparatus which the sinful Kuno had compared to worms; another by the lifts, another by the Book. And each would pray to this or that, and ask it to intercede for him with the Machine as a whole." [2]

The Book of the Machine, which contains a sufficient number of pages to make even a hundred thousand stout volumes gives directions on all conceivable subjects. A specimen for which the page number quoted is 422, 327, 483, will indicate the deliberate manner in which all natural impulses are sought to be suppressed: "'Parents' duties of,' said the Book of the Machine, 'cease at the moment of birth.'" [3] But the universal dominion of the Machine which was the result of the efficiency with which it was served began gradually to weaken through the decreasing intelligence of human beings who served it. Specialisation was carried so far that no one knew anything beyond the

[1] E. M. Forster, The Eternal Moment and Other Stories (Sidgwick & Jackson, Ltd., 1928), p. 37.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

immediate field of his work and there was in the world none who understood the Machine as a whole. Those men with comprehensive minds who understood the Machine with all its infinite complications had all perished. Humanity loved ease and comfort too much to expend any energy for which there was no immediate occasion. Hence when the Machine began to stop, the crash came with an unexpectedness that was not at all foreseen, involving in that chaos a universal ruin and destruction. Kuno who looked forward to a future of direct contact with human beings in a natural setting die with the others but is happy to think that the Machine has at last collapsed.[1]

Science in Forster's story has made a stupendous progress. Even the night's duration can be a little prolonged by its application—an achievement, however, that has practically no value in terms of human happiness. An attempt is even made, although without success, to neutralise the earth's diurnal revolution, and racing aeroplanes try to " keep pace with the sun," even to outstride it. It is evidently a time when science has reached the apex of its achievement that it breaks down, perhaps to begin a new circle. The author does not see in the progress of science a guarantee of human welfare, and like Erewhon's professor, he regards it as ominous for the future of mankind.

We have seen what has been thought of machinery progressively replacing human labour from two points of view, and we shall have again occasion to examine the attitude of a contemporary author regarding the invasion of our life by Science.

Religion

Various forms of religious belief and practice have been thought of in connexion with the imaginary communities. Plato did not suggest deliberately any modification of the Greek Pantheon but objected to gods being depicted in tales as speaking lies,

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 60 ff.

or deceiving any one or visiting earth, disguised as travellers.[1] Such representations of gods are blasphemous and accordingly undesirable in his Republic, where he wanted only the best influences to prevail, moulding the character of its citizens. Plato identifies God with Justice and Goodness, raising in this way the conception of the divine without any attempt at conscious innovation.[2] In More's "Utopia" God is worshipped as virtue and power. There are other beliefs too professed by the less enlightened part of the community: "But the moste and wysest parte...beleve that there is a certayne godlie powre unknowen, everlastinge, incomprehensible, inexplicable, farre above the capacitie and reache of man's witte, dispersed throughoute all the worlde, not in bignes, but in virtue and powre. Him they call the father of al."[3] In Bacon's "New Atlantis," the Utopians were Christians.[4] Centuries ago they were converted by means of a miracle.

In "Erewhon" the traveller does not notice any sign of the religious feeling. In this matter Erewhon was a prototype of the author's own island country. Butler coins a phrase to describe the religious institution of his Utopia by which he satirizes the religious practices in the contemporary England. "Musical Bank" is the name of Erewhon's religious houses—the word "Bank" implies a comparison between the earthly currency and the heavenly and the author remarking upon the former's greater effectiveness, criticises the rising materialism of his age. The Victorian England still had its Sunday Churches where people went often with considerable regularity but when the book was written disruptive forces where busy even in the sphere of religion and it required Butler's prophetic gift to anticipate what changes were coming and his insight to realise that the church had entered on a period of decay. The

1 The Republic of Plato (Everyman) Bk. II, 65 ff.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 63.

3 Sir Thomas More, Utopia, pp. 143-44.

4 So also in Harrington's "Oceana." In Lytton's "Coming Race" the people worship "the one creator and sustainer of the universe" (p. 58.).

Musical Banks are the symbols of respectability, where people went, avoiding ostentation but carrying some token visibly in their hands "so that those who met them should see whither they were going."[1] The building where the Musical Bank is housed is one that easily appeals to the imagination and by the sight of which the visitor is charmed and melted. But those who frequent these Banks are women only. Yet the whole city is said to be behind them. The formalities there are so mechanical that no one seems to care for them very much although they are observed. The currency of the world tells within these holy precincts also—for "a sinster-looking person in a black gown" who is irritated by the visitor's curiosity becomes complaisant directly some money is given him—the Musical Bank's currency, which meant no doubt an expression of repentance, produces not the slightest effect upon him and it is then that he offers the other currency. The Musical Banks, we learn, paid no dividend "but divided their profits by way of bonus on the original share once in every thirty thousand years."[2] There is satire in every detail of this account. The church's refusal to recognise its increasingly weakening hold upon the enlightened part of the community and the sophisms with which it seeks to prove its power and greatness are also very effectively satirized. Lawyers, doctors, statesmen, men of science, painters and the like who fail to show due deference to these sacred mansions are "just those who are most likely to be misled by their own fancied accomplishments." An attempt is made by an Erewhonian to establish the fact that in old age when the body loses its strength the intellect works more freely. For the Musical Bank's clientele included old men and it was thus necessary to show that in the whole community, their intellectual powers were the greatest. Butler refers to the fact that the clergy's presence is unwholesome for our integrity, for one then almost

[1] Butler, Erewhon, p. 124.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 128. This of course alludes to the Day of Judgement.

unconsciously drifts into assuming hypocritically the absolute supremacy of spiritual values (the currency of the Musical Banks).[1] Butler points out the unfortunate lot of those who are forced to enter the clerical life in which they do and say things in which they have no faith having thus to live a life-long lie. The author then throws aside the pretence of describing an imaginary community and criticises a defect present in all the religions: "their priests try to make us believe that they know more about the unseen world than those whose eyes are still blinded by the seen, can ever know—forgetting that while to deny the existence of an unseen kingdom is bad, to pretend that we know more about it than its bare existence is no better." [2] Butler looks forward to a change which he believes is not far off when the religious life will be more in harmony with both the heads and hearts of the people. The general attitude to the Musical Banks represented by 99 per cent. of the city's population is not other than contemptuous.

Thus Butler does not offer a picture of any excellence in spiritual matters that can worthily be pursued in this world but takes the system in his own country for a close analysis in which he shows how fast the Church is decaying although it does not cease in its folly to make the claims which were once legitimate because their validity was not then questioned.

In "News from Nowhere," the religious question does not seem to interest any one—the abundance of life's enjoyment is there to keep one busy and make one forget all those doubts and fears which take possession of one in less happy periods.

Wells in his "Modern Utopia" bases the religious life of the people upon a repudiation of the doctrine of original sin. The Utopian belief is the very opposite of the Christian—for it regards man as essentially good. "How can you think of him as bad? He is religious; religion is as natural to him as

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 132.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 135.

lust and anger, less intense, indeed, but coming with a wide-sweeping inevitableness as peace after all tumults and noises." [1] Wells holds that with religious belief and procedure the modern State will have no concern—they will be left to the individual to decide according to his personal inclination.[2]

Inge thinks that the Utopian clergy, generally supporting itself by some secular calling as schoolmaster or doctor, will render help to those who are in trouble about their souls as the main part of its business and this it will do after due training in the psychology of religion.[3]

The Utopian religion, as conceived in our day, thus tends to shed itself of all dogmatic preconception about the omnipotent and tries to be of real help to men and women without using the Christian machinery of sin and atonement.

Marriage and children

We may now pass on to a consideration of the means by which the Utopias seek to perpetuate themselves by a constant renewal of their population. In other words, what are the kinds of marriage contracted in them and what types of children do they wish to bring into the world and the steps, if any, that they take to ensure their birth.

We have already referred to Plato's attitude to the question of marriage and the theory of group marriage he suggested in "The Republic." Those women who have the required order of ability to assume the reponsiblities of Guardian will dwell with the men who are likewise trained to be guardians, there being a sort of group marriage among them. Campanella also upheld a community of husbands and wives in his "City of the

1 Wells, A Modern Utopia, p. 288. The religion of "Modern Utopia" appears to be a form of modified Pelagianism.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 191.

3 William Ralph Inge, A Rustic Moralist (Putnam), p. 248.

Sun."[1] He was one of the earliest thinkers to be interested in eugenics and laid down rules by which a healthy progeny could be secured. Campanella (1568-1639), it may be remembered, was a priest of the Dominican order and an Italian by birth.

In More's "Utopia" marriage once entered into is dissolved only by death—and under special circumstances, like adultery and intolerable waywardness.[2] He was not an advanced thinker on this subject and accepted the institution which regulated the relations between the sexes in his own country as suitable for his Utopia. He does not recommend any special step as a guarantee for the birth of children who will grow up to be strong and intelligent and capable trustees of the future. In "The New Atlantis" care is taken before marriage to see if the partners are in sound physical condition: "they have near every town a couple of pools (which they call Adam and Eve's pools), where it is permitted to one of the friends of the man, and another of the friend of the woman, to see them severally naked."[3] Although the inspection of the body alone is not enough, for it does not give any proof of the qualities of will and energy on which a citizen's worth very largely depends, the precaution suggested shows that Bacon was alive to the problem and had, at any rate, thought it important that the physique of the parents should be free from any taint so that the health of the progeny might not be adversely affected by heredity.

[1] It is interesting to note that a group marriage of over 200 people was organised by John Humphrey Noyes at Oneida Creek. The experiment known as the Onedia Community of New York State (1848-1879) was successful during the founder's lifetime. After the death of Noyes the children who grew up to be much more individualistic broke up the community. The details of the interesting experiment have not been fully recorded but some information about it may be obtained from the writings of its organiser, especially his "History of American Socialisms" as well as from Morris Hillquirt's "History of Socialism in the United States."

[2] Sir Thomas More, Utopia, p. 123.

[3] The Essays Civil and Moral & The New Atlantis of Francis Lord Verulam (Methuen, 1905), p. 167; Campanella also provides for the inspection of the body as one of the rules he lays down for securing healthy children.

In Lytton's " Coming Race " marriage lasts only for three years at the end of which a divorce is allowed on application either by the husband or the wife. But if there is no divorce the husband can marry a second wife after ten years of married life when the first wife retires if she pleases. " The marriage state now seems singularly happy and serene among the astonishing people."[1] Sex relations in Morris's " News from Nowhere " are not subject to State interference. They are entirely left to the individual. Clara, for example, lived happily with Dick for two years and then left him thinking that she was in love with another man. She soon saw her mistake and returned to Dick to the rejoicing of all their friends. She had two children but they made no difficulty in the path of their mother's freedom.[2] Although eugenics are thus left to take care of themselves a happy luck seems to conspire to fill up Morris's Utopia with a happy, healthy and charming population whose gay and care-free life is the object of the author's repeated admiration. Samuel Butler in his " Erewhon " shows the Erewhonians as more particular ; we are told that " they have an extreme dislike to marrying into what they consider unhealthy families."[3]

Wells, a scientist by education, makes the practical application of eugenics a fundamental basis for his Utopia. In his "Men like Gods," children are born of healthy parents and their mothers conceive them deliberately and after due preparation. The atmosphere in which they grow up is carefully adapted to their requirements. Marriage, however, is not compulsory if two people choose to live together. Irregular as such unions are from the orthodox point of view, they are perfectly consistent with the ideas of honour and self-respect in that society where marriage is thought an inconvenient bondage. They keep together if any work in which they are mutually interested brings them into each other's contact, turning them into lovers.

[1] Lord Lytton, The Coming Race, p 95.
[2] Morris, News from Nowhere, pp. 64-65.
[3] Samuel Butler, Erewhon, p 90.

Such a life is regarded as the normal thing in their society.[1] Monogamy has sometimes been thought a limiting circumstance in a man's life but the social conscience has revolted against polygamy as unjust to the woman. In another romance, Wells makes it the object of approving comments by a lady who refers to a charming woman as " one of the subsidiary wives of the Anglican Bishop of London " whom she admires because he had the courage to defy the prevailing fashion of clerical monogamy about which she remarks that it is " neither a natural nor an expedient condition of things. Why should the natural development of the affections be dwarfed and restricted because a man is a priest ?"[2]

In " A Modern Utopia " Wells lays down the minimum age of marriage for males as 27 and that of women as 21.

The Utopian marriage, according to Wells, would be free from religious formalities, and divorce would be granted for desertion, drunkennes, any serious crime and for childlessness. The mother owes it as a duty to her child to supervise its nursing and teaching even when she delegates its care to some one. Such supervision, Wells insists, is essential to its welfare.[3]

Wells has imagined the possibility of reproduction of human life in the manner in which the plants reproduce themselves. In "The War of the Worlds" he describes a race born on the planet Mars who are superior to man in their knowledge and intelligence and are without sex. Between the human beings and the Martians, the difference is not, however, one of kind but of degree. " We men... are just in the beginning of the evolution that the Martians have worked out." [4] In the course of the war between the invading Martians and the Earthlings, a Martian " was really born upon the earth...and it was found attached

1 Wells, Men like Gods.

2 Wells, When the Sleeper Wakes, p. 188

3 Wells, A Modern Utopia, p. 190 ff.

4 Wells, The War of the Worlds (William Heinemann, First Edition, 1898), p. 214.

to its parent, partially *budded off* just as young lily bulbs bud off."[1]

Dean Inge would require certificates of mental and bodily fitness before people are allowed to marry to prevent unhealthy or otherwise, defective babies being born. Husbands and wives would be graded on the strength of an intelligence test and a physical test at the school and the university and from family histories which would be registered, " an AI husband or wife is as much sought after as wealth and titles are now."[2] In W. H. Hudson's " Crystal Age " the principle of the beehive is followed as the basis of social existence. In every house the Crystallites have a house-mother who like the queen bee specialises in mother-hood. Her duty is to carry on the family, and the Crystallites in recognition of her valuable work in the interest of the society, honour her like a veritable goddess. Her voice is clothed with the authority of law. A year before she lays down her duties of the house-mother, she is allowed access to the sacred books of the house, all knowledge whereof is denied to the rest of the hive. She has thus two important functions to fulfil as mother of the race and the custodian of its spiritual heritage. The house-mother alone is permitted sexual experience. For all the others sex is to be atrophied by a life-long self-restraint. The Crystallites can be in love but the love is to be kept free from the taint of sex. Wherever there is a violence of passion either from excess of love or grief, the remedy prescribed is death.[3]

Wells thinks that the development of science will make it possible to control the population with such complete success that undesirable types may freely be eliminated. " If woman is too much for us, we'll reduce her to a minority, and if we do not like any type of men and women, we'll have no more of it. These old bodies, these old animal limitations, all this earthly inheritance of gross inevitabilities falls from the spirit of man like

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 209-10.

[2] W. R. Inge, A Rustic Moralist, p. 246.

[3] W. H. Hudson, A Crystal Age.

the shrivelled cocoon from an image."[1] He has repeatedly asserted the significance of birth control in the new phase of life that the World State will inaugurate.[2] For him the dream of a progressive humanity is intimately bound up with an effective control of the birth rate and of the sex and character of those born. In E. M. Forster's story "The Machine Stops" a Committee which exists to carry out the will of the Machine, decides upon the type of men and women it sees fit to continue. When the rebellious Kuno wished to be a father and requested the Committee to grant him the permission, it refused to do so because "He was not a type that the Machine desired to hand on."[3] The story, satire though it is, does not neglect to give its due importance to a scientific control of the population, although the control here exercised is not intended to improve the race but to secure in it those qualities which may be useful for continuing the Machine's supremacy.

There will be a number of people everywhere who are born deformed in spite of all the care taken to bring into the world only such children as can advance its culture and civilisation when they grow up in the midst of healthy surroundings. Wells proposes to get rid of them by killing them [4] as was the custom in Sparta where all unhealthy children were exposed on the hills where they perished.

Law and Justice

Plato's Republic originates in a discussion on justice. It is left to the care of the guardians in the Republic and the Nocturnal Synod in the Laws. The education prescribed for the guardians which combined philosophy and practical sense in just

[1] Even Plato saw the need of deliberately controlling the growth of population; "they (the citizens of the Republic) will live pleasantly together, begetting children not beyond their substance, guarding against poverty and war." Republic, Bk. II, p. 54.

[2] Wells, Clissold, Vol III, p. 693.

[3] E. M. Forster, The Eternal Moment and Other Stories, p. 29.

[4] Wells, A Modern Utopia, p 145.

proportions, would no doubt serve to create efficient administrators of Justice, enabling them to rise above those gusts of passion that pervert true judgement. Justice at first defined as "the advantage of the more powerful,"[1] leads to an inquiry into its nature and conditions in the course of which the original definition is abandoned as false and the question is then thoroughly investigated with reference to the individual and the State. Plato regards it as a mark of an ill and base education to have the necessity to resort to the courts for the verdict of a "sleepy judge."[2] It would be much better and handsome, he says, for individuals so to regulate their lives that it might not be necessary for them to take matters to a court of law. What he says more than two thousand years ago still remains true but now as then people fight and quarrel and have to appeal to a court to compose their differences and come to some settlement about which dispute is not permissible.

More in his "Utopia" advocated an enlightened criminal justice. Theft which was the result of poverty could be removed from society not by sending the offender to the gallows as was customary in his age but by providing him with the means of existence. There is, however, no need of stealing in the community which More describes because all things are held in common there by the Utopians.[3] In "News from Nowhere" also, property not being private, there is no crime in that society of which it is the cause. But human nature still breaks out into acts of violence under the influence of passion. Scuffles may sometimes take a serious turn and homicide may result. "But what then ? Shall we the neighbours make it worse still ? Shall we think so poorly of each other as to suppose that the slain man calls on us to avenge him, when we *know* that if he had been maimed, he would, when in cold blood and able to weigh all the circumstances,

[1] The Republic, Bk. I, p. 16.
[2] *Ibid*, Bk. III, p. 93.
[3] More, Utopia, p. 59.

have forgiven his maimer ?" [1] We learn from the story that violence is generally caused by jealousy—for in that well-ordered society few things exist besides this that can provoke any kind of violence, drawing men away from their pursuit of innocent pleasure or health-giving activity so that they may shed blood from some murderous desire. It is therefore apparent that courts are not called upon to interfere with the liberty in which the people live. In "Erewhon" the situation is entirely different and the order of the day seems to be a kind of moral topsy-turvydom. Mr. Nosnibor there embezzles a large sum of money but the matter does not come within the sphere of the courts and is referred to the "Straighteners" who attend to him, prescribing for him a systematic flogging for a certain period of time. Yet it is surprising to learn that in public opinion "no man in the country stands higher." [2] Forgery, arson, robbery and violence as well as other criminal acts are regarded merely as "fits of immorality" deserving of sympathy on all hands, and are treated carefully at a hospital at public expense. Where people are rich they do not care to be a charge on public revenue by accepting charity but arrange for their treatment at home, sending round word to their friends that they are "suffering from a severe fit of immorality." [3] While such misdemeanours pass without setting the legal machinery in motion and are regarded indulgently by the public, there are other circumstances, generally beyond human control about which an attitude of great severity is maintained by the courts. Curiously enough, illness of any sort is viewed by the Erewhonians as criminal, and even such a slight affection as an attack of cold is liable to be punished by imprisonment for a considerable time.[4] A bereaved husband is penalised for his excessive attachment. When the charge is framed against him, he

[1] Morris, News from Nowhere, pp. 95-96.
[2] Samuel Butler, Erewhon, p. 75.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 85.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

pleads guilty to it. The sentence passed on him by the Magistrate requires him to choose between three months' hard labour and the payment of 25% of the Insurance money which has come to him on his wife's death. Another trial no less interesting as indication of the Erewhonian attitude is the punishment of a boy just arrived at man's estate. The charge against him is that he let himself be swindled out of a large property by his guardian who is also one of his nearest relations during his minority. The punishment is that he should apologise to his guardian and receive twelve strokes of a cat o'-nine-tails.[1] Although the Erewhonian system of justice is perverse from the beginning to the end, the community is marked by its respect for law and order.[2] The suggestion may be ventured that in offering this picture of perverse ethical standards, Butler may have wished to show that no absolute values exist in the field and that even highly developed intelligences can invent things which may appear absurd and unacceptable to us. The Erewhonions are thus a good illustration of the relativity of values and if Butler wrote deliberately to make this point, he must have anticipated some of the interesting developments of science in the generation that followed his own age.

Wells repudiates the eye-for-an-eye basis of justice in his Utopia which will have the strength that begets mercy. Vindictive justice will not have any place in his World State where capital punishment will disappear and torture of criminals will also cease. "Even for murder Utopia.....will not kill."[3] In Hudson's "Crystal Age" the house-father who is a sort of patriarch rules the household, dispensing justice according to usage.[4] Dean Inge proposes reformatories instead of prisons

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 103.

3 We ls, A Modern Utopia, p. 115.

4 W. H Hudson, A Crystal Age; see also Lewis Mumford, The Story of the Utopias Harrapp), p. 174.

for criminals in his utopia but in cases of incorrigibly anti-social persons, a painless death is prescribed which will be privately executed and will not bring the families concerned into disgrace.[1]

Form and Machinery of Government

Of the types of government proposed for the ideal States, some of the more interesting ones may briefly be noticed. The Guardians in Plato's "Republic" were to take charge of the government and their business was not to secure the happiness of some favoured class but to promote the welfare of the whole community. They had to undergo a long training to fit themselves for their great task of regulating the affairs of a city which was to be "wise, and brave and temperate and just."[2] The rules laid down for the Guardians require that they are not to handle gold and silver because of their corrupting influence. The possession of any private means of their own will degrade them to stewards and farmers and they will become "hateful lords instead of allies to the other citizens, hating and being hated, plotting and being plotted against, they shall pass the whole of their life, much oftener, and more afraid of the enemies from within than from without, they and the rest of the state hastening speedily to destruction."[3] Plato thus summarises the qualities needed in one worthy to be a Guardian who, to quote his words, "shall be a philosopher, and spirited, and swift and strong in his disposition."[4] Plato is fully aware that from "war arise the greatest mischiefs to states, both private and public,"[5] but there is nothing to show that he envisages a community which has ceased to make wars. Harrington's "Oceana" is a republican state where if a man wastes his

1 W. R. Inge, A Rustic Moralist, p. 247.
2 Plato's Republic, Bk. IV, 178.
3 *Ibid.*, Bk. III, p. 107.
4 *Ibid.*, Bk. II, p. 59.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 55.

patrimony through prodigality, he is completely shut out from Magistracy, Office and from the exercise of suffrage.[1] In Lytton's "Coming Race" the idea of a benevolent autocracy is supported even by democratic writers if there is a guarantee for its continuance or against the abuse of powers, accorded to it. In actual practice, a single, supreme magistrate is elected for life and we learn that there is nothing to induce any members of the utopian society to covet the cares of office. In the "News from Nowhere" the government is democratic, and all questions are settled by a majority of votes, although the minority can delay proceedings by their opposition. But that is never done, for in this Utopia "we are very well off as to politics,—because we have none."[2] In "Erewhon the form of government is obviously monarchical although the author does not mention whether it is of the absolute or the limited kind.

G. K. Chesterton in his "Napoleon of Notting Hill" offers an extremely whimsical picture of London "eighty years after the present date."[3] The city remains physically exactly as it was at the date the book was written (1904), but a great change appears in the system of government. For we learn that the soldiers and Police have practically vanished, and those few who still exist can never exercise an effective discipline upon the population—for if the people wish, they can easily sweep them away. But they never dream of doing such a thing for they no longer believe in revolution. In Chesterton's picture of the city, democracy is dead, its place being taken by despotism, although not a hereditary one. Some one in the official class was made king but nobody cared how nor was there any interest in the personality of the king who was "merely an universal secretary." Hereditary monarchy was abolished as there was a chance that diseases might be handed from the parent to the son if the dynastic system was continued.

1 James Harrington, The Oceana and Other Works, p. 84.

2 Morris, News from Nowhere, p. 99.

3 G. K. Chesterton, Napoleon of Notting Hill (John Lane, 1921), p. 20.

Chesterton does not seem to notice any difference between hereditary and alphabetical monarchies, establishing the former's superiority. He holds that the thing which is indispensable is that there should be a system. But it is crazy and wild to believe that any system can be perfect. Chesterton does not see in hereditary monarchy the promise of a good strain being continued with increasing excellence and assigns to luck a stupendous rôle, viewing it as the only true explanation of whatever worth may be noticed in individuals and societies. He is in this respect entirely opposed to Wells and the scientific attitude.[1] Barker in "The Napoleon of Notting Hill" who is evidently his mouthpiece, rejects all that science has discovered in his emphatic assertion that luck alone presides over a successful hereditary monarchy as over an "alphabetical" one in which the kingship goes to the man whose name comes first in the alphabetical order. Then he asks: "Can you find a deep philosophical meaning in the difference between the Stuarts and the Hanoverians? Believe me, I will undertake to find a deep philosophical meaning in the contrast between the tragedy of A's and the solid success of the B's."[2] There is a very picturesque battle as a result of intensely local patriotism in which Wayne, the pure fanatic and the true hero of the story, carries off the day. The militant passion of the Middle Ages comes alive in the pages of this work with all the bright and colorful equipages of those bygone days. Halberds and swords clash in battle but the fusillade of cannon is not heard even once—for the cannon lacks the glamour of romance which the simpler arms possess.

Hilaire Belloc in "Mr. Petre" is a satirist who plays the rôle of prophet because it is thus that he can be a critic of his own times, affecting an aloofness which will, to some extent at least, disguise his real intention. The date at which his story begins is April, 1953, when an English gentleman, suffering from a temporary loss of memory, assumes the name of an

[1] For Chesterton's views on heredity, etc., see his "Eugenics and Other Evils" (1922).

[2] The Napoleon of Notting Hill, p. 45.

American multi-millionaire at the first suggestion and in complete ignorance of what it signifies, and is at once raised to be a demi-god in the financial world. He makes a fabulous fortune by just consenting to buy certain shares. As soon as the rumour circulates in the market that the great Paul K. Petre is buying those shares, their price shoots up like a rocket. Women in Mr. Petre's time fill important positions in the government and one of them is at the helm of affairs, being the Prime Minister.[1] His next novel "But Soft—We are Observed" dips into a comparatively distant future, beginning as it does in the year 1979 when we see women making politics their vocation. The mistaken identity of an American, Richard Mallard, is the motif of this novel. He is believed to be a diplomatist with authority to negotiate the monopoly of an extremely valuable commodity, and is pursued by an army of sleuths whose methods and appearances are a source of uproarious humour. They are appointed by the British Government and by financial magnates to watch his movements and report. We learn that for a whole life time there had been no war in the world where the Parliaments of the great Powers had long ago settled down into two sober parties, Communist on the right and Anarchist on the left, preserving between them the continuity of the tradition of Representative Government. There was a third party—the Annihilationists—who were everywhere but being in a minority they were powerless to do anything.[2]

Organisation of Cosmopolis

Wells regards the organisation of all mankind into Cosmopolis not as a Utopian dream, as something that may be viewed merely as a fantastic possibility, but "as the necessary, the only possible continuation of human history."[3] He has considered

[1] Hilaire Belloc, Mr. Petre (Arrowsmith, 1926), p. 60.

[2] Hilaire Belloc, But Soft—We are Observed (Arrowsmith, 1928), p. 57.

[3] Wells, The World of William Clissold, Vol. III, p. 613.

at great length the manner in which the state of the future can be organised. In "A Modern Utopia" the problem is fully examined and a scheme of government offered. Wells gives proof of his practical sense in disavowing any intention to present a perfect society in the shape of his Utopia and he tells us that its superiority to the present world will consist in an enormous reduction of "friction, conflict, and waste" [1] which will not, however, disappear entirely from his World State.

The deliberate creation of a new class of rulers in the form of the 'Samurai' is the basis of his Utopia. The Samurai are the twin brothers of Plato's Guardians. One can volunteer to be a Samurai after the age of 25 but one must be intelligent, healthy and efficient to deserve the distinction. All the work of directing, controlling, guiding and ruling will be done by the Samurai who will act as head teachers, principals, barristers, employers of labour, law-makers, magistrates, in fact all the leadership of the community will rest entirely with this class. Wells' political economy not being the same as that of Plato, there is a noticeable difference between the Samurai and the Guardians in certain matters. The Samurai unlike the Guardian will have private property and a knowledge of some profession will be deemed essential to his equipment. Otherwise in the strict regard for temperate habits and in prescribing a regimen of food for them Wells makes them purely Platonic creatures. The Samurai will not be permitted to take any alcoholic drink or even to smoke tobacco. He cannot play games in public nor watch them being played.[2]

For keeping their powers fresh and their strength undiverted, Wells proposes in his "Modern Utopia" a practice which is specially to distinguish the ruling class or the Samurai. For seven consecutive days at least in the year every member of this class, man as well as woman, must go alone to some wild and solitary places and there stay without contact with any other

[1] Wells, A Modern Utopia, p. 254.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 280.

human being ; books, money, paper, pen, or maps—nothing will be permitted, not even weapons for self-defence except provisions, and a rug or a sleeping sack during this period set apart for the renewal of the body and the spirit under the influence of absolute loneliness. The road along which the journey to solitude is to be made must be no beaten ways lined with houses but "the bare, quiet places of the globe—the regions set apart from them." [1]

The practice of withdrawing to solitude enjoined upon the Samurai is the only element in his nature that connects him with Japanese culture which supplied Wells with a name for the ruling class in his Utopia. The Japanese people are in the habit of going into solitude so that they may learn to concentrate their minds. Although the practice has no doubt been derived from Buddhism [2] where various forms of meditation have been brought under a system by a close application of psychological rules, the popularity of the practice to-day is not because of its religious origin but because of the fact that it affords a real help in mental training of which the importance has been recognised even by business men not to speak of those interested in the learned professions where a disciplined mind has a much greater advantage.

In "The Shape of Things to Come" Wells has discussed the stages by which the World Republic is established, how a rational basis is at last found for the world's socio-economic and political life, guaranteeing a full and happy existence to all. The change comes in the course of 150 years only.

The various departments of the World State and the manner in which they will function, as suggested by Wells, will appear from the following passage :

" There will be a supreme court determining not International Law, but World Law. There will be a growing code of World Law.

1 *Ibid.*, p. 291.

2 Sir Charles Eliot, Japanese Buddhism (Edward Arnold & Co., 1935), pp. 330 ff

"There will be a World Currency.

"There will be a ministry of posts, transport, and communication generally.

"There will be a ministry of trade in staple products and for the conservation and development of the natural resources of the earth.

"There will be a ministry of social and labour condition.

"There will a ministry of world health.

"There will be a ministry, the most important ministry of all, watching and supplementing national educational works and taking up the care and stimulation of backward communities.

"And instead of a War Office and Naval and Military Departments, there will be a Peace Ministry, studying the belligerent possibilities of every new invention, watching for armed disturbance everywhere, and having complete control of every armed force that remains in the world." [1]

The organisation of the World State, Wells tells us, would not come as a matter of course. It would not be the work of chance and anarchy but would come as a result of co-ordinated effort and community of design.[2] It would probably appear at the end of a disastrous war such as Wells imagines taking place in 1959 when the atomic bombs destroyed most of World's big cities along with the trade and industry by which civilised life was supported. At such a time what is needed is one clear persuasion as regards the task one has to face, and even an ordinary man can change the aspect of the world when he possesses this persuasion. We see in this story of the future world a Frenchman, Lebnac, who brings together a conference at Brissago where 93 of the world's great leaders including kings and emperors, statesmen, politicians and financial potentates meet to deliberate about the step to be taken to establish the World State for saving humanity from utter extinction. It is interesting to note that

[1] H. G. Wells, The Salvaging of Civilisation, see also R. T. Hopkins, H. G. Wells—Personality, Character, Topography (Cecil Palmer, London), pp. 11-12.

[2] Wells, A Modern Utopia, p. 130.

among the assembled men, Wells includes "a great Bengali leader." [1] The Conference becomes the nucleus of the World Republic to which some opposition is still offered by one or two small states but they are swiftly brought under control.

Education

Plato in discussing the question of education for his Republic refers to the theory which had already been known to the Greeks, namely, that it meant "exercise for the body, and music for the mind," [2] music being understood in the sense of discourses which Plato goes on to divide into two kinds, true and false (fables). He points out the negative as well as the positive aspects of education—what young learners should be taught and what they should not be taught, specially with reference to Gods, daemons and heroes and a future state after this life. The educational programme is to be subordinated to an ulterior motive, that of producing citizens who will hold opinions tending to the good of the republic. He next discusses the forms of the discourses by which the young are to be taught—they include simple narration, imitation as well as a combination of the two. He gives music a very important place in his scheme of education as "measure and harmony enter in the strongest manner into the inward part of the soul, and most powerfully affect it." [3] He regards it as the source of true refinement although there are harmonies (*e.g.*, Ionic and Lydian) which he considers unsuitable being by their nature "effeminate and gossiping." [4] In the New Atlantis, Salomon's House is the centre of the intellectual life of the whole community, carrying out experiments on an extensive scale. This "house or college...is the very eye of this kingdom." [5] Its dedicated task is the study of the works

1 H. G Wells, The World Set Free, p. 159.

2 The Republic of Plato, BK. II, p. 59

3 The Republic of Plato, BK III, p. 88.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 85.

5 The Essays or Counsels, Civil and Moral and the New Atlantis of Francis Lord Verulam (Methuen, 1905), p. 154

and creatures of God and has attached to it to aid its investigation great lakes both salt and fresh, parks and inclosures, brewing houses, bake houses, dispensaries, furnaces of many different kinds, "perspective houses," in addition to which beasts and birds enhance the riches of the College. Nor does this exhaust the list, for Salomon's House has besides engine houses, mathematical houses, and "houses of deceits of the senses." It employs twelve men called the "merchants of light" whose duty is to sail into foreign countries for obtaining information about them. Three men are engaged by it to collect the experiments in the mechanical arts, and another batch of three men tabulate all the discoveries made in the past. Thus the centre of Bensalem's intellectual life is a vast organisation which seeks to disseminate correct information on all subjects by a careful investigation and hence the education of the community gives proof of a tendency to develop character by mastering the secrets of Nature.

Morris takes the word "education" at first in a purely non-intellectual sense to suggest that even for children its sphere can be enlarged indefinitely. He will not have only young people as learners. The old may join their ranks, too. We are told that children learn, whether they go through a system of teaching or not, mentioning the following as the subjects in which they attain excellence: swimming, riding ponies, cooking, mowing, and doing odd jobs at carpentering. The list seems to be a vindication of manual labour towards which the attitude of the wealthy and the educated is generally one of conscious superiority and does not show what mental discipline is provided for young people to fit them for their places in life. Morris's Utopians do not however, neglect their intellectual and spiritual development. For we are soon told that by four years' time the child picks up a knowledge of reading not because any pressure is applied but from simple curiosity. It learns a number of different languages—French, German, English or Welsh or Irish; here too the desire to make the necessary effort comes from a tendency to

imitate its parents to whom these languages are familiar. There is also a classical side to education, for most children learn either Greek or Latin as additional to their equipment in the modern languages. The popularity of history suffers from the prejudice that people care about it "mostly in periods of turmoil and strife and confusion"[1] and mathematics too is not in request although one or two people may occasionally be found taking an interest in it. No serious study is done until the fifteenth year is attained before which time children mostly occupy themselves with story books. Early bookishness is not encouraged but if it appears in any one, no attempt is made to dissuade him. By the time the young learner grows up to be twenty years of age, the enthusiasm for books becomes usually very much diminished from an interest in genuinely amusing work like "house-building and street-paving, and gardening, etc."[2] The key to the whole system seems to be complete freedom and initiative—an ideal which will take long to be accomplished.

The Erewhonian system of education is a satire on the classical bias in the English system of Butler's time with its tendency to exalt the merely theoretical "when their own civilisation presented problems by the hundred which cried aloud for solution and would have paid the solver handsomely."[3] "Hypothetics" is the most important thing taught at the Colleges of Unreason in Erewhon—the subject has been thus defined: "To imagine a set of utterly strange and impossible contingencies, and require the youths to give intelligent answers to the questions that arise therefrom, is reckoned the fittest conceivable way of preparing them for the actual conduct of their affairs in after life."[4] Students spend some of the best years of their lives trying to learn the hypothetical language by which Butler means no doubt the classical languages. It is a distin-

[1] Morris, News from Nowhere, p. 34.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 35,
[3] Butler, Erewhon, p. 178.
[4] *Ibid.*, 177.

guishing mark of a scholar and a gentleman to be able freely to translate their own poetry into the hypothetical language. Inconsistency and Evasion which are important subjects of study at these Colleges are left to the care of a professor who is a specialist in them. We are told that sometimes so much proficiency is attained by the learners that "there is hardly any inconsistency so glaring but they soon learn to defend it, or injunction so clear that they cannot find some pretext for disregarding it." [1] This is probably meant to be an attack on the sophism and chicanery practised by lawyers in carrying their points. The Erewhonian teachers make a systematic attempt to suppress any kind of originality, for they hold that it is not their business to help students to think for themselves.[2] They think that a man should aim at being like his neighbours in his thoughts and ideas, "for Heaven help him if he thinks good what they count bad." Genius is tolerated as a necessary evil and uniformity enforced with considerable severity. Vagueness is looked upon as an excellence and a certain professor is said to have "plucked one poor fellow for want of sufficient vagueness in his saving clauses."[3]

It is needless to go into further detail for presenting a complete picture of the educational life among the Erewhonians, for it is a deliberate satire upon the English system of Butler's time, as already mentioned, with exaggerations either of the curricula or the results obtained by imposing upon young learners a variety of subjects which serve neither to form the character nor to stimulate the mind yet their popularity is not impaired, for they are a passport to social distinction.

The Wellsian Utopia has for its support schools and teachers "who are all that schools and teachers can be."[4] The

[1] *Ibid.*, 178.
[2] *Ibid.*, 180.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 181 ;
[4] Wells, Men like Gods, p. 74.

child there has a free outlet for the expression of all its natural gifts which are carefully developed under a system that stimulates all healthy impulses by giving them full play. It is brought up in a congenial atmosphere where it learns easily to draw, write and speak. In its social relations it is kind and civil because it always meets with kindness and civility in others. The growth of imagination in the child is a subject of special solicitude. The history of the world becomes one of its earliest interests and it learns how man is moving out of the narrow shell of animal egotism in which he was once enclosed, struggling " towards an empire over being that is still but faintly apprehended through dense veils of ignorance." [1] Its desires lose their grossness as an effect of various influences coming from poetry, example and the love of those about it. It imbibes a scientific passion and learns to direct its strength against disorder, having no greater personal ambition to actuate it than "an honourable share in the common achievement."[2] Wells tells us that it is under the influence of wholesome education that his Utopians discard parliament, politics, private wealth and business competition and outgrow the need of police and prison. What is more, there are among them no lunatics, no defectives nor cripples.[3] For them education is their government. In "When Sleeper Wakes" we are introduced to a world some two hundred years hence where science has made a bewildering progress. There is no central power directing the world's affairs except a selfish council of twelve who are, however, soon overthrown. The educational system has not there been fully evolved. The mechanism is there but life has not been breathed into it. There are lecturing phonographs almost everywhere but 500 of them operating in London discourse simultaneously on the " influence exercised by Plato and Swift on the love affairs of Shelley, Hazlitt, and Burns." [3] The grouping of the

[1] *Ibid.*, 73.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Wells, When the Sleeper Wakes, p. 183.

names and the disregard shown to chronology in the order in which they have been arranged, seem to reveal a satirical purpose in the author. The subject on which 500 phonographs get busy is certainly an absurd one. The students are required at the end of the lecture to write an essay on the same subject and their papers are marked and a list is hung up in conspicuous places where their names are set down in order of merit. The description judged in its entirety seems to be a veritable satire on a purely literary education.

Wells is emphatic in his assertion that education should not be for a privileged class but should be for all. He holds that no government can attain true excellence in the absence of an enlightened citizenship. In "The World Set Free" we see the government indifferent to the religious practices in various parts of the world. But it introduces universal education so as to accustom people to a wider conception of life and the world, which has emerged as a result of a most destructive warfare. It is after this fearful catastrophe that rapid strides are taken to establish the World State. When this mighty task is accomplished, it is laid down that schools wherever they may be situated will have to teach "the history of the war and the consequences of the last war"[1] as a propaganda against militarism.

In his Utopia Wells organises research in such a way that every new result obtained by investigation and experiment in any part of the world will be immediately recorded in the encyclopaedic index which will be brought up to date every week by the help of aeroplanes attached to the Research Department.

Wells mentions 2020 A D. as the year when the new order will become an accomplished fact, when the world's entire educational life will become state-managed.[2] To London he assigns a rôle of vast significance—she keeps her traditional

[1] H. G. Wells, The World Set Free, p 236.

[2] H. G. Wells, The Shape of Things to Come (Hutchinson, 1937), p. 386.

pre-eminence among the cities of the world as the social and intellectual exchange of Utopia, with a University where a thousand professors will direct tens of thousands of advanced students whose studies will be facilitated by stupendous libraries and mighty museums.[1] Literature, Philosophy, and Science will thrive equally well in this stimulating atmosphere where every opportunity will exist for study and research.

Aldous Huxley As Utopist

No reference has so far been made to Aldous Huxley's "Brave New World" which begins in the year A.F. 632, F. standing for Ford whose book, "My Life and Work," is the Bible of the Brave New World with its planetary motto: "Community, Identity and Stability"—the principle of mass production is at last applied to biology. Everything has been standardised including human qualities so that the class labels, Alphas, Bitas, Gammas and Epsilons, refer to distinct groups within which the proportion of intelligence, bodily strength, etc., is unvarying. Human beings are now laboratory products. A factory is 'staffed with the products of a single bokanorskified egg,"[2] Men and 'achine have attained their earthly perfection by their complete identity: Ninety-six identical twins working ninety-six identical machines![3] Here seems to be a fulfilment of that ideal of uniformity and efficiency

[1] H. G. Wells, A Modern Utopia, p. 237.

[2] Aldous Huxley, Brave New World (Chatto and Windus, 1932), p. 6. In Shaw's "Back to Methuselah" we are told that in 31,920 A.D. human beings not only burst out of egg shells but when their time is ripe, they shout for deliverance. They have the intelligence of one twenty years' old in our world and speak and argue in the fashion of a youth of that age, Back to Methuselah, Complete Plays, 942 f.

[3] Huxley, Brave New World, p. 6. E M. Forster too imagines a world where "people were almost exactly alike" (Eternal Moment and Other Stories, p 26) but this was not through moulding their forms by some mechanical process but through the necessity of their having to adapt themselves to a life where all interests were subordinated to the service of the Machine.

which is the triumph of civilisation. Love between two people, if more than flirtation is seriously condemned. People do not read Shakespeare any longer, for the world the great Elizabethan depicts is entirely different from the Brave New World, satirized by a phrase out of Shakespeare himself—for although emphatically new it is anything but brave and splendid. Tragedies are meaningless among a people who have never known instability, who are happy because they get what they want and never want what they can't get. Besides this, they have no parents, no wives, no children, in fact nothing to make them feel intensely, "they're so conditioned that they practically can't help behaving as they ought to behave."[1] Human beings are all conditioned creatures and their reaction to any circumstance can always be accurately predicted. They have no religion except a bottle of soma, defined as Christianity without tears."[2] There is no habit of reading in "Brave New World." If any one needs distraction, he gets it at the "feelies." Feelytone News has become a regular feature of society's amusements. This is how one is advertised, all in big capitals: Three weeks in a Helicopter An All-super-singing, synthetic—Talking coloured, stereoscopic Feely. With synchronized scent-organ accompaniment."[3] Among the expressions considered outrageously obscene in this strange world of the future is the word, "mother" at which even the girl with scores of lovers with whom she is prepared to go any length will turn scarlet with shame.

Huxley is a dark prophet who sees in the progress of mechanical discovery a growing tendency in man to achieve uniformity and to produce with the skill of Prometheus creatures who are no better than human automata, responding to every

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 259-60.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 280 It is just posible that Huxley has taken the word 'soma' from the language of the Vedic Hindu for whom it was a kind of ritualistic drink and was probably a variety of wine.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 197.

sensation in a certain anticipated manner. The education in this world is a matter of " conditioning " which begins immediately after birth and continues till the possibility of a wilful variation from an accepted code of action and behaviour is completely eliminated. It must not be forgotten, however, that Huxley here assumes the rôle of a satirist and in this form of literary activity it is quite legitimate to exaggerate even though the pigmy may begin to move with the strides of a giant.

Ford whose name is frequently used in the work as a honorific title for persons of exalted rank, being substituted for " Lord," is probably no other than Sigmund Freud, the great founder of the psycho-analytic science, or better still, some descendant of his who carries the torch even much farther. But Huxley does not mention Ford for expressing his admiration for any one. The position accorded to Ford in the Brave New World is proof, if proof is needed, of its infatuation with mechanical theories and its utter subjection to them.

Conclusion

Short as the above survey is, it is hoped that the basic facts about Utopias and visions of the future world which we come across in English Literature, particularly those presented in the garb of fiction in recent years (1900-1933), have been touched upon more or less systematically. The Utopists sometimes appear absurd, sometimes plausible and now and then quite prophetic. The absurdity arises sometimes from an excessive interest in biology and the sciences in general. But there is no doubt that although the Utopists may often be dreamers of dreams yet they are " movers and shakers of the world," too. For as Anatole France says : " without the Utopias of other

KEATS, THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIS MIND

BY

BHAWANI SHANKAR CHOWDHURI

CHAPTER I

ENDYMION—A CHAUCERIAN ROMANCE

> Fanatics have their dreams, wherewith they weave
> A paradise for a sect; the savage too
> From forth the loftiest fashion of his sleep
> Guesses at heaven,

says Keats, and so all men are dreamers. But

> pity these have not
> Traced upon vellum or wild Indian leaf
> The shadows of melodious utterance.

They dream all their lives but cannot tell their dreams, and live ' bare of laurels ' and die, and are forgotten :

> For Poesy alone can tell her dreams,
> With the fine spell of words alone can save
> Imagination from the sable chain
> And dumb enchantment.

So all men are potential poets, in so far as they are, all of them, dreamers. Only those of their number have the benefit of the name who can tell their dreams. But this capacity for telling one's dreams is no heaven-sent attribute. Two circumstances, and they are very ordinary ones, will make a man tell his dreams, will make him a poet. They are a sound knowledge of his mother tongue, and the experience of love :

> Since every man whose soul is not a clod
> Hath visions, and would speak, if he had loved,
> And been well nurtured in his mother tongue.

Love, as Keats thought it, was the first condition of a man's becoming a poet. The thought is familiar to us Bengalees, for Rabindranath in his poem ' Vaisnava Kabita ' contends that though these beautiful lyrics have the divine love of Sri Radha and Sri Krishna as their theme they derive all their colour from human passion. Nay, not colour alone, but the inspiration itself is supplied by the same mundane source :

এই প্রেমগীতি হার
গাথা হয় নরনারী-মিলন মেলায়,
কেহ দেয় তাঁরে কেহ বঁধুর গলায়।

" These wreaths of love-songs are woven in the union of men and women. Some offer them to Him and some to the beloved."

But Rabindranath later has corrected himself in more than one place, *e.g.*, in *Naivedya* (44)

কবি আপনার গানে যত কথা কহে,
নানা জনে লহে তার নানা অর্থ টানি ;
তোমা পানে ধায় তার শেষ অর্থখানি।

All that a poet sings in his songs,
Though people put different interpretations on them,
They ultimately point at you, my God.

and in " Ebar Firao More " (এবার ফিরাও মোরে)

তাঁহারি উদ্দেশে কবি বিরচিয়া লক্ষ লক্ষ গান
ছড়াইছে দেশে দেশে।

For Him the Poet makes million ditties
And sends them across the countries.

But there is no need for this correction. Keats shows himself the greater poet by not doing the same thing. Physical ardour may lessen with years, but to deny its services as the prime mover of the heart is to suppress the truth. The second *Hyperion* shows Keats at his highest, latest and best, and yet it is here that he speaks of love as the motive force that moves the numbness of

man's poetic faculties and sets them into action, which then pour fourth eternal poetry. Keats outgrew love, that is, the attachment between man and woman, when he came to *Lamia*. But then his speaking of love as the originator of poetry in the heart does not contradict that view. True, as we shall see later, that in *Lamia* he realised that love was mere folly and women mere Lamias, that is, blood-sucking serpents, but that did not induce him to refuse to pay the devil of love its dues. The light of truth shone bright in his eyes in the second *Hyperion*, and he clearly saw that though it is found to be mere folly in the end it is love that stirs the heart at first. Love teaches the heart to go out of itself, and maturer experience shows the places where it should go. Like youth the awakening of the sentiment of love is inevitable, and when it is gone eternal light shines clear in his eyes. The stories of Chandidas and Vilvamangal point out this truth unmistakably. And the *Sahajiyas* say that they take a woman as companion in spiritual life only to awaken the principle of love in them, which then they can turn to God. But when this turning is effected women and sexual pleasures dwindle into naught. Nevertheless, the fact remains that love began the play.

But because I have begun with a quotation from *Hyperion* which was Keats' last work no one should suppose that the theory originated there. In fact it was a much earlier sentiment. The very first poem of his very first volume has it. "I stood tip-toe—" closes thus: on the bridal night of Cynthia and Endymion—

> Young men, and maidens at each other gaz'd
> With hands held back, and motionless, amaz'd
> To see the brightness in each other's eyes;
> And so they stood, fill'd with a sweet surprise,
> Until their tongues were loosed in poesy.

"Until their tongues were loosed in poesy,"—so they all became poets; and

> Therefore no lover did of anguish die:
> But the soft numbers in that moment spoken,
> Made silken ties, that never may be broken.

And addressing Cynthia the poet goes on :

> I cannot tell the greater blisses,
> That followed thine, and thy dear shepherd's kisses:
> Was there a poet born?

" Was there a poet born?" asks Keats, and, as Miss Amy Lowell points out, is greatly amazed to trace imaginatively his own (poetic) birth to Cynthia and her " dear shepherd's kisses."

Keats had not yet loved when he was becoming a poet. But what does it matter? He was the fruit of other people's love, of the love of Cynthia and Endymion, and for that matter, of the impetuously passionate Miss Jennings and her lover Mr. Thomas Keats. Young John was the embodiment of their poetry. He was born a poet.

Keats was eighteen when he wrote his first poem, " Imitation of Spenser." But most of the poems of the 1817 volume were the fruits of his twentieth and twenty-first years, and though he had not yet been in love with any one, the principle of love was already awake in him, and he felt a tender longing for the love of some one, an ' innocent ' ' kindred spirit.'

When Keats left Hammond and went to London, he was twenty, and, says Miss Lowell, " A boy of twenty who never speculates about love would be a monster to Nature." Moreover, he " became a little home-sick, and more than a little lonely. Add to this the discouraging realisation that there was no home to be sick for. He must have thought often of the days when his mother was always ready to comfort and sympathise with him. A mother is a woman, and a mother-less boy always mixes up his longing for his mother with his general need of a woman's tenderness. He may not put it so to himself, but that is the fact. Keats never got over his need for a mother; and we must never forget this salient trait in his character. He was always seeking to fill up a void in his life of which he was only half aware. He tried to fill this emptiness with friendship, with love for his brothers, but man cannot take the place of woman to another man. One of the many reasons for Keats' failure in his relations with Fanny Brawne was that he sought in her a mother as well as a lover,

and she had not yet grown up enough to stand to him in both capacities."

However, "in the short, dreary November days, Keats wrote a sonnet." The wistful longing of which we have spoken is for the first time expressed in it:—

O Solitude! if I must with thee dwell,
Let it not be among the jumbled heap
Of murky buildings climb with me the steep,—
Nature's Observatory—whence the dell,
Its flowery slopes, its river's crystal swell,
May seem a span; let me thy vigils keep
'Mongst boughs pavillion'd, where the deer's swift leap
Startles the wild bee from the fox-glove bell.
But though I'll gladly trace these scenes with thee,
Yet the sweet converse of an innocent mind,
Whose words are images of thoughts refin'd,
Is my soul's pleasure; and it sure must be
Almost the highest bliss of human-kind,
When to thy haunts two kindred spirits flee.

"The highest bliss of human-kind"—"but," remarks Miss Lowell, "he had never experienced it, poor boy! The kindred spirit had no existence in reality."

But nevertheless the thought kept haunting his youthful imagination. His scheme of life could never more be without a considerable part of it being filled up by women. He was feeling in his heart of hearts that the boyish days of innocent pleasure were gone, at least going too fast, and Nature with her flowers and leaves alone would no longer be sufficient entertainment for him. Surrounded by romantic Nature he now must—

Catch the white-handed nymphs in shady places,
To woo sweet kisses from averted faces,—
Play with their fingers, touch their shoulders white
Into a pretty shrinking with a bite
As hard as lips can make it: till agreed,
A lovely tale of human life we'll read.
And one will teach a tame dove how it best
May fan the cool air gently o'er my rest;
Another, bending over her nimble tread,
Will set a green robe floating round her head,

And still will dance with ever varied ease,
Smiling upon the flowers and the trees:
Another will entice me on, and on
Through almond blossoms and rich cinnamon;
Till in the bosom of a leafy world
We rest in silence, like two gems upcurl'd
In the recesses of a pearly shell.

And his imagination is for the time-being so rapt in the blissful thought that when he nexa begins his theme he hesitates and asks himself the question,

And can I ever bid these joys farewell?

True, he masters determination enough for a positive answer,

Yes, I must pass them for a nobler life,

but that was because of the poetical necessity of the occasion, and, perhaps, a little philosophising which must have told him, " You cannot remain there for ever. No man can. You must proceed forward and leave all these joys behind, as all men do." But however that might have been, the fact remains that the call of a woman's love was not to be henceforth silently passed over in the young poet's life. It had its appointed place.

Keats's next poem was *Endymion,* and this embodies all his speculations on love before he had proved upon his pulse what it really is. The writer of *Endymion* was not yet a man, but he was also a boy no longer. He had not yet known the passion of love in its utmost capacity, but had already picked up the acquaintance of a few girls, one of whom laid some hold on his mind and fancy. It was Georgiana Augusta Wyllie, Keats' second brother George's lady-love. To her is addressed the poem beginning " Hadst thou lived in days of old " of Keats' first volume of poems, as well as the two sonnets, " Had I a man's fair form—" and " Nymph of the downward smile and side-long glance " of the same volume. The first of these two sonnets is interesting from a psychological point of view. It deserves more than a passing notice.

Now, Keats, we know, was five feet half-inch in stature. He was for that reason looked upon by gay young maidens with some pity and a little contempt. No one cared " What Mr. Keats five feet half inch long did think of them," and Keats was painfully aware of this. He therefore tried his best to keep away from women's society. But his brother George was a tall youth. Young maidens took very kindly to him, and one of them Miss Georgina Augusta Wyllie was actually going to marry him soon. It was for George that Keats had often to endite a few lines in prose or verse that he might give them to his lady. Through George's medium Keats made the acquaintance of his few women friends and not one on his own account, and the irony of fate was that the one that George was to take to wife Keats admired most. But he had to restrain ' The headlong impetuosity of his muse " when addressing her ; she was going to be ' a sister-in-law.' But Keats was sometimes forced to look upon her as something more. She was above all ' a glorious human being,' he wrote to his brother, and ' more than a sister.' ' Her identity pressed on him so much.' ' But he must proceed no more.' Yet at the beginning of their acquaintance Keats could not help looking forward to something more from the woman he admired most. But he felt that she was not that way bent, and so the poet expressed his profound disappointment thus :—

Had I a man's fair form, then might my sighs
Be echoed swiftly through that ivory shell
Thine ear; and find thy gentle heart; so well
Would passion arm me for the enterprise:
But ah! I am no knight whose foeman dies;
No cuirass glistens on my bosom's swell;
I am no happy shepherd of the dell
Whose lips have trembled with a maiden's eyes.
Yet must I dote upon thee,—call thee sweet,
Sweeter by far than Hybla's honied roses
When steeped in dew, rich in intoxication.
Ah! I will taste that dew, for me 't is meet,
And when the moon her pallid face discloses,
I'll gather some by spells and incantation.

The whole of the above sonnet may have ostensibly been written on George's account, and the last three lines really were.

But as a matter of fact the first eleven lines are his own. In them John Keats speaks and not George Keats. " Had I a man's fair form,"—George had it, only John did lack.

But the Wyllie affair stopped there. Keats had no other prospect within sight. But he could not help speculating on love. A romance of love became the argument of his *Endymion*. Keats had a great attraction for the beautiful. He would bow his head to a love that takes no account of the body, but in his own heart he could find no beginning of his love except in beauty. And later in a letter to Fanny Brawne he expressed this view-point in spite of the involved suggestion, which he countenanced, that he did but love her beauty and not herself. " Why may I not speak of your beauty, since without that I could never have loved you. I cannot conceive any beginning of such love as I have for you but beauty. There may be a sort of love for which, without the least sneer at it, I have the highest respect and can admire it in others : but it has not the richness, the bloom, the full form, the enchantment of love after my own heart " (Letter to Fanny Brawne, 8th July, 1819, No. 136 M.B.F.).

And if Keats could not desire that respectable love for himself in July, 1819, much less could he desire it three years earlier. In *Endymion* he was not concerned with any love other than that which has its origin and consummation in the body. True, at the end of his story he makes Cynthia say to Endymion :

> 't was fit that from this mortal state
> Thou shouldst, my love, by some unlooked for change
> Be spiritualised——

but one fails to find this spiritualisation in the story. On the contrary, Endymion becomes more and more engrossed in physical pleasure, so that at about the end of the story, when the Indian maiden wants to leave him, he is on the verge of cursing God and dying :

> I did wed
> Myself to things of light from infancy;
> And thus to be cast out, thus lorn to die,
> Is enough to make a mortal man
> Grow impious.

Even Cynthia herself is caught in the carnal toil. Tasting the cup of physical pleasure she gets so intoxicated as to pronounce Minerva's wisdom mere folly, and her own virginity nothing more :

> Now I swear at once
> That I am wise, that Pallas is a dunce—

But the thing is, by ' spiritualisation ' Keats means simply the change from mortality to the immortal life of the Olympians, which change, as all students of Greek mythology and ancient Hellenic faiths know, was due merely to the favour of some individual divinity rather than to any spiritual merit. Keats was careful enough not to confuse modern spiritualisation of a sentiment with the old Hellenic translation into Olympian life, and so he wrote ' Thou shouldst be spiritualised ' and not " thy love should be spiritualised,' meaning thereby exactly the same phenomenon of dogmatic Greek religious faith. That Endymion became a God was due to Cynthia's *falling* in love with him, and not his own *rising* to love her. And Cynthia, we know, was the daughter of Jove, and Jove did not fail his beloved child in her need.

The story is essentially the story of a divine romance, with a mortal party to it, as was not uncommon in such cases. How many mortals did Jupiter himself love and translate into immortality? And Keats's " When I wrote it, it was a regular stepping of the Imagination towards a truth " applies only to the passage to which he himself applies it, to the defence of love by Endymion :

> Wherein lies happiness? In that which becks
> Our ready minds to fellowship divine;
> A fellowship with essence, till we shine
> Full alchemised and free of space, etc., etc.

And the whole thing to Endymion is really ' a thing of mere words,' only in so far as it reproduces Keats' thoughts is it " a regular stepping of the imagination toward a truth."

Also there are other things which Keats makes his hero say, not ' unintentionally ' alone, but without realising their full sig-

nificance. As for example, the disappointed Endymion speaks of becoming a hermit for, he says,—

> There are higher ones (pleasures) I may not see,
> If impiously an earthly realm I take—

though he knows full well that

> Those deceptions which for pleasures go
> 'Mong men, are pleasures as real as real may be:

What a flight of imagination is here, not to speak of stepping! Keats never rose higher, no man ever did. It is the same view of the world as the sage of Dakshineswar preached: The world is as real as the Brahman. To say that the Brahman is the only reality and the world a mere nothing would take away a portion of the total reality, in the same way as the rejection of the shell and the stones of a *bel* takes away from its true weight.

That wise men say like that—the Brahman alone is real, the world a nothing—is because they want to guard against what Keats calls " impiously taking an earthly realm," which excludes them from " the higher pleasures." And later when we shall see Keats denouncing physical love in unmeasured language in *Lamia*, we shall know him doing nothing more than what our wise philosophers have done who have given us the dictum of the truth of Brahman alone and the nothingness of the world.

That Endymion did not realise the full import of his words is evident from the fact that his turning a hermit was no willing act undertaken after considering its *pros* and *cons* alike, but only the acceptance of an evil in its best part. I should even think that he was trying to conceal from his sister his disappointment at the lady's refusal to stay with him. His speaking of higher pleasures and their attainment through renunciation is nothing more than commonplace religious cant.

An analysis of the story would naturally bid us beware of any attempt at allegorically explaining the poem.

What does Endymion represent? Nothing but his legendary self. What does Cynthia represent? Nothing but her self too.

Beauty has nothing more to do in the poem than to excite Endymion's love and begin the play. And there is no question of an ideal at all. Cynthia is not ' Ideal beauty ' but an ideally beautiful creature. There is no question of a quest either. Endymion does not go out on a voyage of discovery, the beautiful creature comes to him, is herself over head and ears in love, and through her high position in Olympus gets him translated into immortality. That Endymion had to travel below the earth, through the air, under the sea, was none on his own initiative. Cynthia moved him through these regions to fulfil certain ' decrees of fate,' and perhaps to test the sincerity of his passion, and also—if I might say so—to enable Keats " to make 4,000 lines out of one bare circumstance." Endymion's adventures are all in the manner of a wandering knight to prove his worthiness to his lady :

> He felt assured
> Of happy times when all he had endur'd
> Would seem a feather to the mighty prize.
>
> (Bk. II, 590-92.)

The wanderings in the different regions were meant only to bring in the stories of ' Venus and Adonis,' ' Alpheus and Arethusa,' ' Glaucus and Scylla,' to achieve his end of making a long story. It was all in the manner of Chaucer, and Keats had Chaucer in his mind in writing *Endymion* :

> O kindly muse, let not my weak tongue falter
> In telling of this goodly company,
> Of their old piety, and of their glee :
> But let a portion of the ethereal dew
> Fall on my head, and presently unmew,
> My soul; that I may dare in wayfaring,
> To stammer where old Chaucer us'd to sing.
>
> (Bk. I, 128-34.)

The wayfaring evidently refers to the pilgrimage, Canterbury has been changed to the different regions. *Endymion* is the successor in direct line of ' The Canterbury Tales.'

That Keats merely wanted to tell a tale follows also from the introductory lines :

> A thing of beauty is joy for ever;
> Its loveliness increases; it will never
> Pass into nothingness; but still keep
> A bower quiet for us, and sleep
> Full of sweet dreams, and health and quiet breathing.

It is therefore that on every morrow we wreathe a flowery band to bind us to the earth. In spite of its manifold evils the world has shapes of beauty, many a one, to move away the pall of darkness from our spirit : The sun, the moon, the trees, forests, flowers, " the dooms we have imagined for the mighty dead " and all other lovely tales. And their effect is permanent. They become " a cheering light unto our souls," and " whether there be shine or gloom o'ercast, they always must be with us or we die."

Keats is evidently addressing his readers, and proving the useful purpose that his tale will serve :

> Therefore, 't is with full happiness that I
> Will trace the story of Endymion.

The very music of Endymion's name has gone into his being, and he is visualising the incidents internally :

> Each pleasant scene
> Is growing fresh before me as the green
> Of our vallies:

Indeed Keats has said everything. *Endymion* is a romantic tale. But it is, in the manner of Chaucer, a sum of four different tales. The purpose of the narrator is to supply his readers with eternal pleasure, and eternal means permanent of course.

When Bridges and his legion of followers interpret *Endymion* as Keats' own quest in search of ideal beauty, we know how far they are from the truth. In *Endymion* there is no quest ; the theme is a romance of love, not search for beauty, and the ' ideal ' only makes confusion worse confounded. But the

reason why such eminent persons fall into the error lies in this that they think it impossible that a poet of Keats' magnitude will write such a volume of poetry on such a trifling thing as simple human love as such. The words of Endymion himself in his reply to his sister's suspicion that his morbidity and change had been caused by something more than a simple love affair will furnish a good parallel :

> With so deadly gasp,
> No man ever panted for a mortal love,
> So all have set my heavier grief above
> These things which happen.

But Keats valued this love above all the pageants of the world. To him

> Juliet leaning
> Amid her window flowers—sighing—weaning
> Tenderly her fancy from its maiden snow,
> Doth more avail than these: the silver flow
> Of Hero's tears, the swoon of Imogen,
> Fair Pastorella in the bandit's den,
> Are things to brood on with more ardency
> Than the death-day of empires.

He knew what a task it was for him who had as yet no experience of love, but he would rather attempt and fail than not attempt at all :

> Fearfully
> Must such conviction come upon his head,
> Who, thus far, discontent, has dared to tread,
> Without one muse's smile, or kind behest,
> The path of love and poesy. But rest
> In chafing restlessness, is yet more drear
> Than to be crushed, in striving to uprear
> Love's standard on the battlements of song.

' *Muse* ' here obviously means a woman of flesh and blood and no more.

That Keats did hold it not beneath the dignity of a great poet to sing of earthly love, or rather considered only such a poet

as Homer or Shakespeare as fit for such a task, at least at the time of writing *Endymion*, is evident from his address to Helicon when he tried to sing the joys of Endymion and his love, as they " trembled to each other " on the peak where Jove's eagle had set Endymion from his mid-air elevation :

> Helicon!
> O fountain hill! Old Homer's Helicon!
> That thou wouldst spout a little streamlet o'er
> These sorry pages; then the verse would soar
> And sing above these gentle pair, like lark
> Over his nested young: but all is dark
> Around thine edged top, and thy clear fount
> Exhales in mists to heaven. Aye, the count
> Of mighty poets is made up; the scroll
> Is folded by the muses; the bright roll
> Is in Apollo's hand: our dazed eyes
> Have seen a new tinge in the western skies:
> The world has done its duty. Yet, oh yet,
> Although the Sun of poetry is set,
> These lovers did embrace, and we must weep
> That there is no old power left to steep
> A quill immortal in their joyous tears.

Besides, in his letters to Bailey, October 8, 1817, he speaks of *Endymion* as a ' test,' a ' trial,' of his ' powers of Imagination ' and chiefly of his ' invention '—by which he ' must make 4,000 lines of one bare circumstance.' Does this smack of personal allegory in the least? It does not. In *Endymion* Keats is doing what every poet does; he is developing a short legend into a very long poem of 4,000 lines, and is putting no more of himself in it than giving the conversations of his ' dramatis personae ' a tinge of his own view of things. And as *Endymion* is the story of the vicissitudes of love that has its origin in physical sensations, that is, of the vicissitudes of the love of a man and a woman, a goddess, we may legitimately expect to see Keats' own views expressed in it. His experiences too, might have their proper share of the argument. But Keats had almost none such experience, at least of the type that is necessary for such an argument. He was a boy of twenty-one, with little or no experience

of women. Only the principle of love had now been awakened in him, and he had been speculating on its nature a little. He had " thus far.....dared to tread without one muse's smile or kind behest."

Now, if we read *Endymion* in this light, not trying to find more than the poet could possibly have put in it, we may reasonably expect good results.

CHAPTER II

Keats in Love

Endymion was published in April, 1818, and *Isabella* was finished within that month. The strain of the labour was too much for poor Keats, and he was left an exhausted drudge, so that though in the fourth book of *Endymion*—which was finished on the 28th November, 1817—he had promised to Endymion,

> Thy lute-voice'd brother will I sing ere long—
>
> (IV, 774.)

he could not begin *Hyperion* before September, 1818. Endymion had absorbed all that he could speak of love from imagination, and what he could was, as we have seen, what only the greatest of men could under these circumstances. But his mind was surfeited by these thoughts of love, and from December, 1817, that is, from the time that *Endymion* was finished to the departure of George and Georgiana for America, Keats for the most part thought of his art, reality, and the Mystery of the Universe. But once George and Georgiana were gone, and Tom gave sure indications of an early death Keats' sense of loneliness fell upon his soul with its tremendous weight. He began to feel the want of a woman's tenderness more and more, and wondered how it had been possible for him not to feel its keen edge so long. In a letter to Bailey, June, 1818, he ascertains the reasons for this thus: "My love for my brothers, from the early loss of our parents, and even from earlier misfortunes, has grown into an affection 'passing the love of women.' I have been ill-tempered with them—I have vexed them—but the thought of them has always stifled the impression that any woman might have made upon me."

But when these brothers were taken away from him, he was gradually being attracted towards women; and then his draw-

backs as a dandy, his short stature in particular, which made him an object of contempt to women, made him wish to die. Death seemed preferable to him to a life ungraced by a woman's love. This state of mind finds its expression in his letter to Reynolds, July, 1818. On hearing that Reynolds was engaged, he writes: "I have spoken to you against marriage, but it was general—the prospect in those matters has been to me so blank, that I have been not unwilling to die—My sensations are some times deadened for weeks together—but believe me I have more than once yearned for the time of your happiness to come as well as I could for myself after the lips of Juliet. From the tenor of my occasional rhodomontade in chit-chat, you might have been deceived concerning me in these points one of the first pleasures I look to is your happy Marriage—the more, since I have felt the pleasure of loving a sister-in-law. I did not think it possible to become so much attached in so short a time. Things like these, and they are real, have made me resolve to have a care of my health."

"Throughout those closing months of 1818," writes Middleton-Murry, "he was haunted by the desire for the love of a woman." It is this desire which gives the yearning tenderness to his letter to George and Georgiana; in a letter he can speak his heart, or part of it:

"Your content in each other is a delight to me which I cannot express—I have never made any acquaintance of my own—nearly all through your medium, my dear brother, through you I now know not only a sister but a glorious human being."

But before Keats could fully take in the delight in George and Georgiana's content in each other he had experienced a similar, though perhaps one-sided content in a living woman himself. This was the beautiful Miss Cox of whom he writes later in the same letter:

"On my return the first day I called they (Miss Reynoldses) were in a sort of talking or bustle about a cousin of theirs who having fallen out with her Grandpapa in a serious manner was invited by Mrs. Reynolds to take Asylum in her house—She is an East Indian and ought to be her Grandfather's heir. At the time I called Mrs. R. was in conference with her upstairs and the young

ladies were warm in her praises downstirs, calling her genteel, interesting, and a thousand other pretty things to which I gave no heed, not being partial to the 9 days' wonders—Now all is completely changed they hate her; and from what I hear she is not without faults—of a real kind : but she has others which are more apt to make women of inferior charms hate her. She is not a Cleopatra but she is at least a Chamiran. She has a rich eastern look; she has fine eyes and fine manners. When she comes into a room she makes an impression the same as the Beauty of a Leopardess. She is too fine and too conscious of her self to repulse any Man who may address her—from habit she thinks that nothing particular. I always find myself more at ease with such a woman; the picture before me always gives me a life and animation which I cannot possibly feel with anything inferior. I am at such times too much occupied in admiring to be awkward or on a tremble. I forget myself entirely because I live in her. You will by this time think that I am in love with her; so before I go any further I will tell you that I am not—She kept me awake one night as a tune of Mozart's might do—I speak of the thing as a pastime and an amazement than which I can feel none deeper than a conversation with an imperial woman the very ' Yes ' and ' no ' of whose lips is to me a Banquet. I don't cry to take the moon home with me in my pocket, nor do I fret to leave her behind me. I like her and her like because one has no sensations—what we both are is taken for granted—you will suppose I have by this much talk with her—no such thing—there are the Miss Reynoldses on the look out—They think I don't admire her because I did not stare at her—They call her a flirt to me—What a want of knowledge! She walks across a room in such a manner that a Man is drawn towards her with a magnetic Power. This they call flirting! They do not know things. They do not know what a woman is. I believe tho' she has faults—the same as Charmian and Cleopetra might have had. Yet she is a fine thing speaking in a worldly way : for there are two distinct tempers of mind in which we judge of things—the worldly, theatrical and patomimical; and the unearthly, spiritual and etherial. In the former Bonaparte, Lord Byron and this Charmian hold the first place in our minds; in the latter John Howard, Bishop Hooker rocking his child's cradle and

you my dear sister are the conquering feelings. As a man of the world I love the rich talk of Charmian; as an eternal Being I love the thought of you. I should like her to ruin me, and I should like you to save me. Do not think my Dear Brother from this that my Passions are headlong or likely to be ever of any pain to you—no—

> I am free from Men of Pleasure's cares,
> By dint of feelings far more deep than theirs.

But Keats could not get over so easily as he here professes. The condition of extreme suffering is expressed in a letter to Bailey, 22nd September, 1818:

"Believe me I have rather rejoiced in your happiness than fretted at your silence. Indeed I am grieved on your account that I am not at the same time happy—But I conjure you to think at present of nothing but pleasure, 'Gather the rose, &c.'—Gorge the honey of life. I pity you as much that it cannot last for ever, as I do myself now drinking bitters.—Give yourself up to it—you cannot help it—and I have a consolation in thinking so. I never was in love—Yet the voice and the shape of a woman has haunted me these two days—at such a time when the relief, the feverous relief of poetry seems much less a crime—this morning poetry has conquered—I have relapsed into those abstractions which are my only life—I feel escaped from a new strange and threatening sorrow—and am thankful for it. There is an awful warmth about my heart like a load of Immortality.

Poor Tom—that woman—and Poetry were ringing changes in my senses."

Now that imagination had ripened his mind for the full apprehension of love, the slightest experience of any pleasant woman could not but set him thinking anew of his prospects in matrimony. In a letter to Woodhouse about this time (27th Oct.), he describes the poetical character as having no self,—"As to the poetical character itself (I mean that sort of which, if I am anything, I am a Member, that sort distinguished from the Wordsworthian or egotistical sublime; which is a thing *per se* and stands alone) it is not itself—it has no self—it is everything and nothing—it has no

character—it enjoys light and shade; it lives in gusto, be it foul or fair, high or low, rich or poor, mean or elevated—It has as much delight in conceiving an Iago as an Imogen. What shocks the virtuous philosopher, delights the Chamelion poet. It does no harm from its relish of the dark side of things any more than from its taste for the bright one; because they both end in speculation." But the relish of woman's love could not end in speculation. It may begin in speculation but shall end in converting the entire man, and Keats' speculations into the apprehension of love had by now transformed him into a sensitive machine for the real apprehension of love. In the long letter to George and Georgiana, therefore scarcely two pages and days had elapsed after his description of Charmian when he must fall upon another woman, who, too, had touched his soul : "I have met with that same lady again, whom I saw at Hastings and whom I met when we were going to the English Opera. It was in a street which goes from Bedford Row to Lamb's conduit street—I passed her and turned back—she seemed glad of it; glad to see me and not offended at my passing her before. We walked on towards Islington where we called on a friend of hers who keeps a boarding school. She has always been an enigma to me—she has been in a room with you and with Reynolds and wishes we should be acquainted without any of our common acquaintance knowing it. As we went along, sometimes through shabby, sometimes through decent streets I had my guessing at work, not knowing what it would be and prepared to meet any surprise—First it ended at this house at Islington : on parting from which I pressed to attend her home. She consented, and then again my thoughts were at work what it might lead to, tho' now they had received a sort of genteel hint from the Boarding school. Our walk ended in 34 Gloucester street, Queen Square...not exactly so for we went upstairs into her sitting room —a very tasty sort of place with Books, Pictures and a bronze statue of Bounaparte, Music, aolian Harp; a Parrot, a Linnet,— a case of choice liquors, &c., &c., &c. She behaved in the kindest manner—made me take home a Grouse for Tom's dinner—Asked for my address for the purpose of sending me more game—As I had warmed with her before and kissed her—I thought it would be living backwards not to do so again—she had a better taste :

She perceived how much a thing of course it was and shrunk from it—not in a prudish way but in as I say a good taste. She contrived to disappoint me in a way which made me feel more pleasure than a simple kiss could do—She said I should please her much more if I would only press her hand and go away. Whether she was in a different disposition when I saw her before—or whether I have in fancy wronged her I cannot tell. I expect to pass some pleasant hours with her now and then : in which I feel I shall be of service to her in matters of knowledge and taste : if I can, I will. I have no libidinous thought about her—she and your George are the only women *a pen pris de mon age* whom I would be content to know for their mind and friendship alone.'' Now this is plainly an attempt at Platonising his real feelings and what follows next is but a '' rhodomontade,'' as he would call it himself : '' I shall in a short time write you as far as I know how I intend to pass my life—I cannot think of those things now as Tom is unwell and weak. Notwithstanding your happiness and recommendations I hope I shall never marry. Though the most beautiful creature were waiting for me at the end of a journey or a walk; though the carpet were of silk, the curtains of the morning clouds; the chairs and sofa stuffed with cygnet's down; the food Manna, the wine beyond Claret, the window opening on Winander mere, I should not feel—or rather my happiness would not be so fine, as my Solitude is sublime. Then instead of what I have described there is a sublimity to welcome me home. The roaring of the wind is my wife and the stars through the windowpane are my children. The mighty abstract Idea I have of Beauty in all things stifles the more divided and minute domestic happiness—an amiable wife and sweet children I contemplate as a part of that beauty—but I must have a thousand of those particles to fill up my heart. I feel more and more every day, as my imagination strengthens that I do not live in this world alone but in a thousand worlds. No sooner am I alone than shapes of epic greatness are stationed around me, and serve my spirit the office which is equivalent to a king's body-guard—then '' tragedy with sceptred pall comes sweeping by.'' According to my state of mind I am with Achilles shouting in the Trenches, or with Theocritus in the vales of Sicily. Or I throw my whole being into Troilus and repeating those

lines, " I wander, like a lost soul upon the Stygian Banks staying for waftage," I melt into the air with a voluptuousness so delicate that I am content to be alone. These things combined with the opinion I have of the generality of women—who appear to me as children to whom I could rather give a sugar plum than my time, form a barrier against matrimony which I rejoice in."

But this was a forced rejoicing. He felt uneasy about his conscience that he could think of a plan of life when Tom was so ill, and therefore tried to reason the yearning away. But then Tom died on the first December. He was now free, and Miss Brawne whom he had first met in September and who evinced some care for him, came in and overflooded all his heart. The very first week he knew her he wrote him her vassal, and the tenderness of the long letter to George and Georgiana, I think, proceeds from her influence.

The story of Keats' love is too well-known to need repetition. But as this love forms the central pivot round which all Keats' later writings revolve, I will indicate here briefly its course.

We have seen how Keats' mind was gradually prepared for the admission of a woman in it. And Miss Brawne came at the right moment. The following excerpts from his letter to George and Georgiana written between December 16, 1818, and January 4, 1819, will supply the necessary informations :

" Mrs. Brawne who took up Brown's house for the summer, still resides in Hampstead—She is a very nice woman—and her daughter senior is I think beautiful and elegant, graceful, silly, fashionable and strange. We have a little tiff now and then—and she behaves a little better, or I must have sheared off.....

Shall I give you Miss Brawne? She is about my height—with a fine style of countenance of the lengthened sort—She wants sentiment in every feature—She manages to make her hair look well—her nostrils are fine—though a little painful—her mouth is bad and good—her profile is better than her full face which indeed is not full but pale and thin without showing any bone—Her shape is very graceful and so her movements are—her arms are good—her hands badish—her feet tolerable—She is not seventeen—but she is ignorant—monstrous in her behaviour flying out in all directions, calling people such names—that I was forced lately to

make use of the term MINX—this is I think not from any innate vice but from a penchant she has for acting stylishly. I am however tired of such style and shall decline any more of it. She had a friend to visit her lately—you have known plenty such—Her face is raw as if she was standing out in a frost—Her lips raw and seem always ready for a Pullet—She plays the Music without one sensation but the feel of the ivory at her fingers—She is a downright Miss without one set off—We hated her and smoked her and baited her, and I hink drove her away—Miss B.—thinks her a paragon of fashion, and says she is the only woman she would change persons with—What a shape—She is superior as a rose to a Dandelion—''

She and Keats met in September, 1818, and their familiarity increased, and they were engaged on the Christmas day which Keats spent at her mother's house. Her penchant for acting stylishly and desire to shine in society made Keats feel uneasy about her sincerity, and even integrity. She would go to dances, would flirt with any one, and she played with Keats' affections for an inconveniently long period, as it seemed to Keats, whose surrender to herself was complete in the very first week of their meeting. Keats' part in the affair shall be fully treated in the course of the poems, St. Agnes' Eve, La Belle Dame Sans Merci, and Lamia. But here I must say a word upon the part of Miss Brawne. Let me first consider Amy Lowell's pleading on her behalf: Ordinarily the reader's sympathy with the tragic fate of Keats makes him take a severe view of all that affected the unfortunate youth, and he takes up Keats' view of the love affair and finds Miss Brawne guilty of all that he had said of her. So it is necessary to tell him that Miss Brawne was seventeen, too young to admire silent self-effacing love, and her age must excuse her fondness for society and its pleasures. But that she was deeply attached to Keats, no one can question. How tenderly did she nurse his later days! and what is more is that she did not marry till after twelve years of Keats' death. Georgiana, who was Keats' ideal of womanhood, and who is accepted as such by all his readers, married again within an year of George Keats' death and yet no one ever questioned her integrity. Why then, asks Amy Lowell, should people have the impudence to question

Brawne's who mourned twelve years for a man to whom she was but engaged? While witnesses and Interpretations may lie, facts cannot. If so, the fact of Miss Brawne's not marrying till after twelve years of her lover's death must speak volumes in her commendation.

I have roughly summarised Amy Lowell's pleadings for Miss Brawne. The arguments are specious no doubt, but they do not disprove Keats. Brawne's conduct may find excuse in her years, but then the fact remains that she was by no means not guilty. How unworthily she treated Keats' love we will see when we come to *Lamia*, but it is meet to give a few illustrations here as well. She was a downright Miss almost to the end, and regarded the engagement as nothing particular. When Keats was ill she frequented dances and societies to which Keats objected. The passionate cry of the man is heard in the 'Ode to Fanny' and the 'Lines to Fanny.' She met Severn and wrote to Keats, "you must be satisfied in knowing that I admire you much more than your friend"—and this to a man who 'wrote him off her thrall' in the very first week of their meeting. Middleton Murry characterises it as "the arch voice of the suburban belle" (p. 114). But what is worse still is that she flirted with men even after her engagement and the climax of these was reached when in the very presence of her ailing lover she flirted with his friend Charles Browne. How passionate was Keats' protest against this deliquency:

"I cannot forget what has pass'd. What? Nothing with a man of the world, but to me dreadful. I will get rid of this as much as possible. When you were in the habit of flirting with Browne you would have left off, could your own heart have felt one half of one pang mine did.

Browne is a good sort of man—he did not know he was doing me to death by inches. I feel the effect of every one of those hours in my side now; and for that cause, though he has done me many services, though I know his love and friendship for me, though at this moment I should be without pence were it not for his assist-

ance, I will never see or speak to him until we are both old men, if we are to be, I will recent my heart having been made a Foot-ball.

I appeal to you by the blood of that Christ you believe in : Do not write to me if you have done anything this month which it would have pained me to have seen. You may have altered—if you have not—if you still behave in dancing rooms and other societies as I have seen you—I do not want to live—if you have done so I wish this coming night may be my last.

I cannot live without you, and not only you but *chaste you; virtuous you.* The Sun rises and sets, the day passes, and you follow the bent of your inclination to a certain extent—you have no conception of the quantity of the miserable feeling that passes through me in a day—Be serious! Love is not a plaything—and again do not write unless you can do it with a crystal conscience. I would sooner die for want of you."

(Letter to F.B., July 5, 1820.)

And again :

" I am sickened at the brute world which you are smiling with. I hate men and women more. I see nothing but thorns for the future—wherever I may be next winter in Italy or nowhere Browne will be living near you with his indecencies—I see no prospect of any rest."

(Letter to F.B., August, 1820.)

And poor man ! he had guessed his fate aright even at the very outset. He told her in February, 1920, " My greatest torment since I have known you has been the fear of you being a little inclined to the Cresseid " (Quoted by Murry in his Keats and Shakespeare, p. 240).

From these it appears that Keats was ill-matched. He perhaps was by nature jealous, but these facts speak volumes against Fanny Brawne. The facts condemn her more than Keats' words. The facts of her nursing him in his later days and remaining unmarried for twelve years after his death prove, if anything at all,

that in the end she was touched by Keats' fire and a violent revolution was wrought in her nature.

But so far for the beloved. Let us now proceed to the love in right earnest. The letter in which Miss Brawne is introduced to George and Georgiana shows Keats " fidgety, wild, happy, and in a restless mood." Middleton Murray explains this as a Psychological consequence of his new experience. And the poems " Ever let Fancy roam " and " Bards of passion and of Mirth " he calls pure allegro, Keats' first love's first cry :

' Ever let Fancy roam ' and ' Bards of Passion and of Mirth, —they are poems of delighted happiness—' a sort of rondeaus ' he calls them, and he thinks he will be partial to them. They permit one idea to be amplified with greater care and delight and freedom than the sonnet : One has only to read these poems after the first two books of the first Hyperion to feel how completely Keats' mood was changed.

These two poems spring from the same emotion as the lines of the third book of *Hyperion* which begins :—

Flush everything which hath a vermeil hue!

Ever let the Fancy roam,
Pleasure never is at home:
At a touch sweet pleasure melteth
Like to the bubbles when rain pelteth,

may possibly seem to those who read poetry as they would read a blue-book a poem tinged with melancholy. If so, they must compare it with the Ode to Melancholy. Ever let Fancy roam is a pure allegro ; so is ' Bards of Passion and of Mirth.' Keats was not to know the mood for long ; even in " The Eve of St. Agnes " there is a tinge of sadness and mistrust. For all its opulent sensuous confidence, it is a dream fulfilment of his love. The two 'rondeaus ' most exactly mark the pinnacle of his happiness. Even in them it is by a hair's breadth overpast.

Oh Sweet Fancy; let her loose!
Every joy is spoilt by use,

Every pleasure, every joy—
Not a Mistress but doth cloy.
Where's the cheek that doth not fade
Too much gazed at! Where's the Maid
Whose lip mature is ever new!
Where's the eye however blue
Doth not weary! Where's the face
One would meet in every place!
Where's the voice however soft
One would hear too oft and oft!
At a touch sweet Pleasure melteth
Like to bubbles when rain pelteth.
Let then winged Fancy find
Thee a mistress to thy mind.
Dulcet-eyed as Ceres' daughter
Ere the God of Torment taught her
How to frown and how to chide;
With a waist and with a side
White as Hebe's when her zone
Slipp'd its golden clasp, and down
Fell her kirtle to her feet
While she held the goblet sweet,
And Jove grew languid.** Mistress fair,
Thou shalt have that tressed hair
Adonis tangled all for spite,
And the mouth he would kiss,
And the treasure he would not miss;
And the hand he would press,
And the warmth he would distress,
O the Ravishment—the Bliss!
Fancy has her there she is—
Never fulsome, ever new,
There she steps! and tell me who
Has a mistress so divine!
Be the palate ne'er so fine
She cannot sicken.**
Break the Mesh
Of Fancy's sliken leash
Where she's tether'd to the heart
Quickly break her poison string
And such joys as these She'll bring —
Let the winged Fancy roam,
Pleasure never is at home.

The portions marked by asterisks were later suppressed. Perhaps the most revealing of all the lines suppressed, is, according to Murry, and that aright, the line—

Where she is tethered to the heart.

But to me three poems tell the whole story of Keats' love: 'The Eve of St. Agnes,' 'La Belle Dame Sans Merci,' and 'Lamia.' They form as it were, a trilogy dealing with the vicissitudes of the love. Or, roughly, they represent the three parts of a Shakespearean tragedy. The Eve of St. Agnes, the Exposition; La Belle Dame Sans Merci, the Conflict; and Lamia, the Catastrophe.

'*The Eve of St. Agnes*' shows Keats' first wild experience of love. For the first time in his writings Keats here makes bold to introduce a scene of the consummation of physical love. As he told Woodhouse in the following September "Solution Sweet" of stanza XXXVI means that Porphyro and Madeline enjoyed the supreme felicity of physical love. Middleton Murry therefore calls this poem 'a dream fulfilment' of Keats' love. And dream or no dream that the element of fulfilment is there every one will admit. The change of temper is evident when we compare it with '*Isabella*.' That weak-sided poem as Keats later calls it, with all its quantity of love which extends even to the skeleton of dead Lorenzo, is never so deep. It is almost a young Platonist's dream. In *Isabella* reality loses itself in dream, while *The Eve of St. Agnes*, says Selincourt in his Warton lecture, "is as vital an experience as its companion picture, that master-piece of tragic concentration wrung from a spirit already disillusioned with itself, *La Belle Dame Sans Merci*." And in his masterly preface to his edition of Keats' poems he says, "The Eve of St. Agnes expresses, as perfectly as Keats could express it, the romance and delight of a love satisfying and victorious. But side by side with it he gave the picture of a love which is at once a fascination and a doom, delineated in the same mediaeval atmosphere, with the same passionate conviction, and even with deeper significance in its reflection upon human life. While he was still at work on the Eve of St. Agnes the companion picture was in his mind. For he tells how Porphyro took Madeline's lute—

Tumultuous,—and in chords that tenderest be,
He played an ancient ditty, long since mute,
In Provence called ' La Belle Dame Sans Merci.'

But Mr. Selincourt is a little wrong here, the La Belle Dame Sans Merci that Porphyro sang was not Keats' La Belle Dame Sans Merci, but Alain Chartier's. Keats had no idea of the tragic fate of his new-born love in the Eve of St. Agnes; there is no semblance of a doubt in this poem, and it is the joyful warblings of " a love victorious " as he himself later calls it. That Porphyro could sing it before his lady in spite of his knowledge of her deep concern for him is proof enough of its nature which could be none other than that of soft complainings of love. And this is exactly the nature of Aleyn's poem. Mr. Selincourt himself in his notes calls it " devoid of real feeling," which it could not help being since Porphyro's complainings could not be real but partook of the nature of a provocative to the lady to make her come forward with her protestations. Keats had no idea of the tragic ending of his love, and, so Porphyro. He felt heart-certain that all the burrs of life he could easily avoid and be happy with his beloved ever after. The difficulties seemed rather to expedite the coming of their happiness, their flight from the dangers surrounding them thickly :

Hark! 'tis an elfin-storm from faery land,
Of haggard seeming, but a boon indeed:
Arise—arise! The morning is at hand;—
The bloated wassailers will never heed:—
Let us away, my love, with happy speed;
There are no ears to hear, or eyes to see,—
Drowned all in Rhenish and the sleepy Mead:
Awake! Arise! my love, and fearless be,
For O'er southern moors I have a home for thee.

But ' circumstances,' as Keats wrote a little later in his Indolent letter (March, 1819) " are like clouds, continually gathering and bursting. While we are laughing, the seed of some trouble is put into the wide arable land of events—while we are laughing it sprouts, it grows, and suddenly bears a poison fruit which we must pluck." And so even when Keats' finger was yet on the note of optimism matters were coming to a pass whence he must change

his tune, and entire outlook on life, and I think when Keats wrote this passage he was communicating a deep personal experience and not merely philosophising. However, Fanny soon showed signs of her greater anxiety for pleasure than for Keats, but Keats found nothing in his heart to reply with like nonchalance. When he had not yet loved he had been free to the uttermost, but once in the mesh his soul was hopelessly caught. Rightly does the following passage, which he underscored about this time in the Palmerin, indicate his condition :

> And as men whose hearts have long been free, when they devote them at last are more devoted than such as have been used to such devotement,——

Keats' own state of mind has been well expressed in the " Bright Star....." sonnet, written, as Sir Sidney Colvin would have it, during his short stay at Taylor's, beginning from the 26th February.

> Bright star, would I were stedfast as thou art
> Not in lone splendour hung aloft the night
> And watching, with eternal lids apart,
> Like Nature's patient, sleepless Eremite,
> The moving waters at their priest-like task
> Of pure ablution round earth's human shore,
> Or gazing on the new soft-fallen mask
> Of snow upon the mountains and the moors—
> No—yet still stedfast, still unchangeable,
> Pillow'd upon my fair love's ripening breast,
> To feel for ever its soft fall and swell,
> Awake for ever in a sweet unrest,
> Still, Still to hear her tender-taken breath,
> And so live ever—or else Swoon to death.

Now, on the afternoon of Wednesday, the 24th February, there was a snow flurry and another on the following morning, and Sir Sidney Colvin identified "—the new softfallen mask of snow " with these, and puts the poem about this time.

And though in that letter Keats feels ashamed that he could not feel Haslam's misfortunes as deeply as if they were his own, so that he could philosophise on them, there came a time when

he was forced to philosophise on his own as well, even though they touched him ' too nearly for words.' Words at last were found to convey that philosophy not only to a friend and confidant but to the wide world in *La Belle Dame Sans Merci.* He saw in his love a chain that was dragging him on to destruction, as it had dragged too many before, with the lure of beauty. He was losing his health, his peace of mind, and then suddenly the voice of wisdom cried out in his soul, " beware!" To keep the effect of the whole unimpaired I must give here the little poem in full :

Ah, what can ail thee, wretched wight,
Alone and palely loitering;
The sedge is withere'd from the lake,
And no birds sing.

Ah, what can ail thee, wretched wight,
So haggard and so woe-begone?
The squirrel's granary is full,
And the harvest's done.

I see a lily on thy brow,
With anguish moist and fever dew;
And on thy cheek a fading rose
Fast withered too.

I met a lady in the meads
Full beautiful, a faery's child;
Her hair was long, her foot was light,
And her eyes were wild.

I set her on my pacing steed,
And nothing else saw all day long;
For sideways would she lean, and sing
A faery's song.

I made a garland for her head,
And bracelets too, and fragrant zone;
She look'd at me as she did love,
And made sweet moan.

She found me roots of relish sweet,
And honey wild, and manna dew;
And sure in language strange she said
I love thee true.

She took me to her elfin grot,
And there she gaz'd and sighed deep,
And there I shut her wild sad eyes—
So kiss'd to sleep.

And there we slumber'd on the moss,
And there I dream't, ah woe betide,
The latest dream I ever dream't
On the cold hill side.

I saw pale kings and princes too,
Pale warriors, death pale were they all;
Who cry'd—" La Belle Dame Sans Merci
Hath thee in Thrall! "

I saw their starved lips in the gloom
With horrid warning gaped wide,
And I awoke, and found me here
On the cold hill side.

And this is why I sojourn here
Alone and palely loitering,
Though the sedge is wither'd from the lake,
And no birds sing.

And Keats writes jestingly to his brother and sister-in-law, "Why four kisses—you will say—why four, because I want to restrain the headlong impetuosity of my Muse—she would fain have said ' score ' without hurting the rime—but we must temper the imagination, as the critics say, with judgment. I was obliged to choose an even number that both eyes might have fair play, and to speak truly I think two a-piece quite sufficient. Suppose I had said seven there would have been three and a half a-piece, a very awkward affair, and well got out off on my side." And remarks A. C. Bradley, " This is not very like the comment of Wordsworth on his best poems, but, I dare say, the author of Hamlet made such jests about it." And why this jest?—Because " He could not say, *here is the record of my love and my despair* " (Oxford Lectures on Poetry, p. 219). And that *La Belle Dame Sans Merci* is the record of his own love and despair is proved by the fact that he replaced the superb first line of the draft, " O what can ail thee

Knight-at-arms,'' by the much weaker '' Ah, what can ail thee, wretched wight,'' for he knew he was no Knight-at-arms, as he had declared himself in that sonnet to Georgiana Augusta Wyllie,

> I am no Knight whose foeman dies;
> No cuirass glistens on my bosom's swell;

Keats certainly saw that the original opening was the more beautiful, but he also felt that it was less true and so changed it for the truer, weaker opening of the revision.

CHAPTER III

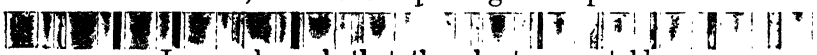
Vicissitudes of Keats' Idea of Love at the Rough Hands of Experience

Poetry began with hymns in praises of the gods, in epic demi-gods entered its realm, while it was reserved for drama to take in kings and princes, heroes and great men. Gradually the franchise was extended to the commoners, but the enfranchisers themselves were not given the franchise till very recently in the history of Poetry. Subjectivity in poetry may be said, with some reservations, to be an innovation of the Nineteenth Century romantics. Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley, Keats, all sang of themselves. Not only does the ' *Prelude* ' give the reader an account of the poetic development of Wordsworth, but his ' Tintern Abbey ' is his first important contribution in that line. Byron was so much imbued with the idea that he did not only write in order to sing his own exploits, his experiences, but also projected himself into the heroes of his imaginative poetry and lived their lives himself, whence all such attempts have received the general name of ' Byronic pose.' And as regards Shelley, it is the common charge against his poetry that when he had drawn upon all his experiences his mind could but repeat itself. He is considered as his kindest critic who qualifies this charge with the addition of the words ' in a spiral,' so that repeating in a spiral he did not exactly give us a copy of his former ideas but something more. And the extent to which Keats was pre-occupied with the idea can be guessed from any standard work on Keats, where the reader will be told that ' *Sleep and Poetry* ' is Keats' ' Tintern Abbey,' ' *Endymion* ' his own search after ideal beauty,* *Hyperion* the epic of his poetic self,† and lastly his

* I have refuted this theory. But that was on the ground of Keats' lack of experience. In *Endymion* he had no story of his own life to give, he could not therefore given any in it, but where he had it he did give it too.

† In a different sense than critics so long have taken one (*vide* Chap. VI).

Letters his 'Prelude,' besides almost every other line of his poetry being explained by a reference to his personal life and experience. In a letter to Reynolds, 21st September, 1817, he himself says, 'He (Hunt) agrees with the Northern Poet in this, "He is not one of those who much delight to season their fire-side with personal talk"—I must confess however having a little itch that way.' And he was not content merely to hold his own autobiography before his readers in his poems, but also thought it necessary that every one else of his profession should do the same. Thus in the closing lines of his Epistles To George Felton Matthew he mildly admonishes his friend, his intended Fletcher, for never opening his lips in that direction:



I marvel much that thou hast never told
How, from a flower, into a fish of gold
Apollo chang'd thee, how thou next didst seem
A black-eyed swan upon the widening stream;
And when thou first didst in that mirror trace
The placid features of a human face:
That thou hast never told thy travels strange,
And all the wonders of the mazy range
O'er pebbly crystal, and o'er golden sands;
Kissing thy daily food from Naiad's pearly hands.

(Lines 84-98.)

And the imaginative account that he gives of his friend's life, rather poetic life, which of course to Keats was the whole of it, is one of infinite beauty. 'For,' it begins,

For thou wast once a floweret blooming wild,
Close to the source, bright, pure, and undefil'd,
Whence gush the streams of song: in happy hour
Came chaste Diana from her shady bower,
Just as the sun was from the east uprising;
And, as for him some gift she was devising,
Beheld thee, plucked thee, cast thee in the stream
To meet her glorious brother's greeting beam.

Moreover, Keats was not content to sing merely of himself but he was determined to sing of himself as a poet for a poet's

life, he thought, was fraught with greater strangeness and romance than that of kings or princes. In a letter to Hunt, May 10, 1817, he wrote:

> Does Shelley go on telling strange stories of the Death of Kings?* Tell him there are strange stories of the death of poets—some have died before they were conceived "*how do you make that out Master Vellum.*"——

The death of Poets and their fate appealed to him irresistibly. He would sing of poets too. His *Hyperion* is the epic of poetic life.

Now this seems very striking indeed. It justifies the attitudes of those critics who try to read Keats' self in most of his poems. In fact one might go so far as to style a volume of a selection of Keats' poems—an 'Autobiography of John Keats'—as one writer has styled a selection from his letters. The title may well startle many at first but the claim can hardly be contended.

Nor is the attitude peculiar to Keats and the romantic poets alone, no story pleases a man more than the story of his own life. Man likes so much to talk about himself.

This partiality for one's own life-story has been known to pervert the artistic sense of artists of the highest rank. It is the most common-place of criticism to say that Dickens thought 'David Copperfield' to be the best of his novels only because in that book he had told the tale of his own early life. Even our own Sarat Chandra's partiality for 'Sreekanta' is in the same

* In 'Lord Byron and Some of his Contemporaries' Hunt records that Mr. Shelley was fond of quoting the passage here alluded to in Shakespeare, and of applying it in the most unexpected manner:

> "For God's sake, let us sit upon the ground,
> And tell strange stories of the deaths of kings."

Going with me to town once in the Hampstead stage, in which our only companion was an old lady, who sat silent and stiff after the English fashion, he startled her into a look of the most ludicrous astonishment by saying abruptly; "Hunt, For God's sake, let us sit upon the ground," etc.—The old lady looked on the coach-floor, as if she expected to see us take our seats accordingly. Hunt adds—The reader will be touched by the melancholy anticipations that follow, and that are made in so good-humoured a manner.—(H. B. F. quoted by M. B. F.).

way accounted for by many of his critics. But it may be that in such veiled autobiographical productions a man's genius sometimes reaches its highest pitch, for, here he speaks from experience. The truth he depicts in such writings are truths proved upon his own pulse and there is no false touch, no false psychology, no imperfect understanding in the whole work. In fact some critics go so far as to declare that one man can but write one or at most two genuine novels, which must be the story or stories of his own life.

Now Keats' partiality for '*Lamia*' is frank. While he thought '*Isabella*' as unfit for publication, he spoke of '*Lamia*' as the best piece. (He assigned to it the first place in the volume of 1820 as having "that sort of fire in it that must take hold of people some way" (Colvin, Letters, p. 294). And what could have this fire been beside which the beautiful story of Isabella to which some of his best critics have assigned the first place among his tales seemed to him mawkish, as he told Woodhouse? What else could it have been than the fire of his own soul? He had put a great deal of himself in the poem and so could not help being partial to it; and the experience which furnished the inspiration of '*Lamia*' was the direct and the most dearly bought experience of his life.

The fire that had consumed his youthful idealism about woman and love of her he had imparted to '*Lamia*' and he could not but feel sure that it 'must take hold of people some way.'

But artistically considered *Lamia* is not the greatest achievement of Keats' genius. "Neither does *Lamia*," says Garrod, "lead me to believe that in narrative poetry, that is, in which a story is told, Keats was ever likely to achieve a success worth having."—They cannot be brought to see things eye to eye with the poet. So of all Keats' poems *Lamia* has proved to be the stumbling block to many. However, it is now generally regarded as an autobiographical poem in which the sensuous side of Keats' nature is represented at war with the philosophic side. Lycius and Apollonius represent these two sides respectively. So far there is not much trouble; but why should Lycius die unreconciled to his friend and preceptor? Or why should he die at all? What does Keats really mean by what he ostensibly calls the

moral of the poem, and what again is its true moral, if it has any? Of all critical attempts at understanding *Lamia* so far made Mr. Ernst de Selincourt's exposition of the allegory, though not satisfactory is the best and runs as follows :—

The true significance of *Lamia* does not lie in

> " Do not all charms fly at the mere touch of cold philosophy?" for the poem is the utterence of a mood rather than a settled conviction. True it is that the poet wishes to enlist our sympathies on the side of Lycius that is essential, if the interest of the story is to be maintained; but it is possible for the emotional side of a nature to upbraid with bitterness the intellectual even while it recognizes the right of the intellectual to supremacy. The subject in this respect presents itself in some measure as it might have done to Shakespeare. As we read the early acts of *Troilus and Cressida* and feel the impending tragedy, we cannot remain untouched by vain hope that Troilus may live to the end believing in an illusion which seems to make for his happiness. Yet at the same time we bow before the remorseless supremacy of truth and recognize that only through bitter experience can Troilus reach a higher plane of feeling. Keats with a prophetic consciousness that he will not live to attain this fuller purpose, necessarily lacks the serenity of Shakespeare, and ends his poem on a note of tragic despair. And as he follows the fate of his hero he represents the agony of the struggle in the soul of a man who clings to the false at the same time that he desires the true, he aspires after the ideal even whilst he is unable to relax his hold of those very shadows, not realities, which he knows well enough to despise. *He had no time to reach the perfect consummation of his genius.* The widest sympathy with the world about him, the firmest grasp of the realities of human life and character were not his; but his whole work presents us with the struggle for it, and presents it with a passion and sincerity which is itself a constituent of the highest genius. For art itself presents a struggle after an infinite perfection, and in no one of our poets do we find this more vitally portrayed than in the works of Keats—(Introduction to his edition of Keats' poems, pages xliii-xliv.)

At first sight the view may seem sound enough. Keats had no time to reach . . . the widest sympathy with the world

about him, and if he had he might have written a sequel to *Lamia* in which he would perhaps have revived Lycius and would have reconciled him to his philosopher friend, or might have re-written it as he has actually done with *Hyperion* but the revised *Hyperion* shows that Keats had reached this widest sympathy with the world around him, he had learnt to ' envisage circumstance all calm, and truth to him, was no pain. He had attained to the love of good and evil as early as March, 1819, when he could look on the cruelties of Nature with a profound equanimity. These cruelties he justified as being conditions of the very existence of the world : " For in wild Nature the Hawk would lose his breakfast of Robins and the Robin his of worms—the lion must starve as well as the swallow " (Letter to George and Georgiana, Feb.-Mar. 1819). The plea, therefore, that Keats had no time to reach the widest sympathy with the world about him fails, for what wider sympathy is humanly possible or even conceivable beyond this which embraces evil itself? Now ' *Lamia* ' was written in July, this year, that is, some five months after the letter to George and Georgiana. Why should it therefore lack the knowledge which he had attained in the letter ; but the thing is there was no want of knowledge in Keats. He had indeed *reached the widest possible sympathy with the world around him* in detached conditions of mind, but found that love of woman engrosses the spirit too much and makes it lose its grasp of this sympathy. The realisation of Endymion's

> That those deceptions which for pleasure go
> 'Mong men, are pleasures real as real may be :
> But there are higher ones I may not see,
> If impiously an earthly realm I take—

is expressed here in this poem.

In *Lamia* Keats is trying to dissuade himself from impiously taking this earthly kingdom. He is proving to himself that women are deceitful and underneath their fair beauty lies a serpent soul, so as to engender in himself a dislike for women.

We shall now consider Mr. Middleton Murry's exposition of the allegory. In so far as it is an objective interpretation it differs

from the interpretation of Selincourt and others, and as such deserves this consideration. " *Lamia,*" says Mr. Murry, " as Keats wrote it, is imaginative autobiography, and of the most exact and faithful kind. Keats is Lycius, Fanny Brawne is the Lamia, and Apollonius is Charles Brown the realist, trying to break Fanny's spell over Keats by insisting upon her as the female animal. The identification seems transparent. *Lamia* is a poem of real and living experience; Keats wrote it from his heart."

Mr. Murry reaches his conclusion thus : During the summer weeks (of 1819) when Brown and Keats were together at Shanklin, the former, in spite of Keats' silence on the subject of his love, had come to know a great deal of it, and his consequent sufferings. And realist as he was he could have no words for his friend than the cold advice ' Put the woman out of your thoughts, she is not worth the trouble.' ' A man of the world ' that he was he could not understand the sort of love that Keats engendered for Fanny. He therefore kept continually buzzing in his friend's ears his cold advice. Moreover, Keats himself had come to conceive a doubt as to whether Fanny had not entrammelled his spirit to the detriment of his life's mission.

Now at such a time Keats came under the influence of Burton. " The reading of that disappointed, embittered, old idealist was one of the drugs to which Keats now had recourse, and his marginal notes which have been preserved, probably belong to these days." " From his reading of Burton at this time Keats took the story of Lamia :

' Philostratus in his fourth *book de vita Apollonii,* hath a memorable instance in this kind, which I may not omit, of one Menippus Lycius, a young man twenty-five years of age, that going betwixt Chencreas and Corinth, met such a phantasm in the habit of a fair gentlewoman, which, taking him by the hand, carried him home to her house, in the suburbs of Corinth, and told him she was a Phoenician by birth, and if he would tarry with her, he should hear her sing and play and drink such wine as never any drank, and no man should molest him; but she, being fair and lovely, would live and die with him, that was fair and lovely to

behold. The young man, a philosopher, otherwise staid and discreet, able to moderate his passions, though not this of love, tarried with her a while to his great content, and at last married her, to whose wedding, amongst other guests, came Apollonius; who, by some probable conjectures, found her out to be a serpent, a lamia; and that all her furniture was, like Tantallus' gold, described by Homer, no substance but mere illusions. When she saw herself descried, she wept, and desired Apollonius to be silent, but he would not be moved, and thereupon she, plate, house, and all that was in it, vanished in an instant : many thousands took notice of this fact, for it was done in the midst of Greece.'

That is the story as old Burton gave it. It was singularly appropriate to Keats' situation—a young man of twenty-three, a philosopher, able to moderate his passions, though not this of love, who must have wondered many times whether Fanny Brawne had not entangled him to his own perdition. 'I have never known any unalloyed happiness,' he was writing to her at the very moment of beginning *Lamia* (5th July), for many days together : the death or sickness of someone has always spoilt my hours—and now when no such troubles oppress me, it is you must confess very hard that another sort of pain should haunt me. Ask yourself, my love, whether you are not very cruel to have so entrammelled me, so destroyed my freedom!' Already the story fitted well. Keats made it fit better still. In Burton there was no hint of a relation between Lycius and Apollonius. Apollonius is but a wedding guest. In the poem *Lamia,* Apollonius is Lycius' friend and master. In Burton there is no hint of anything untoward happening to Lycius as the result of the exposure of the lamia. She dissolves into thin air, and that is all. In Keats' poem, Lycius' struggles to prevent the exposure, and when it is made, he dies.

Mr. Murry quotes the following verses as Keats' humorous representation of Brown's character and holds that he really was 'a good sort of man' as Keats described him in a letter to Fanny.

> Ne cared he for wine, or half and half;
> Ne cared for fish or flesh or fowl,
> And sauces he held worthless as the chaff;
> He's deign'd the swine head as the wassail bowl,

Ne with lewd ribalds sat he cheek by jowl,
Ne with sly Lemans, in the scorner's chair;
But after water brooks this pilgrim's soul
Panted, and all his food was woodland air,
Though he would oft times feast on gilliflowers rare.—

The slang of cities in no wise he knew;
Tipping the wink to him was heathen Greek;
He sipped no olden Tom or ruin blue
Or nantz or cherry brandy drank full neck
By many a damsel hoarse and rogue of cheek;
Nor did he know each aged watchman's beat;
Nor in obscured purlieus would he seek
For curled Jewesses with ankles neat,
Who, as they walk abroad, make tinkling with their feet.

Brown was utterly opposed to what he knew of Keats' love *on principle* : and he can have known very little about it, beyond the obvious and tangible facts, of its whole nature he was ignorant. Were it not for this ignorance it would be hard to forgive him for the torture he inflicted upon Keats in the following winter, by flirting with Fanny Brawne in Keats' presence when Keats was ill. Keats confessed his suffering in an agonized letter to Fanny Brawne, 5th July, 1820 :

> ' I cannot forget what has passed. What? nothing with a man of the world, but to me dreadful. I will get rid of this as much as possible. When you were in the habit of flirting with Brown you would have left off, could your own heart have felt one half of one pang mine did. Brown is a good sort of Man—he did not know he was doing me to death by inches. I feel the effect of every one of those hours in my side now; and for that cause though he has done me many services, though I know his love and friendship for me, though at this moment I should be without pence were it not for his assistance, I will never see or speak to him until we are both old men, if we are to be. I will resent my heart having been made a foot-ball.'

In taking the sense of this passage Mr. Murry makes too much of Keats' remark on Brown which Keats purposely made as inoffensive to Brown as possible. He wanted to point out to Fanny that Brown's share of the offence was pardonable because

of his harmless intentions and ignorance of Keats' state of mind, but as she was fully in the know as regards this it was unpardonable in her. Keats' real intention was to anyhow wean her away from the vile habit.

That Keats did not really take Brown for " a good sort of Man," Mr. Murry himself has supplied materials to prove. He says that " Keats knew at least one of the ' curled Jewesses '—she was called Jenny Jacobs . . ." and he next gives the incident of Brown's going over to Ireland and marrying his poor Jewish maid servant and then leaving her alone, and taking away her little son with him to Italy. The thing is in that short humorous poem, by ' Ne cared he . . .' Keats always meant that ' he greatly cared,' and in this light the character of Brown does not appear a particularly innocent one. Now if this was Keats' reading—could he really take the man to be a good sort of fellow? Certainly not. Moreover, there are evidences to prove that Keats suspected Brown from the beginning of his relationship with Fanny. Brown and Dilke (whose tenants were Miss Brawne and her family) had known Fanny before Keats. He had certainly seen her flirting with them even on the very first day of his acquaintance with her. He suspected Brown's attempts to dissuade him from the pursuit of his love as due to the latter's interest in the woman. He thought that Brown wanted her for himself, and for that end tried to convince him that she was quite unworthy of him and Fanny that he of her. He counselled, he jeered, he tried every possible means. This is what Keats meant by the following passage of another of his letters to Fanny, July, 1820 (MBF. 223):

> My friends laugh at you! I know some of them—when I know them all I shall never think of them again as friends or even acquaintance. My friends have behaved well to me in every instance but one, and there they become tattlers, and inquisitors into my conduct, spying upon a secret I would rather die than share it with anybody's confidence. For this I cannot wish them well, I care not to see any of them again. If I am the Theme, I will not be the Friend of Idle Gossips. Good Gods what a shame it is our loves should be so put into the microscope of a Coterie. Their laughs should not affect you (I

> may perhaps give you reasons some day for these laughs, for I suspect a few people to hate me well enough, *for reasons I know of*, who have pretended a great friendship for me) when in competition with one, who if he should never see you again would make you the Saint of his memory. These laughers, who do not like you, who envy you for your Beauty, who would have God-blessed me from you for ever: who were plying me with disencouragements with respect to you eternally. People are revengeful—do not mind them—do nothing but love me. If I knew that for certain life and health will in such event be a heaven, and death itself will be less painful. Do not let my name ever pass between you and those laughers, if I have no other merit than the great Love for you, that were sufficient to keep me sacred and unmentioned in such society . . . your name never passes my Lips—do not let mine pass yours—these people do not like me. . . .

And Keats had already parted with Brown in May, 1820. That this suspicion was not of later origin than *Lamia* or than even the beginning of his love is proved by the silence he maintained in that respect from the very beginning, for, the last excerpt clearly points out that the cause of this reserve was his suspicion of his friends. His letters of this period to Fanny become more and more outspokenly caustic towards Brown and Dilke, as his morbidity deepens. In August he wrote to her (M.B.F. 224):

> Mr. Dilke came to see me yesterday, and gave me a very great deal more pain than pleasure. I shall never be able any more to endure the society of any of those who used to meet at the Elm Cottage and Wentworth Place. The last two years taste like brass upon my Palate. . . . I am sickened at the brute world which you are smiling with. I hate men and women more. I see nothing but thorns for the future—wherever I may be next winter in Italy or nowhere Brown will be living near you with his indecencies—I see no prospect of any rest. Suppose me in Rome—well, I should there see you as in a magic glass going to and from town at all hours—I wish you could infuse a little confidence in human nature into my heart. I cannot muster any the world is too brutal for me—I am glad there is such a thing as the grave—I am sure I shall not have any rest till I get there. At any rate I will indulge myself by never seeing any more of Dilke or Brown or any of their friends.

"The last two years taste like brass upon my Palate," prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that from the very beginning of his relationship with Fanny he had been constantly tormented by the indecencies of Brown and Dilke. His experiences of these years were the bitterest. Could any sane man after this believe in Keats' "Brown is a good sort of Man," and ever think that he would represent Brown as Apollonius, Lycius' therefore his friend, philosopher, and guide?

Mr. Murry avoids the difficulty of explaining Lycius' death by calling '*Lamia*' Keats' *imaginative* autobiography.—'Imaginative,' therefore no fact, only what Keats thought possible, and no more. And the difficulty thus avoided is the most perplexing in Keats. But even then, as we have seen, his theory cannot stand. It fell with the fall of Brown.

In an analysis of the poet's motives the first point that presents itself to our mind is that Keats lets Lycius die. Therefore whatever side of Keats' nature might he symbolize it is plain that the poet means it to die as well. Now if we are to subscribe to the theory that there is a gradual development in the poetical mind of Keats similar to the evolution of the fruit from the flower up to the first *Hyperion*, at least, we must necessarily admit that the death of Lycius, and for that matter the death of that side of Keats' nature which he represents, was necessary for that phase of the evolution of his poetical mind which is depicted in *Lamia*.

Keats gave to Lycius not the whole of his sensuous self but only the grosser part of it, that part which so many have stoutly defended by spiritualising its contents thinking that they were thereby rendering some service to the dead poet himself and to morality and the world at large. Rightly to designate these critics one has to fall back upon Keats himself and say that, 'these are interested in the pious frauds of morality.' But Keats requires no such defence. He recognised the grossness of his sensuosities himself and when convinced of its irretrievability he let it die with a sigh as he let his *Endymion*. 'It is necessary that this youngster should die,' this judgment he applied with the same cruel rigour to the grossly sensuous part of his nature as to his mawkish poem. Lycius and '*Endymion*' were born with the virus of death in them.

Keats' first idea was that this gross sensuosity could be transmuted into pure gold with the help of a little philosophy. So Lycius became the pupil of Apollonius, and Apollonius somehow managed to shield him from all evils till the fatal incident. Up till now Keats' mind was more preoccupied with the imaginary than the real. The negative side of his nature was the more pronounced side. His relish of evil did him no harm as his joy in the good no much good because they both ended in speculation. But now the speculative was giving ground to the real, and he could no more remain content with ' the stars for his children and the roaring of the wind for his wife.' He felt strongly the need of a real woman in his life. Philosophy or Platonism could no more satisfy him. But with the awakening of this fatal desire with the advent of Miss Brawne in his life came also the realisation that for him there was to be no consummation of fleshly desires. The wasting power of love would soon waste away the little vitality he had. It became, therefore, the imminent care of his philosophic self, to proceed to the help of the sensuous, though unbidden. So Apollonius went uninvited to Lycius' marriage feast. He found Lycius' spirit too much engrossed in the enjoyment of his new found treasure, he perhaps despaired of extricating him successfully, but would not let him pursue his foolish headlong course. " Fool," he cried repeatedly with unrelenting contempt,

> From every ill
> Of life have I preserved thee to this day,
> And shall I see thee made a serpent's prey?

Apparently he shall not though it might cost him his dear disciple's life. The voice of proud virginity is here too distinctly heard. In spite of his luxuriating in the enjoyment of the senses he had not yet debased himself so low as to be tempted to taste of carnal pleasure. The very idea was shocking to him. He therefore rudely breaks off the illusion that his poetic nature wove round these objects of coarse enjoyment and the upshot is that with the breaking of the illusion the grossly sensuous side of his nature dies also—the side that would have the touch of a real woman to sustain it. His idea so long had been that ' fellowship of essences ' was pos-

sible in human love, fair women were ' tapestried angels ' to his imagination, but now he saw his mistake.

Considered thus Apollonius assumes a larger proportion. And as a matter of fact he sums up in himself all that is good and great and wise in Keats. Philosophy or knowledge indeed is his forte, but he is also by no means dead to all sense of beauty or even to the finer enjoyment of the senses. Lycius himself would have invited him to the feast except for his bride's uncompromising opposition, a fact which perplexed Lycius not a little I suppose. Apollonius' intention was to preserve his disciple from the ills of life. And herein lay his only mistake. Such coarseness as Lycius represents can never be reconciled to the nobility of Apollonius. But Lycius had first inspired his hopes and had so long justified it by his conduct. But that was when Lycius did not know himself. With nearer experience came the stern realisation that he must be his ' unadulterated self,' and on that night of his first ecstasy his ' trusty guide ' and ' good instructor,' did but seem " the ghost of folly haunting my sweet dreams." With the hardening in Lycius came a corresponding hardening in Apollonius, and he would rather have his pupil die than see him a serpent's prey. So when Lycius dies Apollonius is not very sorry. He perhaps heaves a deep sigh of relief and exclaims, ' it is meet that this youngster should die,' and the death leaves him free to follow his own speculations unburdened by the dead weight of a dull ward. The death of the grossly sensuous side of his nature leaves his imagination free to follow its own light ethereal without any taint of low sensuosity.

Keats, like Shelley, was an idealist, a Platonist. But they both differed from Plato in the fact that they both had a great hankering for realising this ideal in a living, breathing human being. In fact the whole life of Shelley is the tragedy of this quest of realising his ideal love in the world below. He also realised it himself and so designated him as 'a power girt round with weakness ;' and saw himself chained to the car of life and dragged before it in its Triumph. But the knowledge came too late for Shelley to benefit by it. In the case of Keats it came just in time. He might have really benefited by it and benefit he did. But for him life's day was done and death engulfed him ere he could take stock

of how much the benefit was. He realised that his mighty abstract idea of Beauty sought its earthly counterpart in a satisfying individual, a woman of flesh and blood, and unless he could purge himself of this sensuous craving his defeat was sure. He therefore took alarm in time and plucked at the root of the poisonous shrub. Had he lived we would see him the master of life not its captive.

To most of his readers Keats was the poet of the five senses. Whatever therefore does not contribute to this view seems puzzling to them. The difficulty lies in the fact that almost all his best poems are but songs of the region of Flora and old Pan. He was overtaken by death just as he was coming out of it. Now '*Lamia*' is a poem of this period of transition. It is an account of the struggle that was to herald the new period of Keats' poetic life when he was to sing of the ' agonies the strife of human hearts.' But readers whose ears had so long been attuned to the joyful ditties of the earlier period would find it difficult to follow his new symphony. They would follow him quite if the Lamia story was to end with Lycius and Lamia " like two gems upcurled in a single shell "—

> 'T would humour many hearts to leave them thus,
> Shut from the busy world of more incredulous.

But he refused to gratify his readers thus. The vision of truth was in his eyes and there was no rest for him till he had fully communicated it.

> The load of an unearthly bliss
> He feels about his heart whom it pleases God to give.
> For aye, he keeps awake. The gift of the Gods,
> Like a dream, burns in his heart with an upward flame.

> অলৌকিক আনন্দের ভার
> বিধাতা যাহারে দেয় তার বক্ষে বেদনা অপার,
> তার নিত্য জাগরণ, স্বপ্নসম দেবতার দান
> ঊর্দ্ধশিখা জ্বালি' চিত্তে অহোরাত্র দগ্ধ করে প্রাণ। (ভাষা ও ছন্দ)

He would take no account of the feelings of his readers but proceed headlong with his tale. The naked

beauty of truth was in his eyes and he could brook no mawkish art of softening its dreadful force. Thus in the opening lines of the second part we hear him thundering out a cruel truth which he calls the moral of his story. In fact his tone is so serious that most critics take this to be mock seriousness and are therefore at a loss to arrive at a true estimate of his thoughts in these lines. Some dismiss them as cynical, while others tremble, and silently pass them by. But truth to tell they contain a moral, and yet ' *Lamia* ' is not a didactic poem.

If *Lamia* has a moral it must be here, as its author points out :

> Love in a hut, with water and a crust,
> Is—Love, forgive us!—cinders, ashes, dust;
> Love in a palace is perhaps at last
> More grievous torment than a hermit's fast:
> That is a doubtful tale from faiery land,
> Hard for the non-elect to understand.
> Had Lycius liv'd to hand his story down,
> He might have given the moral a fresh frown,
> Or clench'd it quite.

But what has ' love in a hut ' to do with the Lamia story? And ' love in a palace ' also not much. And yet Keats says, " Had Lycius liv'd to hand his story down, He might have given the moral a fresh frown, Or clench'd it quite." The thing is that Keats is furious against love by which he means the attraction for women. If his story does not prove his moral, well then he must make the blank statement of a truth by the way to reveal its other traits that are outside the scope of the story. He therefore defends his statement thus—" but too short was their bliss. To breed distrust and hate, that make the soft voice hiss." ' The soft voice hiss '—the serpent in her comes out, her real nature is discovered. She is but a Lamia. Here is a plain hint at the allegory : Lycius is a man's youthful sensuosity that hotly burns for the charms of woman, which in the end is found out to be a veritable serpent, the discoverer of woman's real nature is time, the old, bald-headed philosopher Apollonius. When youth madly revels in the pleasures of woman age comes in uninvited, and discovers her

real nature. In vain does youth plead age not to break the illusion,—

> If dream is so sweet, wake me not, O wake me not,
> Even though it be but the coin of idle fancy.
>
> স্বপন যদি মধুর এমন, হোক সে মিছে কল্পনা
> জাগিও না, আমায় জাগিও না—

But time is relentless. He will suffer no delusion, he must solve every problem, and every mystery. He would rather have his youth gone than remain in the Fool's Paradise. He therefore solves the problem and youth dies.

So is the allegory explained. But one objection might be urged against it; how could Lycius and Apollonius keep each other's company for any long period to justify their relationship? or how could age and youth co-exist in a man? Well, the answer is simple. First, Apollonius is Time and therefore age. Youth learns by experience, from the lessons of time. So is Lycius Apollonius's pupil. And for the co-existence of youth and age in a man one might recall the famous statement of Count von Keyserling, in his famous "Travel Diary of a Philosopher" where in describing the primitiveness of the Rajputs he thus begins, 'just as no stage in the individual literally dies away'— and concludes that the relief of one age by another is a fiction of history. So it is plain that an old man does not lose his youth literally. But how could a youngman have old age in him? An old sannyasin of Belur once asked me to show him some of my literary scribblings, I did show him some. He was much pleased, he said, with some of my characters, but would be more to see some of them combine the characteristics of all ages, and this he beautifully illustrated by the example of a child of five warning its father gravely against some danger. Now is not this convincing argument that youth also has the characteristics of age in it?

But what could Keats mean by being so furious against love of women? What was the matter with him at this time? If anything in his writings should require a personal allusion surely the claim of this attitude to woman is one of the first. Yes, it is,

and we shall see the relationship of this attitude with his personal life and experience.

Keats first met Fanny Brawne sometime in October or November, 1818, and their engagement followed on the Christmas day when Keats dined with her family. The first ecstasies of this engagement the poet celebrated in his *Ode to Fancy* and *The Eve of St. Agnes*. These poems were composed between January and February, 1819. But the joys now gradually appeared precarious, nay illusive, false; he began to think meanly of women because of the one that had fallen to his lot, and in '*Lamia*,' which was written in the long period from July to September, he expressed his own estimate of this love, as it now appeared to him.

A disappointed idolator becomes the most violent inconoclast. He alone can hate mankind with Timon's bitterness who has loved them with his love. Keats had loved women only too well to brook their flippancies and flirtations. From early youth fair women have been angels to him. 'How can a man be unhappy that has a wife?' was his firm belief, and in his heart there was an incurable longing for women's society. Miss Amy Lowell ascribes this longing to his motherlessness, and points out that the reason why Fanny Brawne could not satisfy Keats was that she was too young to be able to play the mother to him. Howsoever it might have been, the fact remains that he loved Fanny only too well and expected no less from her in return. He wanted her 'One-thoughted, never-wandering, guileless love.' 'O, let me have thee whole,—all-all-be mine'—An atom less was death to him. Such was the intensity of his passion. But Fanny seemed unworthy of such devotion. Her tastes seemed too low, too vulgar for the refinements of a Keats. Even after she had accepted Keats' suit and been engaged to him she could not resist the temptation of flirting with other youngmen. To her Keats was her 'boy' whom she meant to play off against other 'boys,' and she never regarded the engagement as a very serious thing. So much so that even in his very presence she one day flirted with Brown in such a manner that after this Keats determined never to see his friend's face again till they were both old men, and he would have done the same with his fiancee as well were it in his power to do so. How pathetic and

helpless is the appeal of the sonnet to Fanny, beginning

I cry your mercy—pity—love.

It is true that sometimes he suffered causelessly, as jealousy's true nature is, but nevertheless, his sufferings were acute. He was, moreover, too painfully aware of his physical defects which kept the flame of jealousy always burning in his heart. He was only five feet and a half inch high and young maidens or rather women in general did not seem to care much for him. For this he was never at home in women's society. He thought that preference would always go to somebody else than himself. And he was not very wrong in this apprehension. Had not his own brother George supplanted him from the heart of the woman who first claimed his adoration, I mean Georgiana Augusta Wylie, who subsequently became Georgiana Keats? However, a specimen of his jealousies might be had in his *Ode to Fanny*, written not long after their engagement. Fanny went to a dance without Keats, and thus left behind he apprehends that she will indulge in much flirting there and not think of him. That somebody else is enjoying her company is a thought more than he can bear.

> Who now, with greedy looks, eats up my feast?
> What stare outfaces now my silver moon!

It is too much, and the jealous lover breaks out in an impassioned appeal to his fickle love,

> Ah! keep that hand unravished at the least,
> Let, let, the amorous burn—
> But, pr'ythee, do not turn
> The current of your heart from me so soon.
> O! save, in charity,
> The quickest pulse for me.

He even told Fanny of his sufferings. But she would not take heed. Why that was nothing—not much at least? Yes, not much to Fanny Brawne, but much—much to John Keats. She would plead with him that all his jealousies were based on nothing, his fears but false, and yet she would not give up her ways. So

Keats now began to see her real nature. 'Had he not read Hamlet?' 'Frailty, thy name is woman!' so to him—

> 'tis nothing now—
> Must not a woman be
> A feather on the sea,
> Swayed to and fro by every wind and tide?
> Of as uncertain speed
> As blow-ball from the mead?

Indeed he knows this, but 'to know it is despair.' But is it 'despair' alone? I think it is something more. It is loathing, it is regret for ever having loved at all, it is a looking back to the price that has been paid for the trifle. I think at the close of the famous sonnet to Fanny there lurks a thought within his mind of this nature. Had it not been better for him to keep himself to his studies, his profession and other manly pursuits than this wild goose chase? or even the thought that it was a falling off from his duties was not far from his mind.

> Or living on perhaps, your wretched thrall,
> Forget, in the mist of idle misery,
> Life's purposes,—the palate of my mind
> Losing its gust, and my ambition blind!

Herein lies the germs of a revolt. Why, why should he die for an atom of the mind of a green girl? His life surely had a greater mission! His ambition ought to have been far greater than the attainment of a girl! And what was that girl? An unworthy flirt. The thought perhaps went on thus fermenting in his mind till for some time at least his ideas were revolutionised. He succeeded in freeing himself from the spell and became the Keats whose voice we hear in *Lamia*,—Keats the misogynist, Keats to whom woman at bottom is a serpent, her charms black enchantment, love of her mere folly.

This mood also finds expression, its most caustic expression in the poem '*Modern Love*,' which I consider must belong to this period.

> And what is love? It is a doll dress'd up
> For idleness to cosset, nurse, and dandle;

A thing of soft misnomers, so divine
That silly youth doth think to make itself
Divine by loving, and so goes on
Yawning and doting a whole summer long,
Till Miss's comb is made a pearl tiara,
And common Wellingtons turn Romeo boots;
Then Cleopatra lives at number seven,
And Antony resides in Brunswick Square.

But the virulence of the tone is softened down here. His old fond doting on love comes upon him again. He has not the heart to say that there never was sincere passion in man and woman. Here, perhaps, he sighs at his own ill-luck and the ill-luck of those of his kind, who, of course, form the majority of mankind, and in a milder tone reproaches the unhappy disillusioned beings for the obstinacy of their hearts which refuse to accept their fate and smart and groan under their own weights.

Fools! if some passions high have warm'd the world,
If Queens and Soldiers have play'd deep for hearts,
It is no reason why such agonies
Should be more common than the growth of weeds.

And turning to his broken heart he expresses a wish that he had never loved so deeply. He would now be content to have a whole heart satisfied with itself which is no woman's thrall. And if he could have this he would have nothing to do again with lovers and their fates.

Fools! make me whole again that weighty pearl
The Queen of Egypt melted, and I'll say
That ye may love in spite of beaver hats.

It will be observed that the admission of a sincere passion in the case of a fortunate few, places the poem a little before '*Lamia.*' His bitterness against love and women had not yet reached that climax.

A very serious allegation might be pressed against my contention that I have given two different interpretations of the allegory of *Lamia* and have spoken confidently of both. But are there not always two aspects of a truth, the Universal and the particular?

This double-facedness is the peculiar characteristic of all great poems, and specially of those of Keats. So we hear of Hyperion representing any poet in general and Keats in particular. In fact poetry consists in the Universalisation of particular facts by the poet, and we speak of a ' poetic truth,' ' poetic justice ' and so on. What does Keats really mean by ' truth ' in " What the imagination seizes as Beauty must be Truth, whether it existed or not." ' Whether it existed or not '—how can that be true which had never any existence? Well, I know not, but another poet who knows this answers, not argumentatively, but by way of a simple assertion, for, with them, consecutive reasoning proves nothing. In his " ভাষা ও ছন্দ " Rabindranath makes Narada say to Valmiki in reply to the latter's apprehension that he might miss the truth in celebrating the deeds of Rama—

That only is true
Which thou wilt write
And not all that merely happen.
Thy mind, O poet, is truer
Than Oudh, the place
Of Rama's incarnation.

সেই সত্য যা রচিবে তুমি,
ঘটে যা' তা' সব সত্য নহে, কবি,-তব মনোভূমি
রামের জনমস্থান অযোধ্যার চেয়ে সত্য জেনো।

'সত্য' and 'ঘটনা,' ' Truth ' and ' Fact '—the former is Universal and belongs to poetry, the latter particular and belongs to the prose of everyday life. There of course are elements of truth in ' facts ' but the whole of a ' fact ' is not true. So the poet's function is to discard the elements of untruth from facts and give them the nature of truth, that is, his business is to take away those individual aspects of an incident which bear no universal application. And few ever excelled Keats in this respect. Every critic admits that his nightingale is any nightingale and the listner any Keats, that is, any poet. And yet how real is the background of that poem! The trees were all real trees and he composed the ode sitting beneath the bird's nest. Even the death pangs of Tom Keats have their place in the poem, and yet it is Keats as well as any poet.

That was his art. It is thus that I have given two interpretations to the allegory of *Lamia* and hold them equally correct. The first is particular in which Lycius represents Keats' youthful gross sensuosity, and the story is the story of his abandonment of this sensuosity for ' knowledge ' and ' philosophy,' and the second is Universal in which Lycius is Youth, Appollonius Time and Lamia any Woman. The first interpretation is only a particular case of the second universal proposition. But at the root of all this lie the hard facts of his own life. The alchemy of his genius has made all disagreeables vanish from them and *Lamia* pleases all ' by a fine excess.'

But one might ask at this moment, what about the distribution of the wreaths? Is not the moral pointed there? In fact Mr. Garrod emphatically states and defends this view. " For myself," he says, " I do not know that Keats could have pointed out the moral more sharply than he has done," and he quotes a whole passage—

> What wreath for Lamia? What for Lycius?
> What for the sage, old Apollonius?
> Upon her aching forehead be there hung
> The leaves of willow and of adder's tongue;
> And for the youth, quick, let us strip for him
> The thyrsus, that his watching eyes may swim
> Into forgetfulness; and for the sage
> Let spear-grass and the spiteful thistle wage
> War on his temples. Do not all charms fly
> At the mere touch of cold philosophy?
> There was an awful rainbow once in heaven:
> We know her woof, her texture; she is given
> In the dull catalogue of common things.
> Philosophy will clip an Angel's wings,
> Conquer all mysteries by rule and line,
> Empty the haunted air, the gnomed mine—
> Unweave a rainbow, as it erstwhile made
> The tender-person'd Lamia melt into a shade.

And Mr. Garrod very sharply remarks that " it is all too sharply said for Keats' critics." But I think justice requires that I shall quote him in full before criticising his views. Here is the passage :

" But it is all too sharply said for Keats' critics. Even Sir Sidney Colvin takes offence. He cannot bear that philosophy should win no better wreath than spear-grass and the thistle. Keats, he urges, in a tone of grave rebuke, ' should have realised that the discoveries of " philosophy," meaning Science, leave the world of poetry as they found it.' Keats, moreover, asks us, he supposes, ' to take sides with the enchantress ' ; and even the wreath of Lycius is, for this critic, ' of ominous growth.' No word of this mystification do I understand. When and where does Keats ask us ' to take sides with the enchantress '? We are told, it is true, in the last lines, that philosophy will as lightly unweave a rainbow—the worst of crimes—as it melted Lamia to a shade, which was no more than her deserts. No sympathy is wasted on Lamia. Willow and adder's tongue are her proper portion for ever. Of Lycius the perfect wreath is the thyrsus, the emblem of inspiration, of poetry—to the end that

> His watching eyes may swim
> Into forgetfulness:

that, like all poets, whose life is in sensation, in beauty, he may ' fade far away, dissolve and quite forget ' all that is less real than that. That all which philosophy inherits is the thistle and spear-grass—that, again, is not a dogma that should take us by surprise in Keats. In the period to which Lamia belongs—those eight golden months in which alone Keats' genius flourished in the fullness of pure sensuous experience, escaped from that craving for thought which, besetting him at so many other times spoilt his singing—it would surprise me if in this period this dogma did not find expression.

" This is not to say that I think the moral of Lamia good morals, that it satisfies the demands of a complete humanity. But I think it tolerable poetry; and I see no reason for wishing to make intolerable prose of it. In Keats himself, after all, there was that which Lamia could not satisfy, nor the best of his poetry at any time. That is why he has no sooner finished *Lamia* than he takes up *Hyperion* : *A Vision*. I like him the better for it, but I do not think him a better poet. I think him the great poet he

is only when the senses capture him, when he finds truth in beauty, that is to say, when he does not trouble to find truth at all."

If we now revert to De Selincourt's criticism of the poem which I have fully quoted earlier in my thesis it will be seen that most of what Mr. Garrod has to say has been anticipated and effectively met by that brilliant critic. The invective against philosophy, as Mr. Selincourt points out, ' is the utterance of a mood rather than of a settled conviction.' But indeed the vehemence with which this mood is expressed may easily mislead many as to the real motive of the poet. And herein lies the greatness of Keats, his kinship with Shakespeare and Milton. Did he not speak of the poetic character as having no self of its own? Did he not rightly point out what he called Shakespeare's ' negative capability ' as the best poetic gift? He did, and he knew fully what he said. He felt the force with which Shylock slipped out of the grasp of Shakespeare the man, and became, in spite of himself, a great tragic character. He felt the terrible weight of the speech " hath not a Jew eyes, etc." and how it murdered Shakespeare's true objective of holding up the Jews to ridicule. He fully realised what a magnificent failure was Shylock, and perhaps this realisation made him so emphatic on Shakespeare's negative capability. And as a careful student of Milton he could not but also have seen how the fallen Archangel Satan had become the hero of the *Paradise Lost* in spite of Milton. And as the effect of reading all these together with the natural turn for that sort of negative capability he let his Lycius become what he is. Besides, that was a poetical necessity, as Mr. De Selincourt points out. ' True it is that the poet wishes to enlist our sympathies on the side of Lycius; that is essential if the interest of the story is to be maintained.' (Introduction, p. xliii.) And when Sir Sidney Colvin supposes Keats to ask us ' to take sides with the enchantress ' he says nothing more than this.

A fond desire that the enchantment might remain unbroken in the hearts of the readers is a poetical necessity, and the arousing of this desire a condition of success with the poem. Keats therefore could not but ask us to ' take sides with the enchantress,' and the way to do that could have been no other than what it is, namely,

to make the enchantment so enchanting that in spite of its hollowness people will not be willing to let it go.

But the distribution of the wreaths is not without its significance. It signifies their portions rather than deservingness. And what does Lamia get? 'The leaves of willow and of adder's tongue.' Of these the willow signifies forlorn wretchedness, as is evident from the willow-song in *Othello* where the forlorn maid says, " All a green willow must be my garland," and adder's tongue, besides signifying by the flowerlessness of the fern, a curse on the enchantress that she might have no beauty, shows also something of her nature. So with Lamia " willow and adder's tongue " are indeed " her proper portion." And the thyrsus does justice to Lycius as he could not give up the enchantment and endure his life, so that he must forget. Now here is the true significance of the death of Lycius. I have already quoted Keyserling to say that no state in the individual literally dies away. With the advent of old age, therefore, youth does not die but falls, as it were, into a forgetful slumber. Youth and enchantment must go together. When enchantment fails youth is at an end also, and the man then cries out " A glory—has passed from the earth."

The wreath of Apollonius is his fortune and not desert. The path of knowledge is not strewn with roses. ক্ষুরস্য ধারা নিশিত দুরত্যয়া দুর্গং পথস্তৎ কবয়ো বদন্তি Poets say that the path is dangerous as the sharp edge of a knife. And the reward of knowledge is no wreath of flowers, indeed, but a sword. The idea has been beautifully expressed by Rabindranath in his poem "গান" in "খেয়া"—

I thought to beg of you—But could not for fear—
The garland you in the
Evening wore.

ভেবেছিলাম চেয়ে নেবো—
চাইনি সাহস করে—
সন্ধ্যাবেলায় যে-মালাটী
গলায় ছিলে পরে।

But when she came by it in the morning it was all a flame, a thunderbolt, and she realised her mistake :

And this is no garland, dear,
't is your sword.

এতো মালা নয় গো, এ-যে
তোমার তরবারি।

But I do not want to patch up Keats' ideas by those of Rabindranath. By the parallelism I hope to impress the reasonableness of my contentions a bit easily, and that is all. That Keats also held a similar view is proved from his letters. Mr. Bradley in his examination of Keats' letters in his *Oxford Lectures on Poetry* says, "Happiness, he (Keats) thinks, belongs only to childhood and early youth. A youngman thinks he can keep it, but a little experience shows him that he must do without it. The growth of the mind, if not anything else, is fatal to it."—So the growth of the mind, and that is the growth or rather attainment of knowledge is destructive of happiness, the guerdon of knowledge is eternal pain. His Apollo has to suffer death-pangs to attain knowledge. So what could Apollonius expect more than a crown of thorn, of spear-grass and the spiteful thistle? Mr. Colvin therefore need not be sorry for that, nor need Mr. Garrod be cross with him any more.

After all this one really wonders as to what could a man of Mr. Garrod's eminence—he delivered his lecture on Keats from the chair of poetry at the University of Oxford—mean by representing such a profound expression in tears, so to say, of a very hard fact of life as an invective, an expression of dogmatic hatred. But the fact is that in the joy of the pure gold of the golden eight months he has quite lost sight of the intense burning that separated the metal from the ore. He heard the melody of the pipe and his ears were ravished, but he did not stop to consider what pains, what sufferings, went to the making of the pipe from a green, fleshy, living reed. When the music was heard the reed was a reed no more.

Severe experience had pulled the reed of the poet's mind up from the soil of everyday life and with a cruel hand tore off its leaves, and bored it through, time and again, ere he could transform it into a pipe and draw out the least murmur of soft music. Mr. Garrod thus fails to take proper account of Keats' love for

Fanny, his disappointment in her, and even in love itself, the breaking off of his early visions, and the rude awakening to a knowledge of the hard facts of life. He rejoices in *Isabella, St. Agnes' Eve, Lamia* and the great odes, but fails to see that it is salt of personal experience that flavours the stories and the odes alike. He fails to realise that Keats is himself Lorenzo, Porphyro, Lycius and Apollonius, the listner of the Nightingale's song and all that, and Fanny Isabelle, Madeline, Lamia and the rest. He, moreover, states that " the mere shadow of a man or woman, the least breath of character or action, suffices at any moment to dissolve the fabric of his imaginings," and goes to prove it in his own way. " Philosophy, politics, action, character—all these are for ever calling him from his proper sphere of effectiveness to regions of enterprise where he can be only inefficient and unhappy," and Keats, he goes on, is a great poet of the five senses, and no more. So he finds fault with Sir Sidney Colvin for attributing thoughts to Keats. His view of Keats is a reaction against the tendency of philosophising Keats overmuch, but it is a reaction violent and unmeasured. When he is forced to admit the allegory and symbolism of some of Keats' poems he does it with regret, and wishes Keats would rather be excersing his five senses than dabble in philosophy, politics, character or action. In short his view calls for the comment " as though a rose should shut and be a bud again." So is Mr. Garrod's objection explained away, and we may remain convinced that by assigning spear-grass and the thistle to philosophy or knowledge Keats meant not to disparage it but to state a hard truth—the truth that the reward and price of knowledge is eternal pain. However, Mr. Bradley's finding is more fraught with meaning than I did at first take it to be. " A youngman thinks he can keep it, but a little experience shows him that he must do without it." Now here is the admission of the necessity of the death of Lycius. Keats at first thought, till he learnt to make concessions for human frailty, that all that the heart desires must be good. He therefore fondly clung to the desires of his flesh and thought that their gross taints might be blotted out with the help of a little philosophy. Lycius became the scholar of Apollonius, and Young Keats thought that he could keep Lycius, that is, the spirit of sensuous pleasure in him for ever.

But a little closer experience showed him his mistake. He now grew painfully conscious of the wasting side of love and this growth of his mind proved fatal to that spirit. Therefore Lycius had to die.

The necessity of the death of Lycius can also be argued from yet another standpoint: We have seen that Lycius is a man's youth and Apollonius his age. Therefore the story of *Lamia* is the story of the ousting of youth by age in man. The story thus becomes a study in evolution, just as *Hyperion* is. But the principles regulating this evolution may at first appear sheer opposites—in *Lamia* the superior in knowledge survives the superior in beauty, while in *Hyperion* the first in beauty becomes the first in might—but as a matter of fact the two principles are but one and the same. The fact is that in *Lamia* Keats sees knowledge and beauty as two different identities and thinks that knowledge triumphs over the close of beauty, and beauty at this time for him means nothing more than physical beauty; while in *Hyperion* his ideas have widened greatly and knowledge has become beautiful to his eyes. For, by the side of the assertion that ' the first in beauty should be the first in might ' he also ascribes the deification of Apollo to the acquisition of knowledge: ' Knowledge enormous makes a God of me.' In both the poems the principle regulating the evolution is seen to be greater knowledge. Therefore, as in the interest of the whole creation the replacement of the Titans by the Olympians was a necessity, so in the interest of the man the replacement of youth by age is equally a necessity.

CHAPTER IV

Beauty in Nature

In the first chapter we have seen that Keats considered love as opening the lips of every man to poesy. We have also seen that this love, which had the sanction of his heart, must begin in beauty. Beauty, then, was with Keats the prime mover of the heart. And it is so in reality as well. Not only the love after Keats' heart, but all loves have their origin in beauty. In fact, love may be defined as the perception of beauty. The perception of beauty all around makes a new-born child love the world, the same perception intensifies his love, and makes him look upon the world as his own to which he then clings with all his heart. A few lines from Wordsworth's " Ode on Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood " will make the point clear.

> The Soul that rises with us, our life's Star
> . . . . . cometh from afar:
> . . . . . .

But

> Earth fills her lap with pleasures of her own;
> Yearnings she hath in her own natural kind,
> And, even with something of a Mother's mind
> And no unworthy aim,
> The homely Nurse doth all she can
> To make her Foster-child, her Inmate Man,
> Forget the glories he hath known
> And that imperial palace whence he came.

And these pleasures according to Keats consist in things of beauty.

> A thing of beauty is a joy for ever,
> . . . . . .
> Therefore on every morrow are we wreathing
> A flowery band to bind us to the earth.

These ' flowery bands ' then bind the sojourner, our soul, to the earth, and thus we are made her inmates, men. And as Keats knew Wordsworth's ode by heart the relationship in idea is not fantastic.

But the first draught of Beauty the child takes in the world is the beauty of natural objects, that beauty which can be taken in by the senses, especially by the eye and the ear. And as for Keats, " Nothing," said a friend of his boyhood, " nothing escaped him. The humming of a bee, the sight of a flower, the glitter of the sun seemed to make his nature tremble. Then his eye flashed, his cheek glowed, his mouth quivered." At the time of his death how wistfully did he tell Severn that he remembered every flower he had seen during his whole life : " . . . . how astonishingly does the chance of leaving the world impress a sense of its natural beauties upon us. Like poor Falstaff, though I do not ' babble,' I think of green fields ; I muse with the greatest affection on every flower I have known from infancy." But it was not in things of Nature alone that Keats let loose his senses for free pasture but also in works of art which are but an extension of Nature. He " looked upon fine phrases like a lover," and at the first perusal of a masterpiece he felt

> like some watcher of the skies
> When a new planet swims into his ken; . . . .

and he would be content often to look upon man as a part of Nature so that he could look upon a woman's anger as a beautiful spectacle without feeling the least perturbed by her emotions :

> . . . if thy mistress same rich anger shows
> Emprison her soft hand, and let her rave,
> And feed deep deep upon her peerless eyes.

" The only passion," writes Robert Bridges, " the only passion delineated by Keats is the imaginative love of Nature, and human love is regarded by him as a part of this, and his lover is happy merely because he is admitted into communion with new forms of natural beauty . . . the anger of his mistress is enumerated with roses, peonies and rainbows, as a beautiful phenomenon,

plainly without respect to its cause, meaning or effect. And so in the *Lamia*

> He took delight
> Luxurious in her sorrows, soft and new.

And,

> Fine was the mitigated fury.

How different is the parallel passage of Shakespeare, which at once occurs to one :

> Oh, what a deal of scorn looks beautiful
> In the contempt and anger of his lips.

This is not artistic admiration, but a lover's entire devotion."

Keats' first volume of 1817 is, three-fourths of it, replete with this love of Nature. The general attitude of the poet is clearly pointed out by the motto of his first poem taken from Hunt's *Story of Rimini* :

> Places of nestling green for poets made.

His sonnet on his friend's book also tells the same story :

> Who loves to peer up at the morning sun.
> With half-shut eyes and comfortable cheek,
> Let him, with this sweet tale, full often seek
> For meadows where the little rivers run;
> Who loves to linger with that brightest one
> Of Heaven—Hesperus—let him lowly speak
> These numbers to the night, and starlight meek,
> Or moon, if that her hunting be begun.
> He who knows these delights, and too is prone
> To moralize upon a smile or tear,
> Will find at once a region of his own,
> A bower for his spirit, and will steer
> To alleys where the fir-tree drops its cone,
> Where robins hop, and fallen leaves are sear.

What a beautiful piece of Nature-painting is his own poem .

> I stood tiptoe upon a little hill,
> The air was cooling and so very still,

That the sweet buds which with a modest pride
Pull drooping, in slanting curve aside,
Their scantly leav'd, and finely tapering stems,
Had not yet lost those starry diadems
Caught from the early sobbing morn.
The clouds were pure and white as flocks new shorn,
And fresh from the clear brook; etc., etc.

And the effect of all these upon his own mind was, as he says,

I gazed awhile, and felt as light, and free
As though the fanning wings of Mercury
Had play'd upon my heels: I was light-hearted,
And many pleasures to my vision started;
So I straightway began to pluck a posey
Of luxuries bright, milky, soft, and rosy.

How beautiful were the flowers, the grass, the creepers, the brooks. The flowers had laid a complete hold upon his mind, and he thought that the task of the new poetry of the age was to sing of them :

Open afresh your round of starry folds,
Ye ardent marigolds!
Dry up the moisture from your golden lids,
For great Apollo bids
That in these days your praises should be sung
On many harps which he has lately strung;

and the relation of these lines with his famous attack on the Augustan School in *Sleep and Poetry* is palpably clear

The winds of Heaven blew, the ocean rolled
Its gathering waves—ye felt it not. The blue
Bared its eternal bosom, and the dew
Of summer nights collected still to make
The morning precious: beauty was awake!
Why were ye not awake?

The Augustans were dead to the beauty of Nature, poetry had suffered a death-blow at their hands, and so the task of the new

poets was to revive poetry by infusing the pure blood of Nature's beauty in it. The men entrusted with this charge are, therefore, Wordsworth—

> " Of the cloud, the cataract, the lake;"

Hunt—

> " Of the rose, the violet, the spring
> The social smile, the chain for Freedom's sake; "

and Haydon—

> " Whose stedfastness would never take
> A meaner sound than Raphæl's whispering;"

as also—

> " Other spirits—standing apart
> Upon the forehead of the age to come,"

of which certainly he is one. And his title to the privilege consists in his love of the marigolds. Addressing the flowers he says,

> And when again your dewiness he kisses,
> Tell him I have you in my world of blisses.
> So happily when I rove in some far vale,
> His mighty voice may come upon the gale.

In " I stood tip-toe," unlike in the second Hyperion, Keats speaks of Nature as the first inspirer of great poetry. He addresses the moon as

> Maker of sweet poets, dear delight
> Of this fair world, and all its gentle livers;
> Spangler of clouds, halo of crystal rivers,
> Mingler with leaves, and dew, and tumbling streams,
> Closer of lovely eyes to lovely dreams,
> Lover of loneliness, and wandering,
> Of upcast eye, and tender pondering!

and then asks,

> " What has made the sage or poet write
> But the fair paradise of Nature's light?"

The legends of ancient Greece were to Keats but Nature-myths Because

In the calm grandeur of a sober line,
We see the waving of the mountain pine;
And when a tale is beautifully staid,
We feel the safety of a hawthorn glade:
And when it is moving on luxurious wings,
The soul is lost in pleasant smotherings:
And fair dewy roses brush against our faces
And flowering laurels spring from diamond vases;
O'er head we see the jasmine and sweet briar,
And bloomy grapes laughing from green attire;
While at our feet, the voice of crystal bubbles
Charms us at once from all our troubles:
So that we feel uplifted from the world,
Walking upon the white clouds wreath'd and curled—

the poets who wrote these lines and told these tales must have felt them first and expressed them afterwards. Evidently Keats has in mind here the theory that readers approach the mood of the poet through the poem, and as such the process in the readers' mind is just the opposite of that in the poet's. To the poet, the mood, the inspiration comes first which he expresses in the poem, while the readers read the poem first and then gradually attain the mood in which it was composed. He therefore traces the original inspiration of the Greek poets of legendary tales by the effect they produce upon the minds of the readers. And as this effect is nothing but an intense feeling of wonder at the simple objects of Nature, the authors of these tales must have made them from no other sources than this:

So felt he, who first told, how Psyche went
On the smooth wind to realms of wonderment;
What Psyche felt, and Love, when their lips
First touch'd; . . .

and

So did he feel, who pull'd the boughs aside,
That we might look into a forest wide,
To catch a glimpse of Fauns, and Dryades
Coming with softest rustle through the trees;
And garlands woven of flowers wild, and sweet,
Upheld on ivory wrists, or sporting feet:
Telling us how fair, trembling Syrinx fled
Arcadian Pan, with such a fearful dread.

And in a like manner the beautiful story of Narcissus came into being :

What first inspired a bard of old to sing
Narcissus pining over the untainted spring?
In some delicious ramble, he had found
A little space, with boughs all woven round;
And in the midst of all, a clearer pool
Than e'er reflected in its pleasant cool,
The blue sky here, and there, serenely peeping
Through tendril wreaths fantastically creeping.
And on the bank a lonely flower he spied,
A meek and forlorn flower, with naught of pride,
Drooping its beauty o'er the watery clearness,
To woo its own sad image into nearness:
Deaf to light Zephyrus it would not move;
But still would seem to droop, to pine, to love.
So while the poet stood in this sweet spot,
Some fainter gleamings o'er his fancy shot;
Nor was it long ere he had told the tale
Of young Narcissus, and sad Echo's bale.

And later (mid-1817) of the story of his *Endymion* he says :

. . . 'tis a ditty
Not of these days, but long ago 'twas told
By a cavern wind unto a forest old;
And then the forest told it in a dream
To a sleeping lake, whose cool and level gleam
A poet caught as he was journeying
To Phœbus' shrine; and in it he did fling
His weary limbs, bathing an hour's space,
And after, straight in that inspired place
He sang the story up into the air,
Giving it universal freedom. There
Has it been ever sounding for those ears
Whose tips are glowing hot.

(Endymion, Book II, Lines 829-41.)

Keats was at this time so much occupied with Nature that he had not time enough to reflect upon the charms or loves of women even :

What though while the wonders of Nature exploring,
I cannot your light, mazy footsteps attend
Nor listen to accents, that almost adoring,
Bless Cynthia's face the enthusiast's friend.

He makes his Calidore a great lover of Nature instead of tournaments and tilts :

> Young Calidore is paddling o'er the lake;
> His healthful spirit eager and awake
> To feel the beauty of a silent eve,
> Which seem'd full loth this happy world to leave;
> The light dwelt o'er the scene so lingeringly.
> He bares his forehead to the cool blue sky,
> And smiles at the far clearness all around,
> Until his heart is well nigh over wound,
> And turns for calmness to the pleasant green
> Of easy slopes, and shadowy trees that lean
> So elegantly o'er the waters' brim
> And show their blossoms trim.
> Scarce can his clear and nimble eye-sight follow
> The freaks, and dartings of the black-wing'd swallow,
> Delighting much, to see it half at rest,
> Dip so refreshingly its wings, and breast
> 'Gainst the smooth surface, and to mark anon,
> The widening circles into nothing gone. Etc., etc., etc.

The first twelve lines of the first sonnet of this volume "*To My Brother George*" is an excellent Nature-painting. What a wistful mood for Natural objects do they portray!

> Many the wonders I this day have seen:
> The sun, when first he kist away the tears
> That fill'd the eyes of morn;—the laurell'd peers
> Who from the feathery gold of evening lean;—
> The ocean with its vastness, its blue green,
> Its ships, its rocks, its caves, its hopes, its fears,—
> Its voice mysterious, which whoso hears
> Must think on what will be, and what has been.
> E'en now, dear George, while this for you I write,
> Cynthia is from her silken curtains peeping
> So scantly, that it seems her bridal night,
> And she her half-discovered revels keeping.

But the very tip-top of the mood is realized when Keats represents a man, who has been long in city pent, come out in the country and into the bosom of Nature. The contrast heightens the colour :

To one who has been long in city pent,
'Tis very sweet to look into the fair
And open face of heaven,—to breathe a prayer
Full in the smile of the blue firmament.
Who is more happy, when, with heart's content,
Fatigued he sinks into some pleasant lair
Of wavy grass, and reads a debonair
And gentle tale of love and languishment?
Returning home at evening, with an ear
Catching the notes of Philomel,—an eye
Watching the sailing cloudlet's bright career,
He mourns that day so soon has glided by:
E'en like the passage of an angel's tear
That falls through the clear ether silently.

And the next step in this appreciation of Nature's beauty is expressed in the sonnet "*On the Grasshopper and Cricket.*" "The poetry of earth is never dead": Nature always is beautiful—the winter has her beauties just as the spring.

The poetry of earth is never dead:
When all the birds are faint with the hot sun,
And hide in cooling trees, a voice will run
From hedge to hedge about the new-mown mead;
That is the Grasshopper's—he takes the lead
In summer luxury,—he has never done
With his delights; for when tired out with fun
He rests at ease beneath some pleasant weed.
The poetry of earth is ceasing never:
On a lone winter evening, when the frost
Has wrought a silence, from the stove there shrills
The Cricket's song, in warmth increasing ever,
And seems to one in drowsiness half lost,
The Grasshopper's among some grassy hills.

But so long Keats was concerned with the surface beauty of Nature. He took no account of her inward life. And it was not before the end of March, 1818, that he suddenly awoke to the inner life of Nature, and the great struggle for existence with all its cruelty and ferocity that lies hidden in her apparently calm and beautiful bosom. In the verse epistle to Reynolds, March 25, 1818, he writes,

Dear Reynolds! I have a mysterious tale,
And cannot speak it: the first page I read
Upon a Lampit rock of green sea-weed
Among the breakers; 'twas a quiet eve,
The rocks were silent, the wide sea did weave
An untumultuous fringe of silver foam
Along the flat brown sand; I was at home
And should have been most happy,—but I saw
Too far into the sea, where every maw
The greater on the less feeds evermore.—
But I saw too distinct into the core
Of an eternal fierce destruction,
And so from happiness I far was gone.
Still am I sick of it, and tho', to-day,
I've gather'd young spring leaves, and flowers gay
Of periwinkle and wild strawberry,
Still do I that most fierce destruction see,—
The Shark at savage prey,—the Hawk at pounce,—
The gentle Robin, like a Pard or Ounce,
Ravening a worm,— . . .

Now Keats had an intuitive idea that the whole cosmic scheme is beautiful. But with Milton he could not set himself to justify the ways of God to men; neither could he with Pope set himself the intellectual proposition ' Whatever is, is right ' and go on arguing. He had not much faith in the power of the intellect to solve such questions, and he told Bailey in November, 1817, " I have never yet been able to perceive how anything can be known for truth by conescutive reasoning." He saw that against all that man achieves by consecutive reasoning some solid objection can be raised. He had asked himself the question in this same letter, " Can it be that even the greatest philosopher ever arrived at his goal without putting aside numerous objections?" To him the heart was the mind's Bible. His heart told him that reality was beautiful, and he could not accept a thing as true unless it appeared beautiful. " I can never feel certain of any truth but from a clear perception of its beauty." (Letter to George, Jan., 1819.)

But discord is certainly not beautiful, and there is so much of it in Nature. Evil seemed to preponderate over good. These

were the facts of life and yet his heart told him that not only the sum total of all but everything in itself was beautiful. Something in him whispered that evil is also beautiful, and there comes a time in man's spiritual development when he can see beauty in things evil. This is of course different from the ' soul of goodness in things evil.' It is really an admission of evil as evil, and then an acknowledgment of its beauty. But Keats despaired of ever attaining to that stage when evil would appear beautiful to him. In that verse epistle to Reynolds he vents this despair :

> . . . Oh, never will the prize,
> High reason, and the love of good and ill,
> Be my award!

He knows that good and ill can be loved together, but fails just now to rise so high. In despair he cries out that he will never rise up to it. But this is impatience, rather than a real despair. More than a month before this, that is in his letter to Reynolds of the 19th February, we see him contemplating his own want of knowledge with an optimism for the near future. (And knowledge to Keats was not memory but understanding and apprehension of the truth about things. It is this ' *love of good and ill* ' of the epistle.) He wrote, " I have not read any books—the Morning said I was right—I had no idea but of the morning, and the thrush said I was right—seeming to say,

> O thou whose face hath felt the Winter's wind,
> Whose eye has seen the snow-clouds hung in mist,
> And the black elm-tops 'mong the freezing stars,
> To thee the spring will be a harvest-time.
> O thou, whose only book has been the light
> Of supreme darkness which thou feddest on
> Night after night when Phœbus was away,
> To thee the spring shall be a triple morn.
> O fret not after knowledge—I have none,
> And yet my song comes native with the warmth
> O fret not after knowledge—I have none,
> And yet the Evening listens. He who saddens
> At thought of idleness cannot be idle,
> As he is awake who thinks himself asleep."

Keats had spread his entire soul before the world, and was feeling sure of an early attainment of the knowledge he desired. And as a matter of fact the knowledge he desired was already his. "Thou wouldst not have looked for Me, if thou hadst not found Me."* (Pascal.) And so Keats would not have looked for this knowledge if he had not found it already. It is well that scientists call their investigations *research*, which means searching again for what is already apprehended by their imagination. And is not all education merely drawing out of what is there already in the man? Keats understood it in the same way. Memory he would not confuse with knowledge.† To him a proverb was no proverb till he could prove it upon his own pulse.‡ And where there is no proverb to verify his imagination, that is, intuition supplied the hypothesis. But this intuition does not come as a hypothesis. It comes in a manner quite unintelligible at the time, and the time itself goes quite unperceived. We forget its existence, and it is only when the problems subsequently arise and we grope about madly for a solution that the old guest shows his face. But he mostly does it so quietly that we take him for a new arrival, and it is only after subsequent calm deliberations of the past that sometimes we come upon the exact moment and the exact manner of the arrival of such a thought. But mostly the recognition is never made. Keats has exactly this process in his mind when in his letter of the 22nd Nov., 1817 (MBF., 31) he writes to Bailey: "the simple imaginative Mind may have its rewards in the repetition of its own Silent workings coming continually on the spirit with a fine suddenness." The knowledge indeed proceeds from the Silent workings of the mind but it is perceived all of a sudden while being repeated.

But Keats had the intuition that good and evil both can be loved before he wrote that verse epistle to Reynolds, and there-

* Quoted by Romain Rolland in his Life of the Swami Vivekananda.

† Memory should not be called knowledge.—Letter to Reynolds, Feb. 19, 1818 MBF., 48.

‡ For axioms in philosophy are not axioms until they are proved upon our pulse. —Letter to Reynolds, May 3, 1818, MBF., 64.

fore before he could be said to have been on the look-out for the love of good and ill. "Thou wouldst not have looked for Me, if thou hadst not found Me." And that he had already found it is proved by a passage in his letter (MBF., 32) to his brothers George and Tom of the 21st Dec., 1817, in which he speaks of Shakespeare's *Negative Capability*:

> "I had not a dispute but a disquisition, with Dilke on various subjects; several things dove-tailed in my mind, and at once it struck me what quality went to form a man of Achievements especially in literature, and which Shakespeare possessed so enormously—I mean *Negative Capability*, that is when a man is capable of being in uncertainties, mysteries, doubts, without any irritable reaching after fact and reason—Coleridge, for instance, would let go by a fine isolated verisimilitude caught from the Penetralium of Mystery, from being incapable of remaining content with half knowledge. This pursued through volumes would perhaps take us no further than this, that with a great poet the sense of Beauty overcomes every other consideration, or rather obliterates all considerations."

'The sense of Beauty overcomes every other consideration,' whether of morality, pain, suffering, guilt or crime.

And this is exactly the meaning of that passage of the Men of Genius of the letter to Bailey of a month ago, that is of Nov. 22, 1817:

> "Men of Genius are great as certain ethereal chemicals in operating on the mass of neutral intellect—but they have not any individuality, any determined character—I would call the top and head of those who have a proper self Men of Power. . ."

Evidently what Keats means is that Men of Genius take in the beauty of everything with their soul, and enjoy everything whether bad or good, the consideration of which is obliterated by the consideration of Beauty. This has been more clearly explained in a later passage, Oct. 27, 1818. In a letter to Bailey (MBF., 93) he writes:—

> "As to the poetical character itself (I mean that sort of which, if I am anything, I am a Member; that sort distinguished from

> the Wordsworthian or egotistical sublime, which is a thing *per se* and stands alone) it is not itself—it has no self—it is everything and nothing—it has no character—it enjoys light and shade; it lives in gusto, be it foul or fair, high or low, rich or poor, mean or elevated—It has as much delight in conceiving an Iago as an Imogen. What shocks the virtuous philosopher, delights the Chameleon Poet."

And the mood of equanimity in the face of good and evil, or rather the relish of evil, Keats boldly drags down into the realm of life from that of art and sets himself to justify the cruelty of Nature, while speaking of the limits of disinterestedness in the long letter of March, 1819, to George and Georgiana, which could almost raise this world to Paradise : The feeling of disinterestedness would injure society if ' pushed to an extremity '—" For in wild Nature the Hawk would lose his breakfast of Robins and the Robin his of worms—the lion must starve as well as the swallow." And after this when Keats goes on to re-describe that " mysterious tale " of the *Epistle to Reynolds* of a year ago (March, 1818) he is no more haunted by the sight and sense of a " fierce destruction " all around, but he speaks caressingly of the destroyer, and enjoys the ferocity of his eyes as a bright, beautiful glimmer of purpose. And not only birds and animals, even men amuse him by their self-seeking. He is no longer vexed, it is no longer ugly to him. All are the slaves of an instinct, but he alone is for the time being become some sort of a superior being. There is no question of good and evil in his mind now, pleasant or painful, for he is above these feelings, and he can enjoy the dark side of things as well as the bright :

> " The greater part of Men make their way with the same instinctiveness, the same unwandering eye from their purposes, the same animal eagerness as the Hawk. The Hawk wants a mate, so does Man—look at them both, they set about it and procure one in the same manner. They want both a nest and they set about one in the same manner—they get their food in the same manner—The noble animal Man for his amusement smokes his pipe—the Hawk balances about the clouds—that is the only difference of their leisures. This it is that makes the Amusement of Life—to a speculative Mind. I go among the Fields and Catch a glimpse of a stoat or a fieldmouse peeping

> out of the withered grass—the creature hath a purpose and its eyes are bright with it. I go amongst the buildings of a city and see a Man hurrying alone—to what? the Creature has a purpose and his eyes are bright with it. But then as Wordsworth says, ' we have all one human heart.' "

But in speaking of Man as an animal of instinct Keats feels he is not telling the whole truth about him. There are of course men who get over this slavery of instinct and he himself is an example—at least for that moment. But he also remembers that almost all through his life he too has been guided by this instinct. He then goes on :

> " —there is an electric fire in human nature tending to purify—so that among these human creatures there is continually some birth of new heroism. The pity is that we must wonder at it: no doubt that thousands of people never heard of have had hearts completely disinterested: I can remember but two—Socrates and Jesus—their histories evince it. What I heard a little time ago Taylor observe with respect to Socrates may be said of Jesus—That he was so great a man that though he transmitted no writing of his own to posterity, we have His mind and His sayings and His greatness handed to us by others. It is to be lamented that the history of the latter was written and revised by men interested in the pious frauds of Religion. Yet through all this I see His splendour. Even here though I am myself pursuing the same instinctive course as the veriest human animal you can think of—I am however young writing at random—straining at particles of thought in the midst of a great darkness—without knowing the bearing of any one assertion of any one opinion. Yet may I not in this be free from sin? May there not be superior beings amused with any graceful though instinctive attitude my mind may fall into as I am entertained with the alertness of a stoat or the anxiety of a Deer? Though a quarrel in the streets is a thing to be hated, the energies displayed in it are fine; the commonest man shows a grace in his quarrel—By a superior being our reasonings may take the same tone—though erroneous they may be fine—This is the very thing in which consists poetry; and if so it is not so fine a thing as philosophy—For the same reason that an eagle is not so fine a thing as a truth,—Give me this credit—Do you not think I strive—to know myself? Give me this credit—and you will not think that on my own account I repeat Milton's lines

> ' How charming is divine Philosophy,
> Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,
> But musical as is Apollo's lute '—"

' This is the very thing in which consists poetry,' etc.—Keats simply means that poetry is an instinctive turn of mind, and therefore a poet is not a disinterested person. Disinterestedness has no poetry. There is no fire in it, and all that a poem needs is a " fire of some kind." And philosophy has no fire in it, it is the disinterested contemplation of a speculative Mind. Keats therefore makes bold to say that in so far as disinterestedness is superior to instinct, Philosophy is superior to Poetry. Keats has now risen to a height whence he can see philosophy as beautiful, and disinterestedness beautiful. But his eyes are not bright with it. His preference for philosophy and disinterestedness is no instinctive turn of mind. By this preference he only means to point out the fact that while a poet can enjoy one thing at a time philosophy can take the whole creation in its grasp. The poetical character without identity " is continually in for—and filling some other body," but the philosopher is quite disinterested. He is a spectator looking at the game of life played by others and takes no part himself. The philosopher does not lose his identity in some one thing as the poet does. His relish of the dark and bright sides of things is more complete and synchronous. And when in that mood of disinterestedness Keats was enjoying the instinctive activities of others he could also relish the beauty of philosophy. But the lines he quotes from Milton depicts no disinterested mood of mind. Milton takes an instinctive attitude of partisanship for philosophy and Keats sees his eyes bright with a purpose. To disclaim this purposefulness for himself he tells his brother repeatedly that he does not quote those lines for himself. He quotes them simply to show that he has " got into a state of mind to relish them properly."

But Keats knew that George had known only the violent side of his temper, and the violence with which he would smother this violence. And lest George should see in this praise of disinterestedness and philosophy only another proof of this

violent smothering of his natural violence Keats goes on to intercede with him:

> "I am ever afraid that your anxiety for me will lead you to fear for the violence of my temperament continually smothered down: for that reason I did not intend to have sent you the following sonnet—but look for the two last pages and ask yourselves whether I have not that in me which will well bear the buffets of the world. It will be the best comment on my sonnet; it will show you that it was written with no agony but that of ignorance; with no thirst of anything but knowledge when pushed to the point though the first steps to it were through my human passions—they went away, and I wrote with my Mind and perhaps I must confess a little bit of my heart—
>
> Why did I laugh to-night? No voice will tell:
> No God, no Demon of severe response,
> Deigns to reply from heaven or from Hell.
> Then to my human heart I turn at once.
> Heart! Thou and I are here sad and alone;
> I say, why did I laugh! O mortal pain!
> O Darkness! Darkness! ever I must moan,
> To question Heaven and Hell and Heart in vain.
> Why did I laugh? I know this Being's lease,
> My fancy to its utmost blisses spreads;
> Yet would I on this very midnight cease,
> And the world's gaudy ensigns see in shreds;
> Verse, Fame, and Beauty are intense indeed,
> But Death intenser—Death is Life's high meed.
>
> I went to bed, and enjoyed an uninterrupted sleep—sane I went to bed and sane I arose."

Keats could not have sent George this sonnet lest he should fear for the violence of his soul continually smothered down. He therefore bids George give up that misapprehension as his discourse on disinterestedness, in the two last pages of his letter, would prove that he had that in him which would well bear the buffets of the world. But the sonnet began in his passions, and though in it he gradually got rid of them, there was always his heart in it and he was not completely disinterested. For though he could

' cease on that very midnight ' and the world's gaudy ensigns see in shreds, he felt the intensity of Verse, Fame and Beauty surpassed by the intensity of Death. His mind had taken an instinctive turn towards death and he felt his eyes were bright with it. He is somewhat ashamed of this instinctiveness after he has written so much on disinterestedness. ' I must confess,' he says therefore, that the poem was written with ' a little bit of my heart!' The disinterested Keats is above the heart—is the Mind. He is thus above Poetry—he is a Philosopher.

But critics interested in the pious frauds of Poetry will not see this simple truth. Professor Bradley is not a poet and yet his bias for poetry blinded his sovereign vision so much that he could not understand the meaning of Keats' " If so it is not so fine a thing as philosophy for the same reason that an eagle is not so fine a thing as a truth," and confessed his failure. But Mr. Middleton Murry is himself a poet and he will in no way allow his profession to go down before the philosopher's, and he has written a long four-page ingenious commentary. And what claims does he make for his discovery :

> " It is not an easy thought, but it is a simple one; though I should perhaps hesitate to say so when even Professor Bradley confesses that he has never been able to understand it. And I confess that I had read that passage many times before it suddenly became transparently clear to me; and even now I recognize that its simplicity is the simplicity of a pure act of poetic thought, and therefore impossible to translate. One can give only a meagre paraphrase (and he gives a good paraphrase of course), Poetry consists in an instinctive attitude taken by the complete being. It may be, (he adds) that Professor Bradley was troubled by the next words: ' If so (that is, if this is the very thing in which consists Poetry) then it is not so fine a thing as philosophy, for the same reason that an eagle is not so fine a thing as a truth '."

But in these words also lay Mr. Murry's own trouble. He never got any solution of it, but only fancied that he did. In order to save poetry from being relegated to an inferior position, he has

given a rough and ready-made one. He has built a hedge of high-sounding words around it and it is hard for the reader clearly to see through it. He says that in order to understand " we must read on—

> Give me this credit—Do you not think I strive to know myself? Give me this credit, and you will not think that on my own account I repeat Milton's lines—
>
> > How charming is divine Philosophy,
> > Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,
> > But musical as is Apollo's lute—
>
> No, not for myself (but) feeling grateful as I do to have got into a state to relish them properly. Nothing ever becomes real till it is experienced—even a proverb is no proverb to you till your Life has illustrated it."

But the poet-critic then feels that this reading on does not help much. He therefore suddenly comes forward with a rebuke for dullness in his readers and interposes his own sermon :

> " Do not misunderstand him; Keats is not saying that the critique of Pure Reason is finer than Poetry or musical as is Apollo's lute. In Keats' mind ' philosophy ' never meant abstract metaphysical speculation; it meant for him one thing and one thing alone—a comprehension of the mystery of life. That is to say, it meant precisely the kind of speculations of which his letter is composed and the conclusion he reached through them are what he meant by truth. So that when he said that poetry was not so fine a thing as philosophy, he was saying simply that one kind of poetry is not so fine as another kind of poetry: and that one kind of poet is not so fine as another kind of poet. Or, if my meagre paraphrase be accepted, whereas all true poetry is the utterance of an instinctive attitude of the complete being, one complete being may be more comprehensive than another, and the poetry of that more comprehensive being will be finer. An edge is not indeed so fine a thing as a man perceiving the beauty which is truth with an eagle's swiftness: that is what Keats is saying. Or, to put more nakedly still, he is saying that Keats of 1818 was not so fine a thing as Keats of 1819; which was true and Keats knew it.

> The contrast is between Keats the spontaneous and unconscious poet, and Keats the conscious, and yet still the spontaneous poet. And this is the great poet; the poet who remains loyal to his spontaneous poetic nature when he confronts the burden of the mystery, who knows by a secret sign that beauty is in all things and that in that beauty is their truth, who cannot rest until he has discovered it. Such a great poet Keats had now become."

Mr. Murry's differentiation of Keats' ' Philosophy ' from philosophy in general induces a smile. Philosophy always is what Keats takes it for. His philosophy differs from the ordinary significance of the term in so far as he has no system. Keats' philosophy is not systematic, but it is philosophy and not poetry. Philosophy is always like that; its reduction to a system is the logician's business. The description of Oceanus in the second book of *Hyperion*,

> Sophist and sage, from no Athenian grove,
> But cogitation in his watery shades,

is peculiarly appropriate of himself; and as he did not refuse the name of ' Sophist ' or ' sage ' to his Oceanus, who, like himself, had never been to school or academy, we too should not refuse the name of philosopher to him.

Thus in this chapter we have seen that the external beauties of Nature at first absorbed Keats' imagination. He delighted, luxuriated in them. But soon he discovered a violent bloody conflict in her bosom, the cruel struggle for existence, the greater feeding on the less. This moved him greatly, but he had an intuition that not discord but harmony is the law of Nature. She is beautiful with all her apparent imperfections. Through the realization of Shakespeare's Negative Capability and the lack of identity of poets Keats gradually learnt to look upon this discord in the heart of Nature as mere matter for art. He next recognized its necessity, for in ' wild nature ' the lion must starve as well as any other creature. He found out that every creature, and man among them, is a creature of instinct. A vast play of instinct is this world of ours. The instinctive turn of the mind is

beautiful, although it may be poor, and, therefore matter for poetry. But there is a stage of a ' Superior-Being ' whence a man can enjoy the play of instinct in others but remain himself free from its sway. This superior Being is the philosopher. He is greater than the poet. To such a philosopher the eternal discords in the heart of Nature appear as harmony. Thus his intuition was realized.

CHAPTER V

Beauty in Art

Not in Nature alone was there beauty for Keats; he sought and found it in Art as well. 'He looked upon fine phrases like a lover,' declared one of his friends who had known him from his boyhood, and in his sonnet On First Looking into Chapman's Homer he himself tells us that on discovering the jewels of Homer's mind in the book, he felt

> . . . . like some watcher of the skies
> When a new planet swims into his ken;
> Or like stout Cortez when with eagle eyes
> He star'd at the Pacific—and all his men
> Look'd at each other with a wild surmise—
> Silent, upon a peak in Darien.

And he even looked upon the beauteous objects of Nature as mere raw meterials for the artist to create greater beauties with. As early as May 10-11, 1817, he writes to Haydon:

> "I know no one but you who can be fully sensible of the turmoil and anxiety, the sacrifice of all which is called comfort, the readiness to Measure time by what is done and to die in 6 hours could plans be brought to conclusions—the looking upon the Sun, the Moon, the Stars as materials to form greater things—"

But his sentence sounded odd in his ears—he could not understand how man can form greater things than God himself—so he restrained himself and said, "but here I am talking like a Mad man—greater things than our Creator himself made!"

And why not? What man makes is also the work of God. Man is only the instrument, though he does not perceive it. This want of perception makes a man proud or ashamed of his own

works. But God has no quarrel with the man who looks upon the thing which God accomplishes through him, as his own.

The idea has been well expressed by Rabindranath :

ফুলের মতন আপনি ফুটাও গান,
হে আমার নাথ, এইতো তোমার দান।
(ওগো) সে ফুল দেখিয়া আনন্দে আমি ভাসি,
আমার বলিয়া উপহার দিতে আসি।
নিজ হাতে তারে তুলে লও স্নেহে হাসি,
দয়া করে প্রভু রাখো মোর অভিমান।

Like flowers of the garden my songs burst forth at thy touch,
They are thy gifts, my Lord,
But I rejoice at the sight of these flowers
And come to offer you as my own,
Thou receivest it in thine own hands with a smile,
Thereby satisfying my vanity.

The voice of pride is clearly recognized in Kipling's

If there be good in that I wrought,
Thy hand compelled it, Master, thine;
Where I have failed to meet thy thought,
I know, through thee, the blame was mine.

For though it is but humility that the poet assumes before his Maker, this humility betrays his inner complacency at the thought of high performances. And the inward side of humility, as Bacon has nicely brought it out, is pride. Of the general who put off his grand clothes and helmet and sword before prayer thinking that God should be approached in a humbler manner Bacon remarks that the man thought that those things were really great and therefore he put them off. But God's grandeur he ought to have known could never be matched by these. Robes and rags are equally worthless before His glory. However, Kipling has one stanza to the point :

Who, lest all thought of Eden fade,
Bring'st Eden to the craftsman's brain,
God-like to muse over his own trade
And manlike stand with God again.

Rabindranath, too, conceives the business of the artist similarly :

Thou hast given to the bird his song, and he sings it,
He gives you no more.
Thou hast given me only a voice, but more do I return thee,
I sing songs of my own.

Thou hast made the wind free,
By nature that servant of yours is free from change,
Myself you have given so many loads,
I walk with them, now straight now bent.

At every death I throw a load
And one day bear to thy feet
My empty hands free to acts of worship;
I melt the chains thou gavest into freedom.

Thou hast given the full moon her smile.
Happy ambrosial dreams,
She pours that in the hands of the Earth and overfloods her with nectar.

On my hot forehead thou didst place sorrow,
I wash it with my tears
And make it joy, which I return to thy hands
At the close of the day, in the night of our union

Thou hast created this Earth of dust
Mixing light with darkness
Thou hast placed me in it empty-handed
And are laughing unseen from behind that void

Thou hast charged me withal
To frame thy Heaven.
To all else thou givest
Of me alone Thou dost beg.

(And) What I can offer of my own love
Thou comest down from thy throne
And takest to thy breast smiling.
What thou givest to my hands
Thou receivest more than that in thine own.

" Repayment "—*Valaka.*

But though he is speaking of making greater things than his Creator Himself—of making a Heaven while He has made only the earth—there is no rivalry with God in it. It is but God's will. He has made man and has given him this earth as raw materials to make greater things with. But as Keats' insight in this direction could not penetrate so deep, he thought it impious to think of creating greater things than our Maker Himself had made. Yet the thing remains that the idea came to him, and we may therefore feel sure that he would have one day seen with Rabindranath and felt perfectly at ease and in peace with God even when thinking of doing greater things than He has done. Our faith is justified by the fact that though Keats here felt nervous at the idea of making greater things than our Maker has made, he stuck to the idea tenaciously and later classed passages of Shakespeare with the Sun, the Moon and the Stars :

> " Ethereal things may at least be thus real, divided under three heads—things real—things semi-real—and nothings. Things real—such as existences of Sun, Moon and Stars and passages of Shakespeare. Things semi-real such as Love, Clouds, etc., which require a greeting of the Spirit to make them wholly exist and Nothings—which are made Great and dignified by an ardent pursuit—which by the by stamps the burgundy mark on the bottles of our Minds, in so much as they are able to ' consecrate whatever they look upon '." (Letter to Bailey, March 13, 1818, MBF., 53.)

But Keats was no precocious genius. He did not begin to lisp in numbers and numbers did not come to him that way. He became aware of his poetic quality when he was eighteen, and then too the first thing he wrote was an imitation, ' The Imitation of Spenser.' But this late awakening did one thing. Keats became a conscious artist. He was led to poetry from his appreciation of Spenser. Wordsworth, Milton, Shakespeare, as well as Hunt, Beattie and Mrs. Tighe, all had their influence on him, and the result was that from the very beginning he had an idea as to what poetry should be. Of this idea he spoke as early as the " Sleep and Poetry." After his famous attack upon the Augustans in that poem he felt that it might seem too presumptuous in a beginner like him and he had rather unsay it again. But this did not find

favour with his genius, which told him that it did not matter what he was in the eyes of the world, and it was enough that he had an intuition of the great idea of what *poetry* should be. He should not therefore on any account unsay it :

> Will not some say that I presumptuously
> Have spoken? that from hastening disgrace
> 'Twere better far to hide my foolish face?
> That whining boyhood should with reverence bow
> Ere the dread thunderbolt could reach? How!
> If I do hide myself, it sure shall be
> In the very fane, the light of Poesy:
> If I do fall, at least I will be laid
> Beneath the silence of a poplar shade;
> And over me the grass shall be smooth shaven;
> And there shall be a kind memorial graven.
> But off Despondence! miserable bane!
> They should not know thee, who athirst to gain
> A noble end, are thirsty every hour.
> What though I am not wealthy in the dower
> Of spanning wisdom; though I do not know
> The shiftings of the mighty winds that blow
> Hither and thither all the changing thoughts
> Of man: though no great minist'ring reason sorts
> Out the dark mysteries of human souls
> To clear conceiving: yet there ever rolls
> A vast idea before me, and I glean
> Therefrom my liberty; thence too I've seen
> The end and aim of Poesy. 'Tis clear
> As anything most true; as that the year
> Is made of the four seasons—manifest
> As a large cross, some old cathedral's crest,
> Lifted to the white clouds. Therefore should I
> Be but the essence of deformity,
> A coward, did my very eye-lids wink
> At speaking out what I have dared to think.
> Ah! rather let me like a madman run
> Over some precipice; let the hot sun
> Melt my Dedalian wings, and drive me down
> Convuls'd and headlong!

Keats felt that he must undergo tremendous labour ere he could furnish himself with the necessary equipments and might there-

fore hold his peace for the present. But this too his self-asserting genius refused :

> Stay! an inward frown
> Of conscience bids me be more calm awhile.
> An ocean dim, sprinkled with many an isle,
> Spreads awfully before me. How much toil!
> How many days! what desperate turmoil!
> Ere I can have explored its widenesses,
> Ah, what a task! upon my bended knees,
> I could unsay these—no, impossible!
> Impossible!

And in this poem Keats drew a plan of his poetic life. But his aim all the while was to create those greater things than our Creator Himself hath made, using His world as raw-material for his own creation :

> Then the events of this wide world I'd seize
> Like a strong giant, and my spirit teaze
> Till at its shoulders it should proudly see
> Wings to find out an immortality.

But at the time of writing the poem he was a young novice not yet a glorious denizen ' of the ' wide heaven ' of poetry. He would require time to reach the goal he had fixed for himself. Some ten years at least :

> O for ten years, that I may overwhelm
> Myself in poesy; so I may do the deed
> That my own soul has to itself decreed.

After these ten years of apprenticeship he hopes to be able to fulfil his purpose :

> Then will I pass the countries that I see
> In long perspective, and continually
> Taste their pure fountains.

But here fol'ows the programme for those ten years :

> First the realm I'll pass
> Of Flora and old Pan: sleep in the grass,

Feed upon apples red, and strawberries,
And choose each pleasure that my fancy sees;
Catch the white-handed nymphs in shady places,
To woo sweet kisses from averted faces,—
Ply with their fingers, touch their shoulders white
Into a pretty shrinking with a bite
As hard as lips can make it: till agreed,
A lovely tale of human life we'll read. Etc. etc.

And while describing these joys of youthful life Keats' fancy runs riot and he thinks he shall never be able to give up these pleasures. " And can I ever bid these joys farewell?" he asks himself, and instantly the manly heart answers,

Yes, I must pass them for a nobler life,
Where I may find the agonies, the strife
Of human hearts.

The object of his poetry therefore was to represent " the agonies, the strife of human hearts." All other things were merely preparation for this great end. " The writing of a few fine plays " was therefore the ambition of his life where he could represent these " agonies and strife " most effectively.

But why should Keats desire to be a dramatist when his proper effectiveness seemed to have been rather in poetry?—Different critics have differently answered this question, each in his own light, from his own point of view, but all have admitted the fact that in his two dramatic pieces, *Otho the Great* and *King Stephen*, Keats had shown little promise of dramatic genius. The true explanation perhaps lies in his dictum : " Poetry should be great and unobtrusive," and should have " no palpable design " upon its readers. This unobtrusiveness of Poetry, that is, of the Poet himself, he later termed as lack of identity of poets. In desiring to be a dramatist, therefore, Keats was committing himself to nothing more than when he declared himself to belong to that group of poets who have properly no selves of their own :

" As to the poetical character itself (I mean that sort of which, if I am anything I am a Member; that sort distinguished from the Wordsworthian or egotistical sublime, which is a thing *per*

se and stands alone) it is not itself—it has no self—it is everything and nothing—It has no character—''

(Letter to Woodhouse, 27th Oct., 1818.)

Keats had great respect for Wordsworth; he knew Wordsworth's *Immortality Ode* by heart and was never weary of reciting it, he spoke of his *Excursion* as ' one of the three things to delight at ' in this age, and yet how violent was his repulsion when he found out that underneath his sublimity Wordsworth was but a preacher. In a letter to Reynolds, Feb. 3, 1818, MBF., No. 44, he writes :

" It may be said that we ought to read our contemporaries—that Wordsworth, etc., should have their due from us. But, for the sake of a few fine imaginative or domestic passages, are we to be bullied into a certain philosophy engendered in the whims of an Egotist—Every man has his speculations but every man does not brood and peacock over them till he makes a false coinage and deceives himself. Many a man may travel to the very bourne of Heaven, and yet want confidence to put down his half-seeing. Sancho will invent a Journey heavenward as well as anybody. We hate poetry that has a palpable design upon us—and if we do not agree, seems to put its hands in its breeches pocket. Poetry should be great and unobtrusive, a thing which enters into one's soul, and does not startle it or amaze it with itself, but with its subject. How beautiful are the retired flowers! how would they lose their beauty were they to throng into the highway crying out, ' admire me I am a Violet!—dote upon me I am a Primrose.'

" Modern poets differ from the Elizabethans in this. Each of the moderns like an Elector of Hanover governs his petty State, and knows how many straws are swept daily from the Causeways in all his dominions and has a continual itching that all the house-wives should have their coppers well scoured: the ancients were Emperors of vast Provinces, they had only heard of the remote ones and scarcely cared to visit them.—I will cut all this—I will have no more of Wordsworth or Hunt in particular—Why should we be of the tribe of Mannasseh, when we can wander with Esau? Why should we kick against the Pricks, when we can walk on Roses? Why should we be owls, when we can be Eagles? Why be teased with ' nice-eyed wagtails ' when we have in sight ' the cherub contemplation '? —Why with Wordsworth's ' Matthew with a bough of Wildings

> in his hand ' when we can have Jacques ' under an oak &c? '— The secret of the bough of Wilding will run through your head faster than I can write it—Old Matthew spoke to him some years ago on some nothing, and because he happens in an evening walk to imagine the figure of the old Man he must stamp it down in black and white, and it is henceforth sacred —I don't mean to deny Wordsworth's grandeur and Hunt's merit, but I mean to say we need not be teazed with grandeur and merit when we can have them uncontaminated and un obtrusive. Let us have the old poets, and Robin Hood."

" Perhaps, as Lord Houghton suggested, Keats was unconsciously swayed in his estimate of Wordsworth at this moment by an incident which had occurred at Haydon's. Keats had been induced to repeat the ' Hymn to Pan,' out of ' Endymion,' which Shelley, who did not much like the poem, used to speak of as affording the ' sure promise of ultimate excellence ' ; Wordsworth only remarked, ' it was a pretty piece of paganism '."

But Houghton's guess seems quite unwarranted by the fact that even in " *Sleep and Poetry* " Keats had already vented his resentment against Wordsworth's egotism. Though he admits in that poem that after the Augustans " Now 'tis a fair season " and the saints of poetry "have breathed rich benedictions" over them, and " have wreathed fresh garlands " :

> for sweet music has been heard
> In many places;—some has been upstirr'd
> From out its crystal dwelling in a lake,
> By a swan's ebon bill; from a thick brake,
> Nested and quiet in a valley mild,
> Bubbles a pipe; fine sounds are floating wild
> About the earth:

And so these spirits " whose charge it is to hover round our pleasant hills " are ' happy and glad ' ; he deplores the fact that poetry has not returned to England in all her naked beauty, simple grandeur :

(MBF., Letters, p. 99.)

yet in truth we've had
Strange thunders from the potency of song;
Mingled indeed with what is sweet and strong,
From majesty:

and Keats openly denounces this " strange thunders " of some as " ugly clubs, the Poets' Polyphemes disturbing the grand sea " of poetry.

As " some has been upstirred from out its crystal dwelling in a lake " refers to Wordsworth, so also does the " strange thunders from the potency of song " " mingled with what is sweet and strong from majesty." In the last there may be an added reference to Byron as well, as critics think, but to my mind it fits more in with Wordsworth than Byron. Keats had not much to do with Byron except an occasional fling at his " cutting a figure and being not yet figurative," and so forth; it was Wordsworth whose grandeur alternately attracted and repelled him.

Wordsworth's shortcomings, his great pre-occupation with himself which Keats termed ' egotism,' led him to the realisation of the necessity of self-abandonment in poetry. At times the reaction against the ' egotistical sublime ' of Wordsworth was so great that his hypersensitive mind was impatient of his allegiance to poetry, and was eager to swing over to the side of the drama. But in spite of his great admiration for the dramatic poets who have no proper selves of their own he had too much of the romantic in him to give up all thoughts of self in his poems. He spoke the truth about himself when in a letter to Taylor of the 17th Nov., 1819, he said : " The little dramatic skill I may as yet have however badly it might show in a drama would I think be sufficient for a poem."

I wish Keats had erased ' may as yet ' from his sentence, and his wish which he expresses next in this letter, " to diffuse the colourings of St. Agnes' Eve throughout a Poem in which Character and Sentiment would be figures to such drapery !" had been his ' greatest ambition,' instead of ' two or three such poems ' ' written in the course of the next 6 years,' being ' a famous Gradus ad Parnassum altissimum,' and ' nerving him up to the writing of a few fine plays.' Keats was right in making an esti-

mate of his dramatic skill, but was betrayed by enthusiasm into the optimistic belief that the estimate applied only to what he was at that time and was no general estimate of his powers.

Keats was too much of a lyric poet. His odes, which are the best parts of his composition, his masterpieces, are lyrics; the ' Hymn to Pan ' and the so-called ' Ode to Sorrow ' are the two crown-jewels of *Endymion*. He could only shine in this direction of the lyric. His power of identifying himself with others on which he built his dramatic hopes would at most make him a dramatic lyrist, but a lyrist all the same. Had he not been cut off early in his career English poetry might have seen the advent of Browning's dramatic monologues a few decades earlier.

Keats was faithful to Poetry when in the March letter to Bailey he had enumerated ' passages of Shakespeare,' and not ' plays of Shakespeare,' with the ' existences of Sun, Moon and Stars ' as real things. This poetry must be ' unobtrusive ' and should ' have no palpable design upon us,' that is, the reader must not feel that he must accept a certain dogmatic view of things in order to appreciate it. In a letter to Bailey of the 27th Feb., 1818, Keats wrote :

> " I am extremely indebted to you for this attention and also for your after admonitions—It is a sorry thing for me that any one should have to overcome Prejudices in reading my verses."

No one should be called upon to overcome his personal prejudices in reading great poetry. " It should strike the Reader as a wording of his own highest thoughts, and appear almost a Remembrance." And yet " Poetry should surprise by a fine excess." What Keats bans is " singularity." " Its touches of Beauty should never be half-way thereby making the reader breathless instead of content : the rise, the progress, the setting of imagery should like the Sun come natural ! natural to him—shine over him and set soberly although in magnificence leaving him in the Luxury of Twilight—" (2nd axiom).

Poetry is no doubt " a drainless shower of light," as he calls it in " *Sleep and Poetry*," but no officious, meddling light is this. When withdrawn it will not leave the reader in darkness but in the

twilight of his mind. This is only possible when in reading a poem, a man is not called upon to subscribe to any dogmatic philosophy. When he is thus called upon, out of the poem and he loses himself in the abyss of darkness. Poetry should throw its light in the reader's very being and show him his own thoughts. It is thus that people will obey its mild sway with all their hearts. Poetry is to command no doubt but this command shall not be uttered in so many words—the very sovereignty of its brow shall command the hearts of its devotees and not incite their fearful reverence. Poetry must of course be powerful, but this power must not be oppressive, but mild and attractive. Only such poetry can, as it should, " be a friend to soothe the cares, and lift the thoughts of man " :

> A drainless shower
> Of light is poesy; 'tis the supreme of power;
> 'Tis might half slumb'ring on its own right arm.
> The very archings of her eye-lids charm
> A thousand willing agents to obey,
> And still she governs with the mildest sway:
> But strength alone though of the Muses born
> Is like a fallen angel: trees uptorn,
> Darkness, and worms, and shrouds, and sepulchres
> Delight it; for it feeds upon the burrs,
> And thorns of life; forgetting the great end
> Of poesy, that it should be a friend
> To soothe the cares, and lift the thoughts of man.

The ' design ' is there—Keats' quarrel is with its ' palpability.'

Keats' first axiom—" I think Poetry should surprise by a fine excess and not by singularity—it should appear almost a Remembrance "—has in it more than it would at first appear. It deals with the universal aspect of art. An individual experience, however beautiful or sublime, can never become great poetry until its individual idiosyncracies are eliminated and the universal appeal raised to the surface. As a poet is but a man his experiences are at first human and then his own. It is only the human side of his experience that has in it the elements of great poetry, for this alone can be recognised by any one as a remembrance of his own thought under the white brilliance of poetry.

Thus the appeal of a story is heightened when its universal aspect is emphasized. But a story as the history of some individual may have many elements of idiosyncracy in it. The artist's task in telling it is therefore to remove these idiosyncracies and expose and emphasize the universal aspects. But how can these aspects be recognized? By intuition—is the answer. There is no mathematical formula for it. And this intuition Keats called ' imagination.' With him imagination held an important place in poetry.

This could not be otherwise. If it is the poet's task to give a universal colour to an individual experience he must have knowledge of what this universal element consists in, and that knowledge must come to him by intuition. Arguments, consecutive reasoning, would not help a man much in that direction, for there is hardly a proposition against which the ingenuity of skilful reasoners cannot produce some objections. Even objections will crop up to the truth-seeker himself. He shall no sooner arrive at a conclusion than some objections will be raised by his own mind. Keats saw this and wondered :

> " I have never yet been able to perceive how anything can be known for truth by consecutive reasoning—and yet it must be. Can it be that even the greatest philosopher ever arrived at his goal without putting aside numerous objections."
>
> (Letter to Bailey, Nov. 22, 1817, MBF., 31.)

As for himself he could rely only on the ' authenticity ' of the imagination :

> " I am certain of nothing but of the holiness of the Heart's affections and the truth of Imagination—What the imagination seizes as beauty must be truth—whether they existed before or not . . . ."

A bold statement indeed! What can be the criterion of truth except a reference to facts, a direct appeal to the High Court of actual occurrence? Has Keats lost balance in his enthusiasm for ' Imagination '?—And the answer to the last question has been a silent ' Yea ' as so far given by critics. But ' no!' The thing is

these people have not understood Keats' meaning in spite of their vast scholarships. And why?—Well, because they lacked the very thing which is the sure and only guide to this understanding, namely, intuition. But when I judge these great critics I mean no comparison with myself. By myself I am blinder even than they. I have been led by the nose to see, so to say, by the greatest intuitionist of this age, namely, Rabindranāth. In his " Bhasa o Chhanda " the first poet Vālmiki expresses his diffidence in portraying the character of the ideal hero Rama as he does not know his story accurately and the divine Nārada answers :

> That is true which thou wilt write,
> What happens is not all of it true;
> O poet, the realm of thy imagination
> Witnesses truer things than Ajodhya
> Where Rama was born.

An equally puzzling assertion. But the reader of Rabindranath's poem can have no doubt as to his meaning. Put in the language of criticism it will read thus : The poet's task is to eliminate the individual traits of an incident or experience and to emphasize the universal ones, and put in, if necessary, others of this nature. The product of the poet's mind takes the nature of what ' should be ' and not what ' is.' And Keats' meaning is none other. By ' Truth ' he means only what ordinarily should happen under certain circumstances, and not what happens in a particular case. For example, when Sita is carried away by Ravana, Rama being an incarnation might bear it all patiently; but that would not be true to human nature in general. So the poet twists facts and makes Rama weep over his loss like any son of man. Thus the problem of the artist is to find out not the truth of some one particular case but truth in general, with the generality of men. Keats' solicitations for knowing the human heart, to find " the agonies, the strife of human hearts " had no other purpose. But here the question may arise if there really be anything of universal interest, and if anything can be written or created which will interest all men. One man's tastes differ so much from another's that the doubt is quite natural. Keats saw the difficulty, but he found the solution too, and has given us :

> " . . . . the Minds of Mortals are so different and bent on such diverse journeys that it may at first appear impossible for any common taste and fellowship to exist between two or three under these suppositions. It is however quite the contrary. Minds would leave each other in contrary directions, traverse each other in numberless points, and at last greet each other at the journey's end. An old Man and a child would talk together and the old Man be led on his path and the child left thinking." (Letter to Reynolds, 19th Feb., 1818.)

Keats here does not argue. He simply reveals. When the universal element is rightly emphasized an old Man may be led on his path and a child may be left thinking. The power of Orpheus' lute made trees and mountains dance, but men and animals motionless. In the words of Dryden,

> The dead shall live, the living die,
> And Music shall untune the sky.

Swinburne has also a paissage like these where sounds shine, heavens murmur, and so on, the senses leave their respective normal functions and perform those that are foreign to each :

> The pulse of war and the passion of wonder,
> The heavens that murmur, the sounds that shine,
> The stars that sing and the loves that thunder,
> The music burning at heart like wine,
> An armed archangel whose hands raise up
> All senses mixed in the spirit's cup
> Till flesh and spirit are molten in sunder—
>
> —A. C. Swinburne, A Farewell.
> (From Binyon's supplementary Fifth Book to Palgrave's Golden Treasury.)

In Keats there is no antagonism between the world of imagination and the world of men. The antithesis to the world of men is the world of nature, the outer world of man is in antithetical relationship with his inner world. In " *Sleep and Poetry*," therefore, Keats speaks of passing from the world of ' Flora and old Pan ' to where he ' may find the agonies, the strife of human hearts,' and not from the world of imagination to that of men.

That imagination to Keats was synonymous with intuition will be proved by his likening it to Adam's dream :

> " The Imagination may be compared to Adam's dream—he awoke and found it true." (Letter to Bailey, No. 22, 1817, MBF., 31.)

A mere dream does not correspond with reality—mere fancy does not correspond with truth. But intuition seizes the Truth beforehand and later observations help to confirm it. Adam's dream was not a dream proper but a foreknowledge of a coming event attained by intuition.

That Keats differentiated ' fancy ' from ' imagination ' will be proved by the fact that while he depended on the authenticity of the ' imagination ' as to the truth of a certain thing to the disregard of actuality, he declared actuality as greater than fancy. Of fancy he writes to Reynolds, July 11-13, 1818 :

> " Fancy is indeed less than a present palpable reality, but it is greater than Remembrance—you would lift your eyes from Homer only to see (*i.e.*, if you could see) close before you the real isle of Tenedos.—You would rather read Homer afterwards than remember yourself; (and as an illustration of the superiority of fancy to remembrance he adds)—One song of Burns is of more worth to you than all I could think for a whole year in his native country."

But fancy itself he has unequivocally relegated to an inferior position before reality. The real island of Tenedos is truer and more interesting than Homer's description of it.

In a letter to Bailey, Oct. 8, 1817, Keats clearly states this difference when he speaks ' Fancy ' as the ' Sails ' of a long Poem and ' Imagination ' as its ' Rudder '. (MBF., 25.)

But though ' Imagination ' is intuition, ' Sensation 'is not; and here I find myself directly in opposition with all the great critics.*

* O for a life of sensations, etc. " By sensations," says Thorpe, " Keats here means feelings or intuitions, the pure activity of the imagination, as Ernst De Selincourt and later Sidney Colvin have pointed out." And he quotes the following from Colvin's *John Keats*, p. 155 :—

" If only the reader will bear one thing well in mind : that when Keats in this and similar passages speaks of ' Sensations ' as opposed to ' Thoughts ' he does not

I have come across four passages where Keats speaks of ' sensation ' in his letters; and I will adduce them ere I should give my interpretations thereof. They are :—

(1) In the letter to Bailey spoken of above :

" I have never yet been able to perceive how anything can be known for truth by consecutive reasoning—and yet it must be. Can it be that even the greatest Philosopher ever arrived at his goal without putting aside numerous objections. However it may be, O for a life of *sensations* rather than of thoughts! It is ' a Vision in the form of Youth ' a Shadow of reality to come—and this consideration has further convinced me for it has come as auxiliary to another favourite speculation of mine, that we shall enjoy ourselves hereafter by having what we called happiness on Earth repeated in a finer tone and so repeated. And yet such a fate can only befall those who delight in *sensation* rather than hunger as you do after truth. Adam's dream will do here and seems to be a conviction that that Imagination and its empyreal reflection is the same as human life and its spiritual repetition. But as I was saying—the simple imaginative Mind may have its rewards in the repetition of its own silent Working coming continually on the spirit with a fine suddenness—to compare great things with small—have you never by being surprised with an old Melody—in a delicious place—by a delicious Voice, felt over again your very speculations and surmises at the time it first operated on your Soul—do you not remember forming to yourself the singer's face more beautiful than it was possible and yet with the elevation of the Moment you did not think so—even when you were mounted on the Wings of Imagination so high—that Prototype must be hereafter—that delicious face you will see. What a time! I am continually running away from the subject—sure this cannot be exactly the case with a complex Mind—one that is imaginative and at the same time careful of its fruits—who would exist partly on *Sensation* and partly on Thought—to whom it is necessary that years should bring the philosophic

limit the word to sensations of the body, of what intensity or exquisiteness soever or howsoever instantaneously transforming themselves from sensation into emotion : what he means are intuitions of the mind and spirit as immediate as these, as thrillingly convincing and indisputable, as independent of all consecutive stages and former processes of thinking : almost the same things, indeed, as in a later passage of the same letter he calls ' ethereal musings '!"

Mind—such a one I consider yours and therefore it is necessary to your eternal Happiness that you not only drink this old Wine of Heaven, which I shall call the redigestion of our most ethereal Musings on Earth but also increase in knowledge and know all things."

(2) In another letter to Reynolds, May 3, 1818:

"The difference of high *sensations* with and without knowledge appears to me this—in the latter case we are falling continually ten thousand fathoms deep and being blown up again without wings and with all the horror of a bare-shouldered creature—in the former case, our shoulders are fledged, and we go through the same air and space without fear. This is running one's rigs on the score of abstracted benefit—when we come to know how a parallel of breast and head can be drawn (you will forgive me for thus privately treading out of my depth, and take it for treading as schoolboys tread the water)—It is impossible to know how far Knowledge will console us for the death of a friend and the ill 'that flesh is heir to'—"

(3) In a letter to Hessey, Oct. 9, 1818:

"The Genius of Poetry must work out its own salvation in a man: It cannot be matured by law and precept, but by *sensation* and watchfulness in itself. That which is creative must create itself—"

(4) In the long letter to George and Georgina, Sept. 1819:

"I have been reading over a part of a short poem I have composed lately called '*Lamia*'—and I am certain there is that sort of fire in it which must take hold of people in some way—give them either pleasant or unpleasant *sensation*. What they want is a *sensation* of some sort."

In the first excerpt Keats speaks of an antithesis between 'Truth' and 'Sensation': 'And yet such a fate can only befall those who delight in sensation rather than hunger as you do after Truth.' But only a few lines above he has declared his unstinted faith in the authenticity of Imagination in ascertaining the truth or otherwise of a thing: "I am certain of nothing but of the

holiness of the Heart's affections and the truth of Imagination—What the imagination seizes as Beauty must be truth—Whether it existed, before or not—'' Does it not then follow that ' Imagination ' and ' Sensation ' are not one and the same thing with Keats?

What is this ' Sensation ' then?—might be asked. Well, it is merely sense-perception. Much like the Sensationalists who think that sense-perception is the only source of knowledge Keats had a great reverence for this sense-perception. The so-called ' Indolent Letter ' will demonstrate it beyond the shadow of a doubt :

" ——Let us not therefore go hurrying about and collecting honey, bee-like buzzing here and there impatiently from a knowledge of what is to be aimed at; but let us open our leaves like a flower and be passive and receptive—budding patiently under the eye of Apollo and taking hints from every noble insect that favours us with a visit—sap will be given us for meat and dew for drink. I was led into these thoughts, my dear Reynolds, by the beauty of the morning operating on a sense of Idleness—I have not read any Books—the Morning said I was right—I had no idea but of the morning, and the thrush said I was right—seeming to say,

O thou whose face hath felt the Winter's wind,
Whose eye has seen the snow-clouds hung in mist,
And the black elm-tops 'mong the freezing stars,
To thee the Spring will be a harvest time.
O thou, whose only book has been the light
Of supreme darkness which thou feddest on
Night after night when Phœbus was away,
To thee the Spring shall be a triple morn.
O fret not after knowledge—I have none,
And yet my song comes native with the warmth.
O fret not after knowledge—I have none,
And yet the Evening listens. He who saddens
At thought of idleness cannot be idle,
As he's awake who thinks himself asleep."

And though he characterizes this as ' mere sophistication ' to excuse his own idleness, he parenthetically adds the remark, "however it may neighbour to any truth." The thing is he felt the

truth with all his heart, but his reason told him to be active, seeming to say that ' mere indolent sense-perception will not do.'

' Sensation ' is then a ' consciousness of perceiving or of seeming to percive a state,' as the dictionary will have it, to "open our leaves like a flower and be passive and receptive—budding patiently under the eye of Apollo and taking hints from every noble insect that favours us with a visit," of Keats. In one word it may be called ' sense-perception.' Let us now see how this meaning fits in with the context.

In this light " O for a Life of Sensations rather than of Thoughts " signifies Keats' impatience with his own philosophising and a yearning for the mood of the ' Indolent Letter.' " It is ' a Vision in the form of Youth ' a shadow of reality to come—" The ' It ' refers to ' Imagination ' which has been so long his theme. But here Keats finishes with ' Imagination ' and proceeds with Sensation which has all of a sudden come like an intruder. He says that he expects the next life to be one of " repetition of what we called happiness on earth " and certainly this repetition cannot but be a sense-perception or rather consciousness of such perception. That it is not remembrance his relegating remembrance to an inferiority below that of fancy, which itself is inferior to palpable reality, in the excerpt I have quoted earlier from his letter to Reynolds, July 11-13, 1818, proves. It is not also ' imagination ' which is ' intuition.' It cannot therefore be anything else than ' consciousness of perceiving ' merely, mere sense-perception.

In this light alone ' sensation ' and ' hunger after Truth ' are antithetical; so are ' sensation ' and ' thought.' The antithesis of a ' Mind imaginative ' is a Mind ' careful of its own thoughts,' the latter signifying philosophic or logical temper. Reynolds' mind was complex because it was imaginative and argumentative, receptive (passive) and active, at the same time. There are two sets of opposite elements and not one in it. While ' the Etherial Musings on Earth ' are ' imagination,' their ' rediges-tion ' is ' sensation,' which is the ' Old Wine of Heaven.' As in the ' Indolent letter ' this sensation is passive, whereas the ' increase in knowledge and (to) know all things ' signify an active quality, and are therefore antithetic.

So the first excerpt is well explained. Let us turn to the other three.

The second passage also yields good meaning when we explain ' sensation ' as ' consciousness of perception.' The meaning of the passage will then be : In ' opening our leaves like a flower ' and ' being receptive and passive ' we get strange ' hints ' from ' the noble insects who favour us with a visit.' The strangeness of these hints are mitigated by a previous theoretical knowledge of these hints. Theoretical knowledge was no knowledge to Keats. Only when proved upon his own pulse did it become so. ' Sensation ' effects this proving. And Keats would have this proving only and not ' hypothesizing ' too. The hypothesis was to be supplied by previous theoretical knowledge. This previous gathering of knowledge Keats calls " running one's rigs on the score of abstracted benefit," for it is meant for subsequent verification by ' Sensation,' rather, for taking the strangeness out of a sensation. Knowledge is mere provision against a total upset apprehended from a future experience. But Keats admits that he is not sure how far it will be effective in the case of a bereavement or maddening distress ; in other cases it of course may do well.

That ' Sensation ' in the third passage also means ' consciousness of perception ' will be clear from what follows this passage :

> " In Endymion, I leaped headlong into the Sea, and thereby have become better acquainted with the Soundings, the quicksands, and the rocks than if I had stayed upon the green shore, and piped a silly pipe, and took tea and comfortable advice.—I was never afraid of failure; for I would sooner fail than not be among the greatest."

Evidently Keats' meaning is that he leapt headlong into the sea, and from the experience due to contact, and therefore, a deep sensation, so to say, he has found, or is on the way to find the salvation of his own poetic genius. ' Intuition ' can never stand for ' sensation ' in this passage.

Now in the fourth excerpt Keats speaks of his ' *Lamia* ' as giving people a ' sensation of some sort ' which only they want, be it good or bad. That this ' sensation ' is a ' seeming perception ' can never be gainsaid. Keats simply means that people

want to feel the incidents of a poem, to perceive it with their senses, to see, to feel, to hear, to smell. The sight may be beautiful or ugly, the ' feel ' may be soft or hard, the sound may be sweet or jarring, the smell may be pleasant or pungent, but in a work of art that really does not matter. Not the quality but the intensity is the criterion of artistic success, and in that letter to his brothers of December 21, 1817, Keats had declared, " The excellence of every art is its intensity," which is " capable of making all disagreeables evaporate, from their being in close relationship with Beauty and Truth : ' King Lear ' exemplifies this throughout," and its lack made West's 'Death on a Pale Horse,' a second rate production. There was " nothing to be intense upon, no women one feels mad to kiss, no face swelling into reality " in the whole picture. It was therefore no great piece of art.

But ' receptivity ' is a dangerous thing. The strange ' hints ' received from the ' noble insects that favour us with a visit ' will make a man ' fall continually through ten thousand fathoms deep and be blown up again without wings.' Here are the ' hints ' from the " *Ailsa Rock* " and " *Ben Nevis* " and the depths they made Keats fall and be blown up through again :

SONNET

To Ailsa Rock

Hearken, thou craggy ocean pyramid!
Give answer from thy voice, the sea-fowls' screams!
When were thy shoulders mantled in huge streams?
When, from the sun, was thy broad forehead hid?
How long is't since the mighty power bid
Thee heave to airy sleep from fathom dreams?
Sleep in the lap of thunder or sunbeams,
Or when grey clouds are thy cold coverlid.
Thou answer'st not; for thou art dead asleep;
Thy life is but two dead eternities—
The last in air, the former in the deep;
First with the shades, last with the eagle-skies—
Drown'd wast thou till an earthquake made thee steep,
Another cannot wake thy giant size.

SONNET

Written upon the Top of Ben Nevis

Read me a lesson, Muse, and speak it loud
Upon the top of Nevis, blind in mist!
I look in the chasms, and a shroud
Vaporous doth hide them,—just so much I wist
Mankind do know of hell; I look o'erhead,
And there is sullen mist,—even so much
Mankind can tell of heaven; mist is spread
Before the earth, beneath me,—even such,
Even so vague is man's sight of himself!
Here are the craggy stones beneath my feet,—
Thus much I know that, a poor witless elf,
I tread on them,—that all my eye doth meet
Is mist and crag, not only on this height,
But in the world of thought and mental might!

—Eternity, heaven, hell, self, what else? All these are problems to be solved, before all these hangs a curtain of mist, of ignorance. But their thought makes him mad—their sensation is too intense for him. He falls from heaven to hell, is blown up from hell to heaven; but his shoulders are bare, no knowledge fledges them. The ' horrors ' are too much for him, and though he ' takes Poetry to be chief ' he feels the want of ' something else ' (Letter to Taylor, April 24, 1818, MBF., 62). He wants knowledge. The disturbing questionings of Omar's mind are indeed his now :

What, without asking, hither hurried whence?
And, without asking, whither hurried hence!

But he does not with the Persian poet cry out also,

Another and another cup to drown
The Memory of this Impertinence!

but wants to follow Solomon's advice to ' get knowledge,' to ' get understanding.' (Letter to Taylor, April 24, 1818; MBF., 62.)

Baffled by the ' veil past which he could not see ' Omar turned to Heaven and questioned it direct :

> Then to the rolling Heav'n itself I cried;
> Asking, " What Lamp hath Destiny to guide
> Her little Children stumbling in the Dark? "

Omar had an answer—

> And,—" A blind Understanding," Heav'n replied.

But Ailsa did not answer Keats that way, did not answer at all. He therefore determined to find out the answer himself, while the Persian took shelter under an opportunist scepticism :

> Oh, Thou, who Man of baser earth didst make,
> And who with Eden didst devise the Snake;
> For all the sins wherewith the face of Man
> Is blacken'd, Man's Forgiveness give—and take!

Besides, there was " the knot of human death and Fate " crying to be unravelled. The fear of death was upon him, and he was sore adread. Were all his ambitions, his desires, his hankerings, to fall to naught? He thought so intensely of death and annihilation that he seemed to see his own dead body or the breaking up of the universe :

> When I have fears that I may cease to be
> Before my pen has glean'd my teeming brain,
> Before high-piled books, in charactery,
> Hold like rich garners the full ripened grain;
> When I behold, upon the night's starr'd face,
> Huge cloudy symbols of a high romance,
> And think that I may never live to trace
> Their shadows, with the magic hand of chance;
> And when I feel, fair creature of an hour,
> That I shall never look upon thee more,
> Never have relish in the faery power
> Of unreflecting love;—then on the shore
> Of the wide world I stand alone, and think
> Till love and fame to nothingness do sink.

And not only ' love and fame ' but Poetry and knowledge itself at such times appear no more. On the 13th March he declares in his letter to Bailey :

> " I am sometimes so very sceptical as to think poetry itself a mere Jack-o' lantern to amuse whoever may chance to be struck with its brilliance. As tradesmen say everything is worth what it will fetch, so probably every mental pursuit takes its reality and worth from the ardour of the pursuer—being in itself a nothing."

True, Keats goes on to class passages of Shakespeare with ' existences of Sun, Moon and Stars ' in the course of the next few lines, but as a matter of fact he never grew out of the scepticism. We have already seen in a previous chapter how later Keats dismisses poetry as only an instinctive attitude taken by the whole soul of a man, which to a Superior Being is nothing more than childishness—and that was in the Journal letter to George and Georgiana of February-March, 1818 :

> " May there not be superior beings amused with any graceful, though instinctive attitude my mind may fall into, as I am entertained with the alertness of a stoat or the anxiety of a deer? Though a quarrel in the streets is a thing to be hated, the energies displayed in it are fine; the commonest Man shows a grace in his quarrel—By a superior Being our reasonings may take the same tone—though erroneous they may be fine—This is the very thing in which consists poetry;—"

And in the letter to Reynolds, May 3, 1818, he speaks of knowledge thus :

> " —as Byron says, ' Knowledge is sorrow '; and I go on to say that ' Sorrow is Wisdom '—and further for aught we can know for certainty ' Wisdom is folly ! '—"

although merely a week ago he wrote to Taylor :

> " I was purposing to travel over the *north* this Summer—there is but one thing to prevent me—I know nothing ! have read nothing and I mean to follow Solomon's directions of ' get Wisdom—get understanding '—I find cavalier days are gone by. I find that I can have no enjoyment in the world but continual

drinking of knowledge—I find there is no worthy pursuit but the idea of doing some good for the world—some do it with their society—some with their wit—some with their benevolence—some with a sort of power of conferring pleasure and good humour on all they meet and in a thousand ways all equally dutiful to the command of Great Nature—there is but one way for me—the road lies through application, study and thought. I will pursue it and to that end purpose retiring for some years. I have been hovering for some time between an exquisite sense of the luxurious and a love for philosophy—were I calculated for the former I should be glad—but as I am not I shall turn all my soul to the latter.—"

Or in the same letter (to Reynolds, May 3, 1818), only a few pages earlier, he had spoken of knowledge thus :

" —you speak of your office, in my thought a little too early, for I do not see why a Mind like yours is not capable of harbouring and digesting the whole Mystery of Law as easily as Parson Hugh does Pepins—which did not hinder him from his poetic Canary—Were I to study Physic or rather Medicine again, I feel it would not make the least difference in my Poetry; when a Mind is in its infancy a Bias is in reality a Bias, but when we have acquired more strength, a Bias becomes no Bias. Every department of knowledge we see excellent and calculated towards a great whole. I am convinced of this, that I am glad at not having given away my medical Books, which I shall again look over to keep alive the little I know thitherwards; and moreover intend through you and Rice to become a sort of pip-civilian. An extensive knowledge is needful to thinking people—it takes away the heat and fever; and helps by widening speculation, to ease the Burden of the Mystery; a thing I begin to understand a little, and which weighed upon you in the most gloomy and true sentence of your letter.—"

Keats had touched a great truth when he designated ' Wisdom ' as ' Folly.' From the zenith of his powers Shakespeare had declared it in *Macbeth* :

It (life) is a tale told by an idiot,
Full of sound and fury, signifying nothing.

Also at the close of his life Vivekananda declared it before his followers :

> " . . . There is neither rhyme nor reason in the universe. What reason binds Him? He, the Playful one, is playing these tears and laughters over all parts of the play! Great fun! Great fun! A school of romping children let out to play in this playground of the world! Whom to praise, whom to blame? . . . He is brainless, nor has He any reason He is fooling us with little brains and reason, . . ."
>
> (Letter to Francis Legett, July 6, 1896, quoted by Romain Rolland in his " Life of Vivekananda," foot-note 3, p. 110.)

But in Keats' mind it was the first glimmer of the truth. He, therefore, suspected it, did not believe it at all, and clung to knowledge with all his heart. Time was coming when he would prove it upon his own pulse, and accept it. But that was not yet.

We have seen how Keats distinguished between Memory and Knowledge.* His definition of knowledge exactly fits in with our Hindu idea of ' Jnana.' Now this ' Jnana,' said Sree Ram Krishna, is no end in itself. It cannot lead a man to the goal. What it can do is to remove ignorance, that is, ' Ajnana.' Just as a man picks up a thorn to draw out one that has pierced and entered the sole of his foot, and when that has been removed he throws away both, so also he has to pick up knowledge (Jnana) to remove ignorance (Ajnana) that has made its way into his heart, and when that purpose has been served he has no need of either, and what he does next is to throw away both. When he has attained the goal, ' Jnana ' becomes as useless as ' Ajnana ' itself, and the ' Sadhaka ' can at this stage rightly say that " Wisdom is folly."

Keats' awakening to the darker side of life, to its " miseries and heart-breaks," to the " ills that flesh is heir to," aroused a great sympathy in his mind. In a letter to Bailey, Jan. 23, 1818, he wrote, " One saying of yours I shall never forget . . . ' why should women suffer?' Aye, why should she? By heavens I'll

* " Memory should not be called knowledge."—Letter to Reynolds, Feb. 19, 1818, MBF., 48, p. 108.

coin my very soul and drop my Blood for Drachmas." To him " the idea of doing some good to the world " became the crown of life. (See *ante*, p. 109, excerpt from Letter to Reynolds, May 3, 1818.)

But though their miseries drew Keats' sympathy, their carelessness of the sufferings of others alienated his mind much more. Thus on reading the article ' On the Cockney School of Poetry,' No. I, "Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine," Oct. 1817 (pp. 37-38), Keats wrote at the possibility of the second number being a philippic against himself, " . . . if he should go to such lengths with me as he had done with Hunt I must infallibly call him to an account—if he be a human being and appears in Squares and Theatres where we might possibly meet. I don't relish his abuse."

And though a personal injury could be made good by inflicting punishment upon the offender, the ill-treatment of a good soul other than himself made him hate all the world. Thus on reading Bailey's letters in " The Oxford University and City Herald " for the 30th of May and 6th of June, 1818, which voiced the writer's wounded feelings at the world's cruel treatment of himself, Keats wrote :

> " I have been very much gratified and very much hurt by your Letters in the Oxford Paper: because independent of that unlawful and mortal feeling of pleasure at praise, there is a glory in enthusiasm; and because the world is malignant enough to chuckle at the most honourable Simplicity. Yes, on my soul, my dear Bailey, you are too simple for the World—and that Idea makes me sick of it—How is it that by extreme opposites we have, as it were, got discontented nerves—you have all your Life (I think so) believed every Body—I have suspected every Body—and although you have been so deceived you make a simple appeal—the world has something else to do, and I am glad of it—Were it in my choice I would reject a Petrarchal coronation—on account of my dying day, and because women have cancers. I should not by rights speak in this tone to you —for it is an incendiary spirit that would do so. . ." (Letter to Bailey, June 10, 1818.)

The truth is that Keats' sympathetic spirit has taken this ' incendiary ' tone from a strong sense of indignation. In the

violence of his passion he has quite forgot his own erstwhile counsel, provoked by the mutual retorts and recriminations between Reynolds and Haydon, as also between Haydon and Hunt, that "Men should bear with each other—there lives not the man who may not be cut up, aye, hashed to pieces on his weakest side. The best men have but a portion of good in them—a kind of spiritual yeast in their frames which creates the ferment of existence—by which a man is propelled to act and strive and buffet with Circumstance." How admirably did he point out the true way of dealing with man in that letter! "The sure way," he wrote to Bailey, "is first to know a Man's faults, and then be passive—if after that he insensibly draws you towards him then you have no Power to break the link. Before I felt interested in either Reynolds or Haydon—I was well read in their faults yet knowing them I have been cementing gradually with both. I have an affection for them both for reasons almost opposite,—and to both must I of necessity cling—supported always by the hope that when a little time—a few years shall have tried me more fully in their esteem I may be able to bring them together—the time must come because they have both hearts—and they will recollect the best parts of each other when this gust is overblown." (Letter to Bailey, Jan. 23, 1818.)

And when Keats wrote this letter his heart was burning for the sufferings of humankind. This is how he opens the letter :

> "Twelve days have passed since your last reached me—what has gone through the myriads of human Minds since the 12th?—We talk of the immense number of Books, the volumes ranged thousands by thousands—but perhaps more goes through the human intelligence in 12 days than ever was written. How has that unfortunate family lived through the twelve?"

Bailey's half-felt observation, "why should women suffer?" keeps haunting his mind eternally, and the words are wrung from his heart : "These things are, and he who feels how incompetent the most skyey knight-errantry is to heal this bruised fairness is like a sensitive leaf on the hot hand of thought." And as the world is so full of miseries he feels that it is Man's duty never to add a jot more to it by cold, pessimistic words or deeds, but men

should try their best to lighten this God- or Nature-imposed load that is already upon his shoulder. On hearing from Bailey that he had torn up the first draft of his letter to him as it was " spiritless and gloomy " he is filled with gratitude. " Your tearing, my dear friend," he wrote to Bailey, " a spiritless and gloomy Letter to rewrite to me is what I shall never forget—it was to me a real thing."

But that outburst against the world, against Man, in the later letter of June, was not exactly a product of an "incendiary spirit." As a matter of fact the incendiary spirit itself was the product of a deep-felt sympathy for " the most honorable symplicity " of his friend. This indignation arising from intense sympathy was also the cause of his outburst against the Bishop of Lincoln. and then against the world at large :

> " Before I received your Letter I had heard of your disappointment —an unlook'd for piece of villainy. I am glad to hear there was an hindrance to your speaking your Mind to the Bishop: for all may go straight yet—as to being ordained—but the disgust consequent cannot pass away in a hurry—it must be shocking to find in a sacred profession such barefaced oppression and impertinence—The Stations and Grandeurs of the World have taken it into their heads that they cannot commit themselves towards an inferior in rank—but is not the impertinence from one above to one below more wretchedly mean than from the low to the high? There is something so nauseous in self-willed yawning impudence in the shape of conscience—it sinks the Bishop of Lincoln into a swashed frog putrefying: that a rebel against common decency should escape the Pillory! That a mitre should cover a Man guilty of the most coxcombical, tyrannical, and indolent impertinence! I repeat this word for the offence appears to me most especially *impertinent*—and a very serious return would be the Rod—yet doth he sit in his Palace. Such is this World—and we live—you have surely in a continuous struggle against the suffocation of accidents—we must bear (and my Spleen is mad at the thought thereof) the Proud Man's contumely. O for a recourse somewhat human independent of the great Consolations of Religion and undepraved sensations—of the Beautiful—the Poetical in all things—O for a Remedy against such wrongs within the Pale of the World! Should not those things be pure enjoyment should they stand the chance of being contaminated by being called in as anta-

> gonists to Bishops? Would not earthly thing do? By Heavens my dear Bailey I know you have a spice of what I mean—''

—and what Keats means is, as he tells next in the course of the letter, '' Pride ! Pride ! Pride !'' Pride shall uphold all those that are wronged, all those that suffer. It is Pride that speaks forth in those lines of the June letter : '' Were it in my choice I would reject a Petrarchal coronation—on account of my dying days and because women have cancers.'' Pride against the indifference of the world, against its ' malignant chuckling at the most honorable simplicity.' Deceived by the world the simple Bailey makes a simple appeal and ' the world has something else to do ' than to revise its attitude towards him. In a spirit of precipitous pride and morbidity Keats declares that he is glad of it—it does not matter. He would not care for the world at all even should it come to pay him tribute, respect, honour, or fame. Even a Petrarchal coronation he will refuse as long as he lives—he has no need of it in life—they might crown the dead man whose ghost might mock at their ceremony, we suppose. The crown was not worth taking because the women who would give it were no perfect beings, nor good, they were cancerous, leprous, in body, or in mind at least. '' Women have Cancers '' has nothing to do with '' why should women suffer?'' of the January letter. In the June letter the wave of indignation has for the time being revolutionized his whole being. He has given up his erstwhile ideal of trying to lessen the God- or Nature-imposed burden of human misery, and of doing some good to the world. He writes :

> '' I was in hopes some little time back to be able to relieve your dullness by my spirits—to point out things in the world worth your enjoyment—and now I am never alone without rejoicing that there is such a thing as death—without placing my ultimate in the glory of dying for a great human purpose.''
>
> (Letter to Bailey, June 10, 1818.)

Keats is saying that he is ' never alone without rejoicing that there is such a thing as death ' *though he no more places* his ' ultimate in the glory of dying for a great human purpose.' It is a renunciation or disowning of ' there is no worthy pursuit but the idea of doing some good to the world ' of five weeks ago (May 3, 1818).

It is interesting to observe how all the critics of Keats, Middleton Murry not excepted, have missed the true significance of this passage. " The great human purpose which was henceforward for ever in Keats' mind," says Murry, commenting on this passage, " was writing of great poetry " (p. 68). Evidently Murry mistook ' without placing.....' for ' always placing.' Of course Keats' bad grammar is in part responsible for this. He ought to have replaced ' without placing ' by ' though I do no longer place,' or simply added an ' even ' before it. But Keats never cared for grammar. No great writer does.

Thus Keats began with a high sense of his own vocation, the function of poetry was to create greater things than our Creator himself had made. He had found out that his poetic development was to be from the land of Flora and old Pan to where he might find the agonies, the strife of human hearts. The Drama in his enthusiasm he mistook to be the sphere of his effectiveness, and made two unsuccessful attempts. He was correct in estimating his dramatic power as sufficient for poems, but optimistic in looking forward to real dramatic success in future. In poetry he sang of himself no doubt, but always universalised his personal experiences, and rebelled violently against Wordsworth's 'egotistical sublime.' The poet's business he took to be to eliminate the merely individual aspects of an experience and add universal ones to it. Intuition was to find out for the poet as to wherein these universal aspects lay. Keats identified imagination with intuition. Fancy was the idle thing. Sensation was to him, as usual, sense-perception. He admitted the importance of knowledge, but found out also that a passive lying open to the influences of Nature would as well do. The problems of life, death, etc., aroused a great commotion in his being, the miseries of human life affected him greatly, but he once rose above all these and found out that nothing really matters. Wisdom became folly to him and art became useless. But the coldness with which man fronted man also moved him to great indignations and he stood at times apart from the world as a misanthrope.

CHAPTER VI

HYPERION

Keats' Scotch tour ended practically by mid-August, 1818; we have seen that he undertook the journey "to get understanding, to get learning," now let us see how far this object was accomplished.

The natural scenery of mountains, lonely forests, lakes, rivers, etc., of the Northern part were indeed sufficient to stock his mind with materials for future poems, and as regards Man and the world of Man he did but learn the great truth that at bottom human nature is everywhere essentially the same. This he put forth in the beautiful little poem which he sent his little sister from Dumfries, July 2, 1818:

There was a naughty Boy,
And a naughty Boy was he,
He ran away to Scotland
The people for to see—
Then he found
That the ground
Was as hard,
That a yard
Was as long,
That a song
Was as merry,
That a cherry
Was as red—
That lead
Was as weighty
That fourscore
Was as eighty,
That a door
Was as wooden
As in England—

So he stood in his shoes
And he wonder'd,
He wonder'd,
He stood in his shoes
And he wonder'd.

And besides the imperative demands of the great problems of life and death which, as we have already noted, were aroused by Ailsa Rock and Ben Nevis, the tour intensified his sympathy for human suffering, so that while visiting the tomb of Burns he felt that he could not do justice to the beauties of Nature :

The town, the churchyard, and the setting sun,
The clouds, the trees, the rounded hills all seem,
Though beautiful, cold—strange—as in a dream
I dreamed long ago, now new begun.
The short-liv'd, paly Summer is but won
From Winter's ague, for one hour's gleam;
Though sapphire-warm, their stars do never beam:
All is cold Beauty; pain is never done:
For who has mind to relish, Minos-wise,
The Real of Beauty, free from that dead hue
Sickly imagination and sick pride
Cast wan upon it! Burns! with honour due
I have oft honour'd thee. Great Shadow, hide
Thy face; I sin against thy native skies.

And of his (Burns') misery he wrote to Reynolds :

" His misery is a dead weight upon the nimbleness of one's quill—I tried to forget it—to drink toddy without any care—to write a merry sonnet—it won't do—he talked with Bitches—he drank with black-guards, he was miserable—We can see horrible clear in the works of such a Man his whole life, as if we were God's spies."—(Letter, July 11-13, 1818, MBF., 76.)

Now when he returned to Hampstead his throat was badly sore and his youngest brother Tom was on his last bed. He felt the dying boy's sufferings too intensely. He knew this would have violent reactions upon his own health, but could not help it. His nature was such that the identity of every one around would

press upon him. He could not think of poetic fame by the death-bed of his beloved brother, it seemed so selfish, so sinful. He wrote to Dilke on the 21st September,

> " —I wish I could say Tom was any better. His identity presses so all day that I am obliged to go out—and although I intended to have given sometime to study alone I am obliged to write, and plunged into *abstract* images to ease myself of his countenance, his voice and feebleness—so that I live now in a continual fever—it must be poisonous to life although I feel well. Imagine ' the hateful siege of contraries '—if I think of fame of poetry it seems a crime to me, and yet I must do so or suffer.—"

The " abstract images " are the images of *Hyperion*. But in the meantime other misfortunes had fallen upon him. At the beginning of the month the attack in the *Quarterly Review* had been published. And though there is a bit of exaggeration in Shelley's *Adonais*, or Byron's remark that he had been " snuffed out by an article," it is nevertheless true that the attack affected him much. Severn describes how he would read the article alone as if he would devour it, and only the coming of some one in the room would make him throw it down on the floor.*

His friends did all they could for him. They wrote encouraging letters to him, defended his cause before the public, and held out prospects of future glory. But even J. S., the writer of that

* During that autumn Severn saw him occasionally and noted his strained eyes, his face haggard with apathy and despair. . . . (Hancock, " Keats," p. 102). But later it was Severn who did a great deal toward refuting this view from Keats' pre-occupation with his love-affair at the time of his death. Severn failed to realize that though the attack set the game, it was at the end of some two years and a half almost lost sight of. But for that to declare that it had nothing to do with Keats' disease is not very wise.

S. Colvin in his life of Keats in the E.M.L. series says : Keats at the first sting declared, indeed, that he would write no more poetry but try to do what good he could to the world in some other way. Then quickly recovering himself, he with great dignity and simplicity treated the annoyance as one merely temporary, indifferent, and external.—(ed. 1906, p. 125).

But in his bigger book he says : Since these firm expressions of indifference to critical attack (referring to the letter to Hessey, next page, and others) it has been too confidently assumed that Shelley and Byron were totally misled and wide of the mark when they believed that *Blackwood* and the *Quarterly* had killed Keats or even much hurt him. But the truth is that not they, but their consequences, did in their degree help to kill him.—(*John Keats*, p. 315).

beautiful defence in *The Morning Chronicle,* had to admit that " there are very many passages indicating haste and carelessness " in *Endymion,* and assert that " a real friend of the author would have dissuaded him from an immediate publication."

Moreover, he was himself alive to his defects and this gave him the greatest pain. Had it been sheer injustice ' pride could have upheld him in his wrong,' but the element of truth was unbearable. He felt also that he had by now outgrown his earlier self, and so renouncing that self he now proceeded to the writing of a better poem. The failures of *Endymion* would serve him as safeguards against the future :

> " My own domestic criticism has given me pain without comparison beyond what Blackwood or the Quarterly could possibly inflict, and also when I feel I am right, no external praise can give one such a glow as my own solitary perception and ratification of what is fine. J. S. is perfectly right in regard to the slip-shod *Endymion.* That it is so is no fault of mine.—No!—though it may sound a little paradoxical. It is as good as I had power to make it—by myself. Had I been nervous about its being a perfect piece, and with that view asked advice, and trembled over every page, it would not have been written; for it is not in my nature to fumble—I will write independently. —I have written independently *without Judgment.*—I may write independently and *with Judgment* hereafter. The genius of poetry must work out its own salvation in a man: It cannot be matured by law and precept, but by *sensation* and watchfulness in itself. That which is creative must create itself—In *Endymion* I leaped headlong into the Sea, and thereby have become better acquainted with the Sounding, the quicksands, and the rocks, than if I had stayed upon the greenshore, and piped a silly pipe, and took tea and comfortable advice.—I was never afraid of failure; for I would sooner fail than not be among the greatest."—(Letter to Hessey, Oct. 9, 1818, MBF., 90.)

And " to be among the greatest " he had already begun his *Hyperion.* But in spite of his speaking of the images of the poem as ' abstract,' they were not abstract in the sense of ' imaginary ' in which critics take them generally. They were abstractions from his own soul, the different characters, most of them, representing one particular aspect of it. Thus Saturn represents the

disappointed Keats whom Woodhouse ' understood to say ' that he thought there was nothing original to be written in poetry; that its riches are already exhausted, and all its beauties forestalled—and that he should consequently write no more, because of disappointment. (Woodhouse's letter to Keats, Oct. 21, 1818, MBF., p. 226.)

Hyperion is Keats, the crude poet. The difference between Saturn and Hyperion lies in the fact that Saturn is concerned with power only, he was the man who made much of his poetic self, which in itself was Hyperion. So when the man, Saturn, is dethroned, the poet, Hyperion, thinks of re-instating him. Thea is J. S., the writer of that letter of protest against the *Quarterly* in the *Morning Post*. Enceladus is that fierce spirit of Keats which would challenge the abuser in a duel if he ever could meet him in a Theatre or a Square.* Oceanus his own Judgment, which accepted the failure but saw the future of the Olympians, the faculties of the new-born Keats, wiser and more beautiful. Clymene some other sympathiser, probably, R. B., the writer of the second letter in the *Morning Post*, Mnemosyne is knowledge and Apollo his new poetic self. But the battle signifies his " own domestic criticism," and Keats passes by the reviewers silently. With this key if we unlock the allegory of the poem it will read something like the following :—

Keats' " own domestic criticism " of *Endymion*, which incorporated the hostile reviews of the *Quarterly* and the *Blackwood's*, has deprived him of the poetic fame he counted as his. He is therefore greatly distressed. A goodnatured friend, the gentlest of the brood, comes with commiseration and sympathy. He then summons all his faculties and tries to ascertain if there be still open any way of making the lost ground. The animal

* On reading the first article ' On the Cockney School of Poetry ' in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, October, 1817, in which Hunt was ruthlessly abused, Keats wrote : " . . . if he should go to such lengths with me as he has done with Hunt I must infallibly call him to account . . . if he be a human being and appears in Squares and Theatres where we might possibly meet. I don't relish his abuse. . . . (Letter to Bailey, November 3, 1817, MBF., No. 28).

spirit goads him on to action against the reviewers, but his judgment points out that it will be of no avail. He thinks of writing a greater *Endymion*, but that will not do. This sort of poetry will not do, Hyperion's days are gone. But a new power has been born in him. This power is capable of mighty deeds of placing him ' among the greatest.' In *Endymion* there was ' too much simplicity of knowledge,' but the Scotch tour has given him enough in that way. Drinking of the fountain of knowledge he has grown to be a greater poet. In this mood he renounced all responsibility for the failures of *Endymion*, in the Letter to Hessey, quoted on p. 119. But of this new power Keats had only seen the advent, grown aware of its development. None of its activities were yet visible, they were to come, as they did come in the shape of his odes and narratives of the next year ; but at present they were unknown, and *Hyperion* had to stop with the deification of Apollo. So it did. The story, as far as it had developed in actual life had been finished. But Keats wanted to give the conclusion a new artistic touch. He would not round off the account, but give it a sudden end. But then it was already rounded off with the deification of Apollo. So he erased the last line, with the exception of the first word and ended it with a chain of stars. In this he did but anticipate the method of modern prose fictions, which have no proper endings. They collapse in the midst of the narrative, so to say, and the reader's unsatisfied curiosity is left with the question, what next? In thus giving the *Hyperion* an abrupt end, Keats differed from his old practice. He gave his *Endymion* a nice rounding off, and after his deification Endymion went to live happily with his celestial bride for ever afterward. But Keats dropped the curtain over Apollo in the process of his deification. *Hyperion* was, therefore, no fragment, proper. It was a beautifully rounded off autobiographical subjective novel in verse, and if a fragment at all, it was a fragment of life, as every modern novel is.

But the subject-matter of *Hyperion*, being a very recent event in the poet's life, he made too much of that event, and, in spite of the marvellous knowledge of Oceanus, all that Keats had to say of his poetic development was not said. With the lapse of time, as the wounds were healing up, Keats looked at the scars and

found what fuss he had made of them. A year after he had begun his *Hyperion*, he, therefore, set about revising it.

Before revising the poem, Keats had found out that the separate personalities of Hyperion and Apollo formed a great obstacle in the way of clearly indicating the development of his poetic self. He therefore determined to speak in his own person. But Hyperion and Apollo and all other characters of the poem were to remain. Hence the introduction of his own self in person would require a certain squeezing in or the others. Hyperion and Apollo were both to be seriously affected by the change, and as a matter of fact Apollo could not at all enter the poem when Keats gave it up, and Hyperion could only claim some 37 lines in it, and that by way of a description put in the mouth of Moneta. The thing is that their functions have been taken up by the poet himself and they have a sort of shadowy existence without the substance. Thus in the original poem Apollo was shown as a young god weeping for knowledge, and looking into Mnemosyne's eyes he became a god, but in the *revision* the poet himself saw

> what high tragedy
> In the dark secret chambers of her skull
> Was acting.

And when Moneta showed him how " Saturn sat when he had lost his Realms," " there grew a power within " the poet—

> of enormous ken
> To see as a god sees, and take the depth
> Of things as nimbly as the outward eye
> Can size and shape pervade.

So poor Apollo's rôle is gone. He has been completely absorbed in the poet himself. We therefore hear Keats invoking him as a god,

> Apollo! faded! O far flown Apollo!
> Where is thy misty pestilence to creep
> Into the dwellings, through the door crannies
> Of all mock lyrists, large self-worshippers
> And careless Hectorers in proud bad verse,

But though his rôle is thus taken away the poet must have intended to show us how he had ousted Hyperion, for that alone could have been the story proper of "*The Fall of Hyperion.*" As this became unnecessary or rather pleonastic after Keats had described his own poetic development he had no other alternative than to give it up. The reason why the *revision* was given up was not because it was Miltonic, but because, were it to be continued, it would have become Miltonic, Keats would have to treat the story as a mere legend and give the allegory to the four winds. This would have baffled his whole purpose. But where it was given up it had been brought to a point where the original poem ended, too, and Keats had no business to transgress that limit. It may be that Keats wearied of the "Miltonic inversions" *of language*, as he said himself, but that was not till he had finished the story as far as the original poem had brought it. The full significance of his statement, "I have given up Hyperion—there are too many Miltonic inversions in it—Miltonic verse cannot be written but in an artful, or rather, artist's humour,"* lies there in the fact that having finished all he had to say of his poetic development he would not proceed with the story as a mere story in the manner of Milton—a pure artist. The language bar was not so insurmountable. The mere sight of Saturn, seated as he "sat when he had lost his Realms," had given the poet the power of seeing as a god sees, and so he had no need of proceeding further with the story. The case is like that of a Ganges bath, which does not require a man to dive all along the river from its source to the mouth. A dive anywhere in it will remove a man's sins, so the film of his eyes was removed at the first glance at the first scene of the tragedy, and Keats had no business to bother himself with the whole legend. It would be necessary from the reader's point of view if the poet were solicitous of his favour and good opinion. But in revising the *Hyperion* Keats had so such intention, what he aimed at was to tell the story of his own soul. This, he felt, had been done, and he left the matter then and there. Moreover, the fall of Hyperion is complete when he joins the fallen

* Letter to Reynolds, September 21, 1819, MBF., No. 151.

Titans in the dark cave. In the original poem, I think it was Keats' intention to bar the gates of the Solar region against the absent Hyperion if he were to continue the story in that line, so also in the *revision* the fall is complete when Hyperion goes to join the fallen Titans. We see him flaring on to them, and need not be told as to what happened next.

So the revised *Hyperion* is as complete as its original. It differs from that original only in so far as it is more outspoken. It serves to point out clearly that the original *Hyperion* was no Miltonic epic but the story of his own soul, and that there *are* two senses in his poem,

> I heard, I look'd! two senses both at once,
> So fine, so subtle,
> (Rev. Hyp., Canto I, lines 118-19.)

But nevertheless the allegory was to remain. It only took a different form. And Dr. Bridges' interpretation of this allegory is satisfactory. It is as follows :

> " The visionaries are those who neglect conduct for the pursuit of any ideal. The garden and the feast represent the beauties of nature, and the drink is poetry, which is made from the fruits of the feast. The intoxication which followed the draught represents the complete and excited absorption by poetry which Keats describes himself as suffering when he was writing *Endymion*, and the swoon would be that state of selfish isolation into which he fell in his Miltonic period. His awakening in the temple is his recovery from this to a sympathy with the miseries of the world and the temple itself is the temple of knowledge, which it is death for a visionary to enter if he have not that sympathy. The steps to the altar are the struggle of such a mind to reach truth: and truth itself is revealed by knowledge. The leaves burning on the altar are years of the poet's life, or his youthful faculties."

But there is one objection against it. The ascription of a Miltonic period in Keats' life is entirely meaningless and Keats had never suffered from a selfish isolation. As we have seen before, all his outbursts against humanity were the result of an

intense sympathy such as when they ill-treated the simple Bailey—Keats was furious against the world, but his heart was all the while burning with sympathy for humanity in its miseries, which now centred round Bailey alone as he was the person under Keats' direct observation who suffered them most at this moment. Even the original *Hyperion* was Miltonic only in form and language, and though he spoke of relieving himself of the face of his dying brother in its "abstract images," and even granting that it was selfish (which it was not, for his sympathy was so keen that he felt Tom's death-pangs in his own breast and was fearing annihilation on that account) it was no result of poetic intoxication. He had to strive with all his energy to get into the proper mood in order to save his life.

If the swoon signifies anything at all it must be the "Purgatory Blind." But it was not certainly the result of poetic absorption that brought Keats to this "Purgatory blind." It was, as we have seen in a previous chapter, "Imagination brought beyond its proper bound, yet still confined," which failing to "refer to any standard law of earth or heaven" "lost itself in a sort of Purgatory blind." So the drink cannot be poetry, it is thought or imagination. Doctor Bridges' mistake arose from his false supposition that the drink was made from the fruits of the feast There is no such hint in the poem. Here is the passage:

> Before its wreathed doorway, on a mound
> Of moss, was spread a feast of summer fruits,
> Which, nearer seen, seem'd refuse of a meal
> By angel tasted or our Mother Eve;
> For empty shells were scattered on the grass,
> And grape-stalks but half bare, and remnants more,
> Sweet-smelling, whose pure kinds I could not know.
> Still was more plenty than the fabled horn
> Thrice emptied could pour forth, at banqueting
> For Proserpine return'd to her fields,
> Where the white heifers low. And appetite
> More yearning than on Earth I ever felt
> Growing within, I ate deliciously;
> And, after not long, thirsted, for thereby

Stood a cool vessel of transparent juice
Sipp'd by the wander'd bee, the which I took,
And, pledging all the mortals of the world,
And all the dead whose names are in our lips,
Drank. That full draught is parent of my theme.

The feast is the feast of unreflecting joys of Nature when Keats' mind was yet in the " infant or thoughtless chamber," the drinking of the juice is the awakening of the " thinking principle," which leads him out of that chamber into the " chamber of Maiden-thought " where he is intoxicated, and thence into the " dark passages " Keats comes to the temple of knowledge. The in the poem as the drink causing the swoon. And exploring these " darkpassages " Keats comes to the temple of knowledge. The revised *Hyperion* is the fulfilment of the prophecy of the chamber-of-life letter * (to Reynolds, May 3, 1818, MBF., No. 64): " Now if we live, and go on thinking, we too shall explore them—".

Between the original *Hyperion* and the revision Keats had attained to the *love of good and ill*, to the comprehension of the universe as harmonious, as we have seen already, in that Journal

* So called from Keats' dividing human life into four chambers in it. Keats wrote: " I compare human life, to a large Mansion of Many Apartments, two of which I can only describe, the doors of the rest being as yet shut upon me. The first we step into we call the infant or thoughtless chamber, in which we remain as long as we do not think—we remain there a long while, and notwithstanding the doors of the second chamber remain wide open, showing a bright appearance, we care not to hasten to it; but are at length imperceptibly impelled by the awakening of this thinking principle within us—we no sooner get into the 2nd chamber, which I shall call the chamber of Maiden-thought, than we become intoxicated with the light and the atmosphere; we see nothing but pleasant wonders, and think of delaying there for ever in delight:— However, among the effects this breathing is father of is that tremendous one of sharpening one's vision into the heart and nature of Man—of convincing one's nerves that the world is full of Misery and Heartbreak, Pain, Sickness and Oppression—whereby this chamber of Maiden-thought becomes gradually darken'd and at the same time on all sides of it many doors are set open—but all dark—all leading to passage. We see not the balance of good and evil. We are in a mist. We are now in that state—we feel the " burden of the mystery." To this point was Wordsworth come as far as I can conceive, when he wrote ' *Tintern Abbey* ' and it seems to me that his Genius is explorative of these dark Passages. Now if we live and go on thinking, we too shall explore them— He is a Genius and superior to us, in so far as he can, more than we, make discoveries, and shed a light in them."

Letter to George and Georgiana of March, 1819, and the apprehension of Beauty as Truth, and its converse Truth as Beauty in that ode on the Grecian Urn.* He had reached the promised land, and what remained was to colonise it by building cities and palaces, digging lakes, planting gardens, and thus leaving to posterity an opulent inheritance. Early death could not deprive Keats of his crown of successfully attaining to the state he coveted for himself, but it has deprived us of a world of poetry rich in all the highest treasures of the Muses.

'Beauty is truth, truth beauty,"—that is all
Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know.

—Ode on a Grecian Urn (last two lines).

INDO-ARYAN LAND SYSTEM

Between cir. 600 B.C. and 200 A.D.

BY

ATINDRA NATH BOSE, M.A.

I

The difference of scholastic opinion over the land system of the Indo-Aryans has not been narrowed down with the progress of research on the subject since the memorable works of Maine and Baden-Powell inaugurated the controversy. There is no dearth of ancient authorities for every rival opinion to substantiate its claim that the land system was founded on individual, communal or royal ownership. These conflicting theories and facts in our literary material rule out the convenient solution of labelling, moreover, for a vast country where different cultural and racial units fused together or thrived in isolation and lead to the only safe conclusion that " different villages in different districts varied one from another in the customs of land-tenure and in the rights of individual householder as against the community." [1]

Doubt has even been raised whether the conception of ownership of agricultural lands had at all been reached when the Sacred Law was formulated [2] and the contention has been competently fought by an Indian scholar.[3] As has been pointed out, the sacred law distinguishes even in respect of terminology

1 Rhys Davids : Buddhist India, Ch. III.

2 Moreland : Agrarian System of Moslem India, p. 4.

3 Ghosal : Agrarian System in Ancient India, Lec. V.

the idea of ownership from that of restricted real rights: ownership indicated by *svatva*, *svāmītva*, etc., possession by the root *bhuj* and its derivatives. The field belongs to him who first removes the weed as the deer to him who first stalks it. [1] Though mere possession as distinct from ownership is implied in this injunction, it recognises the right of first clearing as constituting the original title to the land. This distinction between possession and title is repeatedly emphasised in later law-books (Yāj. II. 29; Vṛ. IX. 2 ff.). The mediaeval law-digests explicitly define ownership as the quality of the object owned, of being used according to pleasure. The *Smṛtis* further testify that the essential attributes associated with ownership are sale, gift and mortgage (Gaut. XIX. 17, Baudh. III. 10. 15, Manu X. 114, Vṛ. VIII. 6 f., Arth. III. 9); an owner might also use land as pledges (Manu VIII. 143, Nār. I. 125, Asahāya's commentary).

II

An examination of literary evidences shows that individual ownership of agricultural and homestead land stood the application of these tests. [2] It is a common warning in canonical works that a genuine *bhikkhu* has no sons, animals, arable or homestead land, [3] *i.e.*, the movable and immovable property as generally belongs to the householder. The implication is clear that land is as much personal property as cattle. The *khetta* and the *vatthu* also figure with *hiraññā*, *suvaṇṇa*, *gāvi*, *dāsa*, *bhariya*, etc., as gifts that may be offered to a *bhikkhu* by a woman, a harlot, an adult girl, a eunuch, kings, robbers and

[1] Sthānu-cchedasya kedāram āhuḥ śalyavato mṛgam, Manu IX. 44. See also Kullūka's comment on it.

[2] Vedic Aryans at the dawn of their history exhibit full-grown peasant proprietorship. See Macdonell and Keith: Vedic Index, I, 211. Also N. C. Banerji: Economic Life and Progress in Ancient India, pp. 100 ff.

[3] na tassa putta paśavo vā khettaṃ vatthuṃ na viyyati, Sut. n. IV. x. 11. In the Kāmasutta this ownership is spoken of in positive form (IV. i). *Cf.* Mbh. XII. 296. 8; Jacobi; Jaina Sutras, Part II, pp. 59, 90, 847; Jāt. II. 99.

rascals (Mv. III. 11. 4 ff.; *cf.* Mil., P.T.S., p. 279). The passage illustrates not only a ripe sense of ownership but also that there was at least no strict and universal sex-barrier against ownership of land—of which Ambapāli and Visākhā Migāramātā are concrete examples. A parable in the Milindapañho illustrates how acquisition of land by clearance of forests tended to develop into a legal title :

" It is as when a man clears away a jungle and sets free a piece of land and the people say—' that is his land.' Not that the land is made by him. It is because that he has brought the land into use that he is called the owner of the land."

Yathā—koci puriso vanaṃ sodhitvā bhūmiṃ nīharati tassa sā bhūmīti jano voharati na c'esā bhūmi tena pavattitā taṃ bhūmiṃ kāraṇaṃ katvā bhūmisāmiko nāma hoti (P.T.S., p. 219).

The Jātakas attest the appropriation of land by individuals with reclamation of forests (IV. 167 ; *cf.* Rām. II. 32. 30). A glimpse into the legal origin of private ownership is afforded by the tradition embodied in the Ruru Jātaka where the deer eat up the crops of villagers and an understanding is reached between the man king and the deer king to the effect that each man should mark out his plot and set up a placard therein so that the deerfolk might distinguish them from unclaimed land and spare them (IV. 262 f. ; I. 153). A Brāhmaṇa landowner of Magadha offers 1,000 *karisas* of his estate as a gift to a parrot (IV. 281). The Jātakas also record the donation of parks by the doctor Jīvaka at Rājagaha, by the courtesan Ambapāli at Vesāli and by the merchant Anāthapiṇḍika at Sāvatthi who moreover gives the pleasance after purchase from prince Jeta thus showing a double process of private transfer. Elsewhere Bodhisatta is seen to form an estate outside his native village which indicates that alienation of land by sale, mortgage or otherwise was not unknown (III. 293) and that land had acquired a certain measure of fluidity. The story that relates how Bodhisatta remonstrated a *gahapati* who murdered his

nephew to be owner of an undivided estate and concluded his sermon by uttering a verse to elucidate how silly it was to guard one's fortunes whimpering 'mine,' 'mine' all the while (III. 301 f.), sets at rest all doubt as to whether a clear notion of ownership in land had grown up as yet.

The transaction between Anāthapiṇḍika and Jeta is of unique interest to bear quotation :

Anāthapiṇḍiko gahapati—Jetaṃ kumāraṃ etad avoca : dehi me ayyaputta uyyānaṃ ārāmaṃ kātuṃ ti. adeyyo gahapati ārāmo api koṭi-santharenā 'ti. gahito ayyaputta ārāmo 'ti. na gahapati gahito ārāmo 'ti. gahito na gahito'ti vohārike mahāmatte pucchiṃsu. mahāmattā evaṃ āhaṃsu : yato tayā ayyaputta aggho kato gohito ārāmo 'ti. atha kho Anāthpiṇḍiko gahapati sakaṭehi hiraññaṃ nibbāhāpetvā Jetavanaṃ koṭisantharaṃ santharāpesi (Cv. VI. 4. 9).

Evidently Jeta's answer to the offer of purchase is misreported here, for on the merit of this the law-suit cannot go against him. Buddhaghosa in his commentary Sāmantapāsādika gives the correct report based on some older Indian legend which the Bārhut sculptor had before him. From this version as well as the Bārhut representation it appears moreover that Anāthapiṇḍika took Jeta at his word, took possession of the park and asserted his right of ownership by going so far as to cut down all the trees except one mango and few sandal trees.[1] The bargain, the taking of possession, Jeta's ultimate backing out, reference to law-court,[2] and the judicial verdict are all unmistakable evidences of legal ownership of the individual and transfer of right by sale.

Cursory and allegorical references in the Dīghanikāya corroborate the foregoing conclusion. It significantly remarks on the 'division of rice fields and setting up of boundaries betweent he two' (sattā sāliṃ vibhajiṃsu mariyādaṃ thapesum,

[1] See Hardy : Manual of Buddhism, p. 218 f.; Barua : Bārhut, Bk. II, p. 31.

[2] That civil suits over disputes on land were not infrequent is pointed out by the Milinda parable (p. 47) where a *khettasāmiko* litigates against another who burns his field.

XXVII. 18) and on the stealing of another's plot (*ibid.*, 19).[1] The stolen property is *khetta* not *sāli*. In a parable Buddha derides the folly of "a man who neglecting his own field should take thought to weed out his neighbour's" (sakaṃ khettaṃ ohāya paraṃ khettaṃ niddayitabbaṃ, XII. 7). This became an oft-quoted expression to laugh down a fool, for the sarcastic analogy occurs in the Mahābhārata as well—*parakṣetre . nirvapati yaśca vījaṃ* (V. 36. 5).

Gift of land is classed among acts of exemplary piety in the Epics (Mbh. III. 199. 127 ff.). The imprecatory verses of the Mahābhārata directed against those who revoke grants or infringe rights on land once transferred (XIII. 62; *cf.* V. 36. 13) are conventionally and meticulously repeated in the land charters from after the Christian era. There is no reason why an act of grace which would be salvation for the royal race should not be the same for the humbler folk (Rām. III. 68. 29, VII. 28. 21; Mbh. XIII. 23. 111. 62).

According to Āpastamba land might be let against a certain share of the produce.[2] Vyāsa and Vṛhaspati imply the leasing of field in the same manner. Similarly the Arthaśāstra lays down that if a holding is taken possession of by another on some reasonable grounds, he shall be made to pay the owner some rent, the amount of which is to be fixed after mature considerations of what is necessary for the subsistence of the cultivator of the holding for him.[3] In contrast to the rule on royal land, the indifferent cultivator does not forfeit his plot: the man who makes improvement on another's plot must

[1] The dispossession of another's plot is one of the varieties of *ātatāyin* according to the commentator on the Mahābhārata (V. 173. 1). *Cf.* Yāj. II. 155; Arth. III. 9, 17; IV. 10; Gaut. XIII. 17.

[2] kṣetraṃ parigṛhyo'tthānābhāvāt phalābhāve yaḥ samṛddhaḥ sa bhāvi tadaparihāryaḥ : Dharmasūtra, II. 11. 28, 1. 1; *cf.* 1. 6. 18, 20. In the Jātakas there are cases of letting out houses on hire (II. 287).

[3] karaṇādane prayāsam ājīvaṃ ca parisaṃkhāya vandhaṃ dadyāt, III. 9.

surrender it after five years to the owner on obtaining a compensation.[1]

Early epigraphic records give scanty but illuminating data. An early instance of private transfer is furnished by Dharmanandin, son of an Upāsaka who made a bequest of a field for the clothes of some ascetics living in one of the Nasik caves (No. 9, Pl. iii). In the Karli Cave Inscriptions, Usavadāta's assignment of 16 villages to *devas*, Brāhmaṇas and ascetics seems to imply only the assignment of revenues for allowing peaceful pursuit of spiritual avocations, not the transfer of ownership or right of alienation by sale, mortgage or gift as is customary in later inscriptions. A similar gift to the Bhadāvaniya sect of the Saṃgha is recorded in the Nasik Cave Inscription, 2. i. The following plates are more interesting and deserve more than passing notice. The charter of Vāśiṣṭhiputra Pulumāyi is marked by three characteristics (3. ii): (*a*) the village is assigned "to be owned by the *bhikhus*—dwelling in the cave to produce a perpetual rent for the care of the cave" (bhikhuhi devileṇavāsehi nikāyena Bhadāyaniyehi patigaya dato); (*b*) with customary immunities belonging to monks' land (bhikhuhalaparihāra), free from the entry of royal officers and the police, *i.e.*, from revenues and fines[2] and from the royal monopoly of salt; (*c*) the king's right to abrogate the grant is implicit in the donation. With exactly the same immunities a field of 200 *nivartanas* in a village is assigned to the Tekirasi ascetics by Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi (4. ii). In both cases the donor is a king, the donee a religious order, the immunities are the same, but in the former case the gift is a whole village, in the latter only a *khetta*. The nature of

[1] anādeyam akṛṣato'nyaḥ pañcavarṣān-yupabhujya prayāsa-niṣkrayeṇa dadyāt, III. 10.

If these rules were meant for practical guidance the existence of a class of under-ryots with a corresponding type of landlord who is proprietor of the soil may be presumed. It would be rash to draw an analogy with the modern zemindary system in view of lack of records. Absence of corroborative reference in popular literature suggests that there was no widespread sub-infeudation of land in any sense.

[2] Cf. *adaṇḍakarāṇi* in Arth. II. 1.

the grant cannot be the same in the case of a village and that of a cultivated field thereof, however conventionally the immunities may be repeated. The contrast is boldly marked out in another writ of Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi which directs that since a field in the village of Kakhadi granted to certain ascetics was not cultivated, nor the village inhabited, 100 *nivartanas* of land from the same be given to the ascetics with customary immunities (5. ii). The field is explicitly characterised as a 'royal field' (rājakaṃ kheta). The probable explanation is that originally only the revenues of the crown lands were assigned (the ownership spoken of in 3. ii must be understood in this sense) but since the village was depopulated for some reason or other and the fields remained untilled and produced no revenue to be enjoyed, the king assigned a portion thereof with complete beneficiary and usufructuary rights—and if we may hazard the suggestion, as a *brahmadeya* gift of land.

The implications of these instances are that the king's charter might bear on private land or on crown land. In the former case it was only a matter of transfer of revenue upon which the king had undivided legal right, and not of ownership and usufruct. In the latter case, the assignment was only of revenue when whole villages were disposed of along with the tillers and the holdings, and of ownership and usufruct when the gift consisted of only a few acres of land.[1] The right of freeholders stood unimpugned in the case of transfer of land which was not crown property.[2] This is proved by the grant of Usavadāta (10. iv) in which a field was bought from a Brāhmaṇa for the price of 4,000 *kahāpaṇas* and "from it food will be procured for all monks dwelling in my cave."[3] This is

[1] Distinctive gifts of land and villages occur side by side in the Mahābhārata, XIII. 10. 62, 23. 111.

[2] We shall see that in crown lands there were no freeholders but only king's tenants and agricultural labourers.

[3] *Cf.* a Tamil inscription of Kṛṣṇa III wherein the king assigns land to a god after purchasing it from the members of a village assembly. Ep. In. VII. 20G. These are definite recognitions of personal and communal ownership with rights of transfer by sale, etc.

why the *brahmadeya* gift of land, which carried with it ownership and usufruct and not merely revenue, could be made only of crown lands (Dn. III. i. 1, IV. i. 1, XII. i. 1; Mn. 95; Arth. II. 1). This was the general custom and order prevailing not only in the Deccan under Śātavāhana rule but according to all extant testimony also in the regions about Dehli and Indo-Ganges valley from much earlier time down to a few centuries of the Christian era.

III

But private ownership was not—far less peasant proprietorship—the uniform and universal principle of land tenure. Although Maine's analogy with the Teutonic mark[1] is now generally discredited, Baden-Powell's theory of undiluted private ownership[2] supported by most of the modern scholars does not stand close examination. As observed by Washburn Hopkins, "The general Hindu theory of impartible real estate is a distinct blow to the sweeping generalisation made by Baden-Powell when he stated that the early Aryans recognised only private ownership in land.[3] The early jurists like Gautama, Manu and Uśanas are very reticent about partibility of land.[4] It is only later jurists of the 4th and 5th centuries who admit land to be partible. It may be noted also that while Manu's boundary laws open with rules for the adjustment of boundaries between disputing villages (X), the subsidiary law in regard to 'boundary lines of a field, spring, reservoir, garden or house' being added only as an appendix,

[1] "The Indian and ancient European systems of enjoyment and tillage by men grouped in village communities are in all essential particulars identical"—Village Communities of the East and West, p. 103.

[2] Indian Village Community; Art. on Origin of Village Land Tenures in India, J.R.A.S, Vol. XXX.

[3] India Old and New, p. 218.

[4] This must not be taken to mean that partition of estates was totally unknown. The Ṛg-veda bears witness that the son's right in real property was implicit even in the father's lifetime and could be exercised in partition—the right which is the feature of the Mitākṣara system of the law of succession (*cf.* Ait. Br. V. 14; Tait. Saṃ. II. 6. 1).

Yājñavalkya inverses the order laying down 'the law in regard to fields' and adding that 'the same applies to villages.' An interesting admonition from a sage to his brother in the Mahābhārata on the evils of partition of patrimony which encourages quarrel, estrangement and ruin reflects the working of this tendency, *i.e.*, how ownership of the joint family (which is conterminous with joint village in patriarchal society) was sought to be maintained by wise counsel against the encroachment of partition and full-fledged private property (I. 29. 16-22).

The tradition of unrestricted communal ownership on soil was handed down from hoary antiquity from the region of extreme north associated with the Uttarakurus who were proverbial for their piety and wisdom (kṛtapuṇya-pratiśrayaḥ, Mbh. VI. 6. 13). These idealised folk called no goods their own, nor women their chattels and their crops were yielded without toil, so goes the pæan of praise in the Dīghanikāya (XXXII. 7). In the same vein Vaiśaṃpāyana describes the Kuru land in the good old days of Duṣmanta (Mbh. I. 68). Nor was the custom confined to the north-west or to pre-Buddhistic times. In the Tiṇḍuka Jātaka a fruit tree appears to be the corporate property of a village (II. 76 f.). In the Siha-camma Jātaka a *yavakhetta* where an ass is let loose by a sharper and which is defended by all villagers in a body seems to be common village property unless of course this be a field under collective farming (II. 109 ff.). To the village corporation belonged the village pond (candanikam), the motehall (sāla) and irrigation tanks and canals, roads, bridges, parks, etc. (Jāt I. 199). The Jātaka evidences also leave no room for doubt that the ill-defined belt of pasture land around the *gāmakhetta* was enjoyed and owned by the villagers in common (*cf.* Ṛv. X. 19. 3 f.; Arth. III. 10). According to Manu the land around a village on all sides for 100 bows (about 600 ft.) is common land (VIII. 237 f.).[1]

[1] According to the Arthaśāstra this is 800 *aṅgulas* (III. 10). According to Kātyāyana the *gopracāra* is indivisible.—Kātyāyanamatasaṃgraha, p. 75, v. 750, Ed. by N. C. Banerji.

The brief story in the *paccupannavatthu* of the Kuṇāla Jātaka throws a vivid sidelight on the agrarian system in the aristocratic republics (V. 412 f.). The Śākyas and the Koliyas each cultivated their tribal land held in common by a common enterprise and organisation by means of a dam from river Rohini worked by co-operative irrigation. The owners proper of the land were the *rājakulas* or aristocratic families. They had subordinates to work the estates or manage the administration (tasmiṃ kamme niyutta amacca). To this category of intermediaries belonged the *sevaka, bhojaka, amacca* and *uparāja*. The actual labour was done by slaves (dāsa, dāsī) and hired hands (kammakara) who fell to quarrel on behalf of their masters over the prior claim to the waters. The *rājakulas* together with their vassals and officers formed the tribal body or body-politic: the slaves and serfs being left out when the Śākyas and Koliyas are mentioned. The latter version of the dispute pointedly draws the mark—*dāsa-kammakarā c'eva sevaka-bhojakā-macca-uparājāno ca'ti sabbe yuddhasajjā nikkhamiṃsū*.

This supposition is strenghthened by a passing observation in the Mahāvastu. The Śākya chiefs give their incoming sisters' children 'Śākya wives, cultivable lands and villages.'[1] The presumption naturally arises that the land was held in common by the *rājakulas*, the members whereof parcelled out portions to others on tenancy or held plots in usufructuary enjoyment.

Speaking of certain unspecified tribes, probably of the Punjab, Strabo notes that "the land is cultivated by families in common and when the crops are collected each person takes a load for his support throughout the year" (XV. i. 66). In the Arthaśāstra, land owned by village community cannot be traced. But like the Smṛtis it deals not only with boundary disputes between individuals but also between villages which

[1] B. C. Law: Study of the Mahāvastu, p. 57. The Jātaka commentaries and the Mahāvastu are no doubt much later production but here they undoubtedly embody a tradition of much earlier age. This joint family ownership of land seems to be a part of the communal and democratic life of the Śākya clan.

are to be settled by elders of 5 or 10 villages (III. 9). The significance of such village boundary is not made clear. Had the village community the right to collect some taxes within its jurisdiction? The probability is strengthened by the rule in the next chapter that the fine levied on a cultivator who arriving at a village for work dees not abide by the contract shall be taken by the village itself (karṣakasya grāmam abhyupetyā'kurvato grāma evātyayaṃ haret). It would be rash to infer the leasing of communal land to an outside cultivator from this meagre statement. It would rather suggest a system of collective farming in which workers were employed under a co-operative enterprise for cultivation of the villagers' fields.

After laying down that no bidding must be done in the absence of owner the Arthaśāstra gives another law—"if the owner does not come forward even on the expiry of seven nights, the property may be sold by auction" (saptarātrādūrddhvam anabhisarataḥ pratikruṣṭo vikrīnīta). Reading it with the rule in the next chapter—" non-taxpayers (*i.e.*, owners of *brahmadeya*) shall retain ownership even if they sojourn abroad" (akaradāh paratra vasanto bhogam upajīveyuh, III. 10), it seems that an owner (taxpayer) lost his title to the *vāstu* if he left it for a foreign land and remained untraced for seven nights when the villagers in a body, represented by the elders might dispose of it.

Thus although in the land system of the Arthaśāstra communal ownership was obviously on the wane, it still had lingering traces which restricted real rights of cultivators. Nor was it totally extinct in any period in the ancient economy of northern India, not to speak of the Tamil countries of the far south. A Gwaliar Inscription of as late as the 9th century records a temple grant by a town of plots of land "which was its own property" (svabhuñjamāna, svabhukti) specified as belonging to village so and so and cultivated by so and so (memmaka-vāhita-kṣetraṃ).[1] Here obviously the corporate person is legal owner and the cultivator only a tenant.

[1] Ep. In. I. 20.

A few copper plate documents from Bengal of the 5th and 6th centuries regarding purchase and gift of land lend strength to this supposition. In some of these the intending purchasers, official or non-official, had to address in their application for purchase not only the administrative functionaries of the province (bhukti) and the district (viṣaya) but also the leading men and elders in the same, as well as the other rural officers, *e.g.*, *aṣṭakulādhikaraṇas*, *grāmikas* and the *kuṭumbins* or chief householders, while in others the purchasers approached with their application the administrative machinery of the district town which had a Board or Council attached to it consisting of the representatives of the four important interests of those days, *viz.*, the merchants, the traders, the artisans and the scribes or Government secretaries. Sometimes the documents bear the seal of the two Government Courts, *viz.*, that of the district of Vārakamaṇḍala and that of the district town of Koṭivarṣa. The land for sale is cultivable field (kṣetra), homestead land (vāstu) or wasteland (khila). Who were the owners of these lands? R. G. Basak pertinently asks that, if they belonged to the State, "why it could not alienate them without the consent or approval of the peoples' representatives, the Mahattaras and the businessmen (vyavahārins) of the province and the district and sometimes even the common folk? Moreover, why should the State, in a sale of land which is absolutely its own, get only $\frac{1}{6}$ of the sale proceeds as is clearly mentioned in one of the documents? It seems clear that the remaining $\frac{5}{6}$ went to the funds of the villages assemblies which formed a party with Government in granting prayers for purchase and that there was a joint ownership of land between the State and the village community indicating a state of affairs very similar to that prevailing in the village economy of the far south.[1]

[1] See R. G. Basak's illuminating article on Land Sale Documents of Ancient Bengal in Asutosh Silver Jubilee Volumes, Vol. III, Part II.

Baden-Powell tries to establish his theory of peasant ownership by examining the character of the severalty and joint villages which are distinguished from one another by the following features.[1] The former has a *patel* or headman, the latter none. The former has holdings which have always been separate, the latter has holdings which are only inherited shares of an original single estate. In the former each holding is assessed separately, the latter has a joint liability the revenue being assessed at a lump sum. The joint village is of three types. In the tribal or clan type members hold shares separately—there being only united ownership of waste land and of the village site and a united responsibility for taxes. Such a tribal allotment has actually been the starting point of the true severalty village, as shown by the primitive Kolarian village. The associate joint village is founded by different families for the purpose of mutual protection against intruders and are joint only in assuming a united responsibility for taxes. The ancestral joint family village is the only unit resembling a village community. Here all the shares are portions inherited from an original single estate. The heirs hold the property always liable to division, so that there is no communal holding even though a few of the heirs do not partition their estates. Still less does the whole village own the land which is generally rented to tenants, the rents being divided among the descendants of the original lord of the manor. Even when the estate is undivided each co-sharer is actually in possession of a special part and holds it for his own benefit.

According to this analysis the types are severalty and joint villages, not communal types. The most communistic form is the still undivided inheritance of a joint family, but even this is always partible. It is concluded therefore that " the joint family with its original common ownership of land is sufficient to account for all such traces of communistic land-ownership as we have any record of, and the joint ownership of the village had

[1] *Op. cit.*

only the form of the modern 'joint village.'"[1] This proposition however, founded on a hypothesis of consanguinity, is applicable to the tribal republics discussed above but is too generalised to meet all conditions. During the period under study, patriarchal villages are not the general order of society. It is no exception that families of different castes and professions are sometimes grouped in village settlements and do not shed off their communal tinge withal. Nor is joint ownership by industrial guilds or religious fraternities a rare feature in Indian land system.

Taken together, the available data do not warrant Rhys Davids' conclusion that in Buddhist India the peasantry were only shareholders in communal land without right of selling, mortgaging or bequest of their share.[2] The utmost that can be assumed with safety is that "the old tradition expressed in the Brāhmaṇas may have survived in the villages as a communal, anti-alienating feeling concerning any disintegration of the basis of their social and economic unity."[3] Although alienation of private land to an outsider may not have been totally unknown this was against custom and law. In the Śāntiparva, Mahābhārata, selling of land is categorically stigmatised as sin (78. 2). The Arthaśāstra explicitly rules that holdings (vāstu) may be sold only to kinsmen and neighbours (Jñatisāmanta, III. 10). This is the unwritten law in many parts of rural India even to-day. Consent required of the village community for alienation of private land may have been in some quarters another vestige of village ownership.

[1] Washburn Hopkins : *Op. cit.*, p. 229.

[2] Rhys Davids : *Loc. cit.* He is misled by the term *gāmakhetta* and by its analogy with the Buddhist patchwork robe to think that it was "the common property of the village community" divided only for purpose of cultivation. See Vinaya Texts, Vol. II, pp. 209 f., f.n. 12.

[3] Mrs. Rhys Davids : Cambridge History of Ancient India, Vol. I, Ch. VIII. Land sale documents of Bengal in the 5th century testify that sale of land was generally accompanied with the condition of non-transferability (nīvidharma) although exceptions were made in some cases. See the Dhānāidaha and Dāmodarpur copper-plate inscriptions of the time of Kumāragupta I.

IV

Thus from the earliest times communal ownership thrived side by side with individual ownership in a modified form. The evidence of the Ṛg-veda shows that the arable land was held in individual or family ownership while communal ownership was confined probably only to the grass-lands lying on the boundaries of the fields. Originally the king's title to ownership of all land was identified with the communal title—he being the communal head or lord of the *viś*. With the advance of royal power and bifurcation of royal and communal jurisdiction he emerged as a third factor in the land system and developed certain prerogatives over the soil as reflected in the Brāhmaṇas. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa it occurs that to whomsoever a Kṣatriya with the approval of the people or clan grants a settlement, that is properly given (VIII. 1. 1. 8, 1. 73. 4). Evidently public land of the folk or State is meant and not private land of freemen ; and it appears that while gift of such land with tribal consent was customary law, it was sometimes arbitrarily disposed of by the ruler—thus generating a tendency to reduce public lands to king's private estates "which seems to have been completed by the time of the Arthaśāstra."[1]

This royal pretension hardened into a theory promulgated consciously by a royalist school or unconsciously by lawyers and economists to justify king's right to a sixth of agricultural produce for protection of his subjects ; and this royalist theory obtained enough force to mislead foreigners from the East and West who visited India, as well as some modern scholars [2] into a belief that in India all land belonged to the crown. This royalist theory led to the perverted derivation of *khattiya* in the Pali canon, *viz.*, *khettaṃ patīti kho khattiyo* (Dn. XXVII. 21). The king is entitled to half of ancient hoards and metals underground

[1] Ghosal : *Loc. cit.*

[2] Vincent Smith : Early History of India, pp. 137 ff.; J. N. Samaddar : Economic Condition of Ancient India, p. 56.

by reason of his giving protection and of being the master of land—so says Manu (bhūmer-adhipatir-hi saḥ, VIII. 39). A verse quoted by Bhaṭṭaswāmin in the commentary on the Arthaśāstra, II. 24 (sītādhyakṣa) goes: "Those who are well-versed in the Śāstras admit that the king is the owner of both land and water and that the householders can exercise their right of ownership over all other things excepting these two."[1] Megasthenes aligned with this tradition when he stated that all India is the property of the crown and no private person is allowed to own land (Diod. II. 40; Str. XV. i. 39 ff., 46 ff.). The Chinese travellers knew no better.

That this titular right was sometimes sought to be actively asserted is proved by literary tradition of divers sorts to the effect that the king might lay hand on individual property or real estate in the name of emergency at his sweet will (Jāt. III. 301 f.; Mbh. III. 2. 39; Rām. I. 53. 9 f.) without fearing the retribution of the Jewish king who despoiled Nabboth of his vineyard. The Arthaśāstra indicates that the king sometimes exercised the overriding authority and confiscated land (I. 14)[2] though it caused resentment and alarm, thus creating an inviting situation for a foreign enemy. In the Rāma story as repeated in the Mahābhārata, Daśaratha claims before Kaikeyī that all property in his dominions except that belonging to Brāhmaṇas is his, and he can confiscate anybody's wealth:

dhanaṃ dadāmi kasyāddhṛyatāṃ kasya vā punaḥ
brāhmaṇasvād ihānyatra yatkiñcidvittam asti me, III. 275. 23.

This is an echo of the Vedic teaching that the king is owner of all wealth that belongs to any person except Brāhmaṇas:

[1] rāj̣ā bhūmeḥ patirdṛṣṭaḥ śāstraj̣ñairudakasya ca: tābhyām anyattu yaddravyaṃ tatra svāmyaṃ kuṭumbinām.

Note that *pati* and *svāmī* appear synonymously. K. P. Jayaswal (Hindu Polity, Vol. II, p. 182) translates *pati* as protector and reads *sāmyam* for *svāmyam* thereby twisting the sense of the second line to "the people have equality of rights over all other things." While the use of *pati* as 'protector' is not inadmissible, the substitution of *sāmyam* for *svāmyam* is arbitrary and T. Ganapati Sastri, Shamasastri and Jolly-Schmidt have all adhered to the reading given above.

[2] *Cf.* the comment on *paryādātavya* in II. 9.

abrāhmaṇānāṃ vittasya svāmī rājeti vaidikam, Mbh. XII. 77. 2.

This claim has been justified by men learned in the Vedas on the ground that if he cannot rightly seize others' wealth how will he practise virtue?

na ceddhartavyam anyasya kathaṃ taddharmam ārabhet, XII. 8. 26.

Hence "all the wealth of the earth is the Kṣatriya's and no one else's."

dhanaṃ hi Kṣatriyasyaiva dvitīyasya na vidyate, XII. 136. 3.

Vṛhaspati claims for the king the right of transferring land under certain circumstances from one individual to another, although such steps should not be taken to override a justified title (XIX. 16 ff.). Even though royal pretension to ownership was not accepted in general it was never disputed that the king had certain transcendant authority over all land which prevented untrammelled disposal or enjoyment of land by private owners. According to Manu land given by the king could not be alienated. Nārada legislates that immovable property held for three generations is incapable of being alienated without the king's sanction. Śātavāhana kings have been seen even to abrogate their gifts substituting new ones, although these gifts tantamounted only to the assignment of revenue. In the Arthaśāstra it is ordained that if disputes about fields are not settled mutually or by elders, these revert to the Crown as well as land of which ownership has been lost (pranaṣṭasvāmikaṃ, III. 9), *i.e.*, for which no claimant is forthcoming. Intestate and ownerless land always went to the king (Jāt. I. 398, IV. 485, VI. 348). A vestige of royal right is also found in the Arthaśāstra rule that a king is entitled to a toll on every occasion of sale of holding by public auction (III.10). [1]

[1] A Faridpur inscription of the 7th century assigns to the king $\frac{1}{8}$ of price according to the law in land-sales (dharma-ṣaḍbhāga-lābhaḥ)—see Indian Antiquary, 1910.

These evidences do not bear out the theory that private property on land was held inviolable and that all pretension by the crown to such right was denied in clearest possible terms, [1] nor the supposition that the king was the owner of the soil only in the sense that he was entitled to a tithe on produce. [2] It is admitted that Medhātithi explains Manu VIII. 39 in that manner and that Megasthenes, Fa-hien and Hiuen-tsang who were impressed by the prevalence of the royalist theory readily connected with it king's right to levy specific branches of revenue from land. But the very fiscal term *bhāga* or *rājabhāga*, which denotes king's regular and legitimate share as opposed to controversial and additional imposts on land produce, would indicate a partnership of title between the peasant and the king. And there are indigenous proofs that the king's title was given an even wider meaning. Else how could it persist on tax-free lands and on villages of which the revenues were assigned which he had the right to abrogate? Whether the ownership was actually divided between the crown and the cultivator [3] (the latter of course being the major partner in day to day affairs), or both

[1] K. P. Jayaswal : Modern Review, Aug., 1913. For the same view, see Hindu Polity, II, pp. 174 ff.; P. N. Banerjea : Public Administration in Ancient India, p. 179.

[2] Mrs. Rhys Davids : *Loc. cit.*

[3] After examining at length the opposite views a Mysore scholar follows the conclusion of F. W. Thomas (Camb. Hist., Vol. I, p. 475) that the king was proprietor of land in so far as he was entitled to revenue and could replace a defaulting cultivator from his holding. He adds, " In other words it was a sort of perpetual lease held on the annual performance of an obligation. For all purposes including alienation the lessee is the owner and considers himself as such, and the lessor has only the right of demanding performance of the obligation. But once the lessee fails to do his duty, the lessor's ownership asserts itself." M. H. Gopal : Mauryan Public Finance, p. 62.

Thus according to the author the basis of land system was the same as now. In support of this deduction he has cited the authority of the Arthaśāstra where it is allowed that the king may confiscate lands from those who do not cultivate them and give them to others (II. 1). But it is overlooked that the reference here is to newly settled or colonised lands which undoubtedly were crown lands. In fact, although forcible collection is not rare, eviction of freeholder and realisation of revenue by distraint of land as they exist in British India are hardly met with in ancient times whether in works of law or in records of inscriptions or popular literature. On the other hand, as shown above, the conception of a more extended royal right is in evidence in many quarters.

were absolute legal owners on different interpretations of the law, or the king's powers were only regalian rights,[1] is only a difference of phraseology. The fact remains that the cultivator's right to his patrimony was limited, the limitation varying in degree in different places and periods and according to different legal opinions. [2]

Apart from the ill-defined and general rights of the king over all land, he had large tracts—fallow, cultivable or rich in natural resources—held directly under his ownership from which he made his charitable and religious bequests.[3] From the Arthaśastra's advice regarding colonisation of waste land (janapadaniveśaḥ) it would appear that virgin and unclaimed land was king's property (II. 1). It is ordained that such reclaimed land shall be given to tax-payers only for life (karadebhyaḥ kṛtakṣetrāṇyaikapuruṣikāṃ prāyacchet) or during the time they may take to prepare them for cultivation : if cultivation is neglected, such land shall be taken and given to others. Besides taking taxes the king is to exercise his right of ownership in these lands with regard to fishing, ferrying and trading in vegetables in reservoirs or lakes (matsya-plava-harīta-paṇṇānāṃ setusu rājā svāmyaṃ gacchet). From these lands plots most productive may be given to performers of sacrifices, spiritual guides, chaplains and those learned in the Vedas, as *brahmadeya* lands exempt

[1] See Ghosal : *Loc. cit.* Strictly regalian would be only such rights as are conferred by Manu's rule that a cultivator who negligently allows his crops to be destroyed is liable to a fine of ten or five times the value of the king's revenue (VIII. 243) and by the Arthaśāstra injunction that the king should supersede or fine a negligent cultivator and enforce the cultivation of a second crop in emergencies (V. 2), and that a tax payer should sell or mortgage his field only to a tax-payer and the owner of a *brahmadeya* to another such beneficiary (III. 10). These rights are logical extensions of the royal right to land revenue.

[2] R. G. Basak is inclined to believe that there was a gradual advance from popular ownership of earlier days to royal ownership of later time—*i.e.*, from about the 5th century onward. But such a generalisation appears too risky in view of the discordance of our literary materials and the assertion of royal claim seen as early as in the Brāhmaṇas and the Pali canon and in a more outspoken manner in the Arthaśāstra and the Śāntiparva, Mahābhārata.

[3] Like the King, the Queen Consort and the Queen Mother also had their own estates out of which gift of land or revenue could be made. Epigraphic records to this effect abound from a later time. On the occasion of Rāma's consecration 1,000 villages were assigned to Queen Kauśalyā for the maintenance of her refugees (Rām. II. 31. 22).

from taxes and fines. Government officials shall also be endowed with lands which they shall have no right to alienate by sale or mortgage (vikrayādhānavarjjam).

The Arthaśāstra's testimony supplemented by available sources is that the crown lands consisted of (1) homestead and cultivated lands reverting to crown by various processes, (2) unoccupied waste both fallow and cultivable recovered for settlement or cultivation, (3) reserve forests, (4) mines including salt-centres which were Government monopoly [1] [*cf.* Mbh. XII. 69. 29; Karli and Nasik Cave Inscriptions; Pliny XXXI. c.7 (39)], (5) treasure-trove or nidhi, (6) waters.

Thus the king was in absolute ownership of a considerable part of the soil. Of the rest he was partially the titular owner and to some extent real. Roads and parks, irrigation tanks, canals, the village pond, the motehall and pasture land were public property within the rural unit. Of public ownership of cultivated land evidences are more meagre, but that does not preclude the possibility of its existence. The peasant freeholder enjoyed his patrimony hereditarily with rights of alienation by gift, sale or mortgage subject to an elastic royal right of interference which however did not go unresented when it was extended to the right of confiscation. The recipients of royal land except those of the *brahmadeya* had a still more limited title over their plot. The tenants settled in royal *khāsmahal* had hardly any permanence of tenure. They held land under the king's sufferance and were merely tenants-at-will. Individual ownership was also diluted with a certain measure of communal oversight in parts where the old tribal collectivism survived. Besides these there were large tracts of no man's land and *terra incognita* consisting mostly of mountains and

[1] The growth of large states and empires hastened the conversion of mines and forests into royal domains. "In the days of small states these belonged to nobody, but when these were conquered by the Magadha king, all intervening territories in addition to forests and other unclaimable natural sources passed to the dominion of the conqueror."—N. C Banerji : Economic Life and Progress, p. 288.

forests penetrated only by caravans and beasts and robbers and by herdsmen only in the fringe. [1]

V

While at the advent of Buddhism, rural economy of India "was based chiefly on a system of village communities of land-owners," [2] the primitive equality in distribution of landed wealth was gradually dissipated with the slackening of communal control and ascendancy of individual rights. From the time of Buddha and even earlier, we come across isolated large estates side by side with small decaying farms. In the *suttas* the Brāhmaṇa Kāsibhāradvāja is found working his extensive field with 500 ploughs and a gang of hirelings (Sut. n. 1.4; *cf.* Sn. 1.171; Jāt. II. 181). In the Suvaṇṇa Kakkaṭa Jātaka, Bodhisatta "settled down and worked 1,000 *karisas* in a district of Magadha to the north-west of the village Sālindiya"—his native village in the east of Rājagaha (III. 293). Estates of the same measure worked by means of bondsmen and hired labour hands are seen also in Jātaka IV. 276, 281. These big plotholders are termed *gahapati* in Pali literature, literally the *pater familias*, sometimes only a substitute for the generic term *vaiśya* but actually indicating the agricultural magnates as the *seṭṭhi* conveyed the commercial magnate. The Brāhmaṇa *gahapati* frequently appears in the Jātakas as owner of property worth 800 millions. It would not be a wild presumption that the gifts of *brahmadeya* or revenue-free land imposed by priesthood on temporal authority with cajoles and threats (Āpast. II. 10. 26. 1; Manu VII. 23 ff., Yāj. I. 314; Mbh. XII. 343. 18, XIII. 62) sometimes deviated from their avowed object of maintaining an order dedicated to religious service and conduced to the concentration of wealth in the hand of secular Brāhmaṇas who are so prominent

[1] The Arthaśāstra indicates that pastures, planes and forests (vivīta-māla-vana) are not subject to appropriation (III. 10). According to Uśanas places of pilgrimage were also nobody's property along with hills and forests (V. 16)

[2] Mrs. Rhys Davids : *Op. cit.*

by their landed wealth in folk literature although in didactic pieces cultivation of land is reserved exclusively for Vaiśyas.

Side by side with the *gahapati* or the *kuṭumbika* or the *vaiśya* according to Sanskrit nomenclature, is observed the toiling cultivator struggling against starvation, managing his plot single-handed or with his sons only (Jāt. I. 277, II. 165, III. 162, IV. 167, VI. 364; Rām. II. 32. 30; Mbh. XII. 177. 5 ff.; Jacobi: Jaina Sutras, Part II. p. 347). The Gāmaṇi caṇḍa Jātaka offers the case of a tiller who had to run the plough by borrowing a neighbour's team of oxen (II. 300). This petty cultivator is indicated by the term *kināsa* in Sanskrit works as counterpart to the big *vaiśya* or *kuṭumbi*. It is this class of farmer who ran into debt[1] in times of scarcity and sometimes losing his plot by sale, whether under extortion or from want, turned a destitute vagrant and offered himself for hire in the rich man's estate.

But whatever the inequality of landed property between the different classes of peasants it did not foster the isolationist mentality and the deplorable nemesis of agriculture as we see in the present day. No stigma was attached to labour. The Indian yeomanry put their hand to the plough along with their men as much as their less fortunate brethren. They were not attracted to the luxuries of the town to leave their prosperous farms to go to ruins under the care of indifferent subordinates. The small farmer as well was never squeezed out of existence under the remorseless pressure of a superior economic caste standing in haughty segregation. Nor did large estates carry with them any political or social privileges except those naturally conferred by wealth. "There were among Indo-Aryans little of the feudal tie between land and lord with lordship over the land-tillers which made broad acres a basis for nobility in the West."[2] It is for this reason that landed wealth in ancient

[1] See my article in Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XIII, No. 4.

[2] Mrs. Rhys Davids: *Op. cit.*

India never developed into the exorbitant power and influence of the Roman patriciate, the French baronage and the Moslem *jaigirdar*. Legally the big landowner and the small husbandman stood on an equal footing and over each at the top, the king retained a residual power which was both legal and real.