REPORT

OF THE

TEMPLE ENTRY ENQUIRY COMMITTEE

1934

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REPORT

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TEMPLE ENTRY ENQUIRY COMMITTEE.

INTRODUCTION.

Constitution of the Committee and terms of reference.

On 8th November 1932, Government issued a Press Communique announcing their decision to appoint a Committee to enquire into and report on the question of temple-entry. In their order R. Dis. No. 648/Dev., dated 25th November 1932, Government appointed the Committee and requested them to submit a report on the subject, with particular reference to the following points:—

"1. Whether, in all or any of the temples within the State, the caste Hindus have either an exclusive right of worship or recognisable civil rights in the matter of such worship, *e. g.*, as being sole beneficiaries, owners, etc.;

2. Whether, in any particular caste Hindu temple, there is any local practice with regard to the entry of non-caste Hindus into such temple;

3. (*a*) The general feeling among non-caste Hindus about the efficacy of religious worship or rites within the temple itself or within its precincts in the case of temples now open to caste Hindus alone;

(*b*) The general feeling among caste Hindus about the efficacy of religious worship or rites if temple-entry is allowed to non-caste Hindus;

4 The extent of any feeling among (1) caste Hindus and (2) non-caste Hindus, in regard to the creation of social and religious equality by allowing temple-entry, and whether the movement for temple-entry is a separable or integral part of such a programme;

G. P. T. 146. 250. 26-2-1110.

5. The probable results (*a*) temporary, (*b*) permanent, o allowing temple-entry;

6. The possibility of a compromise being arrived at betwee the orthodox Hindu community and other Hindus with regar to the question of temple-entry or any aspect of it; and, if ther is a possibility, the best methods of effecting a compromise;

7. The bearing, on the question of temple-entry, of th principles, rules and practice regulating religious worship an rites in caste Hindu temples;

8. The extent to which Government can interfere or ha interfered in private temples whether or not under Governmen management; and

9. The commitments, if any, made by Government."

The full texts of the Press Communique and the G. O. reproduced in Appendix I and Appendix II, respectively.

2. The composition of the Committee was as follows :—

President.

Dewan Bahadur V. S. Subramonia Aiyar B. A., B. L., Retired Dewan of Travancore.

Members.

1. Mr. K. Paramesvaran Pillai B. A., B. L., Judge, High Court.
2. Mr. K. Anantanarayana Aiyar B. A., B. L., Retired Land Revenue Commissioner.
3. Mr. M. Govindan B. A., B. L., M. L. C., Retired District Judge.
4. Rao Sahib Ullūr S. Paramesvara Aiyar M. A., B. L., Retired Dewan Peishkar.
5. Mr. T. K. Velu Pillai B. A., B. L., High Court Vakil.
6. Mr. T. Kesavan Sastri.
7. One gentleman nominated by the Tarananallūr Nampūtirippad.
8. Brahmasri Chingan Narayanan Bhattatirippad, Tantri, Parampūr Illom, Tiruvalla.

The Tarananallūr Nampūtirippad nominated Mr. Punnasseri Nambi Neelakanta Sarma, Principal, Sanskrit College, Pattambi, and the composition of the Committee was complete when the latter assumed charge of his duties on 27th Vrischigom 1108/12th December 1932. The Committee sustained a great loss by the death of Mr. K. Anantanarayana Aiyar, one of the members, which sad event took place on 28th May 1933. In his place, Government appointed Mr. S. K. Mahadeva Aiyar B. A., B. L., Retired Dewan Peishkar, as member of the Committee.

Questionnaire.

3. The first meeting of the Committee was held on 17th December 1932, when all the members were present. A *questionnaire* (Appendix III) was drawn up and copies of it were sent to 5,774 leading persons, including trustees of temples and representatives of associations. The *questionnaire* was also published in the Gazette in three languages, English, Malayalam and Tamil, and answers were invited from all interested persons. Including 8 ladies, 3,122 persons sent answers to the *questionnaire*.

Tours and examination of witnesses.

4. In order to elicit public opinion, the Committee examined witnesses at the following stations :—

1.	Quilon.	13.	Alwaye.
2.	Karunagapalli.	14.	Parur.
3.	Mavelikara.	15.	Perumpavur.
4.	Haripad.	16.	Muvattupuzha.
5.	Alleppey.	17.	Chengannur.
6.	Shertala.	18.	Kozencheri.
7.	Nagercoil.	19.	Thiruvella.
8.	Udayagiri.	20.	Kottarakara.
9.	Kuzhittura.	21.	Punalur.
10.	Neyyattinkara.	22.	Shencotta.
11.	Kottayam.	23.	Varkkala.
12.	Vaikam.	24.	Trivandrum.

5. To enable the Committee to study the evidence, the whole of the oral evidence and some of the written answers were got printed. The oral evidence alone covered 1,761 foolscap pages of closely printed matter. The evidence was also got tabulated by the office.

Printing and tabulation of evidence.

6. The Committee held in all 112 sittings, of which 14 were for the preparation of the *questionnaire*, 51 for recording oral evidence, 39 for discussion of the terms of reference and of the evidence collected and for arriving at conclusions, and the rest for passing the draft report.

Meetings.

7 The G. O. constituting the Committee had fixed two months time for the submission of the report. This period was found quite insufficient to cover the whole field of work. The period fixed for the submission of the report had therefore, unavoidably to be extended till the end of Dhanu 1109.

Period of the Committee.

8. The Committee have to render their thanks to all those who were kind enough to answer the *questionnaire* issued by them and to respond to the invitation to appear and give evidence before them. To the Revenue and Devaswom Departments which help them with information whenever required, and to the Tahsildars and the officers of the Public Works Department who courteously attended to the needs and conveniences of the Committee during their tour, their thanks are specially due

Acknowledgments.

The Committee's thanks are also due to the Superintendent, Government Press, for the promptness with which he attended to the printing of all matter entrusted to him.

The Committee wish to express their gratitude to the Government of His Highness the Maha Raja for the uniform

consideration shown to them and for all the facilities provided for their work.

The Committee take this opportunity of acknowledging their indebtedness to one of the Membeis, *viz.*, Rao Sahib Ullūr S. Paramesvara Aiyar M. A., B. L., for having placed his great erudition at their disposal in collecting and explaining the several sastraic texts and in furnishing the many historical references which have been utilised in the preparation of the report.

The Committee also desire to record their appreciation of the loyal and willing work of the members of the staff. The Secretary Mr. S. Sanku Aiyar B. A., B. L., with his experience of the working of the Devaswom Department, was of great help to the Committee in their work. The good work of the Head clerk Mr. N. Velayudhan Nair B. A., B. L. on whom, during the tours of the Committee, the management of the office devolved, also deserves mention. The other members of the staff too, who at times had to work night and day, did their work efficiently and ungrudgingly.

CHAPTER I.

TEMPLES—THE PRINCIPLES, RULES AND PRACTICES REGULATING WORSHIP IN THEM.

Need to understand plan of temple.

Before proceeding to consider the problem of temple-entry, it would be advantageous to get a clear conception of the existing practice regarding admission into temples. For this, it is necessary to have a general idea of the architectural plan of a Hindu temple.

Cultural unity of Kerala.

2. Culturally, Travancore, excepting the southernmost portion known as Nanjinad, and the small taluk of Shencotta in the Quilon Division, is a part of Kerala. Travancore, Cochin and Malabar have the same social and religious system. Their temples have the same architectural style and the principles and rules of worship in them are based on the same authorities.

Architecture of a Kerala temple.

3. The site of a Kerala temple is usually a rectangular area surrounded by substantial walls on all sides. These walls are pierced by a gate on each side. In the centre of the walled area is the inner shrine the *sanctum sanctorum*, where the image of the deity is installed. This is known as the *Garbha-griha*. This building is generally raised a few feet above the surrounding level so that its door is reached by a flight of steps known as the *Sopana*. Surrounding the *Garbha-griha* is an open court-yard known as the *Ankana* which is itself technically subdivided into different areas, but this sub-division is not very relevant to our enquiry and is therefore not detailed here. This open space, the *Ankana*, is surrounded by halls on all four sides, enclosed outside, but open inside. They constitute the *Nālambalam*. Some portions of these halls are walled off into rooms, and are used as store-rooms, dining halls, etc. Outside the *Nālambalam* is the *Dīpasāla* or the hall of lights

consisting of a rather narrow space all round with wooden or metal trellis work, the outer surface of which has a large number of small oil lamps screwed on. These lamps are usually lighted on festive occasions. The space between this frame-work of lights and the outer walls is the outer yard or *Bahyankana.* Extending outside, in front of the *Nālampalam* and attached to it, is a hall in which the main altar-stone is installed. This hall is known as the *Balimandapa* or *Balikkalpura.* In front of it is the flagstaff or *Dhvajasthambha.* In a line with the flagstaff and therefore a few feet away from the *Dīpasāla* all round is the *Pradakshinavazhi*—the paved path—that is used for taking the image in procession round the temple building.

The Chief buildings in a temple.

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unapproachables are allowed to proceed to the *Pradakshinavazhi* outside the *Nālampalam*, but not nearer. They constitute numerically a small body.

6. The unapproachables, who are treated as having *theendal* or distance-pollution, have to remain beyond the outer walls. They offer worship from outside the walls. It is these classes that are referred to as Avarnās or non-caste Hindus in this report. As far as we have been able to ascertain, the following are the Avarna classes in Travancore :—

The Avarnās.

1. Adi Dravida.	11. Kaniyan.	21. Panikkan.
2. Alavan.	12. Kāvati.	22. Paravan.
3. Arayan.	13. Kuravan.	23. Parayan.
4 Bharatar.	14. Marakkan.	24. Pulayan.
5. Chackaravar.	15. Maravan.	25. Pulluvan.
6. Chakkiliyan.	16. Mukkuvan.	26. Tantān.
7. Chavalakkaran.	17. Nādār.	27. Tantā-pulayan.
8. Īlavan.	18. Nulayan.	28. Vālan.
9. Īlāvātti.	19. Palan.	29. Vēlan.
10. Kākkālan.	20. Pānan.	30. Vētan. [1]

7. It will thus be seen that, among the Savarnas themselves *i. e.*, the several classes of Hindus who are allowed to enter within the outer walls of the temple, there are marked distinctions. It may also be noted here that there are times and circumstances in which even those who ordinarily have the right of entry into temples are treated as polluted and therefore incompetent to enter. The most common incapacitating event is a death or a birth in the family. If these events occur within certain degrees of relationship to a person, he is treated as impure for a prescribed period. Besides these general grounds of exclusion, there are special usages in certain temples excluding classes ordinarily entitled to admission. As examples may be taken the case of Trikkāriyūr and Kumāranallūr temples where Kshatriyas

Exclusion from temples not always due to inferiority of caste.

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1. Census Report of Travancore for 1931. p. 431.

are kept out and Tiruvella and Malainkizh temples where women of whatever caste have no admission. Exclusion from temples is thus seen to be not always the result of the excluded class being considered inferior to others. It is based on a belief that the aproach of certain people is likely to derogate from the spiritual atmosphere surrounding the *Pratishta*, the deity installed in the temple.

Philosophic Hinduism and popular Hinduism.

8. We shall now proceed to consideration of the principles and rules regulating the consecration of images in temples and their worship. Philosophic Hinduism conceives God as *Nirguna-Brahma*. The *Brahma* is regarded as an all-pervading Being, manifested in the objects of the Universe. It has neither an independent form nor the limitations of material objects. To picture in the mind such an object is beyond the capacity of the ordinary man[1]. Nor is it fit for devotional worship. The early sages, therefore,

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1. "നച രൂപം വിനാ ദേവോ ധ്യാതും കേനാപി ശക്യതെ
സർവ്വരൂപനിവൃത്താ ഹി ബുദ്ധിഃ കുത്രാസ്യ തിഷ്ഠതി ?
നിവൃത്താ ഗ്ലായതെ ബുദ്ധിർ നിദ്രയാ വാപരീയതെ ;
തസ്മാദ്വിദ്വാനുപാസീത ബുദ്ധ്യാ സാകാരമേവ തം
അസ്തി തസ്യ പരോക്ഷം തദിതി കിഞ്ചിദനുസ്മരൻ
സർവ്വഥാകാരമുദ്ദിഷ്ടം ന പരിത്യജ്യ പണ്ഡിതഃ
പരം ദേവമുപാസീത മുക്തയേവാഫലായ ച."

"न च रूपं विना देवो ध्यातुं केनापि शक्यते ।
सर्वरूपनिवृत्ता हि बुद्धिः कुत्रास्य तिष्ठति ? ॥
निवृत्ता ग्लायते बुद्धिर्निद्रया वापरीयते ; ।
तस्माद्विद्वानुपासीत बुद्धया साकारमेव तम् ॥
अस्ति तस्य परोक्षं तदिति किंचिदनुस्मरन् ।
सर्वथाकारमुद्दिष्टं न परित्यज्य पण्डितः ॥
परं देवमुपासीत मुक्तयेवाफलाय च ।"

Vishnusamhita, 19th Patala Verses 55-58.

"It is not possible for any one to contemplate any *Dēva* without his image. If the intelligence if divorced from all images, where can it rest ? In that case, the intelligence either becomes weary or becomes subject to sleep. Learned man should therefore worship the *Dēva* through intelligence only as a *Sākāra* (with his image), remembering at the same time that he is really imageless. A learned man should not by any means renounce the image in which a *Dēva* is intended to be contemplated upon. He may worship the *Dēva* in this manner either for *Mōksha* or for any ordinary *Phala* (result)."

represented God as *Saguna* or one with attributes, in which capacity He was regarded as having three aspects, *viz.*, those of the Creator, the Preserver, and the Destroyer. "It was for the benefit of the *Sādhaka*, the worshipper, that form was thus attributed to Brahma, which, in reality, is effulgent, immeasurable, unqualified and formless.[1]" In the Rigveda, the Gods Indra, Varuna, Vishnu, Rudra, etc., were accordingly described as anthropomorphic figures, possessing will and mind, wearing garments, carrying weapons and driving in cars.

Image worship not post-Buddhistic.

9. Once a form was assigned to the Supreme Being, the next stage in the evolution of image-worship was not difficult to reach, *viz.*, to have a *Pratima* or image representing Him and to offer one's worship and to address one's prayers to it as the symbol of God. Image-worship thus came to be regarded as the means of realising the 'Infinite'. It is sometimes said that image-worship and temples in India were of post-Buddhistic origin and that there is no reference to them in early Hindu religious literature. But that view is contested by such eminent orientalists as Dr. Bollensen[2], Professor Gardner[3] and Dr. Sten Konow[4]. Mr. B. C. Bhattacharya

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1. "ചിന്മയസ്യാപ്രമേയസ്യ
നിർഗ്ഗുണസ്യാശരീരിണഃ
സാധകാനാം ഹിതാർത്ഥായ
ബ്രഹ്മണോ രൂപകല്പനാ".

"चिन्मयस्याप्रमेयस्य
निर्गुणस्याशरीरिणः ।
साधकानां हितार्थाय
ब्रह्मणो रूपकल्पना ॥

Kulārnava Tantra.

"ചിന്മയസ്യാദ്വിതീയസ്യ
നിഷ്കളസ്യാശരീരിണഃ
ഉപാസകാനാം കാര്യാർത്ഥം
ബ്രഹ്മണോ രൂപകല്പനാ"

"चिन्मयस्याद्वितीयस्य
निष्कलस्याशरीरिणः ।
उपासकानां कार्यार्थं
ब्रह्मणो रूपकल्पना ॥"

Ramopanishat.

2. Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts. Vol. V. p. 4!3.
3. Bhattacharya, Indian images, Vol. I, Prolegomena, p. xx.
4. Ibid.

in the first volume of his instructive book on "Indian Images," has attempted to establish that images of Gods and temples for housing them were not unknown in the Vedic period. In such expressions as "the body of Agni made of iron or of silver or of gold"[1], "the presiding deities of night and dawn having fine sculptures[2]", "The wood-engraver who makes images"[3], "this is the temple of Gods"[4], etc., which occur in the Yajurvedic texts, that learned author finds evidence to prove that images of Gods were not unknown in Vedic times. In the Brahmana literature which forms part of the Vedas, clearer references to images and temples are traceable. The *Shadvimsad Brahmana* of the Samaveda contains a passage which states that, on approach of inauspicious moments, "the temples of Gods tremble, the images of Gods laugh, cry, dance, break, etc."[5] References to images and

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1. 'യാതേ അഗ്നേ രജഃ ശയാതനൂർവ്വർഷിഷ്ഠാ ... ... സ്വാഹാ'

'याते अग्ने रजः शयातनूर्वर्षिष्ठा ...... स्वाहा'

Vajasaneyi Samhita.

Commentary:—

ഹേ അഗ്നേ യാതേ തവ ശയാതനുഃ അയസി ശേതേ ഇത്യർത്ഥഃ [ശയാലോഹമയീത്യർത്ഥഃ.

हे अग्ने यातेतवतथः शयातनुः अयसि शेते इत्यर्थः शयालोहमयीत्यर्थः ।

2. സുപ്പേശസാ ശില്പേ ബൃഹതോ ഉഭേ നക്തോഷാസാ

सुपेशमासु शिल्पे बृहतो उभे नक्तोषामा ।

Ibid.

Commentary—

സുശില്പേയദ്വൈപ്രതിരൂപം തച്ഛില്പമിതി ശ്രുതേഃ സുഷ്ഠു ശില്പം യയോഃ സ്തോ [അന്യോന്യം പ്രതിരൂപേ.

सुशिल्पेयद्वैप्रतिरूपं तच्छिल्पमिति श्रुतेः सुष्ठु शिल्पं ययोस्तो अन्योन्यं प्रतिरूपे ।

3. "ദേവലോകായ പേശിതാരം ... പ്രതിമാദ്യവയവകർത്താരം"

"देवलोकाय पेशितारं ... प्रतिमाद्यवयवकर्त्तारम्"

Vajasaneyi Samhita.

4. "ഏതദ്വൈ ദേവാനാം ആയതനം സ്വ ഏവായതനേ ദേവതാഃ പരി...... ഇന്മവാ ഉപസ്തീർണ്ണമിച്ഛന്തി കിമു ദേവാ യേഷാം നവാവസാനമുപാസ്മിൻ ഛത്രീ യക്ഷമാണേ ദേവതാ വസന്തി"

"एतद्वै देवानां आयतनं स्व एवायतने देवताः परि ...... इन्मवा उपस्तीर्णमिच्छन्ति किमु देवा येषां नवावसानमुपास्मिञ्छत्री यक्षमाणे देवता वसन्ति ।"

Taittiriya Samhita.

5. സപരം ദിവ.........ദേവതായതനാനി കമ്പന്തേ ദൈവതപ്രതിമാ ഹസന്തി രുദന്തി നൃത്യന്തി സ്ഫുടന്തി ഖിദ്യന്തി ഉന്മീലന്തി."

"सपरं दिव .... दवतायतनानि कम्पन्ते दैवतप्रतिमा हसन्ति रुदन्ति नृत्यन्ति स्फुटन्ति खिद्यन्ति उन्मीलन्ति ।"

Shadvimsa Brahmana, V—10.

temples increase in number and clearness in the later works, the Dharmasūtras and the Dharmasāstras. The Smritis of Gautama, Bodhayana, Apasthamba and Manu contain many such references. Hindu religious literature, since the beginning of the Christian era, is full of them. It is not necessary for our purpose to go elaborately into this question. There is, however, no room for doubt that images for worship and temples for enshrining them are known from the later Vedic period.

Image worship, one of the daily duties of a true Hindu.

10. Temples naturally take a prominent place in popular Hindu religion. For, from the earliest Smritis, we find that worshipping Gods in their images is one of the daily duties of a Hindu. It is one of the six daily acts (*Shadkarmas*) enjoined on every Dvija.[1] In some texts we find a higher place assigned to the *Gnānamārga* (the path of knowledge) over the *Bhaktimarga* (the path of devotion) as the means of spiritual realisation of the Brahma. Hence, we find texts which declare that image-worship is meant for lower intellects.

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1. "സന്ധ്യാസ്നാനം ജപോ ഹോമോ
 ദേവതാനാം ച പൂജനം
 ആതിഥ്യം വൈശ്വദേവം ച
 ഷട്കർമ്മാണി ദിനേ ദിനേ."

"संध्यास्नानं जपो होमो
 देवतानाञ्च पूजनम् ।
आतिथ्य वैश्वदेवञ्च
 षट्कर्माणि दिने दिने ॥"

Parāsara, Acharakanta, I, 32.

"(A Dvija) has to perform *Snāna* (ablution) at *Sandhyas*, *Japa*, *Homa* worship of Devatas, *Atithya* (feeding guests) and *Vaisvadeva*."

"സാധാരണോ ധർമ്മഃ = ധർമ്മസ്സർവ്വേഷാം വർണ്ണാനാമാശ്രമാണാമപി സാധാരണത്വേന വിഹിതഃ; സ തു ബ്രഹ്മചര്യാഹിംസോപവാസക്ഷേത്രതീർത്ഥഗമനാദിഭിർബ്ബഹുവിധഃ."

"साधारणोधर्मः = धर्मस्सर्वेषां वर्णानामाश्रमाणामपि साधारणत्वेन विहितः; स तु ब्रह्मचर्याहिंसोपवासक्षेत्रतीर्थगमनादिभिर्बहुविधः ।

Prapanchahridaya.

"Universal duty is the duty prescribed for all Varnas and Asramas in common. That duty is of many kinds. e. g. *Brahmacharya* (self-control), *Ahimsa* (non-violence), *Upavasa* (fasting), *Kshetragamana* (going to a temple for worship) and *Tirtagamana* (going to a sacred bathing-ghat for worship).

"അഗ്നൌ ക്രിയാവതാം ദേവഃ
ദിവി ദേവോ മനീഷിണാം
പ്രതിമാസ്വല്പബുദ്ധീനാം
യോഗിനാം ഹൃദയേ ഹരിഃ."

"अग्नौ क्रियावतां देवो
दिवि देवो मनीषिणाम् ।
प्रतिमास्वल्पबुद्धीनां
योगिनां हृदये हरिः ॥"

Parâsara.

"To those who perform *Yagas*, God is in the fire; to the learned, in the sky (the sun); to those of little intelligence, in images; and to *Yogis*, in their hearts."

From this, it is sometimes argued that the Savarnas do not stand in need of temples which are meant only for the lowest classes, *viz.*, the Avarnas. This view, though apparently highly complimentary to the Savarnas, cannot be supported on the real meaning of the words in the text. The authors of the Smritis and other Sastras meant by the term *Alpabudhi* any person who, by their standards, was not a wise one or *Pandita*. A *Pandita* was one who had realised the oneness of his individual soul with the Universal soul, and had thus passed beyond all duality[1]. There can be but very few in any generation who can be deemed *Panditas* or wise ones in the Sastraic sense. The generality of mankind has, in that view, to be classed really as of little intelligence. The late Mr. Ramachandra Rao, in his valuable report on 'Purificatory Ceremonies', aptly sums up to position: "To the orthodox Hindu, this remark (image worship is prescribed for the undeveloped mind) would appear not to touch even the fringe of the subject. The 31st Sutra of Sri Vedavyasa's

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1. "വിദ്യാവിനയസമ്പന്നേ ബ്രാഹ്മണേ ഗവി ഹസ്തിനി
ശുനി ചൈവ ശ്വപാകേ ച പണ്ഡിതാഃ സമദർശിനഃ."

"विद्याविनयसम्पन्ने ब्राह्मणे गवि हस्तिनि ।
शुनि चैव श्वपाके च पण्डिताः समदर्शिनः ॥"

Bhagavadgita, V—18.

"Sages (*Panditas*) look equally on a Brahmans adorned with learning and humility, a cow, an elephant, and even a dog and an out-caste."

Sankarananda, in his commentary on the Bhagavadgita, explains Panditas as "[illegible]" "परापरैकत्वविज्ञान-पौष्कल्यवन्तः" or "those who have a perfect knowledge of the oneness of *para* and *apara*."

Sutrabhashya of Sri Madhva's text[1] puts into a nut-shell all that can be said on the subject. It refers to the three-fold forms of worship according to the capabilities of the devotee as guided and matured by the training or *Samskāra* gathered by him in the course of his past life. To this effect is the following extract from कमठश्रुति (Kamatasruti). "അന്തർദൃഷ്ടയോ ബഹിർദൃഷ്ടയസ്സർവ്വദൃഷ്ടയ ഇതി ദേവാ വാവ — സർവ്വദൃഷ്ടയസ്തേഷു ചോത്തരോത്തരമാബ്രഹ്മണമന്യേഷു യഥായോഗ്യം യഥാപ്ത്യാചാര്യ ആചക്ഷത ഇതി" "अन्तर्दृष्टयो बहिर्दृष्टयस्सर्वदृष्टय इति देवा वाव — सर्वदृष्टयस्तेषु चोत्तरोत्तरमाब्रह्मणमन्येषु यथायोग्यं यथाप्त्याचार्य आचक्षत इति ।" It will appear from some commentaries on the above Sruti that it is given to Devas only to realise communion with the all pervading. Being as manifested in all objects of the universe. It stands to reason in the light of this passage then to believe that for almost all men external worship is recommended by Sri Vedavyasa".

Agamas.

11. There is a separate class of Sastraic works devoted to the subject of temples and temple-worship. They are known as Āgamas. It is those temples that are constructed and consecrated, and in which the services (Pūjas etc.) and worship are conducted, according to the directions contained in the Āgamas that

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1. The reference is obviously to the Bhashya of Sri Madhvacharya on the 31st Sutra of the 1st Adhyaya, 1st Pada, of Badarayana's Brahmasutra. The Acharya says "അന്തർബഹിസ്സർവ്വഗതത്വേനേത്യുപാസാത്രൈവിധ്യാത് ... ...കേഷാഞ്ചിത് സർവ്വഗതത്വേന കേഷാഞ്ചിദ്ധൃദയേ ഹരിഃ കേഷാഞ്ചിദ് ബഹിരേവാസാവുപാസ്യഃ പുരുഷോത്തമ ഇതി ബ്രാഹ്മേ" "अन्तर्बहिस्सर्वगतत्वेनेत्युपासात्रैविध्यात् .... केषाञ्चित् सर्वगतत्वेन केषाञ्चिद्धृदये हरिः केषाञ्चिद् बहिरेवासावुपास्यः पुरुषोत्तम इति ब्राह्मे" which means "there are three kinds of *Upasana*, the first in one's mind, secondly outside oneself, and thirdly as all pervading". Sri Madhva, in this connection, quotes the very verse:—

"അമൌ ക്രിയാവതാം ദേവോ
ദിവി ദേവോ മനീഷിണാം
പ്രതിമാസ്വല്പബുദ്ധീനാം
യോഗിനാം ഹൃദയേ ഹരിഃ"

"अमौ क्रियावतां देवो
दिवि देवो मनीषिणाम् ।
प्रतिमास्वल्पबुद्धीनां
योगिनां हृदये हरिः ॥"

are known as caste-Hindu temples or Savarna temples. There are innumerable Agamic works. A list of some of the more important among them, especially those which are accepted as authorities in Kerala, would include *Pancharatra, Pāsupata, Vishnusamhita, Kamikāgama, Vaikhānasagama, Isanagurudēva-paddhati, Tatvapradīpika, Tantrasamuchaya, Tantraprāyaschitta, Kāruttapāranushttana, Prāyaschittavimarsini, Yogiarprayaschitta* and others. Some of them are not original works, but *Nibandhas* treated as authoritative expositions of the Agamic doctrines and rules. Tantrasamuchaya is the *Nibandha* most widely accepted in Kerala. It is the work of Chennassu Narayanan Nampūtiri who lived in the first half of the 15th century A. D. Most of the Tantris, the arch-priests of the temples in Kerala, take that as their main guide.

Idea underlying Pratishta.

12. The idea underlying the consecration of the image is explained in the Tantrasamuchaya in the following verse which means " just as the atmospheric air is made capable of being sensed by the action of the fan, and the hidden fire in the fire-sticks is generated by friction, so the all-pervading Divine energy is transfused by me into the image by the process of the *Avāhana* rites."

"സർവ്വത്രഗോസി ഭഗവൻ കില യദ്യപി ത്വാ-
മാവാഹയാമി ഹി യഥാ വ്യജനേന വായും
ഗൂഢോ യഥൈവ ദഹനോ മഥനാദുപൈതി
വ്യാവാഹിതോപി ഹി തഥാത്വമുപൈഷി ചാർച്ചാം."

"सर्वत्रगोऽसि भगवन् किल यद्यपि त्वा-
मावाहयामि हि यथा व्यजनेन वायुम् ।
गूढो यथैव दहनो मथनादुपैति
व्यावाहितोऽपि हि तथात्वमुपैषि चार्चाम् ॥"

Divine spirit in the image how maintained.

13. It is not that any power is induced in the image which does not already exist. But what exists in a diffused and therefore imperceptible state is concentrated so as to come within the capacity of the ordinary person to perceive. It is by the force of the *Mantras* and *Tantras* (passes) that are used in the ceremony of *Pratishta* or consecration that this concentration of the

1. Tantrasamuchaya, 6th Patala, Verse 65.

all-pervading power is effected and *Sānnidhyaṃ* (presence of the Divine spirit) is produced in the image. Once that is done, care has to be taken that the power is not dissipated or lost. For its effective maintenance are prescribed the daily services of *pūjas* and the periodical special services such as *Utsavas*, etc. The effectiveness of the *pūja* is proportionate to the spiritual power of the *Pūjari* or *Tantri*. He must be a Brahmin with the necessary knowledge of Mantras and Tantras and of unimpeachable character.

"വിപ്രഃ കുലീനഃ കൃതസംസ്ക്രിയൗഘഃ
സ്വാധീതവേദാഗമതത്ത്വവേത്താ
വർണ്ണാശ്രമാചാരപരോഽധിദീക്ഷോ
ദക്ഷസ്തപസ്വീ ഗുരുരാസ്തികോഽസ്തു."[1]

"विप्रः कुलीनः कृतसंस्क्रियौघः
स्वाधीतवेदागमतत्त्ववेत्ता ।
वर्णाश्रमाचारपरोऽधिदीक्षो
दक्षस्तपस्वी गुरुरास्तिकोऽस्तु ॥"

"The *Guru* should be a Brahmin descended from a noble family who has undergone all the sacraments, properly studied, and realised the inwardness of Vedas, Āgamas, a rigourous follower of the observances laid down for all castes and Asramas, devoted, skillful and practised in self-restraint and a believer."

The power has also to be protected from dissipation by the action of adverse influences. The events that create such disturbing influences are called *Nimittas* and they cause what is technically known as defilement (*Asuddhi*); and the Āgamas prescribe elaborate rules as to *Nimittas* and the rites which have to be performed to counteract their evil influence. These rites are known as *Prayaschittas* or purificatory ceremonies.

Texts relating to the entry of certain classes.

14. It is in dealing with *Nimittas* that the Āgamas lay down the rules regulating the entry of persons into the temple for worship. *Nimittas* are many, and among them is the entry of certain classes of people into the temple premises. Some of the texts relating to this last point are extracted below:—

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1. Tantrasamuchchaya, Patala 1, verse 5.

(1) "പ്രാസാദദേവഹർമ്മ്യാണാം
ചണ്ഡാലപതിതാദിഷു
അന്തഃ പ്രവിഷ്ടേഷു തഥാ
ശുദ്ധിഃ സ്യാത് കേന കർമ്മണാ?"

"प्रासाददेवहर्म्याणां
चण्डालपतितादिषु ।
अन्तःप्रविष्टेषु तथा
शुद्धिः स्यात् केन कर्मणा? ॥"[1]

"When the *Chandalas, Patitas*, and other classes of similar nature enter into temples, by what ceremoney is the purification to be performed ?"

(2) "ക്ഷേത്രേ മൃതിർജ്ജനനമങ്കണമണ്ഡപാദൌ
മൂത്രാസൃഗാദിപതനം പതിതാദിവേശഃ
....
....
ഏതാനി തന്ത്രകഥിതാനി നിമിത്തകാനി
ജ്ഞേയാനി തത്ര ഗുരുലാഘവഭേദവന്തി."

"क्षेत्रे मृतिर्जननमङ्गणमण्डपादौ
मूत्रासृगादिपतनं पतितादिवेशः ।
....
....
एतानि तन्त्रकथितानि निमित्तकानि
ज्ञेयानि तत्र गुरुलाघवभेदवन्ति ॥"[2]

"Births and deaths in *Kshetram*, the dropping of urine, blood and the like, and the entry of *Patitas*, etc., in *Ankana* or *Mandapas*, etc., etc., are the *Nimittas* enumerated in Tantric works. The difference in their degrees of gravity should be known."

(3) "മനുഷ്യാണാം ച പശ്വാദൌ
ബഹിർമ്മണ്ഡലതോ ബഹിഃ
ജന്മമൃത്യു തഥാ തത്ര
പുൽക്കസാദിപ്രവേശനം."

"मनुष्याणां च पश्वादौ
बहिर्मण्डलतो बहिः ।
जन्ममृत्यु तथा तत्र
पुल्कसादिप्रवेशनम् ॥"

1. Vridha Harita Smriti.
2. Tantrasamuchaya, 10th Patala verse 2.
3. Tantra Prayaschitta.

CHAPTER IX.

COMMITMENTS MADE BY GOVERNMENT.

125. Alleged commitments. 126. Trippadidanam of 925 M. E. 127. Records relating to treaty relations with other Rajas, etc. 128. The Royal Proclamation of 1097 M. E.

CHAPTER X.

COMPROMISE.

129. View of supporters of temple-entry. 130. View of Sanatanists. 131. Middle courses. 132. Allowing entry up to Nalampalam. 133. Throwing open of some temples. 134. Building of new temples for common worship. 135. Throwing open of temples with time specification. 136 & 137. Possible forms of compromise also to be referred to the *Parishat*.

CHAPTER XI.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS.

REPORT

OF THE

TEMPLE ENTRY ENQUIRY COMMITTEE.

INTRODUCTION.

Constitution of the Committee and terms of reference

On 8th November 1932, Government issued a Press Communique announcing their decision to appoint a Committee to enquire into and report on the question of temple-entry. In their order R. Dis. No. 648/Dev., dated 25th November 1932, Government appointed the Committee and requested them to submit a report on the subject, with particular reference to the following points:—

"1. Whether, in all or any of the temples within the State, the caste Hindus have either an exclusive right of worship or recognisable civil rights in the matter of such worship, *e. g.*, as being sole beneficiaries, owners, etc.;

2. Whether, in any particular caste Hindu temple, there is any local practice with regard to the entry of non-caste Hindus into such temple;

3. (*a*) The general feeling among non-caste Hindus about the efficacy of religious worship or rites within the temple itself or within its precincts in the case of temples now open to caste Hindus alone;

(*b*) The general feeling among caste Hindus about the efficacy of religious worship or rites if temple-entry is allowed to non-caste Hindus;

4 The extent of any feeling among (1) caste Hindus and (2) non-caste Hindus, in regard to the creation of social and religious equality by allowing temple-entry, and whether the movement for temple-entry is a separable or integral part of such a programme;

G. P. T. 146. 250. 26-2-1110. B

5. The probable results (*a*) temporary, (*b*) permanent, of allowing temple-entry;

6. The possibility of a compromise being arrived at between the orthodox Hindu community and other Hindus with regard to the question of temple-entry or any aspect of it; and, if there is a possibility, the best methods of effecting a compromise;

7. The bearing, on the question of temple-entry, of the principles, rules and practice regulating religious worship and rites in caste Hindu temples;

8. The extent to which Government can interfere or has interfered in private temples whether or not under Government management; and

9. The commitments, if any, made by Government."

The full texts of the Press Communique and the G. O. reproduced in Appendix I and Appendix II, respectively.

2. The composition of the Committee was as follows:—

President.

Dewan Bahadur V. S. Subramonia Aiyar B. A., B. L.,
Retired Dewan of Travancore.

Members.

1. Mr. K. Paramesvaran Pillai B. A., B. L.,
Judge, High Court.
2. Mr. K. Anantanarayana Aiyar B. A., B. L.,
Retired Land Revenue Commissioner.
3. Mr. M. Govindan B. A., B. L., M. L. C.,
Retired District Judge.
4. Rao Sahib Ullūr S. Paramesvara Aiyar M. A., B. L.,
Retired Dewan Peishkar.
5. Mr. T. K. Velu Pillai B. A., B. L.,
High Court Vakil.
6. Mr. T. Kesavan Sastri.
7. One gentleman nominated by the Tarananallūr Nampūtirippad.
8. Brahmasri Chingan Narayanan Bhattatirippad, Tantri, Parampūr Illom, Tiruvalla.

The Tarananallūr Nampūtirippad nominated Mr. Punnasseri Nambi Neelakanta Sarma, Principal, Sanskrit College, Pattambi, and the composition of the Committee was complete when the latter assumed charge of his duties on 27th Vrischigom 1108/12th December 1932. The Committee sustained a great loss by the death of Mr. K. Anantanarayana Aiyar, one of the members, which sad event took place on 28th May 1933. In his place, Government appointed Mr. S. K. Mahadeva Aiyar B. A., B. L., Retired Dewan Peishkar, as member of the Committee.

Questionnaire.

3. The first meeting of the Committee was held on 17th December 1932, when all the members were present. A *questionnaire* (Appendix III) was drawn up and copies of it were sent to 5,774 leading persons, including trustees of temples and representatives of associations. The *questionnaire* was also published in the Gazette in three languages, English, Malayalam and Tamil, and answers were invited from all interested persons. Including 8 ladies, 3,122 persons sent answers to the *questionnaire*.

Tours and examination of witnesses.

4. In order to elicit public opinion, the Committee examined witnesses at the following stations :—

1.	Quilon.	13.	Alwaye.
2.	Karunagapalli.	14.	Parur.
3.	Mavelikara.	15.	Perumpavur.
4.	Haripad.	16.	Muvattupuzha.
5.	Alleppey.	17.	Chengannur.
6.	Shertala.	18.	Kozencheri.
7.	Nagercoil.	19.	Thiruvella.
8.	Udayagiri.	20.	Kottarakara.
9.	Kuzhittura.	21.	Punalur.
10.	Neyyattinkara.	22.	Shencotta.
11.	Kottayam.	23.	Varkkala.
12.	Vaikam.	24.	Trivandrum.

5. To enable the Committee to study the evidence, the whole of the oral evidence and some of the written answers were got printed. The oral evidence alone covered 1,761 foolscap pages of closely printed matter. The evidence was also got tabulated by the office.

Printing and tabulation of evidence.

6. The Committee held in all 112 sittings, of which 14 were for the preparation of the *questionnaire*, 51 for recording oral evidence, 39 for discussion of the terms of reference and of the evidence collected and for arriving at conclusions, and the rest for passing the draft report.

Meetings.

7 The G. O. constituting the Committee had fixed two months time for the submission of the report. This period was found quite insufficient to cover the whole field of work. The period fixed for the submission of the report had therefore, unavoidably to be extended till the end of Dhanu 1109.

Period of the Committee.

8. The Committee have to render their thanks to all those who were kind enough to answer the *questionnaire* issued by them and to respond to the invitation to appear and give evidence before them. To the Revenue and Devaswom Departments which help them with information whenever required, and to the Tahsildars and the officers of the Public Works Department who courteously attended to the needs and conveniences of the Committee during their tour, their thanks are specially due

Acknowledgments.

The Committee's thanks are also due to the Superintendent, Government Press, for the promptness with which he attended to the printing of all matter entrusted to him.

The Committee wish to express their gratitude to the Government of His Highness the Maha Raja for the uniform

consideration shown to them and for all the facilities provided for their work.

The Committee take this opportunity of acknowledging their indebtedness to one of the Members, *viz.*, Rao Sahib Ullūr S. Paramesvara Aiyar M. A., B. L., for having placed his great erudition at their disposal in collecting and explaining the several sastraic texts and in furnishing the many historical references which have been utilised in the preparation of the report.

The Committee also desire to record their appreciation of the loyal and willing work of the members of the staff. The Secretary Mr. S. Sanku Aiyar B. A., B. L., with his experience of the working of the Devaswom Department, was of great help to the Committee in their work. The good work of the Head clerk Mr. N. Velayudhan Nair B. A., B. L. on whom, during the tours of the Committee, the management of the office devolved, also deserves mention. The other members of the staff too, who at times had to work night and day, did their work efficiently and ungrudgingly.

CHAPTER I.

TEMPLES—THE PRINCIPLES, RULES AND PRACTICES REGULATING WORSHIP IN THEM.

Need to understand plan of temple.

Before proceeding to consider the problem of temple-entry, it would be advantageous to get a clear conception of the existing practice regarding admission into temples. For this, it is necessary to have a general idea of the architectural plan of a Hindu temple.

Cultural unity of Kerala.

2. Culturally, Travancore, excepting the southernmost portion known as Nanjinad, and the small taluk of Shencotta in the Quilon Division, is a part of Kerala. Travancore, Cochin and Malabar have the same social and religious system. Their temples have the same architectural style and the principles and rules of worship in them are based on the same authorities.

Architecture of a Kerala temple.

3. The site of a Kerala temple is usually a rectangular area surrounded by substantial walls on all sides. These walls are pierced by a gate on each side. In the centre of the walled area is the inner shrine the *sanctum sanctorum*, where the image of the deity is installed. This is known as the *Garbha-griha*. This building is generally raised a few feet above the surrounding level so that its door is reached by a flight of steps known as the *Sopana*. Surrounding the *Garbha-griha* is an open court-yard known as the *Ankana* which is itself technically subdivided into different areas, but this sub-division is not very relevant to our enquiry and is therefore not detailed here. This open space, the *Ankana*, is surrounded by halls on all four sides, enclosed outside, but open inside. They constitute the *Nālambalam*. Some portions of these halls are walled off into rooms, and are used as store-rooms, dining halls, etc. Outside the *Nālambalam* is the *Dīpasāla* or the hall of lights

consisting of a rather narrow space all round with wooden or metal trellis work, the outer surface of which has a large number of small oil lamps screwed on. These lamps are usually lighted on festive occasions. The space between this frame-work of lights and the outer walls is the outer yard or *Bahyankana*. Extending outside, in front of the *Nālampalam* and attached to it, is a hall in which the main altar-stone is installed. This hall is known as the *Balimandapa* or *Balikkalpura*. In front of it is the flagstaff or *Dhvajasthambha*. In a line with the flagstaff and therefore a few feet away from the *Dīpasāla* all round is the *Pradakshinavazhi*—the paved path—that is used for taking the image in procession round the temple building.

The Chief buildings in a temple.

4. The chief buildings in a temple are the *Garbha-griha* (the sanctum), the *Mandapa*—raised platform—in front of it in the inner *Ankana*, the kitchen, the *Balimandapa* and the dancing hall (*Kūttampalam*). Of these the dancing hall alone is, in some temples, outside the *Nālampalam*. The other four are either inside the *Nālapalam* or attached to it.

Limits to which different classes of Hindus are now admitted.

5. The limits to which different classes of Hindus are allowed access for purposes of worship may now be explained. Except the persons who are engaged in performing *pūja*- the services to the image itself—no other person of whatever caste is allowed into the inner shrine or the *Garbha-griha*.

Other Brahmins and Kshatriyas are allowed to approach up to the steps in front of the *Garbha-griha* and to go on to the *Namaskāra Mandapa* in front of the *Garbha-griha* for devotional acts, eg., reciting Vedas, Mantras, etc., and prostrating before the image in worship. (Hence the name *Namaskāramandapa*- *Namaskāra* meaning prostrating in worship. Vaisyas and Sudras are allowed to go as far as the steps (*Sōpana*), but not on to the *Namaskāramandapa*. Certain classes of people who are considered lower than the Sudras but at the same time not

unapproachables are allowed to proceed to the *Pradakshinavazhi* outside the *Nālampalam*, but not nearer. They constitute numerically a small body.

The Avarnās.

6. The unapproachables, who are treated as having *theendal* or distance-pollution, have to remain beyond the outer walls. They offer worship from outside the walls. It is these classes that are referred to as Avarnās or non-caste Hindus in this report. As far as we have been able to ascertain, the following are the Avarna classes in Travancore :—

1. Adi Dravida.
2. Alavan.
3. Arayan.
4. Bharatar.
5. Chackaravar.
6. Chakkiliyan.
7. Chavalakkaran.
8. Ilavan.
9. Ilāvātti.
10. Kākkālan.
11. Kaniyan.
12. Kāvati.
13. Kuravan.
14. Marakkan.
15. Maravan.
16. Mukkuvan.
17. Nādār.
18. Nulayan.
19. Paḷan.
20. Pānan.
21. Panikkan.
22. Paravan.
23. Parayan.
24. Pulayan.
25. Puḷḷuvan.
26. Tantān.
27. Tantā-pulayan.
28. Vālan.
29. Vēlan.
30. Vētan. [1]

Exclusion from temples not always due to inferiority of caste.

7. It will thus be seen that, among the Savarnas themselves i. e., the several classes of Hindus who are allowed to enter within the outer walls of the temple, there are marked distinctions. It may also be noted here that there are times and circumstances in which even those who ordinarily have the right of entry into temples are treated as polluted and therefore incompetent to enter. The most common incapacitating event is a death or a birth in the family. If these events occur within certain degrees of relationship to a person, he is treated as impure for a prescribed period. Besides these general grounds of exclusion, there are special usages in certain temples excluding classes ordinarily entitled to admission. As examples may be taken the case of Trikkāriyūr and Kumāranallūr temples where Kshatriyas

1. Census Report of Travancore for 1931, p. 431.

are kept out and Tiruvella and Malainkizh temples where women of whatever caste have no admission. Exclusion from temples is thus seen to be not always the result of the excluded class being considered inferior to others. It is based on a belief that the aproach of certain people is likely to derogate from the spiritual atmosphere surrounding the *Pratishta*, the deity installed in the temple.

Philosophic Hinduism and popular Hinduism.

8. We shall now proceed to consideration of the principles and rules regulating the consecration of images in temples and their worship. Philosophic Hinduism conceives God as *Nirguna-Brahma*. The *Brahma* is regarded as an all-pervading Being, manifested in the objects of the Universe. It has neither an independent form nor the limitations of material objects. To picture in the mind such an object is beyond the capacity of the ordinary man[1]. Nor is it fit for devotional worship. The early sages, therefore,

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1. "നച രൂപം വിനാ ദേവോ ധ്യാതും കേനാപി ശക്യതേ
സൎവ്വരൂപനിവൃത്താ ഹി ബുദ്ധിഃ കുത്രാസ്യ തിഷ്ഠതി ?
നിവൃത്താ ഗ്ലായതേ ബുദ്ധിൎന്നിദ്രയാ വാപരീയതേ ;
തസ്മാദ്വിദ്വാനുപാസീത ബുദ്ധ്യാ സാകാരമേവ തം
അസ്തി തസ്യ പരോക്ഷം തദിതി കിഞ്ചിദനുസ്മരൻ
സൎവ്വഥാകാരമുദ്ദിഷ്ടം ന പരിത്യജ്യ പണ്ഡിതഃ
പരം ദേവമുപാസീത മുക്തയേവാഫലായ ച."

"न च रूपं विना देवो ध्यातुं केनापि शक्यते ।
सर्वरूपनिवृत्ता हि बुद्धिः कुत्रास्य तिष्ठति ? ॥
निवृत्ता ग्लायते बुद्धिर्निद्रया वापरीयते ; ।
तस्माद्विद्वानुपासीत बुद्ध्या साकारमेव तम् ॥
अस्ति तस्य परोक्षं तदिति किञ्चिदनुस्मरन् ।
सर्वथाकारमुद्दिष्टं न परित्यज्य पण्डितः ॥
परं देवमुपासीत मुक्तयेवाफलाय च ।"

Vishnusamhita, 19th Patala Verses 55-58.

"It is not possible for any one to contemplate any *Dêva* without his image. If the intelligence if divorced from all images, where can it rest ? In that case, the intelligence either becomes weary or becomes subject to sleep. Learned man should therefore worship the *Dêva* through intelligence only as a *Sâkâra* (with his image), remembering at the same time that he is really imageless. A learned man should not by any means renounce the image in which a *Dêva* is intended to be contemplated upon. He may worship the *Dêva* in this manner either for *Môksha* or for any ordinary *Phala* (result)."

represented God as *Saguna* or one with attributes, in which capacity He was regarded as having three aspects, *viz.*, those of the Creator, the Preserver, and the Destroyer. "It was for the benefit of the *Sādhaka*, the worshipper, that form was thus attributed to Brahma, which, in reality, is effulgent, immeasurable, unqualified and formless.[1]" In the Rigveda, the Gods Indra, Varuna, Vishnu, Rudra, etc., were accordingly described as anthropomorphic figures, possessing will and mind, wearing garments, carrying weapons and driving in cars.

Image worship not post-Buddhistic.

9. Once a form was assigned to the Supreme Being, the next stage in the evolution of image-worship was not difficult to reach, *viz.*, to have a *Pratima* or image representing Him and to offer one's worship and to address one's prayers to it as the symbol of God. Image-worship thus came to be regarded as the means of realising the 'Infinite'. It is sometimes said that image-worship and temples in India were of post-Buddhistic origin and that there is no reference to them in early Hindu religious literature. But that view is contested by such eminent orientalists as Dr. Bollensen[2], Professor Gardner[3] and Dr. Sten Konow[4]. Mr. B. C. Bhattacharya

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1. "ചിന്മയസ്യാപ്രമേയസ്യ
നിർഗ്ഗുണസ്യാശരീരിണഃ
സാധകാനാം ഹിതാർത്ഥായ
ബ്രഹ്മണോ രൂപകല്പനാ"

"चिन्मयस्याप्रमेयस्य
निर्गुणस्याशरीरिणः ।
साधकानां हितार्थाय
ब्रह्मणो रूपकल्पना ॥

Kulārnava Tantra.

"ചിന്മയസ്യാദ്വിതീയസ്യ
നിഷ്കളസ്യാശരീരിണഃ
ഉപാസകാനാം കാര്യാർത്ഥം
ബ്രഹ്മണോ രൂപകല്പനാ"

"चिन्मयस्याद्वितीयस्य
निष्कलस्याशरीरिणः ।
उपासकानां कार्यार्थं
ब्रह्मणो रूपकल्पना ॥"

Ramopanishat.

2. Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts, Vol. V. p. 453.
3. Bhattacharya, Indian images, Vol. I, Prolegomena, p. xx.
4. Ibid.

in the first volume of his instructive book on "Indian Images," has attempted to establish that images of Gods and temples for housing them were not unknown in the Vedic period. In such expressions as "the body of Agni made of iron or of silver or of gold"[1], "the presiding deities of night and dawn having fine sculptures[2]", "The wood-engraver who makes images"[3], "this is the temple of Gods"[4], etc., which occur in the Yajurvedic texts, that learned author finds evidence to prove that images of Gods were not unknown in Vedic times. In the Brahmana literature which forms part of the Vedas, clearer references to images and temples are traceable. The *Shadvimsad Brahmana* of the Samaveda contains a passage which states that, on approach of inauspicious moments, "the temples of Gods tremble, the images of Gods laugh, cry, dance, break, etc."[5] References to images and

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1. 'യാതേ അഗ്നേ രജഃ ശയാതനൂർവർഷിഷ്ഠാ ... ... സ്വാഹാ'

'याते अग्ने रजः शयातनूर्वर्षिष्ठा ...... स्वाहा'

Vajasaneyi Samhita.

Commentary:—

ഹേ അഗ്നേ യാതേ തനൂഃ ശയാതനുഃ അയസി ശേതേ ഇത്യർഥഃ [ശയാലോഹമയീത്യർഥഃ.

हे अग्ने यातेतवः यः शयातनुः अयसि शेते इत्यर्थः शयालोहमयीत्यर्थः ।

2. സുപേശസാ സുശില്പേ ബൃഹതീ ഉഭേ നക്തോഷാസാ

सुपेशमासु शिल्पे बृहती उभे नक्तोषामा ।

Ibid.

Commentary—

സുശില്പേയദ്വൈപ്രതിരൂപം തച്ഛില്പമിതി ശ്രുതേഃ സുഷ്ഠു ശില്പം യയോസ്തോ അന്യോന്യ [പ്രതിരൂപേ.

सुशिल्पेयद्वैप्रतिरूपं तच्छिल्पमिति श्रुतेः सुष्ठु शिल्पं ययोस्तो अन्योन्यं प्रतिरूपे ।

3. "ദേവലോകായ പേശിതാരം ... പ്രതിമാദ്യവയവകർത്താരം"

"देवलोकाय पेशितारं ... प्रतिमाद्यवयवकर्त्तारम्"

Vajasaneyi Samhita.

4. "ഏതദ്വൈ ദേവാനാം ആയതനം സ്വ ഏവായതനേ ദേവതാഃ പരി..... ഇന്മവാ ഉപസ്തീർണ്ണമിച്ഛന്തി കിമു ദേവാ യേഷാം നവാവസാനമുപാസ്മിന്ശ്വോ യക്ഷ്മാണേ ദേവതാ വസന്തി"

"एतद्वै देवानां आयतनं स्व एवायतने देवताः परि ...... इन्मवा उपस्तीर्णमिच्छन्ति किमु देवा येषां नवावसानमुपास्मिञ्छ्वो यक्षमाणे देवता वसन्ति ।"

Taittiriya Samhita.

5. സപരം ദിവ........ദൈവതായതനാനി കമ്പന്തേ ദൈവതപ്രതിമാ ഹസന്തി രുദന്തി നൃത്യന്തി സ്ഫുടന്തി ഖിദ്യന്തി ഉന്മീലന്തി."

"सपरं दिव .... दवतायतनानि कम्पन्ते दैवतप्रतिमा हसन्ति रुदन्ति नृत्यन्ति स्फुटन्ति खिद्यन्ति उन्मीलन्ति ।"

Shadvimsa Brahmana, V—10.

temples increase in number and clearness in the later works, the Dharmasūtras and the Dharmasāstras. The Smritis of Gautama, Bodhayana, Apasthamba and Manu contain many such references. Hindu religious literature, since the beginning of the Christian era, is full of them. It is not necessary for our purpose to go elaborately into this question. There is, however, no room for doubt that images for worship and temples for enshrining them are known from the later Vedic period.

Image worship, one of the daily duties of a true Hindu.

10. Temples naturally take a prominent place in popular Hindu religion. For, from the earliest Smritis, we find that worshipping Gods in their images is one of the daily duties of a Hindu. It is one of the six daily acts (*Shadkarmas*) enjoined on every Dvija.[1] In some texts we find a higher place assigned to the *Gnānamārga* (the path of knowledge) over the *Bhaktimarga* (the path of devotion) as the means of spiritual realisation of the Brahma. Hence, we find texts which declare that image-worship is meant for lower intellects.

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1. "സന്ധ്യാസ്നാനം ജപോ ഹോമോ
ദേവതാനാഞ്ച പൂജനം
ആതിഥ്യം വൈശ്വദേവഞ്ച
ഷൾകർമ്മാണി ദിനേ ദിനേ."

"सन्ध्यास्नानं जपो होमो
देवतानाञ्च पूजनम् ।
आतिथ्य वैश्वदेवञ्च
षट्कर्माणि दिने दिने ॥"

Parāsara, Acharakanda, I, 32.

"(A Dvija) has to perform *Snāna* (ablution) at *Sandhyas*, *Japa*, *Homa* worship of Devatas, *Atithya* (feeding guests) and *Vaisvadeva*."

"സാധാരണോ ധർമ്മഃ=ധർമ്മസ്സർവ്വേഷാം വർണ്ണാനാമാശ്രമാണാമപി സാധാരണത്വേന വിഹിതഃ; സ തു ബ്രഹ്മചര്യാഹിംസോപവാസക്ഷേത്രതീർത്ഥഗമനാദിഭിർബ്ബഹുവിധഃ"

"साधारणोधर्मः=धर्मस्सर्वेषां वर्णानामाश्रमाणामपि साधारणत्वेन विहितः; स तु ब्रह्मचर्याहिंसोपवासक्षेत्रतीर्थगमनादिभिर्बहुविधः ।

Prapanchahridaya.

"Universal duty is the duty prescribed for all Varnas and Asramas in common. That duty is of many kinds. e. g. *Brahmacharya* (self-control), *Ahimsa* (non-violence), *Upavasa* (fasting), *Kshetragamana* (going to a temple for worship) and *Tirtagamana* (going to a sacred bathing ghat for worship).

"അഗ്നൌ ക്രിയാവതാം ദേവഃ
ദിവി ദേവോ മനീഷിണാം
പ്രതിമാസ്വല്പബുദ്ധീനാം
യോഗിനാം ഹൃദയേ ഹരിഃ."

"अग्नौ क्रियावतां देवो
दिवि देवो मनीषिणाम् ।
प्रतिमास्वल्पबुद्धीनां
योगिनां हृदये हरिः ॥"

Parâsara.

"To those who perform *Yagas*. God is in the fire; to the learned, in the sky (the sun); to those of little intelligence, in images; and to *Yogis*, in their hearts."

From this, it is sometimes argued that the Savarnas do not stand in need of temples which are meant only for the lowest classes, *viz.*, the Avarnas. This view, though apparently highly complimentary to the Savarnas, cannot be supported on the real meaning of the words in the text. The authors of the Smritis and other Sastras meant by the term *Alpabudhi* any person who, by their standards, was not a wise one or *Pandita*. A *Pandita* was one who had realised the oneness of his individual soul with the Universal soul, and had thus passed beyond all duality[1]. There can be but very few in any generation who can be deemed *Panditas* or wise ones in the Sastraic sense. The generality of mankind has, in that view, to be classed really as of little intelligence. The late Mr. Ramachandra Rao, in his valuable report on 'Purificatory Ceremonies', aptly sums up to position: "To the orthodox Hindu, this remark (image worship is prescribed for the undeveloped mind) would appear not to touch even the fringe of the subject. The 31st Sutra of Sri Vedavyasa's

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1. "വിദ്യാവിനയസമ്പന്നേ ബ്രാഹ്മണേ ഗവി ഹസ്തിനി
ശുനി ചൈവ ശ്വപാകേ ച പണ്ഡിതാഃ സമദർശിനഃ."

"विद्याविनयसम्पन्ने ब्राह्मणे गवि हस्तिनि ।
शुनि चैव श्वपाके च पण्डिताः समदर्शिनः ॥"

Bhagavadgita, V—18.

"Sages (*Panditas*) look equally on a Brahmana adorned with learning and humility, a cow, an elephant, and even a dog and an out-caste."

Sankarananda, in his commentary on the Bhagavadgita, explains Panditas as "പരാപരൈകത്വവിജ്ഞാനപൌഷ്കല്യവന്തഃ" "परापरैकत्वविज्ञान-पौष्कल्यवन्तः" or "those who have a perfect knowledge of the oneness of *para* and *apara*."

Sutrabhashya of Sri Madhva's text[1] puts into a nut-shell all that can be said on the subject. It refers to the three-fold forms of worship according to the capabilities of the devotee as guided and matured by the training or *Samskāra* gathered by him in the course of his past life. To this effect is the following extract from कमठश्रुति (Kamatasruti). "അന്തർഹൃദയോ ബഹിർഹൃദയഃ സർവ്വഹൃദയ ഇതി ദേവാ വാവ — സർവ്വഹൃദയസ്തേഷു ചോത്തരോത്തരമാബ്രഹ്മണമന്യേഷു യഥായോഗം യഥാപ്യാചാര്യം ആചക്ഷത ഇതി" "अन्तर्हृदयो बहिर्हृदयस्सर्वहृदय इति देवा वाव — सर्वहृदयस्तेषु चोत्तरोत्तरमाब्रह्मणमन्येषु यथायोगं यथाप्याचार्यं आचक्षत इति।" It will appear from some commentaries on the above Sruti that it is given to Devas only to realise communion with the all pervading. Being as manifested in all objects of the universe. It stands to reason in the light of this passage then to believe that for almost all men external worship is recommended by Sri Vedavyasa".

11. There is a separate class of Sastraic works devoted to the subject of temples and temple-worship. They are known as Āgamas. It is those temples that are constructed and consecrated, and in which the services (Pūjas etc.) and worship are conducted, according to the directions contained in the Āgamas that

Agamas.

1. The reference is obviously to the Bhashya of Sri Madhvacharya on the 31st Sutra of the 1st Adhyaya, 1st Pada, of Badarayana's Brahmasutrā. The Acharya says "അന്തർബഹിസ്സർവ്വഗതത്വേനേത്യുപാസാത്രൈവിധ്യാത് ... ... കേഷാഞ്ചിത് സർവ്വഗതത്വേന കേഷാഞ്ചിദ്ധൃദയേ ഹരിഃ കേഷാഞ്ചിദ് ബഹിരേവാസാവുപാസ്യഃ പുരുഷോത്തമ ഇതി ബ്രാഹ്മേ" "अन्तर्बहिस्सर्वगतत्वेनेत्युपासात्रैविध्यात् .... केषाञ्चित् सर्वगतत्वेन केषाञ्चिद्धृदये हरिः केषाञ्चिद् बहिरेवासावुपास्यः पुरुषोत्तम इति ब्राह्मे" which means "there are three kinds of *Upāsana*, the first in one's mind, secondly outside oneself, and thirdly as all pervading". Sri Madhva, in this connection, quotes the very verse :—

"അഗ്നൗ ക്രിയാവതാം ദേവോ
ദിവി ദേവോ മനീഷിണാം
പ്രതിമാസ്വല്പബുദ്ധീനാം
യോഗിനാം ഹൃദയേ ഹരിഃ"

"अग्नौ क्रियावतां देवो
दिवि देवो मनीषिणाम् ।
प्रतिमास्वल्पबुद्धीनां
योगिनां हृदये हरिः ॥"

are known as caste-Hindu temples or Savarna temples. There are innumerable Agamic works. A list of some of the more important among them, especially those which are accepted as authorities in Kerala, would include *Pancharatra, Pāsupata, Vishnusamhita, Kamikāgama, Vaikhānasagama, Isanagurudēva-paddhati, Tatvapradīpika, Tantrasamuchaya, Tantraprāyaschitta, Kāruttapāranushttana, Prāyaschittavimarsini, Yogiarprayas-chitta* and others. Some of them are not original works, but *Nibandhas* treated as authoritative expositions of the Agamic doctrines and rules. Tantrasamuchaya is the *Nibandha* most widely accepted in Kerala. It is the work of Chennassu Narayanan Nampūtiri who lived in the first half of the 15th century A. D. Most of the Tantris, the arch-priests of the temples in Kerala, take that as their main guide.

Idea underlying Pratishta.

12. The idea underlying the consecration of the image is explained in the Tantrasamuchaya in the following verse which means "just as the atmospheric air is made capable of being sensed by the action of the fan, and the hidden fire in the fire-sticks is generated by friction, so the all-pervading Divine energy is transfused by me into the image by the process of the *Avāhana* rites."[1]

"സർവ്വത്രഗോസി ഭഗവൻ കില യദ്യപി ത്വാ-
മാവാഹയാമി ഹി യഥാ വ്യജനേന വായും
ഗൂഢോ യഥൈവ ദഹനോ മഥനാദുപൈതി
ഹ്യാവാഹിതോപി ഹി തഥാ ത്വമുപൈഷി ചാർച്ചാം."

"सर्वत्रगोऽसि भगवन् किल यद्यपि त्वा-
मावाहयामि हि यथा व्यजनेन वायुम् ।
गूढो यथैव दहनो मथनादुपैति
ह्यावाहितोऽपि हि तथात्वमुपैषि चार्चाम् ॥"

Divine spirit in the image how maintained.

13. It is not that any power is induced in the image which does not already exist. But what exists in a diffused and therefore imperceptible state is concentrated so as to come within the capacity of the ordinary person to perceive. It is by the force of the *Mantras* and *Tantras* (passes) that are used in the ceremony of *Pratishta* or consecration that this concentration of the

1. Tantrasamuchaya, 6th Patala, Verse 65.

all-pervading power is effected and *Sānnidhyam* (presence of the Divine spirit) is produced in the image. Once that is done, care has to be taken that the power is not dissipated or lost. For its effective maintenance are prescribed the daily services of *pūjas* and the periodical special services such as *Utsavas*, etc. The effectiveness of the *pūja* is proportionate to the spiritual power of the *Pūjari* or *Tantri*. He must be a Brahmin with the necessary knowledge of Mantras and Tantras and of unimpeachable character.

"വിപ്രഃ കുലീനഃ കൃതസംസ്ക്രിയൗഘഃ
സ്വാധീതവേദാഗമതത്ത്വവേത്താ
വർണ്ണാശ്രമാചാരപരോധിദീക്ഷോ
ദക്ഷസ്തപസ്വീ ഗുരുരാസ്തികോഽസ്തു."

"विप्रः कुलीनः कृतसंस्क्रियौघः
स्वाधीतवेदागमतत्त्ववेत्ता ।
वर्णाश्रमाचारपरोधिदीक्षो
दक्षस्तपस्वी गुरुरास्तिकोऽस्तु ॥"

"The *Guru* should be a Brahmin descended from a noble family who has undergone all the sacraments, properly studied, and realised the inwardness of Vedas, Āgamas, a rigourous follower of the observances laid down for all castes and Asramas, devoted, skillful and practised in self-restraint and a believer."

The power has also to be protected from dissipation by the action of adverse influences. The events that create such disturbing influences are called *Nimittas* and they cause what is technically known as defilement (*Asuddhi*); and the Āgamas prescribe elaborate rules as to *Nimittas* and the rites which have to be performed to counteract their evil influence. These rites are known as *Prayaschittas* or purificatory ceremonies.

Texts relating to the entry of certain classes.

14. It is in dealing with *Nimittas* that the Āgamas lay down the rules regulating the entry of persons into the temple for worship. *Nimittas* are many, and among them is the entry of certain classes of people into the temple premises. Some of the texts relating to this last point are extracted below:—

1. Tantrasamuchchaya, Patala 1, verse 5.

(1) "പ്രാസാദദേവഹർമ്മ്യാണാം
ചണ്ഡാലപതിതാദിഷു
അന്തഃ പ്രവിഷ്ടേഷു തഥാ
ശുദ്ധിഃ സ്യാത് കേന കർമ്മണാ?"

"प्रासाददेवहर्म्याणां
चण्डालपतितादिषु ।
अन्तःप्रविष्टेषु तथा
शुद्धिः स्यात् केन कर्मणा? ॥"[1]

"When the *Chandalas, Patitas,* and other classes of similar nature enter into temples, by what ceremoney is the purification to be performed ?"

(2) "ക്ഷേത്രേ മൃതിർജ്ജനനമങ്കണമണ്ഡപാദൌ
മൂത്രാസൃഗാദിപതനം പതിതാദിവേശഃ
. ...
....
ഏതാനി തന്ത്രകഥിതാനി നിമിത്തകാനി
ജ്ഞേയാനി തത്ര ഗുരുലാഘവഭേദവന്തി."

"क्षेत्रे मृतिर्जननमङ्गणमण्डपादौ
मूत्रासृगादिपतनं पतितादिवेशः ।
... .
....
एतानि तन्त्रकथितानि निमित्तकानि
ज्ञेयानि तत्र गुरुलाघवभेदवन्ति ॥"[2]

"Births and deaths in *Kshetram,* the dropping of urine, blood and the like, and the entry of *Patitas,* etc., in *Ankana* or *Mandapas,* etc., etc., are the *Nimittas* enumerated in Tantric works. The difference in their degrees of gravity should be known."

(3) "മനുഷ്യാണാം ച പശ്വാദൌ
ബഹിർമ്മണ്ഡലതോ ബഹിഃ
ജന്മമൃത്യു തഥാ തത്ര
പുല്കസാദിപ്രവേശനം."

"मनुष्याणां च पश्वादौ
बहिर्मण्डलतो बहिः ।
जन्ममृत्यु तथा तत्र
पुल्कसादिप्रवेशनम् ॥"

1. Vridha Harita Smriti.
2. Tantrasamuchaya, 10th Patala verse 2.
3. Tantra Prayaschitta.

" Births and deaths of men, cows, etc., outside the *Bahir-mandala* and the entry there of Pulkasas, etc., (constitute pollution)."

(4) "ഹാരാസ്വന്തർമ്മണ്ഡലേഥ പ്രാസാദേഷു ച വേശനം
പാതക്യാശൗചിപാഷണ്ഡിവപ്തൄണാം രജകസ്യ ച
മ്ലേച്ഛാനാം തന്തുവായാദിവർണ്ണബാഹ്യജനസ്യ ച
പുഷ്പികാസൂതികാകാരുചണ്ഡാലാനാം ക്രമാദ് ഗുരു."

"हारास्वन्तर्मण्डलेथ प्रासादेषु च वेशनं
पातक्याशौचिपाषण्डिवप्तृणां रजकस्य च ॥
म्लेच्छानां तन्तुवायादिवर्णबाह्यजनस्य च ।
पुष्पिकासूतिकाकारुचण्डालानां क्रमाद् गुरु ॥"[1]

" When those who have committed sins (*Pātaki*) those who undergo birth and death pollution, those who have no belief in Hinduism (*Pāshandi*), barbers, washermen, Mlechas, weavers (*Tantuvayas*), those who are outside the pale of *Chaturvarnya*, women in menses, women newly delivered, artisans (*Karu*) and *Chandalas*, enter the sevaral *Hāras*, the *Antarmandala* and the *Prasādas* of temples, *Nimitta* gradually increases in gravity."

(5) "ശ്വചോരവ്രാത്യപാഷണ്ഡിചണ്ഡാലാദിപ്രവേശനം

…… …… ……

ഏതേ ചാന്യേ ച വിജ്ഞേയാ ഉത്പാതാ ബഹുദോഷദാഃ."

"श्वचोरव्रात्यपाषण्डिचण्डालादिप्रवेशनम् ।

……

एते चान्ये च विज्ञेया उत्पाता बहुदोषदाः ।"[1]

" The entry (into temples) of dogs, thieves, *Vrātyas*, *Pāshandins* and Chandalas and other *Nimittas* should be considered as being greatly harmful."

(6) "ചണ്ഡാലൈരന്ത്യജൈശ്ചൈവ തഥാന്യൈഃ പ്രതിലോമജൈഃ
മ്ലേച്ഛൈശ്ച നീചചണ്ഡാലൈർഗ്ഗുരുനിന്ദാദിദൂഷിതൈഃ,
ഏവമാദിഭിരസ്പൃശ്യൈർദ്ദേവാഗാരേ വിശേഷതഃ
സ്പൃഷ്ടേ പ്രവേശനേ ബാധാ പൂജാകാലേ ച ദർശനേ."

"चण्डालैरन्त्यजैश्चैव तथान्यैः प्रतिलोमजैः ।
म्लेच्छैश्च नीचचण्डालैर्गुरुनिन्दादिदूषितः ॥
एवमादिभिरस्पृश्यैर्देवागारे विशेषतः ।
स्पृष्टे प्रवेशने बाधा पूजाकाले च दर्शने ॥"[2]

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1. Vishnusamhita, Patala 25, verse 10.
2. Burigu Samhita.

"When (the image) is touched or when (the temple is entered into by such untouchables as *Chandalas*, *Antyajas*, and other classes of the *Pratilōma* type, *Mlēchas* *Nīcha-chandalas*, (as opposed to *garam-chandalas* mentioned before), those who are guilty of reviling their preceptors, etc., *Nimitta*, arises, as also when they see the image at the time of *Pūja*.

(7) "ചണ്ഡാലപതിതോദക്യാസൂതികോന്മത്തകാദിഭിഃ
ചോരൈരശുചിഭിർവ്രാത്യൈഃ പാഷണ്ഡൈർദ്ദേവലൈസ്തഥാ.
പ്രവിഷ്ടേ പൂജനേ ദൃഷ്ടേ ദ്രവ്യാണാം സ്പർശനേ തഥാ
ദോഷാശ്ച ബഹുധാ പ്രോക്താ തന്ത്രേഷ്വേവ പൃഥക് പൃഥക്."

"चण्डालपतितोदक्यासूतिकोन्मत्तकादिभिः ।
चोरैरशुचिभिर्व्रात्यैः पाषण्डैर्देवलैस्तथा ॥
प्रविष्टे पूजने दृष्टे द्रव्याणां स्पर्शने तथा ।
दोषाश्च बहुधा प्रोक्ता तन्त्रेष्वेव पृथक् पृथक् ॥"[1]

"When *Chandalas*, *Patitas*, women in their menses, women newly delivered, Lunatics, etc., theives, impure persons, *Vratyas*, *Pāshandis* and *Dēvalas* enter temples come in contact with *pūjas* and touch the materials to be used for *pūja*, Tantras distinctly declare that evils of many kinds arise."

(8) "പ്രതിലോമാന്ത്യജാതീനാം
സ്തൂപിം ദൃഷ്ട്വാ സമാചരേത്."

"प्रतिलोमान्त्यजातीनां
स्तूपिं दृष्ट्वा समाचरेत् ।"[2]

"*Pratilōmajas* and *Antyajas* have to satisfy themselves with the sight of the metal-dome (*Stūpi*)."

(9) "ചണ്ഡാലാദിപ്രവേശേ തു പ്രഥമാവരണേ സതി
വാസ്തുഹോമം തതോ ഹോമം വാ ശാന്തിഹോമം തഥൈവ ച
....
ദ്വിതീയാവരണേ ചൈവ സ്നാപനം സ്യാത് ഷഡഷ്ടഭിഃ
ശാന്തിം കൃത്വാ തൃതീയേഽപി ചതുർവിംശതിരിഷ്യതാ.
......
ചതുർത്ഥാവരണേ ചാപി ദ്വാദശൈഃ കലശൈസ്തഥാ
....
പഞ്ചമാവരണേ ചാപി ഷോഡശൈഃ കലശൈസ്തഥാ
....
ഷഷ്ഠാവരണേ ചാപി സപ്തഭിഃ കലശൈസ്തഥാ
സപ്തമാവരണേ ചാപി സർവ്വൈഷാമപി സഞ്ചരേത്
വീഥിഷ്വപി പ്രവേശേ തു ന ദോഷഃ സ്യാത് കദാചന"

1. Pasupata.
2. Vaikhanasagama.

"चण्डालादिप्रवेशे तु प्रथमावरणे सति ।
वास्तुहोमं ततोर्द्ध्वं वा शान्तिहोमं तथैव च ॥
....
द्वितीयावरणे चैव स्नापनं स्यात् षडष्टभिः ।
शान्तिं कृत्वा तृतीयेऽपि चतुर्विंशतिभिस्तथा ॥"
... ...
चतुर्थावरणे चापि द्वादशैः कलशैस्तथा ।
....
पञ्चमावरणे चापि द्वादशैः कलशैस्तथा ॥
....
षष्ठे त्वावरणे चापि सप्तभिः कलशैस्तथा ।
सप्तमावरणे चापि सर्वेषामपि सञ्चरेत् ॥
वीथीष्वापि प्रवेशे तु न दोषः स्यात् कदाचन ।"[1]

" When *Chandalas*, etc., enter inside the first *Prakara* of temple, certain purificatory ceremonies have to be performed; and when they enter inside the second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth *Prakaras*, those ceremonies may be of a progressively lighter kind. Every one may freely go inside the 7th Prakara, and there is no evil at any time if they enter the *Vithis* there."

(10) "ചോരപാതകിചണ്ഡാലചാതുർവ്വർണ്ണ്യബഹിഷ്കൃതാഃ
ശ്വാനഃ പാഷണ്ഡികാ വർജ്ജ്യാ മ്ലേച്ഛദേശസമുദ്ഭവാഃ
ജംബുകാഃ പതിതാ നാരീ പുഷ്പിതാ ച തഥൈവ ച
തൈസ്തു സമ്മിശ്രിതൈരന്യൈരന്ത്യജൈശ്ചൈവ പത്മജ !
ദേവേ സന്നിഹിതേ സ്പൃഷ്ടേ പുനഃ കലശസംഭവഃ
സൂതേ മർത്ത്യഗൃഹാസന്നേ രക്താദിപതിതേ തഥാ
അദ്ഭുതോക്തക്രമേണൈവ ശാന്തിം കുര്യാദ്വിചക്ഷണഃ."

"चोरपातकिचण्डालचातुर्वर्ण्यबहिष्कृताः ।
श्वानः पाषण्डिका वर्ज्या म्लेच्छदेशसमुद्भवाः ॥
जम्बुकाः पतिता नारी पुष्पिता च तथैव च ।
तैस्तु सम्मिश्रितैरन्यैरन्त्यजैश्चैव पद्मज ! ॥
देवे सन्निहिते स्पृष्टे पुनः कलशसम्भवः ।
सूते मर्त्यगृहासन्ने रक्तादिपतिते तथा ॥
अद्भुतोक्तक्रमेणैव शान्तिं कुर्याद्विचक्षणः ।"[2]

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1. Vaikhanasagama.
2. Tatvapradipika.

"Thieves, those who have committed sin, Chandalas, those outside the pale of *Chaturvarnya*, dogs, *Pashandis*, those who are born in the countries of *Mlēchas*, Jackals, Patitas and women in their menses have to be excluded (from temples). If the image is directly seen or touched by them and others mingling with them and by *Antyajas*, *Kalasa* ceremoney has to be performed. If a person dies inside the temple, if a house in which a person dies is in close proximity to it, or if blood, etc., are split in[the temple, *Atbhuthasanti* has to by performed.'

(11) "ചണ്ഡാലപതിതോദക്യാദുർജ്ജനസ്പർശനാദിഷു
സ്നാനശുദ്ധിശ്ച കർത്തവ്യാ ബിംബശുദ്ധിശ്ച ശാന്തയേ."

"चण्डालपतितोदक्यादुर्जनस्पर्शनादिषु ।
स्नानशुद्धिश्च कर्तव्या बिम्बशुद्धिश्च शान्तये ॥"[1]

"In the event of touch, etc , by Chandalas, *Patitas*, women in their menses and bad people, *Snanasudhi* and *Bimbasudhi* have to be performed."

(12) "പ്രാകാരാന്തഃ പുഷ്പികാസൂതികാബൌദ്ധപുല്ക്കസാദീനാം പ്രവേശേ അശുദ്ധിഃ. പുനഃ ബഹിർമ്മണ്ഡലസ്യാന്തഃ തക്ഷകാദിപ്രവേശേ അശുദ്ധിഃ. ദീപശാലായാമന്തഃ രജകക്ഷുരകതന്തുവായാദീനാം പ്രവേശേ അശുദ്ധിഃ. പുനർമ്മദ്ധ്യഹാരായാം പഞ്ചപ്രാസാദേഷു ച പതിതാശൌചിപാഷണ്ഡിദാഹകാദീനാം വർണ്ണബാഹ്യജനസ്യ ച പ്രവേശേ അശുദ്ധിഃ സ്യാൽ".

"प्राकारान्तः पुष्पिकासूतिकाबौद्धपुल्कसादीनां प्रवेशे अशुद्धिः । पुनः बहिर्मण्डलस्यान्तः तक्षकादिप्रवेशे अशुद्धिः । दीपशालायामन्तः रजकक्षुरकतन्तुवायादीनां प्रवेशे अशुद्धिः । पुनर्मध्यहारायां पञ्चप्रासादेषु च पतिताशौचिपाषण्डिदाहकादीनां वर्णबाह्यजनस्य च प्रवेशे अशुद्धिः स्यात् ।"[2]

'The entry of women in their periods, women recently delivered, *Baudhas*, *Pulkasas*, etc., into the enclosure walls is pollution; the entry of carpenters and other mechanics into the *Bahirmandala* is pollution; the entry of washermen, barbers, weavers and artisans generally witin *Dipasala* is pollution ; and the entry o

1. Juanodaya.
2. Karutapara-anushtanam.

Patitas, men in death-pollution, *Pashandis,* cremators, etc., into *Madhyahara* and *Pancha-prasadas* is pollution."

15. A persual of these texts would show that none of them attempts an elaborate enumeration of the classes of people whose entry is regarded as taboo. The term 'etc.' affixed to the names in each text would indicate that only the general character of the prohibition is mentioned. This is borne out by the concluding stanza of the 10th patalam of the Tantrasamuchaya which states that the Tantri should consult persons versed in Smriti, Sruthi, etc., about portents, as regards those mentioned and not mentioned, and devise appropriate purificatory rites.[1]

Texts not exhaustive.

16. The point which is of some importance to us in the extracts given above is whether they would help to identify the communities whose names are enumerated in the texts with any or all of the present-day Avarna or non-caste Hindu communities to which temple-entry is denied by custom. These latter are all considered to have *theendal* which may be translated as distance-pollution or unapproachability. Their approach within a prescribed distance

Observance of theendal a long standing custom.

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1. "ഉക്തേഷ്വനുക്തേഷ്വപി ചോപഘാതേ-
ഷ്വാലോച്യ തജ്ഞൈഃ സഹ സാധകേന്ദ്രഃ
ശ്രുതിസ്മൃതിന്യായപരൈഃ പ്രകുര്യാ-
ന്നിഷ്ക്രിയാം പുഷ്കലതാ തഥൈവ."

"उक्तेष्वनुक्तेष्वपि चोपघाते-
ष्वालोच्य तज्ज्ञैः सह साधकेन्द्रः ।
श्रुतिस्मृतिन्यायपरैः प्रकुर्या-
न्निष्क्रियां पुष्कलता तथैव ॥"

Tantrasamuchaya, Patala 10, verse 105.

"Let the Tantri, though he be of the highest attainments, consult persons versed in Sruti, Smriti and Nyaya (logic) about the matter of portents alike as regards those mentioned and not mentioned, and devise the Prayaschitta ceremonies. It is only in that way that perfection can be reached.

causes pollution to a Savarna. At this point it may be noted that the texts dealing with distance-pollution refer to the sacrificial fire '*Vitānāgni*'. What applies to the sacrificial fire, applies to the Brahmin and the image of God. The latter is often described in the Agamas as '*Vitānāgninibham*' (വിതാനാഗ്നിനിഭം)[1] 'like unto the sacrificial fire'. Though the actual distance which each Avarna community has to keep is prescribed only in the Smritis, the earliest of which is attributed to the 6th century B. C., it is said there are references in the Vedas to a class of people outside the four Varnas of Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra, a class that was deemed to be of lower status than they and undeserving of association with them.[2] It is, however, not necessary for this Committee's purpose to go beyond the undisputed fact that for the last 2500 years at any rate certain classes of people have been segregated or not allowed to mix with members of the four Varnas.

Theendal castes according to Smritis and Malabar texts.

17. The earliest text giving the actual distance at which pollution begins seems to be that of Brihaspati which is found almost in identical form in Parasara Smriti too.[3] According to that text, the *Patita*, the woman in her periods, the woman confined of a child and the *Chandala* have to keep beyond one, two, three and four *Yugas*, respectively. A *Yuga* is explained as

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1. "വിതാനാഗ്നിനിഭം വിഷ്ണോർബിംബമുത്പാതദൂഷിതം
അകൃതായാം തു നിഷ്കൃത്യാമപൂജ്യം സർവ്വഥാ ബുധൈഃ."

"वितानाग्निनिभं विष्णोर्बिम्बमुत्पातदूषितम् ।
अकृतायां तु निष्कृत्यामपूज्यं सर्वथा बुधैः ॥"

Vishnusamhita, 25th patala, verse 6.

2. In the Rigveda, in a hymn addressed to Sarasvati, the passage occurs "പാഞ്ചജന്യാ സുകൃഷ്ടിഷു" "पाञ्चजन्या सुकृष्टिषु" which is interpreted by Sayana as "നിഷാദപഞ്ചമാഃ ചത്വാരോ വർണ്ണാഃ തത്സംബന്ധിനീഷു പ്രജാസു" "निषादपञ्चमाः चत्वारो वर्णाः तत्सम्बन्धिनीषु प्रजासु" "The four Varnas and Nishadas forming the fifth which compose humanity."

Rigveda, III, 53-16.

3. "യുഗം ച ദ്വിയുഗം ചൈവ ത്രിയുഗം ച ചതുർയുഗം
ചണ്ഡാലസൂതികോദക്യാപതിതാനാമധഃ ക്രമാൽ"

"युगं च द्वियुगं चैव त्रियुगं च चतुर्युगम् ।
चण्डालसूतिकोदक्यापतितानामधः क्रमात् ॥"

Parasara, Chapter 12, verse 54.

being equal to four *Hastas* or ten feet.[1] This text has lent itself to several commentaries, not all easily reconcilable. Those which are accepted in Kerala and are in consonance with the usage here are the *Yogiārprāyaschitta* of Nilakanta Yogiyar and the *Prāyaschitta vimarsini* of Mahishamangalam Namputiri. These works are of comparatively recent origin, being of the 16th and 17th centuries A. D., respectively. They are important as containing more detailed lists of the *theendal* classes which were in their time considered as corresponding to the names found in the Smritis.

" ഇത്യത്ര യുഗമാനം സ്യാദചണ്ഡാലം ഹി ഷട്പദം
ചണ്ഡാലാസ്ത്രിവിധാ ജ്ഞേയാ മുഖ്യമധ്യമഹീനജാഃ.
തേഷാം തു യുഗമാനം സ്യാത് ഷണ്ണവദ്വാദശാത്മകം
ഹീനാ ഭവന്തി മൃഗയുപുല്കസശ്വപചാദയഃ
മുഖ്യാശ്ശൌണ്ഡികതക്ഷാദ്യാസ്സർവ്വേഽന്യേ മധ്യമാഃ സ്മൃതാഃ ".

"इत्यत्र युगमानं स्यादचण्डालं हि षट्पदम् ।
चण्डालास्त्रिविधा ज्ञेया मुख्यमध्यमहीनजाः ॥
तेषां तु युगमानं स्यात् षण्णवद्द्वादशात्मकम् ।
हीना भवन्ति मृगयुपुल्कसश्वपचादयः ॥
मुख्याश्शौण्डिकतक्षाद्यास्सर्वेऽन्ये मध्यमाः स्मृताः' [2]

" Pollution-distance is to be calculated by means of the *Yuga* measure. A *Yuga* is equal to six feet only until we reach the *Chandalas*. *Chandalas* are of three kinds, *Mukhya*, *Madhyama* and *Heena* (high, middle and low). In their case, the *Yuga* is equivalent to six feet, nine feet, and twelve feet, respectively. *Mrigayus* (hill tribes), *Pulkasas* and *Svapachas* are *heenas*; *Soundikas* and *Thakshas* are *mukhyas*; and the remaining *Chandalas* are *madhyamas*."

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1. " ദ്വേ വിതസ്തീ തഥാ ഹസ്തഃ ബ്രാഹ്മതീർത്ഥാദിവേഷ്ടനം
ചതുർഹസ്തം ധനുർദ്ദണ്ഡോ നാഡികായുഗമേവ ച."

"द्वे वितस्ती तथा हस्तो ब्राह्मतीर्थादिवेष्टनम् ।
चतुर्हस्तं धनुर्दण्डो नाडिकायुगमेव च ॥"

Markandeyapurana.

2 Yogiarprayaschitta.

“ശൂദ്രഃ ഷട്കം ത്രികം വാ പതിതരജകകാ വിപ്രകൃഷ്യഃ പദാനാം
ഷട്കം സ്ത്രീധർമ്മിണീ തദ്യുഗമമുകയുഗം ദാഹകഃ ശൗണ്ഡികശ്ച
തക്ഷൈവം തദ്യുഗം പുൽക്കസമൃഗയുദിവാകീർത്തയോശ്ചാന്തരസ്ഥാ-
ഷട്ത്രിംശത് സൂതികാതദ്ദലമഹികൃതിതുല്യം തു വാ പുൽക്കസാദ്യാഃ

“शूद्रः षट्कं त्रिकं वा पतितरजकका विप्रकृष्यः पदानां
षट्कं स्त्रीधर्मिणी तद्युगममुकयुगं दाहकः शौण्डिकश्च ।
तक्षैवं तद्युगं पुल्कसमृगयुदिवाकीर्त्तयोश्चान्तरस्था-
ष्षट्त्रिंशत् सूतिकातद्दलमहिकृतितुल्यं तु वा पुल्कसाद्याः ॥”[1]

“A Sudra has to keep himself at a distance of six or three feet (the latter if he is a Sat-chhudra). *Pathithas* and washermen six feet, women in their menses twelve feet, cremators, *Soundikas* and carpenters twenty-four feet, *Pulkasas, Mrigayus* and *Divakiritis* (Chandalas) forty-eight feet, those placed in society below *Soundikas* and above *Pulkasas* thirty-six feet, and women who have newly delivered eighteen feet. Some say that *Pulkasas* etc., should stand sixty-four feet away”.

Besides these, there is a translation of the Arthasasthra of Kautlya in Malayalam which appears to be not later than the 13th century A. D.[2] and a Malayalam rendering of the Prayaschittavimarsini[3] which contain the then current Malayalam names corresponding

(1) Prayaschittavimarsini.

(2) “യഥാ ശ്വഗണിനാം ധേനുഃ ശ്വഭ്യോ ദുഗ്ദ്ധേ; ന ബ്രാഹ്മണേഭ്യഃ” “यथा श्वगणिनां धेनुः श्वभ्यो दुग्द्वेः न ब्राह्मणोः=നായാടികളുടെ പശു കറപ്പിച്ചാൽ നായ്ക്കു കുടിപ്പാൻ; ബ്രാഹ്മണർക്കായ് കറപ്പിച്ചു കൊടുക്കാറില്ല.” “തേഷാമന്തേവസായിനോപ്യവദ്ധ്യാഃ” “तेषामन्तेवसायिनोप्यवध्याः= ശിഷ്യകളും അവരും വധിക്കപ്പെടുവാനാകാ.”

Arthasastra, 1st prakarana.

3. A Malayalam summary of this verse is given in Smarta Prayaschittam Bhasha (Kaviyoor Bhasha) as follows :—

“ഒരുകോലിട്ടുപ്പുട്ടുപോലായകലം തഥാ ശൂദ്രർക്കുമാറടി;
രജകാന്ത്യ ശ്ലേച്ഛരാമോതെ ശൂദ്രവാപൃതച്ചു ഷഡ്.
നീണ്ടൊരടിയെന്നവർക്കത്ര വിധിച്ചുപന്തിരണ്ടടി
അശുദ്ധമാം സൂതികയ്ക്കു ദാഹകർക്കിരുപത്തിനാൽ.
തച്ചനും ശൗണ്ഡികർക്കുള്ളവൻ തട്ടാനീഴവനും തഥാ
ചത്വാരിംശതി പാദേഷ്വപ്യാൽ ഇരുപതാണെന്നു മതത്തിന്.
പറയൻ പുല്ക്കസനും നായാടിയും വേടനും തഥാ
ഇരുപത്തഞ്ചു പരിക്കെല്ലാം കല്ലേറ്റത്ര കൂടുക,
മറ്റു ചൊല്ലാത്തവർക്കുള്ള ദൂരത്തൊരടിയൊണമേ.”

to those of some of the *theendal* classes found in the Smritis. The Smritis themselves do not, of course, contain the names in use today. Evidently, the modern names are, some of them at least, Dravidian and local. The fact that the word Pulaya or Paraya, for instance, does not occur in the old Sanskrit texts is sometimes relied on for the position that these texts could not have contemplated them. Such inferences, however, are obviously not legitimate, for though the word 'Nampu-tiri', for instance, does not occur in the Smritis, nobody denies that what is said there about the Brahmin applies to the Namputiri as well. As stated before, the texts give certain generic class names, the connotation of which is explained in the Smritis and the Puranas. The *Chandala* or the *Antyaja* is described as regards his appearance, his habitation his dress, his ornaments and his profession. That description, though it has, by lapse of time, become inapt in some respects, is still in a general way sufficient to include certain Avarna classes going now by varying names in different localities, within the scope of the generic class names in the texts. An even more important test of the identity is the long unbroken usage, on the one hand, treating them as so included, and, on the other, accepting such inclusion[1].

1. "ചണ്ഡാലശ്വപചാനാം തു ബഹിർഗ്രാമാൽ പ്രതിശ്രയഃ
അപപാത്രാശ്ച കർത്തവ്യാ ധനമേഷാം ശ്വഗർദ്ദഭം;
വാസാംസി മൃതചേലാനി മൃതഭാണ്ഡേഷു ഭോജനം
കാർഷ്ണായസമലങ്കാരാഃ പരിവ്രജ്യാ ച നിത്യശഃ.
ന തൈസ്സമയമന്വിച്ഛേൽ പുരുഷോ ധർമ്മമാചരൻ
വ്യവഹാരോ മിഥസ്തേഷാം വിവാഹസ്സദൃശൈസ്സഹ.
അന്നമേഷാം പരാധീനം ദേയം സ്യാൽ ഭിന്നഭാജനേ
അബാന്ധവം ശവഞ്ചൈവ നിർഹരേയുരിതി സ്ഥിതിഃ.
രാത്രൗ ന വിചരേയുസ്തേ ഗ്രാമേഷു നഗരേഷു ച
ദിവാ ചരേയുഃ കാര്യാർത്ഥം ചിഹ്നിതാ രാജശാസനൈഃ.
വധ്യാംശ്ച ഹന്യുസ്സതതം യഥാശാസ്ത്രം നൃപാജ്ഞയാ
വധ്യവാസാംസി ഗൃഹ്ണീയുഃ ശയ്യാശ്ചാഭരണാനി ച."

"चण्डालश्वपचानान्तु बहिर्ग्रामात् प्रतिश्रयः ।
अपपात्राश्च कर्तव्या धनमेषां श्वगर्दभम् ॥
वासांसि मृतचेलानि मृतभाण्डेषु भोजनम् ।
कार्ष्णायसमलङ्कारः परिव्रज्या च नित्यशः ॥
न तैस्समयमन्विच्छेत् पुरुषो धर्ममाचरन् ।
व्यवहारो मिथस्तेषां विवाहस्सदृशैस्सह ॥

18. The next question is about the limit beyond which non-caste Hindus are not permitted to pass in a temple. From the standpoint of temple-entry, Hindus, as already stated, fall into three main groups (1) those who could enter into the *Nalampalam* of the temple, (2) those who have access up to the *Pradakehinavazhi* only and (3) those who can stand only outside the outer wall. The Vaikhānasāgama which is a Vaishnavāgama deals with this point very elaborately.

Limit set for Avarnas.

अन्नमेषां पराधीनं देयं स्याद् भिन्नभाजने ।
अबान्धवं शवञ्चैव निर्हरेयुरिति स्थितिः ॥
रात्रौ न विचरेयुस्ते ग्रामेषु नगरेषु च ।
दिवा चरेयुः कार्यार्थं चिह्निता राजशासनैः ॥
वध्यांश्च चिन्युस्सततं यथाशास्त्रं नृपाज्ञया ।
वध्यवासांसि गृह्णीयुः शय्याश्चाभरणानि च ॥

Manusmrithi 10th Adyaya, verses 51-56.

"The dwellings of Chandalas and Svapachas shall be outside the village, they must be made Apapatras, and their wealth (shall be) dogs and donkeys. Their dress (shall be) the garments of the dead, (they shall eat) their food from broken dishes, black iron shall be their ornaments, and they must always wander from place to place. A man who fulfils a religious duty shall not seek intercourse with them ; their transactions (shall be) among themselves and their marriages with their equals. Their food shall be given to them by others (than the Aryan giver) in a broken dish ; at night they shall not walk about in villages and in towns. By day they may go about for the purpose of their work, distinguished by marks at the kings' command, and they shall carry out the corpses (of persons) who have no relatives ; that is a settled rule. By the king's order they shall always execute the criminals in accordance with the law, and they shall take for themselves the clothes, the beds and the ornaments of (such) criminals."

"സീസകാളായസാഭരണോ വർദ്ധ്രാബദ്ധകണ്ഠഃ കക്ഷേ ഝല്ലരീയുക്തഃ യതസ്തതശ്ചരൻ സർവ്വകർമ്മബഹിഷ്കൃതഃ പൂർവ്വാഹ്ണേ ഗ്രാമാദൌ വീഥ്യാമന്യ-ത്രാപി മലാന്യപകൃഷ്യ ബഹിരപോഹയതി."

"सीसकाळायसाभरणो वर्द्ध्राबद्धकण्ठः कक्षे झल्लरीयुक्तः यतस्ततश्चरन् सर्वकर्मबहिष्कृतः पूर्वाह्णे ग्रामादौ वीथ्यामन्यत्रापि मलान्यपकृष्य बहिरपोहयति ।"

Vaikhanasa Dharma Prasna, 14th Kanda

"A Chandala has to wear only ornaments of lead and iron. A leather strap should be worn round his neck. He should have a small drum in his arm pit and he should walk here and there. He is excluded from all Karmas. His occupation is to go into villages, streets and other places every morning and to scavenge those places."

"ഗർഭാഗാരേ ച സേവാർത്ഥം വൈഖാനസകുലോത്ഭവഃ
വേദാദ്ധ്യയനവിപ്രാണാം അർദ്ധമണ്ഡപസേവിതം.
യതീനാം വിഷ്ണുഭക്താനാം മഹാമണ്ഡപസേവിതം
രാജരാജകസ്ത്രീണാം നൃത്തമണ്ഡപസേവിതം.
വൈശ്യശൂദ്രാനുലോമാനാം ബാഹ്യമണ്ഡപസേവിതം.
അന്യേഷാം വിഷ്ണുഭക്താനാം ഗോപുരന്തു വിധീയതേ
പ്രതിലോമാന്ത്യജാതീനാം സ്തൂപിം ദൃഷ്ട്വാ സമാചരേൽ.

"गर्भागारे च सेवार्थं वैखानसकुलोद्भवः ।
वेदाध्ययनविप्राणां अर्द्धमण्डपसेवितम् ॥
यतीनां विष्णुभक्तानां महामण्डपसेवितम् ।
राजराजकुलस्त्रीणां नृत्तमण्डपसेवितम् ॥
वैश्यशूद्रानुलोमानां बाह्यमण्डपसेवितम् ।
अन्येषां विष्णुभक्तानां गोपुरन्तु विधीयते ॥
प्रतिलोमान्त्यजातीनां स्तूपिं दृष्ट्वा समाचरेत् ।"

"Brahmins who are Vaikhānasas may worship in the *Garbhagriha*, Brahmins able to recite the Vedas in the *Ārdhamandapa*, Sanyasins and devotees of Vishnu in the *Mahamandapa*, Kshatriyas and women of the Brahmin and Kshatriya classes in the *Nirthamandapa*, Vaisyas, Sudras and *Anuloma* castes in the *Bahyamandapa*, others who are devotees of Vishnu in the *Gopura*, and *Pratilomas* and *Antyajas* by a sight of the *Stūpi*".

The provision which relates to the Avarnas is contained in the text "പ്രതിലോമാന്ത്യജാതീനാം സ്തൂപിം ദൃഷ്ട്വാ സമാചരേൽ" "प्रतिलोमान्त्यजातीनां स्तूपिं दृष्ट्वा समाचरेत् ॥" "Pratilomajas and the Antyajas should see the Stupi (the metal dome) at the top of the roof of the shrine and worship", which means that they should remain outside the walls. To the same effect is the direction of the other Agamas too, such as *Suprabhēdāgama*, which is a *Saivāgama*.

19. There is however a sharp difference of opinion about the interpretation of the corresponding text in the Tantrasamuchaya.

Interpretation of texts in the Tantra-samuchaya.

As that is the most widely accepted authority in Kerala, as we have already remarked it is necessary to deal with the controversy at some length. The text in question occurs in the course of the enumeration of the various *Nimittas* or defiling events. It is only one verse that actually covers our point. But, for purposes of interpretation, it is desirable to have the whole passage.

"ക്ഷേത്രേ മൃതിർജ്ജനനമങ്കണമണ്ഡപാദൗ
മൂത്രാസൃഗാദിപതനം പതിതാദിവേശഃ
സോലൂകഗൃദ്ധ്രകരടശ്വഖരോഷ്ട്രകോല-
ക്രോഷ്ടൃക്ഷഡുണ്ഡുഭപുരസ്സരഗർഭവേശഃ
ബിംബസ്യ പാതചലനാദിരഥ പ്രദാഹ-
സ്വേദപ്രരോദഹസിതാനി തഥാത്ഭുതാനി
ഛത്രാകനാകുമധുകാദിസമുദ്ഗമാശ്ച
പൂജാവിലുപ്തിരപി ചാസതി ദിഷ്ടദോഷേ.
ക്ഷുദ്രാന്യമന്ത്രയജനം പ്രതിഷിദ്ധദുഷ്ട-
പുഷ്പാദിപൂജനമഥോ മരിചാദിലേപഃ
ഏതാനി തന്ത്രകഥിതാനി നിമിത്തകാനി
ജ്ഞേയാനി തത്ര ഗുരുലാഘവഭേദവന്തി. "

"क्षेत्रे मृतिर्जननमङ्कणमण्डपादौ
मूत्रासृगादिपतनं पतितादिवेशः ।
सोलूकगृद्ध्रकरटश्वखरोष्ट्रकोल-
क्रोष्टृक्षडुण्डुभपुरस्सरगर्भवेशः ॥
बिम्बस्य पातचलनादिरथ प्रदाह-
स्वेदप्ररोदहसितानि तथाद्भुतानि ।
छत्राकनाकुमधुकादिसमुद्गमाश्च
पूजाविलुप्तिरपि चासति दिष्टदोषे ॥"
"क्षुद्रान्यमन्त्रयजनं प्रतिषिद्धदुष्ट-
पुष्पादिपूजनमथो मरिचादिलेपः ।
एतानि तन्त्रकथितानि निमित्तकानि
ज्ञेयानि तत्र गुरुलाघवभेदवन्ति ॥'[1]

"Births and deaths in the Kshetram; the dropping of urine, blood and the like, and the entry of Patitas, etc., in the Ankana or Mandapas; the entry into the *Garbha-griha* of owls, vultures, crows, dogs, donkeys, camels, boars, jackals, bears, rat-snakes and the like; the falling down of the idol or its shaking or perspiring, crying or laughing or mutilation of its parts, or burning by fire, or the growth of mushrooms, ant-hills and honey combs on the idol, the omission of *puja* in the absence of perceptible *Nimittas*, offering of *pujas* by chanting wicked Mantras or Mantras appropriate to a different Devata or the offering of proscribed flowers and the like, or the application to the image of pepper, etc., are the Nimittas enumerated in Tantric works. The difference in their degrees of gravity should be known."

(1) Tantrasamuchaya, 10th Patala, verses 2-4.

The text recognises four local divisions in a temple, and the occurrence of a set of events in each division is considered as a *Nimitta* calling into requisition certain expiatory rites. These local divisions are recounted in a reverse order from outside the temple. First, the Kshetra or temple is mentioned. Then the *Ankana* and *Mandapas*, the *Garbha-griha* or sanctuary, and the Bimba or image are enumerated in order. The term 'Kshetram' includes the whole of the space enclosed by the outerwalls, 'പ്രാകാരാന്തസ്ഥലം സർവം ക്ഷേത്രമിത്യുച്യതേ' "All the areas within the outer walls is called *Kshētram*". Births and deaths in this area called *Kshetram* are said to cause pollution. The term *Ankana* apparently refers to the open space lying between the *Sreekoil* and the *Nālampalam*. The expression '*Mandapas*' will include the *Pūjāmandapa*, the kitchen, the *Balimandapa* and the *Nrittamandapa*. With the sanctum or *Garbha-griha*, they make up the Panchaprasadas, and are regarded as the gross body of the diety.[1] The spilling of blood, urine, etc., and the entrance of Patitas, etc., in the Ankana and *Mandapas* are stated to constitute defilement. The entry of owls, hawks, crows, dogs, etc., into the next inner space or *Garbhagriha* and the growth of mushrooms, ant-hills, etc. on the image itself are similarly regarded as producing pollution.

There is divergence of opinion as to whether the expression *Patitadivesa*" occurring in the second line of the text should be read along with "*Ankanamandapadavu*" or with the word

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(1) "പ്രാസാദോർച്ചാ ച വിശ്വേശിതുരിഹ വപുഷീ സ്ഥൂലസൂക്ഷ്മേ യതോതോത്രാധാരാധേയഭാവാദിതരതരഭവോന്യത്ര ചാഭ്യേതി ദോഷഃ".

"प्रासादोर्चा च विश्वेशितुरिह वपुषी स्थूलसूक्ष्मे यतोतोत्राधाराधेयभावादितर तरभवोन्यत्र चाभ्येति दोषः."

Tantrasamuchaya, X—5.

"As the prasada and the image are respectively the gross and subtle bodies of the Universal Architect, the mischief which affects either affects the other on the ground of the intimate relationship between the container and the contained.

"പ്രാസാദഗർഭപീഠാർച്ചാശ്ശരീരത്വേന ശാർങ്ഗിണഃ
കഥിതാസ്സർവ്വദാ രക്ഷ്യാ വിപ്രൈരുത്പാതശങ്കിഭിഃ

"प्रासादगर्भपीठार्चाश्शरीरत्वेन शार्ङ्गिणः ।
कथितास्सर्वदा रक्ष्या विप्रैरुत्पातशाङ्किभिः ॥"

Vishnusamhita, 25th Patala, verse 3.

"*Ksētre*" which appears in the first line. The Tantrasamu_chaya has two commentaries, one known as 'Vimarsini' written by the author's son, Sankara and the other called 'Vivaranam' by one of his pupils. The former connects the said expression with '*Kshetre*' and expounds the passage as "the entry of *Patitas*' etc. into the Kshetram or outer premises constitutes pollusion." This interpretation is followed by the authors of Tantraprayachitta and Karuttapāra-anushtanam, two of the accepted authorities in Kerala. It has the support of existing custom and is the orthodox view. On the other hand, the author of 'Vivaranam' explains the passage as "the entry of *Patitas* etc. in the Ankana and Mandapa is productive of pollution". Taking the *Nimittas* mentioned in each local division as strictly compartmental, this latter view is adopted by those holding more advanced views as being in consonance with the natural and ordinary grammatical interpretation of the passage. In this view, the prohibition does not apply to the entry of the *Patitas*, etc. into the outer open space up to the *Pradakshinavazhi*.

There is also disagreement as regards the scope of the word "ādi" occurring in the expression "*Patitādi*". One view includes in the expression the four classes of persons grouped in the Smritis as having pollution in the text "of the Chandala, Sūtika, Udakya, and Paitita, in the reverse order", the word 'adi" literally meaning "and those that follow" in the list. This interpretation would make the text apply to Chandalas as well. If also the second interpretation of the expression denoting the locality to which the text applies is adopted, the result would be that the entry of Chandalas is mentioned as a *Nimitta* only if it is into the *Nalampalam*. But it is maintained on the other side that "adi" should be interpreted *ejusdem generies* and should include only those classes whose pollution is of the same kind as that of the *Patita*. A *Patita* being one who has no pollution by birth, but to whom pollution attaches only because he has by reprehensible acts fallen from his caste-status and become degraded, the expression "adi" can then take in only people whose degradation is temporary and can be removed by lapse of time or by the performance of expiatory rites or *Prayaschitta*. This interpretation leads to the rather strange result that the entry

of the Avarnas is not mentioned at all as a polluting event, as this is the only passage in the Tantrasamuchaya enumerating such events. But the supporters of the view get over this difficulty by explaining that the Sastra cannot be expected to provide for contingencies which are well nigh in the category of the impossible. In the face of the very strict injunction as to Chandalas being kept far away from even the Savarna village [1] and as to Savarnas having no sort of association with them, the event of a Chandala entering a temple could not have been contemplated.

Interpretation of Tantrasamuchaya in consonance with other authorities.

20. It is difficult definitely to choose between these two sets of interpretations. But, apart from the interpretation of the particular words used, there is the fact that the other Agamic works, many of which are of an earlier date than the Tantrasamuchaya and probably constituted the sources from which the Tantrasamuchaya was compiled specifically ruled the theental classes out of the *prākara*, the whole area within the walls. Further the latter

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1. "ചണ്ഡാലശ്വപചാനാം തു
ബഹിർഗ്രാമാൽ പ്രതിശ്രയഃ."

"चण्डालश्वपचानां तु
बहिर्ग्रामात् प्रतिश्रयः ।"

Manu, 10th Adhyaya, verse 51.

"Chandalas and Svapachas should live outside the village".

ക്രോശദ്വയേ വാ ക്രോശേ വാ
ബഹിശ്ചണ്ഡാലപക്കണഃ.

"क्रोशद्वये वा क्रोशे वा
बहिश्चण्डालपक्कणः ।"

Isana-sivagurudeva Pedhathi.

"The huts of Chandalas should be built at a distance of two *krosas* or one *krosa*".

"ചണ്ഡാലാനാം കുടീരാണി
ക്രോശസ്യാന്തേ പ്രകല്പയേൽ".

"चण्डालानां कुटीराणि
क्रोशस्यान्ते प्रकल्पयेत् ।"

Kamikagama.

"The huts of Chandalas should be built at a distance of one krosa (a krosa being equivalent to one fourth of a Yojana)."

Kerala commentaries and compilations which accept the authority of the Tantrasamuchaya also clearly lay down that rule. Taken along with the uniform practice throughout Kerala, these facts lead us to the conclusion that, on a doubtful point of interpretation, it will be unsafe to attribute to the author of the Tantrasamuchaya the opinion that the Avarnas could be admitted up to the *Nalambalam* or the *Balivattam*.

Summing up.

21. The present position then is that, as an immemorial usage, the Avarnas have been allowed to worship at Savarna temples only from outside the *prakara* and that they are not admitted within the outer walls. It is also clear that the Agama works which are the section of the Sastra relating to temples and worship in temples, expressly prohibit the entry of the Avarnas and treat such entry as a polluting or defiling event necessitating the performance of purificatory ceremonies.

CHAPTER II.

TEMPLES—DECISIONS OF THE COURTS RELATING TO TEMPLE-ENTRY.

Importance of custom.

22. The law is in many cases but codified custom. In the Hindu law especially, there is express authority that a valid custom has the full force of law. Such a custom, even if it is in variation of textual authority, is allowed to override the latter in the locality where the custom is found. The Privy Council has accepted the rule and crystallised it into the maxim "Under the Hindu system of law, clear proof of usage will outweigh the written text of the law."

Custom as to temple-entry enforced by courts.

23. The Courts in India have, in the matter of temple-entry, recognised and enforced the customary law. There are rulings of the courts in British India as well as in Travancore which have acted upon it in the administration of criminal as well as Civil law.

Entry of Avarnas treated as defilement under the Penal Code.

24. The rationale of the usage as we have seen is that the entry of the Avarnas is prohibited by the Sastras and treated as causing pollution to the temple and the deity installed therein. In other words, the temple is 'defiled' by such entry. The Criminal law protects places of worship from defilement by making it an offence under the Penal Code. Section 295 of the Indian Penal Code corresponding to Section 294 of the Travancore Penal Code, reads:

> "Whoever destroys, damages or defiles any place of worship, or any object held sacred by any class of persons, with the intention of thereby insulting the religion of any

class of persons, or with the knowledge that any class of persons is likely to consider such destruction, damage or defilement as an insult to their religion, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extent to two years, or with fine, or with both."

25. The Courts in British India and in Travancore have repeatedly held that the entry of Avarnas into temples constitutes defilement. We shall refer to a few of those decisions.

Deciaed cases.

As early as 1885 A. D., Justice Muthuswami Aiyar of the Madras High Court, in the case reported in I Weir p. 253, held that "defilement" includes ceremonial pollution also. His Lordship said: "The words are 'whoever defiles a place of worship or an object held sacred by a certain class of persons.' The object with which the legislature framed this section was as indicated by the section itself 'to prevent wanton insult to the religious notions of that class of persons. It seems to me that the word 'defile' ought to be taken in the sense in which such class of worshippers usually understand it when it is applied to a place or an object of worship." "Nor do I see sufficient ground for holding that Sections 295 to 298 are applicable only as between those who follow different religions and not as between different sects or classes of Hindus who are animated by sectarian feelings." This ruling has since been consistently followed in British India. One of the latest decisions is in 25 Crl. Law Journal, page 155, where the entry of a Mahr into a temple was considered to cause defilement.

The Travancore High Court has followed the interpretation of defilement given by Justice Muthuswami Aiyar. In a case where some Ezhavas entered into the Kadakkavoor temple in the Chirainkizh taluk, the High Court held that their entry was punishable under section 294 of the Penal Code as it constituted defilement of the temple. An argument was advanced on behalf of the Ezhavas that their entry might have offended against caste feelings, but would not outrage any religious susceptibilities. The court overruled this contention on the ground that "in matters of worship and social observances secular conventions

and sacred precepts as they are popularly understood and practised are too closely associated and intertwined with one another amongst the Hindus to admit of clear and well defined demarcation and detachment."

On the civil side, the question arises in two ways, where the right to enter is directly claimed or denied by way of a declaration and where damages on account of expenses on purificatory ceremonies caused by the entry of Avarnas are claimed.

In the case reported in I. L. R. 31 Madras 236, both these aspects arose for consideration. The Raja of Ramnad was the hereditary trustee of the Kamudi temple. Certain Nadars entered the temple alleging a right to do so. The Raja brought a suit against them as representing their community for a declaration that the community was not entitled to enter the temple, and that the entry of the defendants, Nadars, caused pollution. He also claimed as damages the expenses incurred in purifying the temple. The courts in India decreed the suit, and on appeal, the Privy Council upheld their decision. Incidentally, that decision also shows that the right to see that the temple is not polluted by the entry of the Avarnas is one that can be exercised not only by the trustee, but also by the Savarna worshippers as beneficiaries. In that case, after the suit had been decreed by the Subordinate Judge, the Raja of Ramnad, the hereditary trustee, entered into a compromise with the Nadar defendants conceding their right to enter the temple. Some other members of the Raja's family and some worshippers were, at their own request, brought in as additional parties to the case, and Their Lordships of the Privy Council approved of the course and observed "the court on being applied to, very properly reinforced the cause of the worshippers of the temple by joining certain new plaintiffs to the original plaintiff".

Rationale of decisions.

26. The rationale of these decisions is that a Hindu temple is not a public place in the sense that a public school or a public road is, and that worship in the temple is to be regulated by the usage which, in the absence of documentary evidence as to the original intention of the foundation, may be

taken as showing that intention. In the case reported in I. L. R. 13 Madras 293, the right in question was that of an outcaste Brahmin to enter into the Sree Markandesvaraswami temple in Rajamandri. The same texts that porhibit the entry of the Avarnas prohibit also the entry of *Patitas*, and the trustees of the temple contested his right. In the course of the judgment upholding the trustees' contention, justice Muthuswami Aiyar observed "the right asserted is not an exclusive personal right or a right of domestic or family worship or a right of property which may be conceived to exist independently of caste or religion. But it is a joint right to be exercised in a religious institution conformably to caste usage to the extent recognised by it." He adopted the rule laid down by the Privy Council in Gridhari Doss *v.* Nundkosore Doss (11 M. A. 405) as determining the law applicable to Mutts. "A rule of determination is looked for in the case of such institutions in their usage, because it is an index to the intention of those who founded and endowed them and who have since kept them up. A compliance with such intention is the accepted basis on which those who claim the benefit of worshipping in these institutions can sustain their right to such benefit."

Custom not to be rejected on individual notions of right and wrong.

27. Nor can courts discard such usage on the ground of its being inequitable. In the words of Justice Sadasiva Aiyar in Gopala Mooppanar *v.* Dharmakota Subramonia Aiyar "A court of law cannot reject a custom because it is not in accordance with the principles of equity, or individual notions of right and wrong. Courts of law have recognised and enforced customs of this character although they may be repugnant to generally received notions of what is just and proper. It is not for this court to examine whether the doctrines or usages obtaining in a particular temple are defensible from a logical or equitable standpoint in the light of modern enlightenment and civilisation, but to ascertain correctly, so far as the materials placed at its disposal permit, what the custom and usage is, as observed and practised by the community for whose use and benefit the temple which is the subject of the litigation is dedicated and to be guided by them."

28. No doubt, Hindu temples are intended for the benefit of all Hindus, but subject to the restrictions imposed by usage as to the places to which the various communities can go for worship. In Gopala Mooppanar *v.* Dharmakota Subramonia Aiyar (1914 M. W. N. p 822) cited above, Justice Sadasiva Aiyar says: "Temples were intended for the worship of people belonging to all the four castes without exception. Even outcastes were not wholly left out of the benefits of temple worship, their mode of worship being, however, made subject to severe restrictions as they could not pass beyond the *Dhvajasthambham* and sometimes not beyond the temple outer gate." Justice Tyabji in the same case observes "the question" (of temple entry) "depends upon the original dedication. In the absence of specific evidence *contra*, it may be taken to be a reflex of the general religious notions prevailing amongst the members of the community for whose benefit the temple was dedicated. It is reasonable to presume that the dedication would follow the current of the prevailing religious views."

Intention of founder may be inferred from usage.

Most of the temples now in existence must have come into being within the last 2000 years. We have seen that for more than that period Avarnas have been treated as polluting communities in accordance with *Achāra* or custom supported by the Sastras. The dedication of the temples must therefore be presumed to have been for worship according to that custom.

29. To sum up the position, the courts have treated the right of the Savarnas to keep Avarnas out of their temples according to their faith to save them from pollution, as a civil right capable of adjudication, in a court of law. On the merits, they have held that, according to longstanding usage and religious authority, the Avarnas have no right to enter the temples and that they are entitled to offer worship only from the position outside the temples assigned to them by usage.

Summing up.

CHAPTER III.

LOCAL PRACTICES REGARDING ENTRY OF NON-CASTE HINDUS INTO CASTE HINDU TEMPLES.

Local practices.

30. Though this is the general rule applicable to all Savarna temples, it is said there are exceptions to it based on local practice—*Kshētrachāra*—in some temples. Some of the witnesses have given statements regarding them. Those statements were referred to the Devaswom Department and the necessary information regarding them was obtained.

Vettikkavala temple.

31. Among the temples the names of which were mentioned to us in this connection, the Siva temple at Vettikkavala calls for special notice. According to some witnesses examined at Kottarakara, a backward community of unapproachables called Kuravas has entry within the compound walls of this temple as far as the *Kalittattu* which stands outside the eastern *Pradakshinavazhi*. The Devaswom Superintendent of Vettikkavala writes that the members of the Kurava community do not enter into this temple up to the limit mentioned by the witnesses. In the south-eastern corner of the premises close to the compound wall, a small area has been demarcated and enclosed by a dwarf-wall, to which alone they are said to have admission. They enter into this area and withdraw from it through a small door opened for the purpose in the eastern compound wall. They conduct here as offering a dance called *Kuravarkali*. The entry is unrestricted and no purificatory ceremony is performed on that account. The Superintendent has also enclosed a communication received from the Tantri of this temple, which states that the admission of this prohibited caste to the alloted area does not pollute the temple, as the compound wall encloses more outer premises than what is sastraically necessary for such a temple, and as the allotted area is more than 60 ft. away from the outer *Pradakshinavazhi*. This practice cannot therefore be treated as contravening the general rule,

Kumarakoil and Sabarimala Temples.

32. The other temples mentioned in this connection are the Savarna temples of Kumarakoil and Sabarimala. The Avarnas, it is said, freely enter these temples. This alleged practice is spoken to by some Savarna witnesses. The Devaswom Department denies the practice. It is not improbable that an Avarna might now and then be found among the worshippers and those who know him and can identify him may themselves be in sympathy with the temple-entry movement or may not like to make a fuss by reporting the matter to the temple authorities. But there is no recognised practice of admitting Avarnas for worship into any of these temples.

Sasthamkotta temple.

33. In the Savarna temples of Sasthamkotta, Ayiroor Puthiakavoo and Ambalapuzha, non-caste Hindus are said to have entry on particular days. According to some witnesses, Pulayas have admission to the outer premises of the Sasthamkotta temple within the enclosure walls on a particular Saturday of the year known as Pula-Saturday. The Devaswom authorities contradict the statement and state that the Pulayas regard the 4th Saturday of the month of Dhanu as an auspicious occasion to worship the deity of this temple, and they accordingly make offerings to the God, waiting outside the enclosure walls at a distance of about one furlong from the western Gopuram.

Ayiroor Puthiakavoo temple.

34. In the Ayiroor Puthiakavoo temple, there is an annual festival called Patayani, during which, it is alleged, a few Ezhava families enter into the outer permises and proceed as far as the Nalampalam to touch it with a sword. Patayani is defined by Mr. V. Nagamayyah, in the Travancore State Manual, as " a torchlight dance practised by the Karakkars (people of the village) and held after the Arat procession in Bhagavathi temples symbolising a mock fight to commemorate the heroic deeds of the Goddess against a host of Asuras or demons. ' The Devaswom authorities state that a few Ezhava families used to enter into the outer premises of the Ayiroor-Puthiakavoo temple on the Patayani day, but that the practice has since fallen

into disuse. The festival of Patayani still goes on and a purificatory ceremony is performed at its close. Whatever might have been the origin of this practice, the performance of the purificatory ceremony makes it an exception, if at all, which only proves the rule.

Ambalapuzha temple.

35. In the Ambalapuzha temple on the last day of a ceremony called *Pallippana* performed every twelve years Velans (An Avarna community) enjoy the privilege of entering within the compound wall and proceeding as far as the *Manthrasala* in the outer premises for the purpose of a semi-religious function known as *Velan-Pravarti*. The Velans coming for this rite are ceremonially received by Ambanat Panickar, a member of a local Ezhava family, who has also the duty of supplying the toddy necessary for a part of the rite. On the close of this rite, a purification ceremony on the highest scale (Dravyakalasam) is performed to remove the pollution.

Supply of articles by avarnas.

36. Some witnesses have referred us to instances of non-caste Hindus supplying the Kanniakumari, Vaikam and other temples with *Kodikayaru* (flagstaff rope), *Kodikoora* (flag), *Udayada* (cloth for the deity), etc., as vestiges of the old custom of non-caste Hindus entering into temples and taking part in Utsavom, Vishu and other functions. In the absence of connecting facts, it would be an unwarranted inference that such instances are relics of a custom not consistent with present-day practices. From days of old, the making of cloths, ropes, bows and arrows, and such other articles was the profession of communities like Panans (weavers), Ezhavas, carpenters and other *theendal* classes. But the articles they manufactured were freely used by the Savarnas without any idea of pollution attaching to the articles themselves. Bodhayana says that "articles made by artisans are pure" "[illegible]." Like the Savarnas, the temples also were utilising these articles and they were using them not because the makers thereof were men having the right to enter the temples but because the articles

hemselves were declared by the Smritis as having no pollution. To ensure supplies and services, every temple, in olden days, employed the *Karanma system* (service inam) by which temple lands were given to certain families who were employed for the performance of the services and the supply of the articles. The hereditary right to render such services and supplies could have meant no more than that.

37. Our conclusion is that in Travancore, there is no Savarna temple where there is a local practice allowing the entry of non-caste Hindus.

Conclusion.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE TEMPLE-ENTRY MOVEMENT.

The agitation for temple-entry conducted more by Savarnas than by Avarnas.

38. The present agitation for temple-entry which we find throughout India is not conducted by the Avarnas so much as by their Savarna sympathisers. Many circumstances have contributed to the great change in the mentality of a large number of the Savarnas in recent years. The most important of them is the impact of western ideas. The theory of equality of all human beings has been for a century and a half the lever in social and political movements in the west. With the introduction into India of education on western lines, this idea of equality began to be more and more accepted by the educated young men of India. Added to this is the fact that, during the last fifty years during which political-minded India has been claiming political equality with the Britisher, the social inequalities in India have more insistently thrust themselves to the front.

The Savarnas' sympathy for the Avarnas.

39. The first direction in which this idea began to work was that of securing for the depressed classes the public conveniences which, as citizens, it was felt they had a right to enjoy. Gradually, the Avarnas were accorded the same right of entry into public roads, markets, courts, schools, and public offices. Step by step, with the recognition of these rights, the consciousness of the Avarnas as to the disabilities they were suffering under, grew. They began to feel the position of inferiority, almost of degradation, in which they were placed and they began to aspire to an equal status with those who were deemed to belong to the higher classes. The more frequent opportunities which they got to mingle with the Savarnas served to secure more sympathisers for them among the latter. It is worthy of note that today there is no one, be he conservative or radical, who is not agreed that all possible steps should be taken to facilitate the recovery of the depressed classes from their economic and social prostration.

40 The aspect in the position of the Avarnas that has struck their Savarna supporters as well as non-Hindus most is that of unapproachability or *theendal.* Travellers and historians have been struck by this phenomenon which is found nowhere else and they have left eloquent appeals to the sense of justice, equity and brotherliness in man or the removal of this custom and for the amelioration of the condition of the Avarnas. No doubt, social and political inequalities among the several classes of people in a country are not peculiar to India. The position of the Negro in America is by no means enviable and Indians themselves have had bitter experience in Africa and other foreign lands to which they have emigrated. Recent years' have seen the growth of national sentiment in India and earnest attempts are being made to raise the status of Indians abroad. In these attempts Indian nationalists have been handicapped by the existence of the custom of unapproachability in India itself. The opponents of Indian claims abroad point to the existence of the untouchable classes in India as a justification for the maintenance of inequalities elsewhere too. The Indian politician meets this obstacle at every turn. He is therefore anxious to put an end to this custom and to knock off from the hands of his opponents this ever-ready weapon.

The Indian politicians' desire to do away with untouchability.

41. What has thus drawn the attention of the outer world is the custom of unapproachability. Temple-entry is a smaller question, an internecine question among Hindus. The existence of different denominations and of different places of worship for them is found in all important religions. The admission of the followers of one religious denomination or sect into the places of worship of another sect, though following in the main the same religion, is a domestic question. The removal of unapproachability or *theendal* is a question in which the whole civilized world is interested, while temple-entry is a purely Hindu question.

Temple-entry a purely Hindu question.

Belief in theendal and caste distinctions a long-standing custom.

42. From a very early period of Hindu religious history, popular Hinduism believed in usages relating to *theendal* and in caste distinctions. The impact of Jainism and Budhism on Sanatana Hinduism had little effect on the faith of the Hindus in these matters. Nor did the religion of the Mahomedan emperors of Hindustan shake their belief in unapproachability and caste status. But, with the advent of the Christian nations of Europe, and the introduction into India of education on western lines there came a change.

Recent change of mentality among Hindus in regard to their social and religious customs.

43. Christianity is essentially a proselytising religion. In India, the Christian missionaries adopted two methods to procure coverts to their religion. They praised and preached Christianity on the one hand, and, on the other, decried the social and religious customs of the Hindus. They enlarged upon the 'inhumanity' of the observance of *theendal* among the Hindus and upon the unjustifiability of treating men as of higher and lower castes. This mode of preaching created gradually in the mind of the Avarnas a tendency to disregard the traditional superiority of the Savarnas and to look askance at the social and religious customs existing in the country. At the same time, among some of the Savarnas themselves, faith in Hinduism, as popularly practised, gradually diminished.

Disabilities of the Avarnās and their gradual removal.

44. The change of mentality thus initiated did not produce any immediate results in the religious and social usages of the Hindus. It lay dormant for some time, chiefly due to the conservative spirit of the Hindus which made them unwilling to break away from established usages. But it did not fail to show itself now and then in Travancore. Custom, at one time, prohibited the Avarnas from wearing the same kind of dress as the Savarnas and their women from wearing ornaments of gold and silver,

These restrictions were removed about a hundered years ago, Later, the prohibitions against their entering public places like roads, markets, schools, courts and public offices were one by one removed,

Unapproachability losing its hold

45. Within the last fifty years, the idea of unapproachability has been gradually losing its hold on the Hindu community. The orthodox Hindu tried to cling to the sentiment.even at great inconvenience and even hardship to himself. But each generation as it came up was less concerned to keep up the old custom than the preceeding one. Some of us can easily remember how in our school days Savarna boys had to purify themselves by a bath both noon and evening on their return from school. This practice has now almost completely ceased, Now there may be a few people here and there who religiously observe *theendal* every time they go out into the public road or any other place which is freely accessible to *theendal* classes and make a point of taking a purificatory bath before re-entering the house. But, in the case of most people, the very ide of pollution does not enter into their minds in those circumstances. It may therefore be taken that generally among Savarnas the sentiment of unapproachability in ordinary social matters is almost extinct.

Avarnans not all socially equal.

46. One important aspect of the question we would explain here. The term Avarna has been used to include several distinct communities, merely because all of them are treated as *theendal* classes having distance-pollution. But, as we have already noticed, they do not all stand on the same level. Even according to the Sastraic texts and custom, some of them have more and others less pollution. Some have to keep at a greater distance than others. There is gradation among them too, and the higher among them observe pollution at the approach of the lower. These distinctions are now less pronounced than they were a decade or two ago. But it cannot be said that they have ceased to exist,

47. The most important and numercially the biggest community among the Avarnas in Travancore, *viz*, the Ezhava community, stands out from the others on account of its educational and economic superiority. Ezhavas, according to the last census, number 869,863, a little more than the Nairs who number 868,411 They are not mere agricultural labourers like the other two main Avarna communities, the Pulayas and the Parayas, but they are an industrial and trading community. Their higher economic status has naturally given them greater educational facilities, and, on the average, they are much above the depressed class Avarnas and but little below the Savarnas in their standard of life. The disabilities of the Avarnas were therefore first felt by them, and the agitation for their removal first came from them. The Ezhavas have for some time been feeling these disabilities as humiliatory and have been organising and consolidating themselves with a view to raising their social status, The demand to have temples opened to all Hindus for worship naturally, therefor, was started by them..

Ezhavas.

48. The movement for temple entry was started in Travancore before it was thought of in British India. For the last two decades, the Ezhavas have been agitaing for the removal of unapproachability and for their admission into Hindu temples. In 1919, at the 15th session of the Sree Moolam Popular Assembly, the late Mr. K. T. Madhavan, then the editor of the 'Desabhimani', a Malayalam weekly, and a prominent member of the Ezhava community, brought before the Government a representation for the removal of *theendal* and for admission into Savarna temples. Government replied that the matter related to religion, and that, as such, they could not interfere. At the next session of the Assembly (1920), under the caption 'hardships experienced by Ezhavas in social and political life' Mr. Kunju Panicker, another member of the Ezhava community, represented that,' as Hindus, Ezhavas too had a right of entry into all Hindu temples. Government merely noted this proposition. At the 17th session of the Assembly (1921), Mr. T. K Madhavan raised the question again, but the Dewan ruled that, being a religious subject,

Movement for temple-entry started in Travancore by Ezhavas.

it could not be brought up in the Assembly. In 1923, in British India, the Cocanada Congress constituted the Kerala Untouchability Committee with a view to work for the uplift of the depressed classes. This gave an impetus to the agitation in Travancore. In 1924, the agitators resolved that the prohibited classes should enter the roads round the Vaikom temple and walk along them. In March 1924, the Satyagraha movement at Vaikom was started with the object of getting the prohibition against using the roads round the Vaikom temple removed. The Satyagraha lasted for about a year. The roads on three sides of the temple (excepting the eastern side) were thrown open and the Satyagraha stopped.

49. Since then, there have been similiar attempts made with regard to roads around temples in a few other places. The Guruvayur Satyagraha in 1932 gave a fresh stimulus to the movement.

CHAPTER V.

TEMPLE ENTRY AND SOCIAL UPLIFT.

Whether temple-entry is a sine-qua-non for the social uplift of Avarnas.

50. Here we come up against the question of the relation between this universally accepted movement for the uplift of the depressed classes and the hotly contested move for allowing the Hindus among them to enter temples where only Savarna Hindus are now allowed. According to the reformer, in the work of the social uplift of the Avarnas, there is nothing more important than promoting his sense of selfrespect and removing his inferiority-complex. Religious practices exert a great influence on the mind of the Hindu, be he Avarna or Savarna, and, so long as the Avarna is kept at a greater distance before the God whom he worships in common with others, the distinction will continue to remind him of his inferiority and prove a serious handicap to his progress in all directions. The Sanatanist on the other hand maintains that worshipping in the same place is not a *sine-qua-non* of social equality. Even among those who are now admitted into temples for worship, equality is not found. There are different limits to which the different classes can proceed. Some of these classes consider the touch of some others to cause pollution. Nor does the European, the Christian or the Mohamedan consider himself treated as a social inferior because he is not allowed to go into Hindu temples. Religion is a matter of faith and the religious faith of no section of the community should be attacked under the guise of establishing social equality. Most religions have denominational and sectarian cleavages and so has the Hindu religion. Sanatana Hindus have for ages accepted certain tenets and have ordered their religious worship on them and it will be an unwarranted interference with their rights and with their freedom of worship if they are forced to act against

these accepted tenets. No one can claim to be a member of a particular denomination of a religion unless he accepts its doctrines, however distasteful or even repugnant they might be to others. As soon as a person loses faith in them and refuses to recognise them, he ceases to be a member of that denomination and cannot thereafter claim to participate in its worship. His exclusion from such worship does not affect his social status. The removal of any disabilities that may still exist as regards the use of public places or mixing with other citizens in public institutions and functions, will secure as much social equality as it is possible to have.

Are Avarnas Hindus?

51. It is in this state of divided views that we have to deal with this problem. On the threshold of this controversy, we are met by the question whether the Avarnas are Hindus. The demand for temple-entry is conditioned primarily upon an affirmative answer to this question. It is as Hindus that entry is claimed for them into Hindu temples. Some of the opponents of temple-entry maintain that, in the sense in which alone the question is relevant to the issue, they are not Hindus. The term 'Hindu', they say, is a vague one which has come into use in comparatively recent times. The Aryas never called themselves by that name, and we do not find it in early Sanskrit literature. The law of the Aryas was called Sanatana Dharma, and their religion was Vedic religion. The term 'Hindu' was brought into use by foreigners as a convenient general appellation to denote the people of India, and Hinduism came to mean the religion of the Hindus. Certain religions are found to have risen in India subsequently, like Jainism or Buddhism, or been introduced into India like Christianity and Mohamedanism. Indians who did not follow any of these religions were lumped together as followers of Hinduism.

The social and religious system of the Aryas meant for the four Varnas.

52. We may note here that the social and religious system developed by the Aryas was mainly meant for themselves. They were divided into four Varnas and all others were outside the scheme of the Varnas. *Varnabahyas.*[1] The moral and religious precepts and the rules for their observance and maintenance were elaborated for those within the Varna fold. There is not the least doubt from the historical point of view that the Aryans who came to India had to settle down in the midst of people who were there before them. As the conquering race and the race with a more virile culture, they kept themselves aloof from the conquered races who were treated as inferiors, and, probably, at least in some cases, as slaves. Naturally, they were considered unfit to mix with the conquering races and the law therefore segregated them.

Varnabahyas and Avarnas.

53. The class outside the Aryan social system was added to by the influx of those who were frequently expelled from the Aryan fold. Breach of social and religious rules was punished by expulsion. The *Varnabahyas* arising in both these ways evidently form the Avarnas, literally those having no Varna.

Avarnas not a homogeneous class.

54. As we have already remarked, the Avarnas do not constitute a homogeneous class. There are several communities among them having very little in common in social or religious practices. Some of the differences may be local. But there can be no doubt that, in some cases, the differences are racial. Some of the Avarna communities

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(1) "ബ്രാഹ്മണഃ ക്ഷത്രിയോ വൈശ്യസ്ത്രയോ വർണ്ണാ ദ്വിജാതയഃ
ചതുർത്ഥ ഏകജാതിസ്തു ശൂദ്രോ നാസ്തി തു പഞ്ചമഃ."

"ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियो वैश्यस्त्रयो वर्णा द्विजातयः ।
चतुर्थ एकजातिस्तु शूद्रो नास्ति तु पञ्चमः ॥

Manu, Chap. X, Verse 4.

"The three Varnas, Brahmans, Kshatriya and Vaisya have two births (they are Dvijas). Sudra has only one birth. There is no fifth Varna." This is explained by Kulluka on the ground that cross-castes (Sankirna-jatis) cannot be considered as separate from the castes of their mother or father in the same manner as mules cannot be treated as a separate species of the animal kingdom apart from horses and donkeys.

have their own temples in some places. Mostly, the temples are very simple affairs, often some forest glade or grove of trees. But there are also here and there, especially among the Ezhavas and the Nadars, ancient and substantial temples.[1] In some of these temples, the Gods worshipped are Hindu Gods and the mode of worship is analogous to that in Savarna temples.

Avarnas taken as Hindus.

55. We have referred to this matter at some length because it has been seriously put forward for consideration by some of the Savarnas in their answers to the *qestionnaire* issued by the Committee. The controversy based upon the indefinite use of certain words, is, in itself, we think, incapable of affecting the actual position on the facts. It is conceded that, in recent times, at any rate, the term Hinduism has become current, and that the Avarnas are included within its ambit. It is also seen that the Avarnas worship the same Gods as the Savarnas either at Savarna temples or in temples of their own, though some of them may also have their primitive tribal Gods for worship. For our present purpose then, the Avarnas have to be taken to be Hindus. The only question is how far the demand for their admission into temples can be met.

Nature of the claim of Avarnas to temple-entry.

56. We cannot help noticing in this connection that, to some extent, the bitterness that has been imported into his controversy is due to the way in which the claim on behalf of the Avarnas is presented. Some supporters of the claim seem to think it necessary to put it forward as a clear right which has been wrongfully and illegally kept from them during all these centuries. We have already noticed that, judged by the Sastras and by the usage relating to temples and worship in temples or by the law as now administered by the courts, the Avarnas cannot be said to have a right to be admitted into temples. If, however, the right they claim is not a legal right but a moral right based on the fact that they

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1. Barbosa, at the beginning of the 16th century, says that the Ilavas and and the Mukkuvas had temples of their own at that time. *Vide* East Africa and Malabar pp. 137-38.

are followers of the same religion and worshippers of the same Gods, that position should be made clear.

57. The patent evils of aggressive proselytism may have induced our religious leaders not to resort to it. But there are historical instances of large classes of people like the Bactrians, the Greeks, the Scythians and the Huns who were not originally Indo-Aryans being gradually admitted into the Hindu fold. This illustrates the great assimilating power of Hindu culture.

Assimilating power of Hindu culture.

58. The *Varnabahyas* might not at first have had any part in the social or religious life of the Savarnas. But the genius of the Aryan culture was all-embracing and not exclusive. Gradually, the *Varnabahyas* must have been drawn closer to the Aryan scheme of things and the leaders of Aryan culture, while maintaining the rule against mixture of races (*Varnasankara*), must have been willing to extend to the Avarnas the benefit of their social and religious system. The worship of the Avarnas at Savarna temples, even from outside the walls, could not have become so common without the approval and help of the Savarnas. In some temples, special conveniences are provided for such worship, and it is not unlikely that processions beyond the limits of the temple and even of the Savarna village on festive occasions, have been prescribed specially for the benefit of the Avarnas. The question of their entering into temples apart, it cannot therefore be denied that in a restricted sense Savarna temples have been treated as being for the benefit of the Avarnas as well. The supporters of temple-entry plead that the time has now come for a step in advance being taken.

Savarna temples meant for Avarnas also though subject to restrictions.

59. The case of temple-entry is based on certain alternative grounds. First, it is claimed that there are no sastraic injunctions in support of the prohibition of the entry of Avarnas into Savarna temples. It is said that, in the Vedas, which are the most authoritative of Hindu religious works, there is nothing on this point. Nor, it is said, are there any

Sastraic position.

prohibitions in the Sastras. We have already noticed that, in the earliest portions of the Vedas, we do not find any reference to temples or image-worship. The view of historians is that image-worship arose only in the later vedic period and that it became common only in the Sūtra period about the 6th Century B.C. In the Dharmasūtras we find frequent references to temples.

Prohibition in Agamas.

60. As for the Sastras, there are, as we have shown, many texts in the Smritis relating to the Avarnas and their *theendal* or distance-pollution. We have also seen that, in the portion of the Sastras especially dealing with temples, *viz.*, the Agamas, there are specific texts prohibiting the entry of the Avarnas. It is therefore impossible to maintain that the practice of excluding the Avarnas from temples is unsupported by textual authority.

Application of the texts to present-day Avarnas.

61. The next branch of the case is that whatever texts there might be on the matter. cannot be taken as referring to the communities which constitute the present-day Avarnas. To put it in concrete form, the argument is that the texts do not mention Ezhavas, Pulayas or Parayas, or any of the other Avarnas by their present names. The inference is then drawn that there are no texts relating to these people. This point too, we have already considered, and we have stated our conclusion that, on any resonable interpretation, it is indisputable that, though different names are employed in them, the prohibitory texts embrace the Avarnas of to-day.

Lax observance of rules of pollution in Society.

62. The next argument is that, though there might be texts prohibiting temple-entry, there are analogous texts imputing *theendal* or distance-pollution to the Avarna classes, and that the authority of the two sets of texts must go together. According to the Sastras, the approach of the *theendal* classes to the high-caste Hindu causes pollution to him; and he has to purify himself by bathing and by

other ceremonial rites prescribed in the Sastras. In recent years, these rules of social pollution are not being strictly observed. As a matter of fact, they are more honoured in the breach than in the observance. It was the rule of pollution applying, for instance, to the sacrificial fire and consequently to the higher castes that was applied to the diety and the temples. If the rule has become practically a dead letter outside the temple, why should it be strictly maintained inside the temple alone? Indeed, it is really impossible to observe it within the temple while it is not being observed in society. A person who gets polluted outside the temple would be polluting the temple by entering it without performing the purificatory rites and it is very rarely that people observe that rule. The rule of pollution is thus, in reality, not being observed, and its observance in the temple is only a pretence, and it is meaningless to try to observe it inside temples alone.

Sanatanists' explanation.

63. As regards this position, it cannot be gainsaid that, in recent years, in the matter of observing pollution, the conditions have gradually changed. The Sanatanists also concede this though they do not concede that that change is any justification for giving up the rule regarding temple-entry. Their reasons for this position are three-fold.

(*a*) In the first place, the lax practice in the matter of observing pollution in public places is itself in accordance with sastraic rules. The Dharmasastras themselves allow relaxation of the rules in certain cases. They do not insist upon the impossible or the impracticable. They lay down what are known as *Apaddarmas*, *i. e.*, rules of conduct in times of danger and difficulty. They also recognise exceptions to the strict rule of pollution in places and circumstances where it will be extremely inconvenient, if not impossible, to observe it strictly Instance the following texts:—

"ദേവയാത്രാവിവാഹേഷു
യജ്ഞപ്രകരണേഷു ച
ഉത്സവേഷു ച സർവ്വേഷു
സ്പൃഷ്ടാസ്പൃഷ്ടിർന്ന വിദ്യതേ"

[1]"देवयात्राविवाहेषु
यज्ञप्रकरणेषु च ।
उत्सवेषु च सर्वेषु
स्पृष्टास्पृष्टिर्न विद्यते ॥"

"At religious processions, at marriages and at festivals of all kinds, the rule of untouchability (or unapproachability) is not known (not observed)."

"സങ്കടേ വിഷമേ ചൈവ
ദുർഗ്ഗേ ചൈവ വിശേഷതഃ
ഹട്ടപട്ടണമാർഗ്ഗേ ച
സംഭവന്തി യഥാ ഭവേൽ"

"सङ्कटे विषमे चैव
दुर्गे चैव विशेषतः ।
हट्टपट्टणमार्गे च
सम्भवन्ति यथा भवेत् ॥"[2]

"In calamities or in difficulties, and, especially, in a fortress, in a market or in a highroad, let what may happen (if pollution happens, it does not matter)."

As regards pollution on the way to a temple, there is a special provision in Devala smriti.

"ദേവാലയസമീപസ്ഥാൻ
ദേവസേവാർത്ഥമാഗതാൻ
ചണ്ഡാലാൻ പതിതാൻ വാപി
സ്പൃഷ്ട്വാ ന സ്നാനമാചരേൽ"

"देवालयसमीपस्थान्
देवसेवार्थमागतान् ।
चण्डालान् पतितान्वापि
स्पृष्ट्वा न स्नानमाचरेत् ॥"

"If Chandalas or Patitas, who are found near the temple, having come there for worship, happen to be touched (by a high caste man), a bath need not be taken by the latter."

The non-observance of the rules of pollution at the present day is, according to them, mainly to be found in cases that fall within these exceptions.

(*b*) In the second place, it is maintained that even now there are many Savarna Hindus who strictly follow the rules of

1 Atrismriti quoted in Parasara Madhaviya.
2 Samvarta, another old Smritikara, quoted in Parasara Madhaviya.

pollution and that, in the case of those who do not, as far as pollution occurs, it is merely on social occasions, and it is a matter of purely individual concern to them. But entry into and pollution of the temple is a matter affecting the whole community of Savarnas. If an individual chooses not to purify himself after being polluted in a public place, it is a matter for himself alone. It does not directly affect others who still desire to observe the rules. The latter could, whenever they are polluted, purify themselves by performing the prescribed rites. But a temple polluted affects all those who wish to go to the temple for worship.

(c) Thirdly, the position as regards pollution of the temple is altogether different from that of individuals in public places. A temple is sacred place, a place meant for religious worship, and the need for absolute purity, material and spiritual, is paramount there. The analogy between a public place, *e. g.*, a school or market, and a temple is extremely inapt. Whatever may happen outside, the temple itself has to be protected from pollution.

64. The relaxation in practice of the rule regarding pollution outside the temple which is a fact that no one can deny has to some extent weakened the observance of *theendal* or distance-pollution generally. But, though the observance of *theendal* outside and the prohibition of *theendal* castes entering temples cannot be said to have no connection with each other, the latter is based upon specific, independent tests in the authoritative works on temple-worship. These authorities have to be reckoned with separately from the texts in the Dharmasastras relating to *theendal* outside.

Position that minority has no right to thwart the will of the majority.

65. It is then urged by the supporters of the temple-entry movement that, if the Savarnas are the beneficiaries who are entitled to keep the Avarnas out of the temples, the voice of the majority of the Savarnas should prevail in the matter. If the majority of the Savarnas are willing to permit the Avarnas to worship with them within the temple, the minority cannot have

a right to thwart the will of the majority. The law must side with the majority of the beneficiaries.

66. This, however, is not the law. Every religious institution must have been founded with a view to worship being conducted according to certain principles and on the basis of certain tenets accepted by the followers of a particular sect of denomination. Whoever ceases to have faith in these tenets, ceases to be a member of that persuasion and, *ipso facto*, loses the right to benefit by the foundation. It makes no difference that the number of such dissentients is large or that they form the majority. The foundation is for the benefit of those who stick to the original faith. As long as there is even one such, the law will maintain his right against all the dissentients.

Reply.

67. This is a legal position which is firmly established by the decisions of the courts in England, in British India and in Travancore. It is well summed up in the extract from an English decision quoted and relied on by the Travancore High Court in Vol. 23 of the Travancore Law Reports at page 180: "Where a congregation become dissentient among themselves, the nature of the original institution must alone be looked to as the guide for the decision of the court—and to refer to any other criterion *as to the sense of the existing majority* would be to make a new institution, which is altogether beyond the reach and inconsistent with the duties and character of this court."

68. The next branch of the argument for temple-entry is that, having regard to the changed circumstances today, especially the change in the attitude of the Savarnas to the Avarna communities, the prohibitory texts in the Sastras should be annulled or modified. The prohibitions in the Agama sastras exist side by side with the precepts and rules in the Dharmasastras enforcing the social segregation of the Avarnas. That social segregation has almost become a thing of the past, and what is more, the bulk of the Savarnas themselves, far from desiring that segregation, are prepared to work for the bridging of the gulf between the Savarnas and the Avarnas. If the Avarnas and the Savarnas can thus freely mix together

Changed circumstances.

outside the temples, is there any reason why the Avarnas should not be allowed to mix with the Savarnas inside the temples for worship? Even now the Avarnas worship the same Gods, and they worship at the same temples. Only, they are segregated and kept outside the temples and not allowed to mix with the Savarnas in the temples. There being free movement outside, why should segregation be kept up here alone?

Movement for temple-entry the result of social changes.

69. This it seems to us, is the most important point in the whole controversy. The question of temple-entry itself would perhaps not have arisen but for the breaking down of social barriers and the freedom with which all classes of society are brought together without any distinction in public affairs. Freedom of intercourse between the Savarnas and the Avarnas has naturally brought about greater sympathy between the classes and a stronger desire for the levelling of distinctions. The Savarnas themselves have been more and more appreciating the need for taking in the Avarnas and strengthening the bonds of Hindu society. The movement for temple-entry is, in the main, the result of this change.

The plea that Avarnas have temples of their own.

70. It is sometimes said that, as the Avarnas have their own temples, there is no need to admit them into Savarna temples. No doubt, there are some Avarna temples, and the Avarna witnesses who have been examined avow their faith in the efficacy of worship in such temples. The number of those temples however, is very small and they are quite inadequate to serve the religious needs of the Avarna communities. Further-more, the Avarnas feel that some of the Savarna temples have a reputation for great sanctity and Hindus who have faith in temples cannot but attach superior efficacy to the worship in those temples. Their desire to share in the benefit of worship in them cannot be met by the plea that there are other temples where they have the right to worship.

71. The question of efficacy apart, from the point of view of the Avarnas—the educated Avarnas—the question, as recently it has come to be treated, is one of communal self-respect. They are Hindus they worship the Gods of Hinduism, and yet they are not allowed the use of Hindu places of worship. The more impatient among them feel that it is disgraceful that, in the face of this denial by the Savarnas of opportunities for worship, they should still call themselves Hindus. Some of them would, as a protest, cease to be Hindus and attach themselves to some other religion. No doubt, the present practice is not one for which any one today is responsible, as it has been in existence for several centuries. But, as a matter of psychology, this attitude of theirs is easily understandable.

Communal self-respect.

72. A consideration of the decennial census reports of the last half century proves that there has been a very heavy landslide among the Avarnas which has reduced the number of the Hindus and added to that of other religionists, especially, Christians. The Avarnas in Travancore that have thus left Hinduism in the last fifty years are seen to be approximately five lakhs.[1] The figures are somewhat disquieting and they are beginning to make an impression even on the conservative Hindu. The need for doing something to check this outflow is widely felt. But there is no agreement as to the remedy to be applied.

Conversion of Avarnas to other religions.

73. The Sanatanists' reply is that it is unfortunate that the Avarnas should think that their exclusion from temples is insulting them. That feeling is based upon a serious misconception. The division of Hindu society into various strata is based on the Karma theory which is one of the most universally accepted and fundamental principles of Hinduism. The caste into which a person is born is determined by the effect of the acts of the *Jiva* or the soul in

Worship in temples a question of faith.

1. Census Report of Travancore for 1931 P. 389.

its previous lives.[1] The caste position does not depend on the person's acts or conduct in this life. Nor can such acts or conduct suffice to alter the caste status except for a future life. A recognition of a person's caste does not therefore imply personal admiration or contempt, for it does not depend at all upon the qualities of the person in this life. Whether this position is appreciated or not, the sacredness of temples should not be allowed to be marred by breaking the rules of the Agamas. The entry of the Avarnas into temples is prohibited by the Agama sastras, and such entry, it is declared, will, if expiatory ceremonies as prescribed are not performed, destroy the sanctity. If the sanctity (*Chaitanya*) of the image is lost, the temple becomes a mere empty building and must certainly cease to serve the purpose of a temple. Temples are intended for the benefit of those who have faith in the Divinity of the *Pratishta* (installation) in the temple and the sanctity of the temple as the abode of the Divinity. Temples themselves have been consecrated according to the Agama sastras ; the deity is installed in accordance with the rites prescribed by Agama sastras ; and the sanctity attaching to the temple and the deity installed therein is, according to the faith of the worshipping Hindu, induced by the performance of rites and ceremonies prescribed by the Agama sastras. In order to maintain that sanctity, the rules prescribed or the conditions laid down in the Agama sastras must be observed. If we have faith in temples, in the deities installed in the temples,

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"സർവ്വവർണ്ണാനാം സ്വധർമ്മാനുഷ്ഠാനേ പരമപരിമിതം സൌഖ്യം; തതഃ പരിവൃത്തൌ കർമ്മഫലശേഷേണ ജാതിം രൂപം വർണ്ണം ബലം മേധാം പ്രജ്ഞാം ധർമ്മാനുഷ്ഠാനമിതി പ്രതിപദ്യതേ"

"सर्ववर्णानां स्वधर्मानुष्ठाने परमपरिमितं सौख्यं ; ततः परिवृत्तौ कर्मफल-शेषेण जातिं रूपं वर्णं बलं मेधां प्रज्ञां धर्मानुष्ठानमिति प्रतिपद्यते ।"

Apastamba's Dharmasutras, II Prasna, 1st Patala, 2nd Kanta, 3rd Sutra.

"ധർമ്മചര്യയാ ജഘന്യോ വർണ്ണഃ പൂർവ്വം പൂർവ്വം വർണ്ണമാപദ്യേത ജാതിപരിവൃത്തൌ; അധർമ്മചര്യയാ പൂർവ്വോ വർണ്ണോ ജഘന്യം വർണ്ണമാപദ്യതേ ജാതിപരിവൃത്തൌ"

"धर्मचर्यया जघन्यो वर्णः पूर्वं पूर्वं वर्णमापद्येत जातिपरिवृत्तौ; अधर्म-चर्यया पूर्वो वर्णो जघन्यं वर्णमापद्यते जातिपरिवृत्तौ ।"

Ibid. II Prasna, 5th Patala, 11th Khanta, Sutras 10 and 11.

and in the forms of worship observed in the temples, we cannot withdraw our faith from these conditions alone. These are all equally matters of faith, and it will be improper and illogical to attempt to apply the test of reason to one part of them alone. Just as we cannot reason as to how or why the ceremonies of installation induce sanctity in the image or why the daily ceremonies prescribed by the Agamas are needed to maintain the sanctity of the image, we should not attempt to reason how or why restrictions as regards themple-entry are necessary in order not to destroy that sanctity.

Are Conversions due to prohibition to enter temples?

74. The Sanatanists do not attribute conversions of the Avarnas to other religions to their not being allowed to enter temples. There were many conversions before the temple-entry question was mooted. Conversions have, in fact, been less numerous in recent years, because of the general improvement in the social and economic position of the Avarnas. Conversions have been due not to any religious considerations at all. Converts have been attracted by the chances of easier or more lucrative employment, and no doubt, an improved social position. And conversions will cease when the social and economic position of the Hindu Avarnas is improved.

Social disabilities one of the reasons for conversion.

75. It may be conceded that conversions in the past have not always been due to the converts' conviction that the religion which they accepted was better than the religion which they were giving up. They knew equally little perhaps about either religion. But, with the awakening that has now taken place among the Avarnas, their consciousness of the disabilities which they have to suffer in Hindu society is likely to prove an irritating cause for a desire to get out of it. This is not an aspect that can be ignored. At the same time, it is indisputable that the removal of inequalities in public social life and the carrying out of measures to improve the economic condition of the Avarnas will go a long way to relieve the irritation.

76. It is then urged by the supporters of tempe-entry that, according to the Sastras themselves, the rules and practices which were followed in one age may have to be given up or modified in another age :

Different rules and practices for different ages.

"യുഗേ യുഗേ ച യേ ധർമ്മാ-
സ്തത്ര തത്ര ച യേ ദ്വിജാഃ
തേഷാം നിന്ദാ ന കർത്തവ്യാ
യുഗരൂപാ ഹി തേ ദ്വിജാഃ"

"युगे युगे च ये धर्मा-
स्तत्र तत्र च ये द्विजाः ।
तेषां निन्दा न कर्तव्या
युगरूपा हि ते द्विजाः ॥" 1

"Special are the rules of conduct for each cyclical age, and the regenerate castes are guided by the rules that govern the age ; no censure can therefore attach to them, for the regenerate conform to the spirit of the age."

"അന്യേ കൃതയുഗേ ധർമ്മാ-
സ്ത്രേതായാം ദ്വാപരേ യുഗേ
അന്യേ കലിയുഗേ നൃണാം
യുഗരൂപാനുസാരതഃ"

"अन्ये कृतयुगे धर्मा-
स्त्रेतायां द्वापरे युगे ।
अन्ये कलियुगे नृणां
युगरूपानुसारतः ॥"2

"In conformity with the character of the age, the rules of law suitable for men differ from age to age. The rules for *Krita* differ from the *Treta* rules ; the *Dvapara* laws are not identical with the *Kali* rules."

"കൃതേ തു മാനവാ ധർമ്മാ-
സ്ത്രേതായാം ഗൗതമാഃ സ്മൃതാഃ
ദ്വാപരേ ശംഖലിഖിതാഃ
കലൗ പാരാശരാഃ സ്മൃതാഃ"

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1. Parasara I, 33.
2. Parasara. I, 22.

"कृते तु मानवा धर्मा-
त्रेतायां गौतमाः स्मृताः ।
द्वापरे शाङ्खलिखिताः
कलौ पाराशराः स्मृताः ॥"1

"For the *Krita* age, the laws of Manu are suited, for the *Treta*, those by Gautama, for the *Dvapara*, those by Sankha and Likhita, and for the *Kali*, those by Parasara are prescribed."

"ത്യജേദ്ദേശം കൃതയുഗേ
ത്രേതായാം ഗ്രാമമുത്സൃജേൽ
ദ്വാപരേ കുലമേകന്തു
കർത്താരന്തു കലൌ യുഗേ."

"त्यजेद्देशं कृतयुगे
त्रेतायां ग्राममुत्सृजेत् ।
द्वापरे कुलमेकन्तु
कर्तारन्तु कलौ युगे ॥"2

"In the *Krita*, one should quit the country itself of one who has perpetrated an offence; in the *Treta* it is enough to quit the village of the perpetrator; in the *Dvapara*, the family of the perpetrator alone need be shunned; and, in the *Kali*, the offender alone."

"കലൌ ഹി പാപബാഹുല്യം
ദൃശ്യതേ സ്മര്യതേപി ച
നരാഃ പ്രായോല്പസാമർത്ഥ്യാ-
സ്തേഷാമനുജിഘൃക്ഷയാ
സമകോചയദാചാരം
പ്രായശ്ചിത്തം വ്രതാനി ച."

"कलौ हि पापबाहुल्यं
दृश्यते स्मर्यतेऽपि च ।
नराः प्रायोल्पसामर्थ्या-
स्तेषामनुजिघृक्षया ॥
समकोचयदाचारं
प्रायश्चित्तं व्रतानि च ।"3

"In the *Kali* age, an enormity of sin is both seen and contemplated. Men are mostly of meagre capacity and it

1. Parasara, I, 24.
2. Parasara, I. 25.
3. Parasaramadhaviya, Madhava's introduction.

is with a view to benefit them that *Āchārā*, *Prayschitta* and *Vritas* have been circumscribed.

Instances of change of rules in Smritis.

77. The Smritis also contain instances of such changes. The following are some of the texts enumerating the changes made for the Kali Yuga.

"ഊഢായാഃ പുനരുദ്വാഹം
ജ്യേഷ്ഠാംശം ഗോവധം തഥാ
കലൌ പഞ്ച ന കുർവീത
ഭ്രാതൃജായാം കമണ്ഡലും."

"ऊढायाः पुनरुद्वाहं
ज्येष्ठांशं गोवधं तथा ।
कलौ पञ्च न कुर्वीत
भ्रातृजायां कमण्डलुम् ॥"[1]

"Re-marriage of girls, an additional share for the eldest son, the killing of animals, the *Niyoga* form of begetting children and Sannyasa, these five should not be done".

"വിധവായാം പ്രജോത്പത്തൌ
ദേവരസ്യ നിയോജനം
ബാലികാ ക്ഷതയോന്യോശ്ച
വരേണാന്യേന സംസ്കൃതിഃ.

....

....

പിതാ പുത്രവിരോധേഷു
സാക്ഷിണാം ദണ്ഡകല്പനം
യതേഃ സായം ഗൃഹത്വം ച
സൂരിഭിസ്തത്വദർശിഭിഃ
ഏതാനി ലോകഗുപ്ത്യർത്ഥം
കലേരാദൌ മഹാത്മഭിഃ
നിവർത്തിതാനി കർമ്മാണി
വ്യവസ്ഥാപൂർവ്വകം ബുധൈഃ.
സമയശ്ചാപി സാധൂനാം
പ്രമാണം വേദവദ്ഭവേത്."

"विधवायां प्रजोत्पत्तौ
देवरस्य नियोजनम् ।
बालिका क्षतयोन्योश्च
वरेणान्येव संस्कृतिः ॥

1. Vayupurana.

....

....

पिता पुत्रविरोधेषु
साक्षिणां दण्डकल्पनम् ।
यतेः सायं गृहत्वं च
सूरिभिस्तत्वतत्परैः ॥
एतानि लोकगुप्त्यर्थं
कलेरादौ महात्मभिः ।
निवर्तितानि कर्माणि
व्यवस्थापूर्वकं बुधैः ॥
समयश्चापि साधूनां
प्रमाणं वेदवद् भवेत् ॥"

"The *Niyoga* form of procreating[1] children, the re-marriage of virgin widows, etc., etc., etc., the punishment of witnesses in the event of a quarrel between a father and son, and last, the wandering of a Sannyasin without lodging and food, these have been declared by great sages at the beginning of the *Kali Yuga* by means of a definite decision in iew to the protection of the world to be *Āchārās* which should not be observed. The decisions of good men are as much authority as the Vedas themselves:

"ദേവരേണ സുതോത്പത്തിഃ
വാനപ്രസ്ഥപരിഗ്രഹഃ
....
....
ദീർഘകാലബ്രഹ്മചര്യം
നരമേധാശ്വമേധകൌ
കലൌ പഞ്ച ന കുർവീത
ഭ്രാതൃജായാപ്രവേശനം."

"देवरेण सुतोत्पत्तिः
वानप्रस्थपरिग्रहः ।
....
....

1. Adityapuranas quoted in Kamalakara Bhatta's Nirnayasindhu, pp. 275-7. The passage is very long and it is only a few verses at the beginning and the end that have been extracted here.

"दीर्घकालब्रह्मचर्यं
नरमेधाश्वमेधकौ ।
कलौ युगे त्विमान् धर्मान्
वर्ज्यानाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥"[1]

"The *Niyoga* from of procreating children, the acceptance of the *Vanaprastasrama*, the performance of *Brahmacharya* for any considerable period and human and horse sacrifices, these have been declared by learned men to be *Dharma* which should not be observed in the Kali age.

Exceptions to general rules.

78. It is also seen that, on grounds, evidently, of expediency, exceptions to general rules are liberally provided for in the Smritis. For instance, though specific periods of pollution are prescribed for near relations at births and deaths, in certain cases instantaneous *Sudhhi* or purification is declared.

"ശില്പിനഃ കാരുകാ വൈദ്യാ ദാസീദാസാശ്ച നാപിതാഃ
രാജാനശ്ശ്രോത്രിയാശ്ചൈവ സദ്യഃ ശൌചാഃ പ്രകീർത്തിതാഃ,
സംവൃതഃ സത്രപൂതശ്ച ആഹിതാഗ്നിശ്ച യോ ദ്വിജഃ
രാജ്ഞശ്ച സൂതകം നാസ്തി യസ്യ ചേച്ഛതി പാർത്ഥിവഃ,
ഉദ്യതോ നിധനേ ദാനേ ആർത്തോ വിപ്രോ നിമന്ത്രിതഃ
തദൈവ ഋഷിഭിർദ്ദൃഷ്ടം യഥാകാലേ ന ശുദ്ധ്യതി."

"शिल्पिनः कारुका वैद्या दासीदासाश्च नापिता ।
राजानः श्रोत्रियश्चैव सद्यः शौचाः प्रकीर्तिताः ।
संवृतः सत्रपूतश्च आहिताग्निश्च यो द्विजः ।
राज्ञश्च सूतकं नास्ति यस्य चेच्छति पार्थिवः ॥
उद्यतो निधने दाने आर्तो विप्रो निमन्त्रितः ।
तदैव ऋषिभिर्दृष्टं यथाकाले न शुद्ध्यति ॥"[2]

'Artists, artisans of all classes, physicians, female and male servants, barbers, kings and *srotriya* Brahmins who had a sanctified religious life, all these are purified without a moment's delay. A person observing a religious vow, a person purified by being engaged in a sacrificial right, one of a regenerate caste who has set up a sacred fire in his house and a person whose services are requisitioned by the king, these and a sovereign have no impurity on

1. Smrityarthasara.
2. Parasara, Prayaschitta Kanda, III—20-23

account of birth. A person who is about to be engaged in a battle or who has made preparations for making a gift, one who is distressed or a Brahmin who has been invited to participate in a religious feast, these become pure then and there—as pure as if they have observed the full prescribed term of purification."

Madhavacharya, in his commentary on these verses, states that these exceptions are provided to obviate the great inconvenience that would otherwise be caused to the public.

"ശില്പിനശ്ചിത്രകാരാദ്യാഃ
കർമ്മ യൽ സാധയന്ത്യലം
തൽ കർമ്മ നാന്യോ ജാനാതി
തസ്മാൽ ശുദ്ധാഃ സ്വകർമ്മണി."
"ചികിത്സകോ യൽ കുരുതേ
തദന്യേന ന ശക്യതേ
തസ്മാച്ചികിത്സകഃ സ്പർശേ
ശുദ്ധോ ഭവതി നിത്യശഃ."

"शिल्पिनश्चित्रकाराद्याः
कर्म यत् साधयन्त्यलम् ।
तत्कर्म नान्यो जानाति
तस्मात् शुद्धाः स्वकर्मणि ॥"
"चिकित्सको यत्कुरुते
तदन्येन न शक्यते ।
तस्माच्चिकित्सकः स्पर्शे
शुद्धो भवति नित्यशः ॥"[1]

"The work that artists like painters do is not known to others, and therefore they are pure so far as their work is concerned. Again, the work that a physician does is one which is not possible for another to perform, and therefore a physician is always pure so far as his touch is concerned."

So too, in the case of untouchability and unapproachability, exceptions are provided. *Vide* texts quoted in paragraph 63.

79. Generally, in imposing penalties for breach of sastraic rules, it is provided that differences of place, time and other circumstances must be considered.

1. Adityapurana.

"ദേശം കാലം വയഃ ശക്തിഃ
പാപഞ്ചാവേക്ഷ്യ യത്നതഃ
പ്രായശ്ചിത്തം പ്രകല്പ്യം സ്യാ-
ദ്യത്ര ചോക്താ ന നിഷ്കൃതിഃ"

"देशं कालं वयः शक्तिं
पापञ्चावेक्ष्य यत्नतः ।
प्रायश्चित्तं प्रकल्प्यं स्या-
द्यत्र चोक्ता न निष्कृतिः ॥[1]

"Prayaschitta has to he fixed carefully with due regard to place, time, age, capacity and sin in all cases and also in cases in which no prayaschitta has been prescribed under the rules."

Validity of Acharas.

80. As the Dharmasastras give great weight to *Ācharas*, it is natural to expect that they would not insist on anything being done that would outrage the moral sense of the people. The following texts show that this position was expressly recognised by the Sastras ;

"പരിത്യജേദർത്ഥകാമൌ
യൌ സ്യാതാം ധർമ്മവർജ്ജിതൌ
ധർമ്മഞ്ചാപ്യസുഖോദർക്കം
ലോകവിക്രുഷ്ടമേവ ച."

"परित्यजेदर्थकामौ
यौ स्यातां धर्मवर्जितौ ।
धर्मञ्चाप्यसुखोदर्कं
लोकविकुष्टमेव च ॥"[2]

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1. Yanjnavalkyasmriti, Prayaschittadhyaya—verse 289.
2. Manu IV—176. Kullukabhatta's gloss on the above verse is as follows:—

"അസുഖോദർക്കം = യഥാ പുത്രാദിവർഗ്ഗപോഷ്യയുക്തസ്യ സർവ്വസ്വദാനം; ലോകവിക്രുഷ്ടം = യത്ര ലോകാനാം വിക്രോശഃ; യഥാ കലൗ മദ്ധ്യമാഷ്ടകാദിഷു ഗോവധാദി."

"असुखोदर्कं=यथा पुत्रादिवर्गपोष्ययुक्तस्य सर्वस्वदानं; लोकविकुष्टं=यत्र लोकानां विक्रोशः यथा कलौ मद्ध्यमाष्टकादिषु गोवधादि ।"

Kulluka refers to the giving away of his whole property by a person who has to protect his children, etc., as an act which may cause pain in the future, and animal sacrifice in the Madhyamashtaka Yaga as an act offensive to men in the *Kali Yuga*.

"Let him avoid the acquisition of wealth and the gratification of his desires if they are opposed to the sacred law and even lawful acts which may cause pain in the future or be offensive to men."

"അസ്വർഗ്ഗ്യം ലോകവിദ്വിഷ്ടം
ധർമ്മമപ്യാചരേന്ന തു."

"अस्वर्ग्यं लोकविद्विष्टं
धर्ममप्याचरेन्न तु ।[1]

"Let him not do acts which are not conducive to his advancement heaven-ward or which are opposed to public opinion."

"പരിത്യജേദർത്ഥകാമൌ
ധർമ്മപീഡാകരൌ നൃപഃ
ധർമ്മമപ്യസുഖോദർക്കം
ലോകവിദ്വിഷ്ടമേവ ച."

"परित्यजेदर्थकामौ
धर्मपीडाकरौ नृपः ।
धर्ममप्यसुखोदर्कं
लोकविद्विष्टमेव च ॥"[2]

Can Adharma be changed into Dharma?

81. On the other side, it is argued that these texts only prove that acts which had been ordained as duties in one age have been given up in a later age as being unsuited to the weaker character of the people, and that there are no texts which turn into *Dharma* in a subsequent age what has been prohibited as *Adharma* in a previous age. Desirable acts prescribed may be allowed to be dropped. But acts prohibited as bad and sinful are never subsequently approved. Further, in any case, they are matters specifically provided for in the Sastras. As regards the texts relating to

1. Yajnavalkyasmriti, Acharadyaya, verse 156. "ലോകവിദ്വിഷ്ടം" "लोकविद्विष्टं" (Not acceptdd by all men) according to Visvarupa, and "ലോകാഭിശസ്തിജനകം" "लोकाभिशस्तिजनकं" (productive of public outcry) according to Vijnanesvara. Vijnanesvara cites *Abhichara* (incantation), *govadha* (killing of animals on the occasion of *madhuparka*, etc., and niyoga form of remarriage and the marriage of a Sudra Women among *Asvargya* and *Lokavidvishta* acts and states that these should not be performed, especially, in the Kali age, although ordained by the Sastras.

2. Vishnupurana.

practices "which are disapproved by the world" it is maintained that they are not to be taken in any general sense, but as the illustrations in the texts themselves show, as mere matters of detail. Lastly, even the changes that the texts mention as having been made are, according to them, not made by a lay body, but by a body of experts in the Vedas and Dharmasastras. Vayupurana, in the passage quoted above says that the change therein mentioned was, as already referred to, effected by *Budhas* (learned men). So also the Smrityarthasara says· "The learned declared these acts to be prohibited in the Kali Yuga."* The Dharmasastras themselves define the nature of the body which should clear doubts as to the Dharmas and make rules suitable to new conditions. Such a body is known as a *Parishat* The nature of the *Parishat* is defined as follows :—

ദശാവരാ വാ പരിഷദ്യം ധൎമ്മം പരികല്പയേൽ
ത്ര്യവരാ വാപി വൃത്തസ്ഥാ തം ധൎമ്മം ന വിചാലയേൽ.
ത്രൈവിദ്യോ ഹേതുകസ്തൎക്കീ നൈരുക്തോ ധൎമ്മപാഠകഃ
ത്രയശ്ചാശ്രമിണഃ പൂൎവ്വേ പരിഷൽ സ്യാദ്ദശാവരാ.
ഋഗ്വേദവിദ്യജുൎവ്വിച്ച സാമവേദവിദേവ ച
ത്ര്യവരാ പരിഷജ്ജ്ഞേയാ ധൎമ്മസംശയനിൎണ്ണയേ
ഏകോപി വേദവിദ്ധൎമ്മം യം വ്യവസ്യേദ്ദ്വിജോത്തമഃ
സ വിജ്ഞേയഃ പരോ ധൎമ്മോ നാജ്ഞാനാമുദിതോയുതൈഃ."

"दशावरा वा परिषद्यं धर्मं परिकल्पयेत् ।
त्र्यवरा वापि वृत्तस्था तं धर्मं न विचालयेत् ॥
त्रैविद्यो हेतुकस्तर्कि नैरुक्तो धर्मपाठकः ।
त्रयश्चाश्रमिणः पूर्वे परिषत्स्याद्दशावरा ॥
ऋग्वेदविद्यजुर्विच्च सामवेदविदेव च ।
त्र्यवरा परिषज्ज्ञेया धर्मसंशयनिर्णये ॥
एकोपि वेदविद्धर्मं यं व्यवस्येद्द्विजोत्तमः ।
स विज्ञेयः परो धर्मो नाज्ञानामुदितो युतैः ॥"[1]

"Whatever an assembly consisting of ten or of at least three persons who follow their prescribed occupations declares to be law, the legal force of that declaration should not be disputed by any person. Three persons who each know one of the three principal Vedas, a logician, a Mimamsaka, one who knows the Nirukta, one who recites

Manu, XII, 110-113.

the sacred law, and three men belonging to the first three Asramas shall constitute a legal assembly consisting of at least ten members. One who knows the Rigveda one who knows the Yajurveda and one who knows the Samaveda shall form an assembly consisting of at least three persons competent to decide doubtful points of Dharma. Even that which one Brahmin versed in the Veda declares to be law must be considered to have supreme legal force, but not that which is proclaimed by myriads of ignorant men."

"ചത്വാരോ വേദധർമ്മജ്ഞാഃ
പർഷത്ത്രൈവിദ്യമേവ വാ
സാ ബ്രൂതേ യം സ ധർമ്മഃ സ്യാ-
ദേകോ വാദ്ധ്യാത്മവിത്തമഃ"

"चत्वारो वेदधर्मज्ञाः
पर्षत्त्रैविद्यमेव वा ।
सा ब्रूते यं सधर्मः स्या-
देको वाध्यात्मवित्तमः ॥"[1]

"At least four persons who are versed in the Vedas and Dharmasastras or at least three persons one of whom is learned in the Rigveda, another in the Yajurveda and a third in the Samaveda can form a *Parishat*. Whatever such a *Parishat* declares is *Dharma*. *Dharma* can also be proclaimed by even a single individual if he is very well versed in Vedanta."

"ചത്വാരോ വാ ത്രയോ വാപി യം ബ്രൂയുർവേദപാരഗാഃ
സ ധർമ്മ ഇതി വിജ്ഞേയോ നേതരൈസ്തു സഹസ്രശഃ.
ചത്വാരോ വാ ത്രയോ വാപി വേദവന്തോഽഗ്നിഹോത്രിണഃ
ബ്രാഹ്മണാനാം സമർത്ഥാ യേ പരിഷത്, സാ വിധീയതേ."

"चत्वारो वा त्रयो वापि यं ब्रूयुर्वेदपारगाः ।
स धर्म इति विज्ञेयो नेतरैस्तु सहस्रशः ॥
चत्वारो वा त्रयो वापि वेदवन्तोऽग्निहोत्रिणः ।
ब्राह्मणानां समर्था ये परिषत् सा विधीयते ॥"[2]

"Whatever is declared by four or three persons who are well versed in the Vedas, that is the *Dharma* and not what is declared by others though they may be thousands

1. Yajnavalkya, Acharadhyaya, verse 9.
2. Parasara, Prayaschittakanta, chapter VIII, verses 7 and 11.

in number. Four or three persons who know the Vedas and who perform *Agnihotra* and who are men of ability in the Brahmin community may form a *Parishat*."

ഏകോ നാർഹതി തൽകർത്തുമനൂചാനോപ്യനുഗ്രഹം
സുശാന്താനാഞ്ച വിദുഷാം കലൌ സംഘഃ പ്രശസ്യതേ.
ധർമ്മജ്ഞാ ബഹവോ വിപ്രാഃ കർത്തുമർഹന്ത്യനുഗ്രഹം ".

"एको नार्हति तत्कर्तुमनूचानोप्यनुग्रहम् ।
सुशान्तानाञ्च विदुषां कलौ सङ्घः प्रशस्यते ॥
धर्मज्ञा बहवो विप्राः कर्तुमर्हन्त्यनुग्रहम् ।"[1]

"Even though a person is very well versed in the Vedas, he is not fit to declare what is the proper *prayaschitta*. In the Kali age, an assembly of men of equanimity and learning is considered to be better for dealing with such questions and hence several Brahmins who know the *Dharma* should declare the proper *prayaschitta*."

Changes how to be effected.

82. According to the Sanatanists, it is such a *Parishat* alone that has jurisdiction, if at all, to consider the question of a change in the existing practices based upon sastraic injunctions.

"അനാമ്നാതേഷു ധർമ്മേഷു
കഥം സ്യാദിതി ചേൽ ഭവേൽ
തം ശിഷ്ടാ ബ്രാഹ്മണാ ബ്രൂയുഃ
ധർമ്മ സ്യാദശംകിതഃ"

"अनाम्नातेषु धर्मेषु
कथं स्यादिति चेद् भवेत् ।
तं शिष्टा ब्राह्मणा ब्रूयुः
स धर्मस्यादशंकितः ॥"[2]

"When no mention has been made about certain *Dharmas* what is to be the rule? Whatever Brahmins who are *Sishtas* declare, that is doubtlessly the *Dharma* in such cases.

1. Devalasmriti
2. Manu XII—108.

CHAPTER VI.

EXTENT OF FEELING IN THE COUNTRY.

Extent of public support to the temple-entry movement.

83. We have now to see what extent of support each of these two views has in the country. We have toured the State and taken some evidence, but nothing in the nature of a referendum. The inference that we draw from the evidence before us is therefore more in the nature of the general impression we have been able to form form it. Naturally, the impression varies with individuals. While some of us think that the preponderance of opinion is on one side, others think that it is the other way. Of course, this divergence has become possible only because there is strong opinion on either side.

Feeling of Avarnas on the question of temple-entry as disclosed by evidence.

84. A mere comparison of the numbers of opinions on either side that the Committee have been able to collect will not serve correctly to gauge the country's opinion. It is however somewhat instructive. We have issued a *questionnaire* and secured replies from 3,122 persons. Of these, 2,867 are Savarnas and 255 Avarnas. The Avarnas who sent us replies are in favour of temple-entry being allowed and this is not at all surprising. To-day it is not likely that there will be many among the Avarnas themselves who would harbour the feeling which, till a few years ago, was general among them, that entering temples and "polluting" them would bring down on their heads divine wrath and its concomitant evils. No doubt, some Savarna witnesses of position have stated that even now there are some Avarnas who have that feeling. But their number is, even according to them very small. Further it is only the more or less educated and modernised among them that would be in a position to answer the *questionnaire* and among them the desire for temple-entry especiall as a symbol of social equality is very strong.

85. We give below a statement showing the number of members of the several classes of Avarnas who have sent replies and given oral evidence.

Analysis of the evidence of Avarnas.

Serial No.	Community.	No. who sent replies.			No. who gave oral evidence
		On Committee's requisition.	Voluntarily.	Total.	
1	Asari	18	45	63	2
2	Arayan	2	1	3	2
3	Ezhava	92	26	118	90
4	Kurava	1	...	1	...
5	Kaniyar	1	...	1	2
6	Marava	...	6	6	1
7	Nadar	15	5	20	10
8	Pulaya	7	1	8	12
9	Paraya	4	31	35	1
10	Parava	...	...	...	...
11	Pallan	...	..	...	1
12	Thandan	...	...	...	..
13	Velan	...	...	...	...
14	Valan	...	...	...	1
15	Valluvan	...	...	...	...
	Total	140	115	255	123

86. All the Avarnas who have answered the *questionnaire* are of opinion that religious worship or rites performed within the temples will be more efficacious than religious worship or rites done from outside the premises. The same view is expressed also by all Avarna witnesses who gave oral evidence. The reason they give is that a

Feeling of Avarnas on efficacy of worship.

sight of the image is necessary to derive full benefit from worship and that an unobstructed view of the image can be had only from within the temple.

Nature of Avarna witnesses.

87. Among the 123 non-caste Hindu witnesses who gave oral evidence, 3 were non-believers in the cult of image-worship. A large majority of the rest were persons who admitted that they were not in the habit of visiting caste-Hindu temples for worship, as they felt that the disability laid on them in the matter of entry into such temples is derogatory to their self-respect.

Oral evidence of Avarnas.

88. All the Avarnas who gave evidence, except one Ezhava gentleman, were desirous of being allowed entry into caste-Hindu temples. The exceptional Exhava witness was a Vakil practising at Kottarakara. He opposed temple-entry because of his conviction that it would eventually end in entangling the Avarnas in the caste-web of the Savarna Hindus, and in exploiting the Avarnas' wealth.

Trend of opinion among Avarnas.

89. On the whole, from the evidence before us, we are in a position to say that the trend of opinion among the non-caste Hindus is that religious worship and rites will be more efficacious if they are performed from within the temple, in sight of the image.

Feeling of Savarnas on efficacy of worship if temple-entry is allowed.

90. A large body of Savarnas believe, on the basis of the Agamas, that the entry of the Avarnas into the Savarna temples would cause defilement of the temples. They hold the view that, if non-caste Hindus are given admission into the temples, there will be no efficacy in the worship or rites performed in them. There is, on the other side, a large number of Savarnas who think that the admission of non-caste Hindus into caste Hindu temples will not only not reduce their sanctity and the efficacy of the worship or rites performed in them, but will really enhance them by the worship of a larger number of people. The former are against the temple-entry movement and the latter support it. A majority of the written answers received from

Savarnas supports the former view, while a large majority of the Savarna witnesses examined hold the latter view.

91. The following statement gives an analysis of the written answers.

Analysis of the written answers of Savarnas.

Serial No.	Name of community.	No. having belief in loss of efficacy, if temple-entry is allowed.	No. having no belief in loss of efficacy if temple-entry is allowed.
1	Ambalavasi .	16	6
2	Brahmin (Malayala) .	288	9
3	Brahmin Tamil .	100	27
4	Brahmin Sarasvatha .	2	1
5	Chalia .	...	4
6	Chettiar .	...	3
7	Elayathu .	12	...
8	Karayalar .	...	...
9	Konar .	.	...
10	Kshatriya .	10	3
11	Moothathu .	2	1
12	Mooppan .	...	...
13	Muthaliar .	...	6
14	Naidu .	...	2
15	Nair .	86	207
16	Reddi .	...	...
17	Vellala .	4	189
18	Other castes .	5	10
	Total .	525	468

It will be seen from the above statement that, of the Savarnas who have answered the *questionnaire*, 525 believe that the efficacy of worship will diminish if entry is given to the Avarnas, while 468 are of the opposite opinion.

92. The above figures cover only the answers of those to whom the *questionnaire* was individually sent by the Committee. Besides these, the Committee have received 1,874 answers evidently in response to the general notification published in the Government Gazette requesting the Hindu public in Travancore to submit answers to the *questionnaire*. No doubt those who sent answers in response to the general invitation in the Gazette, may not, in general, (there being several exceptions of course) be holding as important a place in the public life of the State as those to whom individual requistions were sent by the Committee. But, they too are persons equally entitled to voice

their opinion on the question, and their answers also demand consideration. As however, the Committee do not base their conclusion on the mere numbers on either side, it is not necessary to determine the comparative weight to be given to the two sets of answers. We may note here that about 1,500 answers have been left out of consideration in the calculation made above, as they are either from people who neither belong to nor have any interest in Travancore or are subscribed by persons without house names, profession or other means of identification being added.

Analysis of the oral evidence of Savarna witnesses.

93. Of the 325 Savarna witnesses examined, 238 favour temple-entry and 87 are against it. The following statement contains an analysis of the oral evidence :—

Serial No.	Name of community.	For temple-entry.	Against temple-entry.
1	Ambalavasi ..	6	3
2	Brahmin (Malayala) .	8	21
3	Brahmin (Tamil) .	16	28
4	Brahmin (Saraswatha) .	1	..
5	Chalia .	..	..
6	Chettiar ..	1	..
7	Elayathu .	..	2
8	Karayalar .	1	..
9	Konar ..	..	..
10	Kshatriya ..	3	1
11	Mouthatha .	..	5
12	Mooppan .	..	..
13	Muthaliar .	..	..
14	Naidu .	3	.
15	Nair .	184	25
16	Reddi .	..	..
17	Vellala .	13	2
18	Other castes .	..	..
	Total .	238	87

94. The Committee wished to get the views of women separately as far as possible. It is difficult to get either answers or oral evidence from Savarna Hindu women who, as a general rule, avoid appearing in public. It is only the few who have had English education or have had occasion to take part in public movements that would be willing to come forward to state their opinion. The number of opinions collected from Savarna ladies has therefore been very small. The *questionnaire* was sent to 10 ladies. Only 3 answers were received, and they were all in favour of temple-entry. The Committee in the first instance issued invitations to 8 ladies to give oral evidence. Only 2 of them appeared and they were in favour of temple-entry. At some of the stations where the Committee examined witnesses, offers were made by or on behalf of certain ladies that they would give evidence and the Committee invited them. The evidence of 22 ladies has been recorded in that way. They were all in favour of temple-entry.

Feeling among women.

95. Many of the men who gave evidence were asked about the feeling among women on the question. Their statements support the position that would naturally be expected, *viz.* that there is more opposition to the temple-entry movement among women than among men. At the same time, it cannot be denied that there is a fairly large section among tha women too that favour the admission of Avarnas into Savarna temples.

96. The Committee took steps to get the views of communal and other associations. The *questionnaire* was sent to 108 Brahmin Samuhams and 355 Karayogams, mostly Nair organisations. Replies were received from 9 Samuhams, all of which were against temple-entry, and from 30 Karayogams; of which 29 were in favour of temple-entry and one against it.

Views of communal and other associations.

97. Notices were issued to 15 Samuhams, 33 Karayogams and 24 other Savarna associations to depute representatives to appear before the Committee to give evidence. Only one representative of a Brahmin Samuham appeared, and he opposed temple-entry. 14 representatives of Karayogams

Views of Karayogams, Samuhams, etc.

appeared and gave evidence in favour of temple-entry. Ten other associations* sent their representatives of whom eight deposed in favour of and two against temple-entry.

General feeling among Savarnas.

98. From the preponderance of the oral evidence and the information as to general feeling in the country which we have been able to gather from that evidence, it is clear that there is a strong feeling among Savarnas in favour of temple-entry being allowed. At the same time, it has to be recognised that there is considerable opposition from a large body of Savarna on the other side.

A properly constituted Parishat to advise the Sovereign in the matter of relaxation of rules.

99. On a consideration of all these points, the Committee are of opinion that there is such a change from the past in the circumstances of the present day as to make it desirable that whatever steps are possible should be taken to give the Avarnas greater facilities for worshipping at Savarna temples and thus to help them to get over the feeling that though they are Hindus they are treated by the Savarnas as out side the pale of Hinduism. At the same time, it is necessary that the faith of the orthodox Hindus in temples and in the sanctity of the deity installed in them should not be weakened. Many of the witnesses, who gave their opinion against temple-entry, were prepared to concede that if a properly constituted *Parishat* were to approve of any relaxation in the rules prohibiting the entry of Avarnas they would be satisfied that entry to that extent would not derogate from the sanctity of the temple and the image. We think any step in that direction should be taken under the advice and with the concurrence of a *Parishat.*

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* 1. Travancore Nambutiri Samajam, Mavelikara.
2. N. S. Society, Changanasseri.
3. Nambutiri Yogakshema, Sabha.
4. Hindu Samajam, Muvattupuzha.
5. Brahmasamrajyam, Chengannur.
6. Haindava Yuvajana Samithi, Chengannur.
7. Haindava Ladies Association.
8. Nair Mahasabha, Tiruvalla.
9. Savarna Kshetrodamasta Samita, Peechanikkad.
10. Achara Samrashini Sabha, Alwaye.

Any change in the Smritis should be made by the body to whom that function is assigned in the Smritis themselves. The extent to which the present rule prohibiting the entry of Avarnas into temples may be modified should be determined by the Sovereign on the advice of a *Parishat.* It may consist of Tantris, Vadhyans, Vaidikans and the Azhvancheri Tamprakkal, and of men learned in the Sastras and conversant with present-day world-movements.[1]

Scheme for uplift of Avarnas.

100. Meanwhile, as we have already remarked, everybody is agreed that Hindu society is bound to take immediate and adequate measures for the uplift of the Avarnas socially and economically. It is also agreed that greater facilities should be provided for their secular as well as religious education. It is possible to work out a scheme for the attainment of these objects independently of the question of

(1) In the past, *Parishats* have functioned effectively. Apasthamba says that the decisions of learned men after due deliberation (സമയ or പൌരുഷേയീ വ്യവസ്ഥാ) समय or पौरुषेयी व्यवस्था is authority along with the Vedas. He further observes that, though in the Vajasaneya-Brahmana it is stated that the Vedas may be studied when thunder is heard, that injunction should not be followed, because it is opposed to the decision of the elders (aryassamaya pratishiddha). There were also Pandits attached to the courts of Kings who decided what were the appropriate Dharmas to be observed, as could be seen from the following passage extracted from Sukranitisara :

"വർത്തമാനാശ്ച പ്രാചീനാ ധർമ്മാഃ കേ ലോകസംസ്ഥിതാഃ
ശാസ്ത്രേഷു കേ സമുദ്ദിഷ്ടാ വിരുദ്ധ്യന്തേ ച കേധുനാ
ലോകശാസ്ത്രവിരുദ്ധാ യേ പണ്ഡിതസ്താൻ വിനിശ്ചയേൽ
നൃപം സംബോധയേത്തത്ര പരത്രേഹ സുഖപ്രദാൻ "

"वर्तमानाश्च प्राचीनां धर्माः के लोकसंस्तुताः
शास्त्रेषु के समुद्दिष्टा विरुध्यन्ते च केधुना ।
लोकशास्त्रविरुद्धा ये पण्डितस्तान् विनिश्चयेत्
नृपं सम्बोधयेत्तत्र परत्रेह सुखप्रदान् ॥"

" A learned man shoud decide what the present and past *Dharmas* are, what *Dharmas* are observed by men, what has been ordained in the Sastras, and what *Dharmas* are in practice opposed to those, as also what *Dharmas* are at variance with present-day observance, and the injunctions in the Sastras, and then inform the King of the *Dharmas* which are productive of good, both hereafter and here (in after-life and in this life).

temple-entry. The Committee suggest for this purpose action on the following lines :—

(i) Distance-pollution or *theendal* should be removed by appropriate legislative measures, subject to reservations in the matter of entry into temples and into their adjuncts like temple-tanks, temple-wells, Homapuras, Anakottils, etc., and subject to the following provisions: —

(*a*) Public tanks used for bathing purposes should be thrown open, after separate cisterns are attached to them or portions of them are walled off, where people could wash their clothes, etc., before getting into the tanks for bath.

(*b*) Public wells should be thrown open, after they are provided with cisterns, in which water should be stored from the wells by Municipal or Health Department employees, and from which water should be drawn through taps.

(*c*) Government Satroms should be thrown open, after they are provided with separate kitchens, as in the case of such as are already open to all classes.

The Committee think that prompt action should be taken as regards these three items.

(ii) Arrangements should be made for providing Bhajanamadoms, instituting religious lectures, opening schools for adult instruction, and having proper housing and sanitation and the adequate supply of wells and tanks for such Avarna communities as in the opinion of Government require such assistance. This item may be so worked as to be completed in a definite period, say, ten years.

(iii) In important centres, temples may be built and consecrated, where Savarnas and Avarnas may worship together, such Savarnas retaining their full rights of worship, etc., in temples where Avarnas are not now admitted.

CHAPTER VII.

PROBABLE RESULTS OF ALLOWING TEMPLE-ENTRY.

Results can be stated only vaguely.

101. It is of course not possible to anticipate with any degree of certainty or even approximation the results of temple-entry being allowed. The possible results can be stated only vaguely and in a general way. The probable consequences are noted below.

Breaches of the peace.

102. It is already been said that there is a fairly large section of Savarnas who are opposed to the entry of Avarnas into temples. If temple-entry is allowed, one result apprehended is that the opposition is likely to lead to breaches of the peace. But the Government should be able to take the necessary precautionary measures.

Keeping away of Savarnas and coming in of Avarnas.

103. A large body of Savarnas may keep away and a large body of Avarnas may go to the temples for worship. It is very doubtful, however, if this result would be lasting. Some of the Savarnas who keep away at first may go back later; at the same time when the novelty wears off, the number of Avarnas going to temple will be reduced. The Committee do not, however think it likely that the total number of people worshipping in temples will fall below the number doing so at present.

Attitude of Tantris and Santhikars.

104. The priests now officiating as Tantris, Santhikars (Poojaris), &c., in temples are likely to give up their services. The Vaidiks are among the most orthodox people in the Savarna communities. Especially is this the case in Kerala. With the exception of a few who depend entirely upon their work in temples for their livelihood, they will go with the orthodox section. The complaint that, at present, there are priests in some temples who are fit

neither by learning nor by character for the work, cannot be said to be baseless; but, as a class, the Tantris and Santhikars are efficient and good men. We may be able to get people from the same community to take their places, but it is unlikely that the new recruits will command the same respect.

Attitude of other temple servants.

105. Along with the priests, some of the other servants in temples, such as the *Kazhakakars*, many of whom are remunerated by gift of portions of the daily cooked rice *nivedyam* (offering to the deity), may give up their work. Even if they elect to continue, they may claim cash salaries, instead of cooked rice allowances, as the cooked *nivedyam* may be considered polluted. It is after all not likely to prove a great difficulty.

Temple-tanks and wells.

106. The temple-tanks and the temple-premises, it is feared, will become unclean. Though no doubt there are very clean persons among the Avarnas and very unclean persons among the Savarnas, the average standard of cleanliness is lower among the Avarnas. To a great extent, cleanliness is a matter of habit that has to be acquired by practice. Throwing temples, temple-tanks, etc., immediately open to the Avarnas, will therefore, it is said, tend to lower the general standard of cleanliness in them. It cannot be asserted that this fear is groundless. But it only means that special measures will have to be taken to avert that result.

Sanctity of temples.

107. According to the orthodox Savarnas, the admission of Avarnas into temples will destroy their sanctity, as the Agamas declare that it will cause pollution to the temples necessitating the performance of purificatory ceremonies. Failure to perform or even delay in the performance of these rites will destroy the sanctity of the image and bring about calamities to the worshippers and the country. This matter, we have already dealt with, and we do not wish to say anything more about it,

108. The orthodox prophesy that, if temple-entry is allowed temples will be deserted both by the conservative and the advanced sections of the Hindus, the former losing their faith in the temples and the latter having no real faith in them. Nor will they be long patronised by the Avarnas. To them who usually live far away from the existing temples, and whose mode of life leaves little leisure, going to temple will be in the nature of a task. At first they may flock to the temples, but, when the novelty wears off, their attendance will also fall away. The Aroor temple at Shertala is referred to by some of the witnesses as an instance in point. Till recently, the Pattaryas (a class of weavers) had, it is said, no admission into that temple. But, in a recent case where some Pattaryas were prosecuted for entering the temple, the Travancore High Court acquitted them, holding that it had not been proved that they were a prohibited class. Since then both the Savarnas who used to frequent the temple before, and the Pattaryas themselves have been keeping away from temple, which has thus become practically deserted. This, it is said, will be the fate of all temples if temple-entry is allowed. We do not, however, think that the case of the Aroor temple can be treated as affording a correct index to the result of allowing temple-entry. The Savarnas of the place might naturally resent what they consider a breach of the rule or custom in the case of their temple alone while, if it is done in the case of all temples, they may have no objection to share the common fate.

Fear of desertion of temples by Avarnas and Savarnas, whether reasonable.

109. The Committee are of opinion that the evil results, even to the extent they are anticipated above, will ensue only if temple-entry is effected against the will of the orthodox Savarnas. If any advance that is effected is made on the advice and with the concurrence of a *Parishat*, the undesirable results will be very greatly reduced.

Evil results minimised, if change made on advice of Parishat

CHAPTER VIII

GOVERNMENT'S POWER OF INTERFERENCE.

110. The Sovereign, as *Parens Patriae*, has, under many systems of law, special rights and duties for the protection of those who are deemed incapable of safeguarding their own interests. Religious and charitable trusts are usually classed under this head. In English law, the Sovereign exercised this right of superintendence over trusts through the Chancellor and his court. In India, the Hindu Rajas have, from ancient times, exercised this right of superintendence over charitable trusts and Devasthanams (religious trusts) and it has been recognised by the courts in India and by the Privy Council. This right of the ruler is known in Malabar as the *Melkoima* right. *Melkoima* has been defined as "the right which the Sovereign power possesses over property of which ownership in others. It is a right of superintendence, an incident of sovereignty."* It has been further explained by justice Holloway in the following terms: "It is not only not the same, but absolutely incompatible with ownership. It was the right the sovereign power possessed over property of which the legal ownership was in others." It is thus a right exercised by the Sovereign in order to protect the funds of charitable trusts from being misused or misappropriated by the trustees. In exercising this right, the Sovereign sweeps aside the trustees and steps into their place with the object of administering the trust property so as to carry out the intentions of the founder of the trust. In the case of Devasthanoms managed by private trustees, the Malabar Rajas always exercised powers of supervision over, and in extreme cases, assumption of management of the religious institutions. In travancore, the Sovereign has, in the exercise of this right, assumed the management of several religious institutions. By this assumption the Government have stepped into the shoes of the trustees and have been managing the institutions in their best interests.

Melkoima right.

* Raja Muthuramalinga Sethupathi v Periyanayagom Pillai, I Indian Appeals 209 at page 238.

111. The most prominent instance of such assumption was the act of the Government in 987 M. E., whereby the management of 378 temples was assumed by Government. The only contemporaneous records relating to this assumption that are now in existence are two orders issued by the then Dewan Col. Munro. [1] They explain the reason for the assumption as being the earnest desire of the ruler to see that these temples were properly administered. In the Proclamation of 1097 M. E. by which the separation of the Devaswoms from the Revenue Department was effected, the nature of this assumption is referred to in the following terms:—"In virtue of the *Melkoima* right, the administration of certain Devaswoms along with their endowments was, owing to their mismanagement by the Ooralers, assumed by Government in 987 M. E., with a view to their better management and to the maintenance of the said temples and their appurtenances in good condition." The *Press Communique* which accompanied the proclamation added that the State's assumption of the Hindu religious institutions in the days of Col. Munro was an act done in the exercise of the traditional right of *Melkoima* inherent in the Hindu sovereigns of the State and that it was not an act of confiscation.

Assumption of administration of temples in 987 M. E.

112. Subsequent to 987 M. E. too, the management of some temples has been assumed by Government. To define and regulate the procedure for such assumption. Regulation III of 1079/1903. The Hindu Religious Endowments Regulation, was passed. Its operation was confined to temples and religious endowments in the hands of more trustees than one, endowments in the hands of a single individual or family being excluded. The Regulation did not confer any new rights or powers on the Government. Its object was only to regulate the procedure for the exercise of the already existing right of *Melkoima*. Since then, some religious institutions have been taken over under its provisions.

Hindu Religious Endowments Regulation III of 1079/1903.

1 Appendix IV and appendix V.

113. It will thus be seen that the *Melkoima* right exercised by the Hindu Sovereign over Hindu religious institutions is only the right which the sovereign as *Parens Patriae* has of superintendence, over all charitable and religious institutions in the State. The extent of that right, as explained before, is co-extensive with that of the trustees or the Ooralers of a temple, the sovereign by the assumption of management substituting himself for them.

Melkoima right co-extensive with the right of a trustee.

114. In the temples the management of which has been assumed from time to time, certain reforms have been effected. Many of the witnesses who support temple-entry have referred to these as instances where the Government have exercised a right to alter the mode of worship in the temples and to modify longstanding usages and practices. The instances referred to are:

Instances of interference.

(i) admission of Chakkala Nairs into temples;
(ii) throwing open of roads in the vicinity of temples to Avarnas;
(iii) abolition of animal sacrifice;
(iv) admission into temples of those who have made sea-voyages;
(v) abolition of Pūrappāttu in the Shertala temple; and
(vi) abolition of the Devadāsi system. We shall briefly deal with each of these.

115. Chakkala Nairs were not used to entering within the Nalambalam of many of the caste Hindu temples in the State. Disputes arose when they entered into the Thiruvalla, Kalkulam Ramaswami-kovil and Aranmula temples. The Vaidikans and the Tantris of the State, to whom the matter was referred, declared that they were Nairs and had the right of entry. Orders were passed by the Government accordingly. In spite of this, there was some

Admission of Chakkala Nairs into temples.

trouble subsequently about a few other temples and the Government in their order No. 169/D., dated 8th January 1918, declared their previons orders in the matter applicable to all temples and tanks in the State.[1] A specific exception was, however made of the Sree Padmanabhaswami temple and the Padmatirtham tank at Trivandrum.

Throwing open of roads in the vicinity of temples.

116. Roads around some temples and feeder roads till recently considered as approach roads to temples and closed to Avarnas are now being used by them. They have been allowed to use the roads, passing round the Vaikom temple. The approach of non-caste Hindus to the temple gates and their going along Sanketam roads were deemed, it is said, to have the effect of polluting the temple. The permission granted to them to use those roads has therefore introduced a decided innovation in custom.

117. It does not seem, however, correct to maintain that the prohibition against the Avarnas using the roads outside the outer walls of certain temples was for fear of polluting them. The Tantris themselves do not say that. The protection of the Sanketam roads was for the convenience of the Savarnas going to the temples for worship. They could reach the temple without being polluted on the way by the approach of Avarnas. The relaxation of the rule has been made without altogether losing sight of this object. In Vaikom, for instance, the road on the eastern side is still closed to the Avarnas. Orthodox Savarnas can bathe in the eastern tank and enter the temple without meeting Avarnas. Though therefore it is a change in a longstanding practice, it cannot be said to be a change in the usages directly affecting the temples.

Abolition of animal sacrifice.

118. In some shrines dedicated to Bhagavathi, the custom obtained in the past, of sacrificing goats and fowls. This practice was put an end to by Government by their order dated 9th March 1925.[2] Cucumber now takes the place of the animal victims in the ritual. Animal sacrifices are

1. Appendix VI.
2. Appendix VII

not prescribed in the Agamas for temples consecrated according to them. This too, therefore, though a change in past practice is not an interference with Agamic regulations.

119. According to the Smriti texts, sea-voyage puts a caste-Hindu out of the pales of his Varna. Consistently with this rule, there prevailed in Travancore a practice that Savarnas who crossed the sea did not enter temples. This custom has become a dead-letter now, as caste Hindus who have made sea-voyages freely enter temples for worship.

Sea-voyage.

120. During Utsavoms in the Shertala temple, particularly on the Pūram day, obscene songs used to be sung by the Karakkars of the place in the belief that the deity's blessings could be won thereby. This was a longstanding practice. In spite of some opposition, Government stopped this custom by their order dated 4th March 1927.[1] It is not possible to say how this practice first arose, but it is not one prescribed by the Agama Sastras.

Abolition of Pūrappāttu.

121. The Agama works make *Nrittam* or dancing of Dēvadāsis a necessary part of temple rituals. Agreeably to this rule, the east coast temples maintain on their staff dancing girls to perform this function. But in Malabar temples, this practice is now unknown, and if it ever existed, must have died out long ago. In the temples of South Travancore and Shencotta, owing perhaps to their proximity to the Tinnevelly District, the Dēvadāsi system persisted till very recently. It was abolished by Government by their order dated 15th August 1931,[2] for the reason that the Dēvadāsi system had outlived its time and degenerated into an undesirable institution. But, among the various rites constituting the *Puja* service is one offering a Mantric and Manasic *Nritta* to the deity, and that still continues.

Acolition of Dēvadāsi system.

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1. Appendix VIII.
2. Appendix IX.

122. It may be seen from the foregoing paragraphs that Government have at times interfered with social usages and even religious practices when they were found to be undesirable. Such interference cannot be said to be beyond the powers of a trustee desirous of administering the trust properly. The Government, when they effected the changes acted as they have always purported to act with regard to the temples in their mangement, in the excercise of the right of *Melkoima* which gives them the full powers of trustees or Ooralers.

Interference not beyond the powers of a trustee.

123. If the trustee can, without being guilty of a breach of trust, effect these changes, can he not also effect the further change involved in allowing Avarnas to enter temples? That is the question that is asked by those who put forward the changes above mentioned as showing interference in the religious practices in temples. In answering this question, the difference between what is of fundamental importance and what is of secondary importance has to be kept in view. Changes in subsidiary matters, and in matters of mere practice, may, in the interests of the institution, be effected by the trustees, but not changes contravening important rules of the Sastras. We have seen that many of the reforms effected cannot be definitely said to contravene the rules of the Smrities or of the Agama Sastras. The admission of the Avarnas into temples would stand on a different footing. It would go directly against the principles of the Smritis and the express rules of the Agamas. As Justice Beaman has observed in the decision reported in I. L. R. 33 Bombay 509: " Any extension or limitation of the scope of a trust so as to exclude those who were intended to be included or to include those who were intended to be excluded is really a breach—and a very serious breach—of trust. "

Whether trustees can allow Avarnas to enter temples.

124. Is a Government, it may be asked, then powerless in any circumstances to deal with religious institutions except within the scope of the rights and powers of a trustee? Obviously not. The theoretical right of the Sovereign to legislate for the State is absolute and unrestricted. The question, however, which we are considering here is how far the Government can without exercising that extraordinary right interfere in the administration of Hindu religious institutions? We have seen that they have, by virtues of their exercising the *Melkoima* right, the full powers of a trustee in the temples under their management. As regards temples under private management again they can exercise the *Melkoima* right of superintendence to see that the trustees administer the temples properly and, when that step becomes necessary to ensure proper administration, they can take over the management themselves. In the case of purely private temples belonging to individuals or single families, the Government have no right of interference. The *Melkoima* right is confined to public temples, that is to say temples in which any section of the public at least is interested as of right.

How for Government can constitutionally interfere.

CHAPTER IX.

COMMITMENTS MADE BY GOVERNMENT.

125. We have seen that, legally, the Government's position with regard to Savarna temples in their management is that of trustees, a position which they have attained by the exercise of the *Melkoima* right of the Sovereign. We have also seen that, in the past, the Government have changed the customary practices in certain temples in the exercise of their *Melkoima* right. On the question whether, in exercise of that right, the Government may allow the Avarnas to enter Savarna temples, we have indicated our view that, in the present state of the law and the Sastraic authorities, the Government cannot, as *Melkoima*, make such a change in the existing custom. It is contended on behalf of the Sanatanists that even if the Government ordinarily would have the power to do so, they have, by conduct and express declarations in the past, committed themselves to the existing usages and are pledged to see that they are not altered. The main items of conduct and declaration which are relied on for this purpose are, as gathered from the answers to the *questionnaire* and the oral evidence of witnesses, the fowowing:—

Alleged commitments.

i. The dedication of the State to Sri Padmanabha by Maharaja Marthanda Varma ;

ii. The treaties with the Rajas of Alengad and Parur by virtue of which the Government got the management of the temples in those areas ;

iii. Col. Munro's orders at the time of the assumption of the Devaswoms in 987 M. E., and

iv. The Devaswom Proclamation of 1097 and the *Communique* dated 12th April 1922 accompanying it.

126. The dedication of the State to Sripadmanabha is an ac of great political significance. But it is difficult to see how it is relevant to the present question. By the dedication, the Maharaja became the servant of Sripadmanabha, ruling the State as His Vice gerent. This fact does not, it seems to

Thrippadidanam of 925 M. E.

us, in any way affect his relation to the various creeds and communities in the State. As regards Hindu religious instiutions, this does not give him greater rights or lay upon him more onerous duties than as a Hindu ruler he would have.

Records relating to treaty relations with other Rajas, etc.

127. The treaties and other records mentioned above, in this connection, merely show that the ruler of Travancore has undertaken to administer the Hindu religious institutious concerned in accordance with recognised custom and usage. As *Melkoima*, as we have already stated, he has to administer them in accordance with custom and usage as any trustee has to do. These papers too, therefore, do not in any way add to his rights or duties. We are, therefore, of opinion that none of these incidents constitute any special commitment by the Government as regards the customs and usages of temples.

The Royal Proclamation of 1097 M. E.

128. Special emphasis is laid by the Sanatanists upon the Royal Proclamation of 1097 effecting the separation of Devaswoms from the Revenue Department. That Proclamation contains the statement " Our Government shall..............administer the Devaswoms in accordance with such usage and custom as may be recognised by our Government. " This, it is urged, is a definite undertaking by the ruler that the Devaswoms shall be administered in accordance with existing customs and usages. It may be said in reply that the proviso " as may be recognised by our Government " makes this undertaking practically valueless, as the Government may, as they like, recognise or refuse to recognise any custom or usage. But, it is very doubtful if that is the correct interpretation of the clause. Evidently, the proviso is intended to save the Government from disputes as to the existence of particular customs. No one should be allowed to contend that there is a particular custom if the Government say that there is not. The clause obviously has reference to the question of fact as to the existence of a particular custom or usage. In the Proclamation itself the position taken up is that the Government control the Devaswoms

only in the exercise of the *Melkoima* right of the Sovereign. It will be inconsistent with that position to interpret the clause in question as indicating an intention on the part of the Government to take a power to over-ride even the fundamental practices of religious worship in temples. The statement extracted above, however, does not, in our opinion, mean any special commitment beyond what a trustee, by his position as such, undertakes.

CHAPTER X.

COMPROMISE.

View of supporters of temple entry.

129. On the question of temple-entry we find two extreme views. The supporters of temple-entry are for extending to the Avarnas the privilege that the Savarnas generally have, of going up to the *Sopana* for worship; and that position they want to be conceded at once. With them, it is a matter of principle and self-respect, and they say they cannot accept anything less.

View of Sanatanists.

130. On the other side, the Sanatanists maintain that the present practice cannot be modified to the slightest extent. With them it is not a matter for logic or argument; it is a matter of faith. Any interference with the system of worship established by the Sastras, however mystic and unintelligible to the lay mind the basis of it might be, will, in their view, be destructive of the whole scheme of temples and image-worship.

Middle courses.

131. This is the attitude of the majority of witnesses on their side. A compromise in the sense of each of the two parties to a controversy willingly yielding part of its claim so as to arrive at an agreed *via media* is, therefore, out of the question. And most of the witnesses have, in so many words, declared a compromise to be impossible. But, we have to see whether it is possible to suggest a course which, while to some extent at least satisfying the aspirations of the Avarnas, does so without destroying the faith of the Sanatanists and making them feel that they are deprived forcibly of their freedom of worship. That would be a middle course, and. in that sense, a compromise between the two extreme views.

132. Some of the answers to the *questionnaire* and some of the witnesses have suggested certain ways of doing this. One method is to allow the Avarnas to enter within the walls but not to go within the Nalampalam. They might go as far as the *Pradakshinavazhi* or *Balivattom*. Even now, there are certain classes of Hindus who have access only up to that line. The Avarnas, it is said, may be given that right. According to the texts of the Agama Sastras, this too would cause pollution. But, the intensity of the pollution is according to the nearness of the place to the image in the temple. If the pollution is outside the *Balivattom* it is much less serious than if it were inside. This restricted admission would also meet the objection to temple-entry based on the lower average standard of cleanliness of the Avarnas and their ignorance of the etiquette of temple-worship. This stage would serve as one of apprenticeship.

Allowing entry up to Nalampalam.

133. Another middle course suggested by some witnesses is to throw open some temples in the several parts of the State for common worship by Avarnas and such Savarnas as are prepared to worship with them. The Avarnas may here be allowed to proceed up to the *Sopana*, like the Savarnas. This will make the idea of the mingling of Avarnas and Savarnas for common worship familiar, and it is claimed, will, in course of time serve to demonstrate the baselessness of the fears of the Sanatanists that the temples will lose their sanctity and importance if Avarnas are admitted into them and will be deserted by Savarnas as well as Avarnas.

Throwing open of some temples.

134. A third suggestion is that fresh temples be built where all classes of Hindus without distinction may be admitted for worship. Many of the Sanatanist witnesses were in favour of this. This suggestion is worthy of consideration. It meets to some extent the need for proper places of worship for the Avarnas. It also serves to illustrate in practice the sympathy of the Savarna supporters of the

Building of new temples for common worship.

movement who declare their readiness to worship with the Avarnas. And what is more, it will have very great effect as propaganda. Nothing will familiarise the idea of common worship so much as the practice of Savarnas of status and position mixing with Avarnas in such temples. But, it does not, to any extent, meet the desire of the Avarnas to be allowed to worship in the existing Savarna temples, many of which have a great reputation for sanctity. It cannot also strictly be said to be a compromise on the question of temple-entry, though it is a compromise in the matter of common worship, which may serve as a stepping stone to the other. The Committee accept this as a useful suggestion so far as it goes.

Throwing open of temples with time specification.

135. A fourth course which a few witnesses suggested is to allow the Avarnas to enter into all temples for worship, but to allot different times in the day to the Sanatanists and the Avarnas. The Committee are of opinion that this will alienate the Sanatanists from all temples and lead in practice to innumerable difficulties. In certain temples, or, on certain days, some particular time is considered most propitious for worship. Which party is to have that time? And to enforce the quitting of the premises by all members of certain communities at a specified time every day will also be difficult. The Committee feel that this suggestion is impracticable.

Possible forms of compromise also to be referred to the Parishat.

136. As they have already indicated, the Committee think that it is desirable that some advance should be made. At the same time, they are not in favour of any sweeping change being effected. In the opinion of the Committee, the two possible forms of compromise in the matter are; (i) entry being allowed as far as *Balivattom* in all Savarna temples and (ii) throwing open of some of the existing temples in the several taluks for all Hindus, the others being reserved for the exclusive worship of the Savarnas.

137. These two methods might also be referred to the *Parishat* suggested in paragraph 99 supra.

CHAPTER XI.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS.

We may now summarise the conclusions we have arrived at. This may best be done by answering the points raised by the Government in their proceedings constituting the Committee. We shall take the points in order and record our answers to them.

1. "Whether, in all or any of the temples within the State the caste Hindus have either an exclusive right of worship or recognisable civil rights in the matter of such worship, *e. g.* as being sole beneficiaries, owners, etc."

The right of the Savarnas to keep the Avarnas out of Savarna temples is a recognisable civil right capable of adjudication in a court of law. That right the Savarnas have, as the only beneficiaries entitled to worship inside the temples, and not as owners. Certain persons, as individuals, may be owners of certain Savarna temples, but there is no temple of which the Savarna community is, as such, the owner.

According to longstanding usage and religious authority, the Avarnas are entiled to worship at Savarna temples from the position outside the temples assigned to them by usage.

2. "Whether in any particular caste Hindu temple there is any local practice with regard to the entry of non-caste Hindus into such temple."

In Travancore, there is no Savarna temple in which there is a local practice allowing the entry of non-caste Hindus.

3. (*a*) "The general feeling among non-caste Hindus about the efficacy of religious worship or rites within the temple itself or within its precincts in the case of temples now open to caste Hindus alone."

There is a general feeling among non-caste Hindus that religious worship or rites performed within a temple will be more efficacious than such worship or rites performed outside its precincts

3. (*b*) "The general feeling among caste Hindus about the efficacy of religious worship or rites if temple-entry is allowed to non-caste Hindus."

The feeling among the Savarnas is divided. The general feeling among those who favour temple-entry is that there will be no loss of efficacy in worship if Avarnas are admitted into Savarna temples. The feeling among those who are against temple-entry is that efficacy will be lost if Avarnas are admitted into Savarna temples.

4. "The extent of any feeling among (1) caste Hindus and (2) non-caste Hindus in regard to the creation of social and religious equality by allowing temple-entry and whether the movement for temple-entry is a separable or integral part of such a programme."

From the preponderance of oral evidence of the Savarna witnesses and the information as to the general feeling in the country, which we have been able to gather from that evidence, it is clear that there is a strong feeling among Savarnas in favour of temple-entry being allowed. At the same time, it has to be recognised that there is considerable opposition from a large body of Savarnas on the other side.

The general feeling among Avarnas is in favour of temple-entry.

Though it is conceded that temple-entry will not by itself produce social and religious equality, allowing temple-entry will, to that extent, remove the inequality in those respects. It is possible to work out a scheme for the social uplift of the Avarnas independently of the temple-entry movement. The Committee suggest for this purpose action on the following lines:—

i. Distance pollution or *theendal* should be removed by appropriate legislative measures subject to reservations in the matter of entry into temples and into their adjuncts like temple-tanks, temple-wells, Homapuras, Anakottils, etc., and subject to the following provisos:—

(*a*) Public tanks used for bathing purposes should be thrown open, after separate cisterns are attached to them or portions of them are walled off, where people could wash their clothes, etc., before betting into the tanks for bath.

(*b*) Public wells should be thrown open, after they are provided with cisterns, in which water should be stored from the wells by Municipal or Health Department employees and from which water should be drawn through taps.

(c) Government Satrams should be thrown open, after they are provided with separate kitchens, as in the case of such as are already open to all classes.

The Committee think that prompt action should be taken as regards these items.

ii. Arrangements should be made for providing Bhajanamadams, instituting religious lectures, opening schools for adult instruction, and for proper housing and sanitation and the adequate supply of wells and tanks, for such Avarna communities as, in the opinion of Government, require such assistance. This item may be so worked as to be completed in a definite period, say, ten years.

iii. In important centres, temples may be built and consecrated where Savarnas and Avarnas may worship together, such Savarnas retaining their full rights of worship, etc.. in temples where Avarnas are not now admitted.

5. "The probable results (a) temporary (b) permanent, of allowing temple entry."

The following results are likely to ensue.

i. Some breaches of the peace may occur. But, it will be possible to prevent them by proper precautionary measures.

ii. A large number of Savarnas will keep out of the temples and a large number of Avarnas will come in.

iii. Many of the priests, (Pujaris and Tantris) will be unwilling to continue their services. Other persons belonging to the communities from which they are recruited may be willing to take their places. But they may not in general command the same respect.

iv. Some of the temple servants may discontinue their services or demand remuneration in cash instead of cooked-rice allowance. The Government may fix cash remuneration and get over this difficulty.

v. Of the Savarnas who first keep away, some may in course of time come back. The number of Avarnas going to temples for worship may also be reduced. But the total number of worshippers is not likely to be less than at present.

If any entry that is allowed is with the concurrence of a *Parishat*, the evil results anticipated will be considerably minimised.

6. "The possibility of a compromise being arrived at between the orthodox Hindu Community and other Hindus with regard to the question of temple-entry or any aspect of it. And, if there is a possibility, the best methods of effecting at compromise."

A compromise in the strict sense does not seem to be possible. But, a few middle courses have been suggested, of which, the Committee think, the following two deserve to be considered:--

(i) Entry being allowed to Avarnas as far as the *Balivattam* in all Savarna temples and (ii) throwing open of some of the existing temples in the several taluks, for all Hindus, the others being reserved for the exclusive worship of the Savarnas.

The Committee suggest that these two middle courses also may be referred to the *Parishat*.

7. "The bearing on the question of temple-entry, of the principles, rules and practices regulating religious worship and rites in caste Hindu temples."

The principles and rules regulating religious worship in caste Hindu temple are set forth in the Agamas; and the Agamas prohibit the entry of the Avarnas. The practice in temples is also to the same effect.

8. "The extent to which Government can interfere or has interfered in private temples whether or not under Government management."

The Government have assumed the management of many Savarna temples in the exercise of the Sovereign's right of *Melkoima*. In administering these temples, they have the full

rights of trustees. Over Savarna temples not managed by Government, they have, by virtue of the Melkoima right, the power of supervision and of assuming the management, if that step is necessary for the proper administration of these temples. In the capacity of Melkoima, Government have modified a few practices in some temples. But, no changes in practice or usage involving modification of important principles of the Smritis or important rules of the Agamas can be effected, except by the Sovereign on the advice of a *Parishat.*

9. "The commitments if any, made by Government."

In the opinion of the Committee, no commitment has been made by Government which restricts their freedom of action in the matter.

On the general question of temple-entry, the Committee are of opinion that there is such a change from the past in the circumstances of the present day as to make it desirable that whatever steps are possible should be taken to give the Avarnas greater facilities for worshipping at Savarna temples, but that it is necessary that the faith of the orthodox Hindus in temples and in the sanctity of the deity installed in them should not be weakened. The Committee think that the extent to which the present rule prohibiting the entry of Avarnas into temples may be modified should be determined by the Sovereign on the advice of a *Parishat.*

Trivandrum,
27th-Dhanu 1109/11th January 1934.

(Sd.) V. S. Subramonia Aiyer,
President.

Subject to my dissenting minute.

(Sd.) K. Parameswaran Pillai.

ഏതാനും അഭിപ്രായങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ച് ഒരു മെമ്മോറാണ്ടം സമർപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനു വിരോധംകൂടാതെ ഇതിനെ അനുകൂലിക്കുന്നു.

(Sd.) Chingan Narayanan Bhattathirippad.
(Sd.) Punnasseri Nambi Neelakanta Sarma.

എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായങ്ങളെ പ്രത്യേകമായി മെമ്മോറാണ്ടത്തിൽ എഴുതിയിട്ടുള്ള ഒരു റിപ്പോർട്ടും ചേർക്കുന്നുണ്ട്.

(Sd.) Punnasseri Nambi Neelakanta Sarma.

Subject to my dissenting note.

(Sd.) M. Govindan.

Subject to my supplementary memorandum.

(Sd.) T. K. Velu Pillai.

A supplementary note is to be appended.

(Sd.) S. K. Mahadeva Aiyer.

ചില അഭിപ്രായങ്ങളെപ്പറ്റി ഒരു നോട്ടുകൂടി സമർപ്പിക്കുന്നതാണ്.

(Sd.) T. Kesavan Sastri.

A supplementary note will be attached.

(Sd.) S. Parameswara Aiyar.

Note added to the Temple Entry Enquiry Committee's report by the President.

There are two points in the dissenting minute appended to the Commitee's report by Messrs Parameswaran Pillai and Govindan which are likely to be misleading. I am adding his short note to prevent misunderstanding.

In the first paragraph of the dissenting minute appears the following remark "In this matter, he" (His Highness the Maharaja) "has chosen to appoint this Committee to advise him and this recommendation of the Committee for the constitution of a different body" (a *Parishat*) "with whose advice and concurrence alone he is to act is therefore unwarranted and *ultra vires*." A reading of the terms of the reference made by the Government to the Committee leaves, it seems to me, no room for such a statement. In the first place, by clause 7 the Committee have been asked to report what bearing the principles rules and practice regarding religious worship and rites in caste Hindu temples have on the question of temple-entry. It is a perfectly relevant and good answer to that question that there are rules prohibiting entry of Avarnas into temples, but that there are also sastraic texts permitting rules of conduct to be altered on the recommendation of a *Parishat*. Again in clause 6 the Committee have been asked to state whether a compromise between the orthodox Hindus and other Hindus is possible on this subject and if so to suggest the best methods of effecting the compromise. One method of compromise the Committee suggest is to secure a relaxation of the existing rules of prohibition with the help of a *Parishat*. In these circumstances it is difficult to see how the above answers are unwarranted or *ultra vires* of the Committee. It may be noted that there is nothing in the Government Communique constituting the Committee to show that the Committee, as Messrs Parameswaran Pillai and Govindan evidently believe, was meant to be the final arbiter in this important religous matter.

The other point to which I would devote a few words is the way in which a remark made in the Committee's report has

evidently been misread. After referring to passages in the Smritis and the Puranas describing the habitations and mode of life of communities designated as Chandalas, Antyajas. etc., the report says that "the description, though it has by lapse of time become inapt in some respects is still in a way sufficient to include *certain Avarna* classes going now by varying names in different localities within the scope of the generic class names in the texts." The remark is very guarded and can by no stretch of language be said to apply to all the Avarna classes. On the other hand, in dealing with the Ezhavas, for instance, the report states in paragraph 47, that they are racially different from the Avarnas lower in the scale and are "but little below the Savarnas in their standard of life." The dissenting minute referring to this part of the report says : "As the report assumes the description of Chandalas given in the Smritis and Puranas was sufficient to include *the several classes of Avarnas*" (the italics is mine)......................"we challenge the authors of the report to show how that description applies to Kammalas, Ezhavas, Kanians, etc., This comment is based, as it expressly says, on the assumption that the report says that the description applies to all the Avarna classes. The report, as I have said above, does not say so. The mistake may have been due to a not careful reading of that part of the report. But it has the effect of presenting the remark of the Committee in a rather unfair light and in the present state of communal nervousness is likely to cause unnecessary heart-burning.

V. S. Subrahmanya Aiyar.

APPENDIX I.

Press Communique.

Government have decided to appoint a Committee, mainly of non-officials, to report on the subject of Temple Entry. They will tour the State and elicit public opinion. Dewan Bahadur V. S. Subramonia Aiyar B. A., B. L, retired Dewan has kindly consented to be President of the Committee. The Committee has not been quite fully constituted but the following gentlemen have already agreed to serve.

1. Mr. K. Parameswara Pillai B. A., B. L., Puisne Judge, High Court.
2. Mr. M. Govindan B. A., B. L., Member, Legislative Council.
3. Mr. T. K. Velu Pillai B. A., B. L., High Court Vakil.
4. Rao Sahib S. Parameswaran Aiyar M. A., B. L., Retired Dewan Peishkar.
5. Mr. T. Kesavan Sastri (Pulaya representative.)

Government hope to complete the personnel of the Committee within a few days by the addition of representatives of the orthodox sections and to receive their report in two months.

K. GEORGE.
Chief Secretary to Government.

Huzur Cutcherry,
Trivandrum, 8th November 1932.

APPENDIX II.

Proceedings of the Government of His Highness the Maha Raja of Travancore.

Read :—

Press Communique dated the 8th November 1932, announcing the decision of Government to appoint a Committee mainly of Non-officials to report on the subject of temple-entry.

R. Dis. No. 648/Devaswom, dated, Trivandrum 25th November 1932.

In accordance with the decision announced in the Communique read above, the Government of His Highness the Maha Raja are pleased to constitute the Committee to enquire about and report on the question of Temple Entry. The composition of the Committee will be as follows:—

President.

Dewan Bahadur V. S. Subramonnia Aiyar, B. A., B. L., Retired Dewan of Travancore

Members.

1. Mr. K. Parameswaran Pillai, B. A., B. L., Judge, High Court.
2. Mr. K. Anantanarayana Aiyar, B. A., B. L., Retired Land Revenue Commissioner.
3. Mr. M. Govindan, B. A., B. L., M. L. C., Retired District Judge.
4. Rao Sabib Oolloor S. Parameswara Aiyar, M. A., B. L., Retired Dewan Peishkar.
5. Mr. T. K. Velu Pillai, B. A., B. L., High Court Vakil.
6. Mr. T. Kesavan Sastri.
7. One gentleman nominated by the Tharananalloor Nambudiripad.
8. Brahmasri Chingan Narayanan Bhattathiripad, Tantri, Parampur Illom, Tiruvella.

2. The Committee will tour the State and elicit public opinion by examining individuals and representatives of associations. The Committee may also examine individuals representing the trustees

or ther responsible authorities of selected temples. In particular, the Committee will report on the following points :—

(1) Whether in all or any of the temples within the State the caste Hindus have either an exclusive right of worship or recognisable civil rights in the matter of such worship, *e. g.*, as being sole beneficiaries, owners, etc.

(2) Whether in any particular caste Hindu temple there is any local practice with regard to the entry of non-caste Hindus into such temple.

(3) (*a*) The general feeling among non-caste Hindus about the efficacy of religious worship or rites within the temple itself or within its precincts in the case of temples now open to caste Hindus alone.

(*b*) The general feeling among caste Hindus about the efficacy of religious worship or rites if Temple Entry is allowed to non-caste Hindus.

(4) The extent of any feeling among (1) Caste Hindus and (2) non-caste Hindus, in regard to the creation of social and religious equality by allowing Temple Entry and whether the movement for Temple Entry is a separable or integral part of, such a programme.

(5) The probable results (*a*) temporary, (*b*) permanent of allowing Temple Entry.

(6) The possibility of a compromise being arrived at between the orthodox Hindu community and other Hindus with regard to the question of Temple Entry or any aspect of it. And if there is a possibility, the best methods of effecting a compromise.

(7) The bearing, on the question of Temple Entry, of the principles, rules and practice regulating religious worship and rites in caste Hindu temples.

(8) The extent to which Government can interfere or has interfered in private temples whether or not under Government management.

(9) The commitments, if any, made by Government.

3. The Committee will start work immediately and report in two months.

4. The President will draw travelling allowance at the rates allowed to him while he was Dewan. The official member of the Committee will draw the allowance admissible to him by the T. S. R. The non- official members of the Committee will be treated as first class officers and will be given the daily allowance and mileage admissible to such officers under the Service Regulations, *viz.*, D. A. Rs. 5 and mileage Chs. 11.

5. Mr. S. Sanku Aiyar, Ag. Assistant Devaswom Commissioner, is appointed as Secretary to the Committee. He will draw in addition to his salary a deputation allowance of one-fifth of his salary. The Devaswom Commissioner is requested to relieve him at once and to direct him to report himself to the President forthwith.

6. The following staff is sanctioned for the present :—

2 clerks on Rs. 75 and 40 per mensem ;

1 stenographer on Rs. 30 per mensem, and

4 peons on Rs.10 each per mensem.

7 A lump sum of Rs. 8,832 is sanctioned for the expenses onnected with the Committee as noted below :—

Salaries	...	Rs. 6,032
T. A.	...	Rs. 2,500
Contingencies	...	Rs. 300

8. Government trust that all persons, official and non-official who are interested in the question will readily come forward and offer their views and suggestions before the Committee, and render them every help.

(By order)

K. GEORGE,

Chief Secretary to Government.

1. The President, Temple Entry Enquiry Committee.
2. The Official and non-official members of Do.
3. The Registrar, High Court,
4. The Devaswom Commissioner.
5. The Account Officer,
6. Gazette.
7. The Press Room.
8 Judicial Section.

APPENDIX III.

The Temple-entry Enquiry Committee

Questionnaire.

1. What classes or communities of Hindus are considered caste Hindus and what non-caste Hindus?

2. In all or any of the temples within the State into which caste Hindus alone are now admitted, have the caste Hindus (a) an exclusive right of worship (b) any recognisable civil rights in the matter of such worship? Can you refer to decisions of courts recognising such right?

3. With regard to all or any of such temples, please state: -

(i) when and by whom they were founded;

(ii) whether they were founded for the benefit of all Hindus or only for the benefit of particular castes of Hindus and, in the latter case, the caste or castes meant to be benefited;

(iii) whether it was the intention of the founder or founders that certain classes of Hindus alone should worship inside the temples;

(iv) whether the classes of Hindus who are not now admitted inside the temples have had such admission at any time, and, if they had, how and on what grounds they came to be excluded subsequently;

(v) whether any classes of Hindus who had no temple entry before have been subsequently admitted into temples, giving instances, if any, and the grounds on which they were previously excluded and subsequently admitted;

(vi) whether they have been endowed by caste Hindus only or whether non-caste Hindus also have made any endowments for them;

(vii) what the customs and usages are relating to the admission of worshippers into the temples, with special reference to the different limits, if any, to which the different classes or castes are admitted, and whether there are any temples where there is difference in admissibility on account of sex;

(viii) what the origin is of the usages and customs mentioned in (vii);

(ix) what the extent is of the right of worship now claimed for those who have no temple entry;

(x) whether caste Hindus or any section or sections of them are owners of such temples;

(xi) whether the caste Hindus are the sole beneficiaries of such temples; and

(xii) whether there is any other basis (besides ownership and sole beneficiaryship) on which the exclusive right of caste Hindus to worship inside such temples can be supported, and if so, what.

4. Are there temples founded for the benefit of some particular sections of the caste Hindus? If so, have the other sections of the caste Hindus any right of entry or worship in such temples?

5. Are there temples founded by caste Hindus for the sole worship of non-caste Hindus?

6. Are there temples founded by non-caste Hindus for the sole worship of caste Hindus?

Please refer to whatever evidence there is in support of your answers to questions 2 to 6. Information regarding as many temples as possible may be given.

7. Is there in any of the caste Hindu temples any local practice allowing entry to non-caste Hindus without any restriction or under restrictions? In the latter case, on what occasions and up to what limit? Is there any difference in the pooja and other rites on such occasions? Are any purificatory ceremonies conducted after such entry? Give the particulars separately regarding each such temple.

8. What is the origin of such local practice?

9. Is there any difference in the form of the pooja and other connected rites between exclusive caste Hindu temples and those into which non-caste Hindus are generally admitted without any restriction?

10. Is there any general desire among non-caste Hindus that entry into caste Hindu temples should be allowed to them? If so, what are the grounds for that desire?

11. Are there temples owned by non-caste Hindus? What is their feeling with regard to the efficacy of the worship in these temples?

12. Do non-caste Hindus now worship and perform religious rites at caste Hindu temples from outside the premises? Do they feel that such worship is not sufficiently efficacious?

13. Do the non-caste Hindus feel that their worship in caste Hindu temples will be more efficacious if they are allowed to enter such temples?

14. Do they feel that their worship from in side the Balivattom (*Pradkshinavazhi*) if permitted, would be more efficacious than that from inside the temple premises, but outside the Balivattom?

15. Is there any feeling among any non-caste Hindus that their entry into caste Hindu temples contrary to existing practice will be productive of any adverse results to themselves or will prejudicially affect the sanctity of the temples?

16. Is there any general feeling among caste Hindus that the efficacy of worship or religious rites in temples will be prejudicially affected by the entry of non-caste Hindus into such temples? If so, on what grounds?

17. Does that feeling apply only to entry within the Balivattom or to entry into the outer premises as well?

18. Is the object of the movement for temple entry the creation of social and religious equality between caste Hindus and non-caste Hindus or is there any other object?

19. What are the matters in which there is social and religious inequality at present (a) as between caste Hindus and non-caste Hindus, (*b*) as between different sections of caste Hindus and (*c*) as between different sections of non-caste Hindus?

20. Do you think that any or all of these inequalities will be removed by allowing temple entry? If so, to what extent?

21. What is the extent of feeling among caste Hindus as to the removal of these inequalities by allowing temple entry?

22. What is the extent of feeling among non-caste Hindus on that point?

23. Can you suggest any definite constructive programme for bringing about social and religious equality between caste Hindus and non-caste Hindus? If so, explain it.

24. Is the movement for temple entry a separable or an integral part of the programme for bringing about social and religious equality between caste Hindus and non-caste Hindus?

25. Are all classes of non caste Hindus now allowed to worship in temples belonging to particular classes of non-caste Hindus? (If not, and if the witness is a non-caste Hindu, he will please state whether he is in favour of all non caste Hindu temples being thrown open to all non-caste Hindus alike)

26. If temple entry is allowed to non-caste Hindus, will any caste Hindus or non-caste Hindus cease to worship in caste Hindu temples as before?

27. Will the sanctity of the temples be affected, and if so, how?

28. Will it create any difficulty in getting the pooja and other services in the temples performed?

29. If temple entry is allowed to non-caste Hindus without restriction, will it affect the sanitation of the temple and its premises, temple wells, temple tanks, etc., and if so, how?

30. Will all or any of the above results be temporary or permanent?

31. Will there be other results, temporary or permanent? If so, what?

32. If temple entry is allowed, do you think that, in course of time, the accession of strength to the temple-going population by the inclusion of non-caste Hindus will serve to increase the importance and usefulness of the temples, or do you think that both classes will lose interest in the temples and that they will gradually lose their importance?

33. Is it possible to arrive at a compromise between the orthodox Hindus and the other Hindus with regard to the question of temple entry or any aspect of it?

34. If so, what are the best methods of effecting a compromise?

35. What is the connotation of the term "Hindu temple" as commonly understood?

36. What religious rites impart to and preserve in the Bimbom sanctity according to Hindu belief?

37. What are the authoritative Sastras and Agamas that define these rites?

38. What nimittams (events or happenings) according to them reduce or destroy the sanctity of temples?

39. Is entry of non-caste Hindus into temples prohibited by these authorities? Please refer to the texts containing the prohibition, if any, and state, with reasons, what terms in them denote the non-caste Hindus.

40. Are the rules of these Agamas and Sastras having a direct bearing on the question of temple entry substantially observed in practice at present?

41. Do these Agamas and Sastras provide for the alteration of the rules to suit changed times and conditions? If so, under what conditions and by whom?

42. According to these Sastras and Agamas, what is the position of temples in the scheme of Hindu religious worship?

43. How far are Kshetracharams authoritative in the matter of regulating religious worship in temples?

44. What is the bearing, if any, on the question of temple entry, of the difference between Pratishta temples and Kudiyiruthal temples?

45. What is the extent to which Government can interfere in private religious institutions? How far can they interfere in (i) private temples under their management, and (ii) private temples not under their management? Have the Government interfered in such temples in the past? If so, give instances and particulars of such interference.

46. Have the Government already made any commitments on the question of the maintenance or alteration of the existing customs and usages in temples? If so, what?

47. What is the effect of these commitments, if any on the freedom of action of the Government in the matter of temple entry?

48. Are you in favour of allowing non-caste Hindus entry into caste Hindu temples? If so, to what extent?

APPENDIX IV.

Anu of Sannad dated 3rd Kanni 987 M. E. (Huzur Central Vernacular Records).

ൻ മുഖത്തു സർവ്വാധികാര്യക്കാറന്മാക്കും എഴുതിയ സന്നതിന്റെ അനുവ്.

൯൮൭ാമാണ്ട്.

ഈ രാജ്യത്തുള്ള ദേവസ്വം ഇടപെട്ടുള്ള കാര്യങ്ങൾകൊണ്ടു നമുക്ക മുൻപിനാലെ ഏറ്റവും വിചാരമായിരിക്കുന്നു. അതു എന്തെന്നാൽ ദേവസ്വം കാര്യം നിലങ്ങളും പുരയിടങ്ങളും പാട്ടായി മുതലെടുപ്പില്ലാതെയും വ്യാജങ്ങളും നടന്ന ദേവസ്വത്തിൽ ഏറ്റവും കുടിശ്ശികയും അടിയന്തരങ്ങൾക്ക ഛിദ്രവും വന്നിരിക്കുന്നു. ദേവസ്വംവകയ്ക്കു വച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന ചിലവിനം പട്ടുപരിവട്ടം തിരുവാഭരണം ഓട്ടുപാത്രം ഉൾപ്പെട്ട വകയിലും വ്യാജങ്ങളും വ്യത്യാസങ്ങളും ഏറ്റവും നടന്നുവരുന്നു. ദേവസ്വം കാര്യങ്ങളിലും വ്യാജങ്ങൾ ഏതെങ്കിലും കാണിച്ചാൽ വലിയകുറ്റം (പൊടിവ്) എല്ലാസ്ഥലങ്ങളിലും പരമ്പരായമായിട്ടുള്ള (പൊടിവ്) ഉള്ള ആളുകൾക്ക ആയതു മെസ്സിൽ (പൊടിവ്) മുതലായിട്ട് (പൊടിവ്) പ്രകാരം ഒക്കെയും പലപ്രകാരത്തിലും ചേരങ്ങൾവെന്ന് ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങൾ കാലാകാലത്തു കെട്ടിസൂക്ഷിക്കാതെയും പണികഴിപ്പിക്കാതെയും ജീർണ്ണിച്ചുകിടക്കകൊണ്ട് ഇപ്രകാരം ഒക്കെയും നടന്നുപോരുന്ന എണ്ണങ്ങൾ അതാതു മണ്ഡപത്തുംവാതുക്കൽ കാര്യക്കാറന്മാരുടെ ഹർജികൾ വന്നതിനാൽ തന്നെ നമുക്ക നല്ലതിന്നും തോന്നിയിരിക്കുന്നു. എന്നതുകൊണ്ടു ഈ കാര്യങ്ങൾ പ്രമാണിച്ചു വിചാരിച്ചു ചട്ടംകെട്ടേണ്ടതിനെക്കയും കീഴിൽ എഴുതുന്നപ്രകാരം ചട്ടംകെട്ടികൊള്ളണം. അതു ഏതുപ്രകാരമെന്നാൽ അതാതുമുഖത്തു സർവ്വാധികാര്യക്കാറരു, കാര്യക്കാറന്മാരുൾപ്പെട്ട ആളുകൾ ദേവസ്വംകാര്യങ്ങൾക്ക ഒക്കെയും അവരവരുടെ ഉത്തരവുംകീഴ്വച്ചുംകൊണ്ട് പണ്ടാരവകയ്ക്കുള്ള നിലവും പുരയിടവും ഉൾപ്പെട്ടവകയ്ക്കു യാതൊരു കാരണവുംകൊണ്ടെങ്കിലും മുതൽ ദോഷങ്ങൾ വന്നാൽ അതു കൃഷിനടത്തി കരങ്ങൾ വരുത്തെണ്ടതിനു ഏതുതല്ലാംപ്രകാരംവിചാരിക്കേണ്ട അപ്രകാരമൊക്കെയും ദേവസ്വംവകളിൽപ്പെടാതെ ഉതമപ്പെട്ടതിലും ഉത്സാഹിച്ചുവിചാരിച്ചു തരിശുകിടക്കുന്നതും കൃഷികൾ നടത്തിച്ചു അവകയ്ക്കു വിളവുകുറവുംകൂടാതെ (പൊടിവ്) ശരിവരെ പിരിപ്പിച്ച് പണ്ടാരവക പണങ്ങൾ ഹജൂർഖജനാവിൽ കൊടുത്തയയ്ക്കുന്നതുപോലെ ദേവസ്വങ്ങളിൽ പിരിയുന്ന നെല്ലും പണവും മണ്ഡപത്തുംവാതുക്കലും കൈയെത്തിച്ചു മാമൂൽപ്രകാരം പൂജഅടിയന്തരംവകയ്ക്കു ചിലവിട്ടുവിച്ചുകൊള്ളുകയും വേണം. ദേവസ്വംവക തിരുവാഭരണം പട്ടുപരിവട്ടം ഉൾപ്പെട്ടവകകൾ വെച്ചുപൂട്ടിയിരിക്കുന്ന അറകൾഇരുന്ന ശോധനചെയ്യേണ്ടുന്നതിന്ന് സർവ്വാധികാര്യക്കാറരും ദേവസ്വത്തുപിള്ളയും അതാതു മണ്ഡപത്തുംവാതുക്കൽ തിരുമുല്പിടിച്ചപിള്ളയും കൂടെ ചെന്നുഇറപ്പിച്ചു മേലെഴുതിയ (പൊടിവ്) ശോധനചെയ്തു ഇന്നയിന്ന (പൊടിവ്) ഇന്നഇന്നദേവസ്വംവകയ്ക്കു ഇരിപ്പുണ്ടെന്നു (പൊടിവ്) വരിയോല എഴുതി (പൊടിവ്) ഹജൂർകച്ചേരിയിലും ഒരു വരിയോല മഹാരാജശ്രീവർകളുടെ അടുക്കലും കൊടുത്തയച്ചു മേലെഴുതിയ ഉരുപ്പടികൾ ചേതംവന്നുപോകാതെ സൂക്ഷിച്ചുകൊള്ളത്തക്കവണ്ണം വേണ്ടുംപ്രകാരം ചട്ടംകെട്ടികൊള്ളണം. ദേവസ്വം നിത്യനിദാനം, പൂജഅടിയന്തരം, മാസവിശേഷം ആട്ടവിശേഷം ഉൾപ്പെട്ട കാര്യങ്ങൾക്കും തിരുപ്പണി ഉൾപ്പെട്ട കാര്യങ്ങൾക്കും അതാതു മണ്ഡപത്തുംവാതു

കൾ കാൎയ്യക്കാറരു വിചാരിച്ചു വേണ്ടുംപ്രകാരം നടത്തിച്ചുകൊള്ളണം. ആയതിന്റെ ശേഷംവരുത്തി മേലെഴുതിയതിന്മണ്ണം ഉള്ള അടിയന്തരങ്ങൾ നടത്തുന്നതിൽ ഏതെങ്കിലും വീഴ്ചവന്നാൽ ആയതിന്റെ കാൎയ്യക്കാറന്മാരെക്കൊണ്ടു ഉത്തരവാദത്തിന്നുഇടവരികയും ചെയ്യും. ആയതു മനസ്സിൽ ഉണ്ടായി മേലെഴുതിയതിന്മണ്ണം ദെവസ്വംകാൎയ്യങ്ങൾ ഒക്കെയും വേണ്ടപ്രകാരം വിചാരിച്ചുനടത്താതെ യാതൊരു കുറ്റത്തിനെങ്കിലും ഇട്ടവരുത്തി എന്നുവരികിൽ ആയതു ഇന്നാരെന്നു ഉടൻതന്നെ നമുക്കു എഴുതിബോധിപ്പിച്ചാൽ അവരെ അപ്പോൾതന്നെ ഉദ്യോഗത്തിൽനിന്നും മാറ്റുകയും ചെയ്യും. ഇതല്ലാതെ ദെവസ്വംവക നിലങ്ങളും പുരയിടങ്ങളും ഏറവും ഉണ്ടാകകൊണ്ടു ആയതൊക്കെയും ശരിവരെ പിരിപ്പിച്ചു ഒടുക്കിച്ചു (പൊടിവു) പണ്ടാരവക തരിശുകിടക്കുന്ന നിലങ്ങൾക്കു വിത്തുംകൂലിയും വേണ്ടുന്നതിന്നു കൊടുത്തു നടത്തിക്കേണ്ടുന്ന കാൎയ്യംപ്രമാണിച്ചു ഉത്തരവുകൊടുത്തയച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതിന്മണ്ണം ദെവസ്വംവകയിൽനിന്നും കൊടുപ്പിച്ചു തരിശുനിലങ്ങൾ ഒക്കെയും തെളിപ്പിച്ചു കൃഷിയും നടത്തിച്ചു പണ്ടാരവക ഉല്പത്തിക്കു കുടികൾക്കു കച്ചാത്തുകൊടുക്കുന്നതുപോലെ ദെവസ്വം കുടികൾക്കും കച്ചാത്തുകൊടുപ്പിച്ചു പുരയിടങ്ങൾ കണ്ടെഴുതുന്ന സംഗതികൊണ്ടു എഴുതിഅയച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതിന്മണ്ണം ദെവസ്വംപുരയിടങ്ങളും കണ്ടെഴുതിച്ചു മെലെഴുതിയപ്രകാരം തന്നെ മുതൽ പിരിപ്പിച്ചു ഒടുക്കിച്ചു മാസംതോറും ജമാകെട്ടി വസൂൽബാക്കി ഉൾപ്പെട്ട കണക്കുകൾ പണ്ടാരവകക്കു എഴുതിശേഖരിച്ചു കൊടുത്തയക്കുന്നതുപോലെ ദെവസ്വംവകയ്ക്കു കണക്കുകളും ശേഖരിച്ചു ഉടനുടൻ ഹജൂരിൽകൊടുത്തയച്ചുകൊള്ളുകയും വേണം. ചില ദെവസ്വങ്ങൾ മല സംബന്ധിച്ചിരിക്കകൊണ്ടു അവിടെയിരിപ്പുള്ള മുതൽകാൎയ്യങ്ങൾ ഉൾപ്പെട്ടവകകൾ ഒക്കെയും കാട്ടുകൾ സമീപിച്ചു നിമിത്തം മോഷ്ടിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു കള്ളന്മാൎക്കൊക്കെയും ഒരു ബലം ഉണ്ടായികൊള്ളയിട്ടുകൊണ്ടുപോകുന്നപ്രകാരം നമുക്കു തോന്നിയിരിക്കുന്നു. എന്നതുകൊണ്ടു മേലെഴുതിയപ്രകാരം മല സംബന്ധിച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങൾ ഏതെല്ലാമെന്നും അവിടെയുള്ള മുതൽകാൎയ്യങ്ങൾ ഉൾപ്പെട്ട വകകൾ ഇന്നയിന്നതെന്നും വിചാരിച്ചു എഴുതിവന്നാൽ ആ വകകൾ സൂക്ഷിക്കുന്നതിന്നു നായന്മാരെ എങ്കിലും ശിപായിമാരെ എങ്കിലും ആക്കുന്നതിന്നു ഉത്തരവുകൊടുത്തയക്കയും ചെയ്യും എന്നു ൯൮൯ കന്നി ൩൦൹ എഴുതിയതു.

കൎണ്ണൽമൺറോ.

APPENDIX V.

Order No. 139 dated 18th Thulam 987 M. E. (Huzur Central Vernacular Records).

ദേവൻ പത്മനാഭൻ
നമ്പിപ്പയ്യൻ
ശങ്കരനാരായണപിള്ള
അയ്യപ്പൻപിള്ള
പരപ്പക്കുട്ടിപ്പിള്ള
തൊപ്പുശാസ്ത്രി
കൂവക്കരപോററി
അത്തിയറപോററി
താഴമൺപോററി
കല്ലമംഗലത്തുപോററി

ദേവസ്വംവക ഇടപെട്ടകാൎയ്യങ്ങൾ വിചാരിച്ചു നമ്മെ ബോധിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിന് നിങ്ങളെ കമ്മിററിയായി നിശ്ചയിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. എന്നതുകൊണ്ടു അക്കാൎയ്യം വിചാരണചെയ്തു നമ്മെ ബോധിപ്പിപ്പാൻ ഈ എഴുതുന്ന ഉത്തരവിൻപ്രകാരം നടന്നുകൊള്ളുകയും വേണം. ദേവസ്വംകാൎയ്യം ബഹുനാളായിട്ടു നമ്മുടെ മനസ്സിൽ വിചാരമായിരിക്കുന്നു. അതു എന്തുകൊണ്ടെന്നാൽ ഈ രാജ്യത്തുള്ള ദേവസ്വം കാൎയ്യങ്ങൾക്കു യാതൊരു ചട്ടവും വച്ചിട്ടില്ല. ദേവസ്വംകാൎയ്യങ്ങളിൽ പണ്ടാരവക ഉത്തരവുകളൊഴികെ അതു പ്രത്യേകം ഒരധികാരമായി നടന്നുവന്നിരുന്നു. അതുകൊണ്ടു ദേവസ്വങ്ങൾക്കു യാതൊരു അന്വേഷണവും സൂക്ഷ്മവും ഇല്ലാത്ത കാരണത്തിനാൽ പൂജകളും, വൃത്തികളും, കടിശ്ശീലയും ചുമതലയും ക്ഷേത്രംപണികഴിപ്പിക്കാത്തതും തിരുവാഭരണം മുതലായതു വ്യാജവും വ്യത്യാസമായിട്ടും നടന്നുവരുന്നു. അതു കാരണമായിട്ടു ദേവസ്വങ്ങളിൽ ഉള്ള നിലവും പുരയിടവും അതാതു മണ്ഡപത്തുംവാതുക്കലുകളിൽ ചേൎത്തു ദേവസ്വംകാൎയ്യം മണ്ഡപത്തുംവാതുക്കൽ കാൎയ്യക്കാരന്മാര വിചാരിച്ചുകൊള്ളത്തക്കവണ്ണം നാം ഉത്തരവുകൊടുത്തിരിക്കുന്നു. ഇപ്രകാരം ചട്ടംകെട്ടുകയാൽ ദേവസ്വങ്ങളിൽ നിത്യനിദാനം, പൂജ അടിയന്തരം, മാസവിശേഷം, ആട്ടവിശേഷം തിരുഉത്സവം ആദിയായിട്ടും മററുമുള്ള അടിയന്തരങ്ങൾ സകലവും മാമൂൽപ്രകാരം വേണ്ടുംവണ്ണം നടത്തണമെന്നും അല്ലാതെ അതിനായിട്ടു നിശ്ചയിച്ചുവച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന പതിവു കുറച്ചുവയ്ക്കണമെന്നു നമുക്കു യാതൊരു അഭിപ്രായവുമില്ല. എന്നാൽ നമ്മുടെ അഭിപ്രായം ഇരിക്കുന്നതെന്തെന്നാൽ അതാതു ദേവസ്വങ്ങളിൽ പതിവായിട്ടുനടന്നുവരുന്ന പൂജ അടിയന്തരങ്ങൾ ആദിയായിട്ടുള്ളതൊക്കെയും വേണ്ടുംപ്രകാരം വിശേഷമായി നടക്കണമെന്നും നടത്തിക്കണമെന്നും ദേവസ്വങ്ങളിലെ പണികളുംചെയ്യിച്ചു വേണ്ടുംപ്രകാരം സൂക്ഷിപ്പിക്കണമെന്നും അത്രെ ആകുന്നു. ദേവസ്വംവക നിലം പുരയിടങ്ങൾ ഒക്കെയും മണ്ഡപത്തുംവാതുക്കലുകളിൽ ചേൎത്തുകൊള്ളത്തക്കവണ്ണം ഉത്തരവു കൊടുത്തയച്ചിരിക്കുന്നല്ലൊ. എങ്കിലും ഇപ്പോൾ ആവശ്യമായിരിക്കുന്നതെന്തെന്നാൽ ഓരോ ദേവസ്വങ്ങളിൽ നിത്യനിദാനം, പൂജഅടിയന്തരം, മാസവിശേഷം, ആട്ടവിശേഷം, തിരുഉത്സവം മുതലായ അടിയന്തരം നടക്കേണ്ടതിനും ദേവസ്വംകാൎയ്യം വിചാരിക്കുന്നതിനും ആവശ്യമുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ ഉടമവകയ്ക്കും ഒരു പതിവു നിശ്ചയം ചെയ്യേണ്ടുന്ന

തിനും ആവശ്യമായിരിക്കുന്നു. എന്നതുകൊണ്ടു കമ്മററിയാർ ഓരോ ദേവസ്വങ്ങളിൽ നിത്യനിദാനം, പൂജ അടിയന്തിരം, മാസവിശേഷം, ആട്ടവിശേഷം, ഉത്സവം ആദിയായിട്ടു മററുമുള്ള അടിയന്തരങ്ങൾക്കും അവിടവിടത്തേക്കു കൂടിയെതീരു എന്നുള്ള ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരും ഒരു പതിവു നിശ്ചയിച്ചു ആണ്ടൊന്നുക്കു എത്രചിലവുവേണ്ടിവരുമെന്നു എഴുതിനമ്മെ ബോധിപ്പിച്ചുകൊള്ളണം. ചില ദേവസ്വങ്ങൾ കാടുകളിലും പാഴായിട്ടുള്ള ദിക്കുകളിലും ഇരിക്കുന്നു. ദേവസ്വം വക പതിവു കുറയ്ക്കുന്നതിനല്ലാ വേണ്ടുവണ്ണം നടത്താൻ പതിവു ഉയർത്തി വെയ്ക്കുന്നതിനും നല്ലപോലെവിചാരണചെയ്തു നമ്മെ ബോധിപ്പിച്ചുകൊള്ളണം. ഇതല്ലാതെ ദേവസ്വങ്ങളിൽ വഴിപാടുവകയായിട്ടു ജനങ്ങൾ ലക്ഷംത്രപാവവരെയും പണ്ടാരവകയിൽനിന്നും കൊടുത്തുവരുന്നു. അതിന്നും കൊടുക്കയാൽ പണ്ടാരവകയ്ക്കു നഷ്ടവും.........മായിരിക്കുന്നു എന്നതുകൊണ്ടു നിങ്ങൾ നല്ലപോലെ വിചാരണചെയ്തു പണ്ടാരവകമാനത്തിനായിട്ടും എത്രചില വിടുവാൻ ആവശ്യമായിരിക്കുന്നുവോ അത്രക്കും ഒരു പതിവു നിശ്ചയിച്ചു ആയവസ്ഥയും നമ്മെ ബോധിപ്പിക്കയുംവേണം. ഈ രാജ്യത്തു ഊട്ടുപുര വകയ്ക്കു പുത്തനായിട്ടു ഒരു പതിവു നിശ്ചയിപ്പാൻ ആവശ്യമായിരിക്കുന്നു. അതു എന്തിനാലെ എന്നാൽ ഇപ്പോൾ നടന്നുവരുന്ന പതിവു ഏററവും അധികമായിരിക്കുന്നു. എത്രക്കു പതിവു വച്ചിരിക്കുന്നുവോ അത്രയ്ക്കും ഊട്ടുപുരവകയ്ക്കു ചിലവാകുന്നില്ലാ. ഇതല്ലാതെയും ഊട്ടുപുരവകയ്ക്കു ആവശ്യം ഉള്ളതുപോലെ അല്ലാതെ ശമ്പളക്കാരെയും അധികമായിട്ടു വച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. അതുകൊണ്ടു ഊട്ടുപുരവകയ്ക്കു ആവശ്യമായിട്ടു എത്രചിലവു വേണ്ടിവരുമെന്നാൽ ആയതിനു ഒരു പതിവും അതിന്നുംതന്നെ ഈ വക ഇടപെട്ടു ആവശ്യം പോലെ വേണ്ടുന്നശമ്പളക്കാരെ എത്രയെന്നു നിശ്ചയിച്ചു് അതിനു ഒരു പതിവും നിഷ്കർഷചെയ്തു നാം ബോധിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനു കൊടുത്തയക്കണം.

൯൮൭-ാമാണ്ടു ഇടവമാസം ൧൮-ന.

കർണ്ണൽ മൺറൊ.

APPENDIX VI.

Copy of C. O. No. 169 D. dated 8-1-1918.

തിരുവനന്തപുരം ഡിസ്ട്രിക്ട്

ഇവിടത്തെച്ചെയ്തി ആവിത്

ചക്കാലനായന്മാർ വൈക്കംക്ഷേത്രത്തിൽ കയറി ദർശനം കഴിക്കുന്നതിനും ക്ഷേത്രംവക കുളത്തിൽ കുളിക്കുന്നതിനും ശ്രമിച്ചുവരുന്നതിനെ വിരോധിക്കാൻ ചെയ്യണമെന്നും മററും വൈക്കംഗ്രാമക്കാര തിരുമനസ്സറിയിക്കുന്നതിനു അയച്ച ഹർജിയും വൈക്കം ചിലന്തിക്കുഴിവീട്ടിൽ ഗോവിന്ദൻ നാരായണന്റെ ജാതിക്കാർ മററു നായന്മാരെപ്പോലെ വളരെനാളായി വൈക്കംക്ഷേത്രത്തിൽ നാലമ്പലത്തിനകത്തുകയറി ദർശനം കഴിക്കയും ചക്രതീർത്ഥക്കുളത്തിൽ കുളിക്കയും ചെയ്യുന്ന പതിവാണെന്നും മററു നായന്മാരെപ്പോലെ ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ പ്രവേശിക്കാതെ അനേകം ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടുതീർപ്പുകൾ ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നും അതിനു വിരോധമായി വൈക്കം ചക്രതീർത്ഥക്കുളത്തിൽ കുളിക്കുന്നതിനേയും വൈക്കംക്ഷേത്രത്തിൽ പ്രവേശിച്ചു ദർശനംകഴിക്കുന്നതിനേയും തഹശീൽദാരും വൈക്കംദേവസ്വം ശ്രീകാര്യക്കാരനും തടസ്ഥംചെയ്തിരിക്കുന്നു സങ്കടമെന്നും മററു നായന്മാരെപ്പോലെ ഹർജിക്കാരന്റെ ജാതിക്കാരെയും വൈക്കം ക്ഷേത്രത്തിൽകയറി തൊഴുന്നതിനും ചക്രതീർത്ഥത്തിൽ കുളിക്കുന്നതിനും ഏർപ്പാടു ചെയ്യണമെന്നും മററും തീർച്ചപ്പകർപ്പുകൾ ഹാജരാക്കയും മേല്പറഞ്ഞ ഗോവിന്ദൻ നാരായണൻ ഇവിടെ ബോധിപ്പിച്ച ഹർജിയും ചേന്ന തിട്ടംവരുത്തിച്ചതിൽ ഹർജിയോടു ഹാജരാക്കിയിട്ടുള്ള ൧൦൭൨, ൧൦൭൩, ൧൦൭൪ ഈ ആണ്ടുകളിലെ ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടു തീർപ്പുകൾ അനുസരിച്ചു ചക്കാലനായന്മാർക്കു ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ പ്രവേശിക്കുന്നതിനു സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യമുള്ളതായി കാണുന്നു എന്നും ആ തീർപ്പുകൾ വൈദികന്മാരുടെ അഭിപ്രായം അനുസരിച്ചു കല്പനപ്രകാരം ഉണ്ടായതാണെന്നും കണ്ടു ഹർജികളും ഹാജരാക്കിയ റിക്കാർഡുകളും അയച്ചും ഹർജിക്കാരുടെ ജാതിക്കാരുടെ പ്രവേശനത്തെ തടസ്ഥം ചെയ്യുന്നതിനു മുമ്പായി പ്രസ്താവ്യസംഗതിയെപ്പററി ഗവർമ്മെണ്ടു അനുവാദത്തോടുകൂടി ചെയ്യേണ്ടതായിരുന്നു എന്നും ഈ സംഗതിക്കു ഇതേവരെ വിവരമായി ഒരു റിപ്പോർട്ടു അയക്കാതെ ഇരുന്നതിലേക്കു തഹശീൽദാരുടെ സമാധാനം വരുത്തി അയക്കണമെന്നും എഴുതി അയച്ചിരുന്നതിനു എഴുതിഅയച്ചിരുന്നതിലേക്കു വൈക്കത്തിലുള്ള ചക്കാലനായന്മാർ സംഘംചേർന്നു കീഴ്നടപ്പിനും ക്ഷേത്രാചാരത്തിനും വിരോധമായി വൈക്കം ചക്രതീർത്ഥക്കുളത്തിൽ കുളിക്കുന്നതിനും അമ്പലത്തിൽകയറി നാലമ്പലത്തിനകത്തു കടന്നു ദർശനംനടത്തുന്നതിനും മററുമായി വേണ്ട ശ്രമങ്ങൾ ചെയ്യുകയും അതനുസരിച്ചു നടത്തുന്നതിനു ഒരുമ്പെട്ടുവരികയും ചെയ്തിരിക്കുന്നതായും മററും വൈക്കം ദേവസ്വം ശ്രീകാര്യക്കാരൻ ൯൦ വൃശ്ചികം ൨൨-നു ഇതുപോലെവീണ്ടും ഇവർ ചക്രതീർത്ഥക്കുളത്തിൽ ഇറങ്ങി കുളിക്കുന്നതിനായി ചെന്നതിൽ വിരോധിച്ചു കുളംവാച്ചരെ അടികലശൽചെയ്തിരിക്കുന്നതായും മററും വൈക്കം ഊട്ടുമേല്പുകാരൻ ദേവസ്വം ശ്രീകാര്യക്കാരൻ ഇവർ ൧൦൯൦ മകരം ൨൨-നു ഇടവം ൧൧-നു എഴുതിയ റിപ്പോർട്ടുകൾ ചെല്ലുകയും ആദ്യമായി ചെന്ന റിപ്പോർട്ടിനു കീഴ്നടപ്പിനു വിരോധമായി വൈക്കം ചക്രതീർത്ഥക്കുളത്തിലും ക്ഷേത്രത്തിലും ഇവർ പ്രവേശിക്കാതെ ഇരിക്കുന്നതിനും മററും വേണ്ടു

ഏൎപ്പാടുചെയ്യുന്നതിന്നു സ്ഥലം മജിസ്ത്രേട്ടുകോൎട്ടിലേക്കും, പോലീസിൻസ്പെക്ടരാഫീസിലേക്കും, അസിസ്റ്റൻറു സൂപ്രണ്ടാഫീസിലേക്കും എഴുതിഅയക്കുകയും തഹശീൽദാർ സ്ഥലത്തുചെന്നു ഇതിനെപ്പററി വേണ്ട അന്വേഷണം നടത്തുകയും ചെയ്തതിൽ വൈക്കം ചക്രതീൎത്ഥക്കുളത്തിൽ ചെക്കാലന്മാർ ഇറങ്ങി കുളിക്കുകയും ക്ഷേത്രത്തിൽ നാലമ്പലത്തിനകത്തുകടന്നു ദൎശനംകഴിക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുന്നപതിവും കീഴ്നടപ്പും ഇല്ലെന്നും ഇപ്പോൾ ഹൎജിക്കാരനും മററു ആ ജാതിക്കാരും ഇതിലേക്കുവേണ്ടി യത്നങ്ങൾ ചെയ്തും സംഘംചേൎന്നുവരികയും ചെയ്തിരിക്കുന്നു എന്നും ഈ ക്ഷേത്രത്തിലെ ആചാരത്തിനും കീഴ്നടപ്പിനും വിരോധമായി ചെക്കാലന്മാർ പ്രവേശിക്കുന്നതായാൽ ജനക്ഷോഭം ഉണ്ടായി സമാധാനലംഘനത്തിന് ഇടവരുന്നതുകൂടാതെ ഇവരെപ്പോലെ ക്ഷേത്രത്തിൽ കയറാൻപാടില്ലാത്ത തട്ടാൻ, ചെട്ടി, ആശാരി, വെളുത്തേടൻ മുതലായ ജാതിക്കാരും ഈഴവരുംകൂടി ചക്രതീൎത്ഥക്കുളത്തിൽ ഇറങ്ങി കുളിക്കുകയും ക്ഷേത്രത്തിൽകയറി ദൎശനംകഴിക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുന്നതിന് ഇടയാകുമെന്നും മററും വൈക്കം ഗ്രാമജനങ്ങൾ ആയ ബ്രാഹ്മണർ പിടാകക്കാരായനായന്മാർ മുതലായ ആളുകളാൽ അറിവുകിട്ടുകയാൽ ഹൎജിക്കാരൻ മുതലായ ആളുകളെവരുത്തി കീഴ്നടപ്പിന്വിരോധമായി യാതൊരുപ്രവൃത്തികളും നടത്തരുതെന്നും ഇതിൽ അവൎക്കു വല്ല സങ്കടങ്ങളും ന്യായങ്ങളും ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നാൽ അതുകളെപ്പററി മേലാവിൽ ബോധിപ്പിച്ച് ഒരു തീൎച്ചവരുന്നതുപോലെ ചെയ്യണമെന്നും ഗുണദോഷിക്കുകയും അതിനെ അപ്പോൾ അവർ അനുസരിക്കയും ചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ടായിരുന്നു എന്നും പിന്നീടു വീണ്ടും സംഘംചേൎന്നു കുളത്തിൽ കുളിക്കുന്നതിനായി ചെന്നു കുളംവാച്ചറെ അടികലശൽ ചെയ്തതിനെപ്പററി ഒടുവിൽ ശ്രീകാൎയ്യക്കാരൻ മുതൽപേരുടെ റിപ്പോൎട്ടുകൾ ചെന്നതിലേക്കു സമാധാനലംഘനം നേരിടാതെ ഇരിപ്പാനായി മേൽ വിവരിച്ചപ്രകാരം പോലീസ് സൂപ്രണ്ടാഫീസിലേക്കും മററും എഴുതി അയച്ചതുകൂടാതെ ഈ വിവരങ്ങൾകാണിച്ചും ചെക്കാലനായന്മാരുടെ പ്രവേശനത്തെപ്പററി വ്യവസ്ഥപ്പെടുത്തിയ ഉത്തരവു ഉണ്ടാകണമെന്നും എഴുതിബോധിപ്പിക്കകയും അടികലശൽനടത്തിയതിനെപ്പററി മുറക്കു അന്യായംകൊടുക്കാൻ തിട്ടപ്പെടുത്തുകയും ചെയ്തതിൽ അടികലശൽ നടത്തിയതിനെസംബന്ധിച്ചു രണ്ടു മൂന്നു ക്രിമിനൽകേസ്സു നടക്കുകയും ചെക്കാലന്മാരുടെ പ്രവേശനത്തെപ്പററി സ്ഥിരവ്യവസ്ഥ ആവശ്യമില്ലെന്നും നിലവിലുള്ള നടപ്പനുസരിച്ചു നടത്തിക്കണമെന്നു ഉത്തരവുണ്ടാകുകയും ചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നും ഹൎജിയോടു ചേൎത്തിരിക്കുന്ന രണ്ടു തീൎപ്പുപകൎപ്പുകളിൽ കാണുന്ന സംഗതികളെപ്പററി ചിറയിൻകീഴ് താലൂക്കിലേക്കു ഉത്തരവുണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ളതായി കാണുന്നില്ലെന്നും, ഇങ്ങിനെ തീൎപ്പുകൾ ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നും ഹൎജിക്കാരന് യാതൊരു രേഖയും ഹാജരാക്കിയിട്ടില്ലെന്നും ൧൦൭൨, ൧൦൭൩, ൧൦൮൨ ഈ ആണ്ടുകളിൽ ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ളതായികാണുന്ന തീൎപ്പുകളിൽ ചെക്കാലനായന്മാൎക്കു ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ പ്രവേശനം ഇല്ലായിരുന്നു എന്നും ഓരോ ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ ആയി ഓരോകാലത്തു ഇപ്പോൾ ആരംഭിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതുപോലെ ഈ ജാതിക്കാർ പ്രവേശനത്തിന്നു ശ്രമിക്കുകയും ആ കാലങ്ങളിൽ എല്ലാം തടസ്ഥങ്ങൾ നേരിടുകയും അതിന്മേൽ ഇവൎക്കു പ്രവേശനം അനുവദിക്കയും ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ളതായിട്ടാണ് കാണുന്നതു എന്നും കൂടാതെയും ചില ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിലേക്കും ഓരോ കാലത്തു ഇവൎക്കു പ്രവേശനം അനുവദിച്ചു കാണുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു ഈ ചെക്കാലനായന്മാൎക്കു എല്ലാക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിലും പ്രവേശിക്കാൻ അൎഹതയുണ്ടെന്നു പൊതുവായി ഒരു തീൎച്ചയുണ്ടാകുന്നതുവരെ കീഴിൽ ഇവരുടെ പ്രവേശനം നടപ്പില്ലാത്ത ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ നൂതനമായി പ്രവേശനത്തിന് അനുവദിപ്പാൻ ഇടയുണ്ടെന്നു തോന്നുന്നില്ലെന്നും വൈക്കംക്ഷേത്രത്തിലും

ചക്രതീൎത്ഥക്കുളത്തിലും ഇവരുടെ പ്രവേശനം കീഴിൽ നടപ്പില്ലാതെയും ആറന്മുള മുതലായ ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ ഇവൎക്ക് നായന്മാരെപ്പോലെ പ്രവേശിക്കുന്നതിനു അനുവദിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള വിവരം വക്കലെ അറിയാൻ പാടില്ലാതെയും ഇതുന്നാളുംകണ്ടും പ്രവേശനം കിട്ടണമെന്നു താല്പൎയ്യമുള്ള ഹൎജിക്കാരൻ ആ കാൎയ്യത്തെപ്പററി തെളിയിച്ചിട്ടില്ലാത്തതിനാലും ഇതിന്മേൽ താലൂക്കിൽനിന്നും പ്രവേശിച്ചു വിചാരണ നടത്തേണ്ട ആവശ്യം ഉണ്ടാകാത്തതാണെന്നും വക്കലെ ചക്രതീൎത്ഥക്കുളം ആ ദേവസ്വം മേശാന്തിമാർ, കീഴ്ശാന്തിമാർ, ഹോമപ്പുറനമ്പൂരിമാർ ഇവൎക്കു ദിവസംപ്രതിയും ക്ഷേത്രാചാരപ്രകാരം കുളിപ്പാനും അതിലെ വെള്ളം ഉപയോഗപ്പെടുത്തുവാനും ഉള്ളതാണെന്നും ഇതുകൂടാതെ എഴുന്നള്ളിത്താട്ടസിക്കുന്നസമയം കടവിൽ എഴുന്നള്ളുന്നതിനു ഈ ചക്രതീൎത്ഥക്കുളത്തെയാണ് ഉപയോഗപ്പെടുത്തിവരാറുള്ളതെന്നും ഈസ്ഥിതിക്കു കീഴ്നടപ്പിനാൽ വിരോധിക്കപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുള്ള ജാതിക്കാർ ആ കുളം തൊട്ട് അശുദ്ധപ്പെടുത്താൻ പാടുള്ളതല്ലെന്നും ഹൎജിക്കാരും ആ വൎഗ്ഗക്കാരും സംഘംചേൎന്ന് ചക്രതീൎത്ഥക്കുളത്തിലും ക്ഷേത്രത്തിലും പ്രവേശിക്കുന്നതിനു ഒരുമ്പെട്ടുവരുന്നതിനെ ഉദ്ദേശിച്ചു കീഴ്നടപ്പിനാൽ വിരോധിക്കപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുള്ള ജാതിക്കാററും ചക്രതീൎത്ഥക്കുളത്തിൽ ഇറങ്ങിക്കുളിപ്പാൻ പാടില്ലെന്നുള്ള വിവരത്തിനും മററും ഗവൎമ്മെന്റ് അനുവാദപ്രകാരം ഒരു പരസ്യം പതിച്ചിരുന്നിട്ടും അതിനെ ലംഘിച്ചും ബലാല്ക്കാരമായും കുളത്തിലും ക്ഷേത്രത്തിലും പ്രവേശിക്കാൻ തയ്യാറായി വന്നവരെ തൽക്ഷണം തടസ്ഥം ചെയ്യാതെ ഇരുന്നാൽ അവർ ഉദ്ദേശിച്ചുവന്നതുപോലെ കുളത്തിലും ക്ഷേത്രത്തിലും പ്രവേശിക്കുന്നതിനും ഇതുകണ്ട് അവരെപ്പോലെയുള്ള മററുജാതിക്കാരും പ്രവൃത്തിക്കുന്നതിലേക്കും തന്നിമിത്തം ജനങ്ങളുടെയിടയിൽ സമാധാനലംഘനം നേരിടുന്നതിനും ഇടവരുന്നതാം എന്നുള്ളതുകൊണ്ടും പ്രവേശനത്തെ തടസ്ഥംചെയ്യാൻ സംഗതിയായിട്ടുള്ളതാണെന്നും കീഴ്നടപ്പില്ലാത്ത ആളുകളുടെ പ്രവേശനത്തെ ഇങ്ങനെയുള്ള അവസരങ്ങളിൽ ക്ഷേത്രജീവനക്കാർ ഉടനടി ആ പ്രവേശനത്തെ തടസ്ഥംചെയ്യാതെ മേലാവിലെ അനുവാദം വരുത്തി ചെയ്യാമെന്നു വിചാരിച്ചു അടങ്ങിയിരിപ്പാൻ പാടില്ലാത്തതും അങ്ങനെയിരിക്കുന്നതായാൽ ക്ഷേത്രാചാരങ്ങളാൽ പ്രവേശിക്കാൻ പാടില്ലാത്ത ജാതിക്കാർ ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ പ്രവേശിക്കുന്നതിനും അതുനിമിത്തം ലഹളമുതലായതു നടക്കുവാനും ഇടവരുന്നതല്ലാവുന്നതുംകൊണ്ട് സാധാരണയായി എല്ലാ ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിലും നടന്നുവരുന്നതുപോലെ വക്കലെയും ക്ഷേത്രജീവനക്കാർ തടസ്ഥംചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ളതാകുന്നു എന്നും ഈ സംഗതിക്കു ഡിവിഷൻ ഫസ്റ്റ്ക്ലാസ്സ് മജിസ്ത്രേട്ടുകോൎട്ടിൽ നടന്ന സമരിക്കേസ്സ് തീൎച്ചപ്രകാരവും, ൧൧൭-ാമതു നമ്പർ ഉത്തരവു അനുസരിച്ചും ദീൎഘകാലമായി നടപ്പു ഏതുവിധമാണെന്ന് സ്പഷ്ടപ്പെടുന്നതിനു തെളിവോടുകൂടി ഹാജരാകാൻ ഹൎജിക്കാരൻ മുതൽപേൎക്കു നോട്ടീസുകൊടുത്തതിൽ ഇതിനെപ്പററി ഹജൂരിൽ ഹൎജിബോധിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നും അതിലേക്കു തീൎച്ച ഉണ്ടായിട്ടില്ലാത്തതിനാൽ ൧൦ ദിവസത്തെ അവധികിട്ടണമെന്നും ഹാജരായി എഴുതി അയയ്ക്കുകയും അതനുസരിച്ചു അവധിക്കു തെളിവു ഹാജരാക്കിയിട്ടില്ലെന്നു കണ്ട് വീണ്ടും നോട്ടീസ് അയച്ചതിൽ ആയതു കൈപ്പററാതെ പുറവാങ്കൽ പതിച്ചുവെന്നിട്ടുള്ളതും ഹൎജിക്കാരൻ മുതൽപേർ താലൂക്കിൽ തെളിവു ഒന്നും ഹാജരാക്കിയിട്ടില്ലാത്തതാകുന്നു എന്നും വക്കലെ ക്ഷേത്രത്തിലും ചക്രതീൎത്ഥക്കുളത്തിലും ചെറുമജാതിക്കാൎക്കു കീഴ്പ്രവേശനം നടപ്പില്ലാതെയും ഇവർ ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ പ്രവേശിക്കുന്നതിനു ഗവൎമ്മെന്റനുവാദം ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ളവിവരം താലൂക്കിൽ അറിയാൻപാടില്ലാതെയും ഇതിലേക്കു ആവശ്യമുള്ള തെളിവു ഹൎജിക്കാരൻ മുതൽപേർ ഹാജരാക്കാതെയും ഇതുനിമിത്തം ഈ സംഗതിയെപ്പററി ഇതിന്മേൽ റിപ്പോൎട്ടുചെയ്യുന്നതിനു ഇടയാകാത്തതാണെന്നും ചിറയിൻകീഴ്

താഴശീൽദാരുടെ റിപ്പോർട്ടു നോക്കുന്നതുകൊണ്ട് അതിന്റെ പകർപ്പു റിക്കാർട്ടുകളും അയച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതായി എഴുതിവന്ന് ചക്കാലനായന്മാർ ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ പ്രവേശിക്കാമോ എന്നുള്ളതിനെപ്പറ്റി തർക്കം ഇപ്പോൾ ആദ്യമായി ഉണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ളതല്ല എന്നാലും ഇതിനു മുൻപിൽ വിളവങ്കോട്ടുതാലൂക്കിൽചേർന്ന തിരുമല, കൽക്കുളം താലൂക്കിൽ ചേർന്ന രാമസ്വാമികോവിൽ, തിരുവല്ലാതാലൂക്കിൽ ചേർന്ന ആറന്മുള ഈ ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ ഇതുപോലെ തർക്കപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുള്ളതും ഈ തർക്കങ്ങളെപ്പറ്റി വിചാരണ ചെയ്തും വൈദികന്മാർ പ്രധാന തന്ത്രിമാർ മുതലായവരുടെ അഭിപ്രായങ്ങൾ വരുത്തിയും നോക്കിയതിൽ മരുമക്കത്തായികളായ ചക്കാലനായന്മാർക്ക് ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ കയറി ദർശനം ചെയ്യാമെന്നുള്ളതുകൊണ്ടു മറ്റുള്ള നായന്മാരോടൊപ്പം ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ പ്രവേശിക്കുന്നതിനും കുളത്തിൽ കുളിക്കുന്നതിനും വിരോധമില്ലെന്നു കല്പനപ്രകാരം തീരുമാനിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതും അപ്രകാരം മഹാക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ പ്രവേശനം അനുവദിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള ജാതികളെ വക്കം ക്ഷേത്രത്തിൽ പ്രവേശിക്കാൻ അനർഹന്മാർ എന്നു തള്ളുന്നതു യുക്തമല്ലാത്തതും ജാതിമത്സരം ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനം അനുവദിക്കാതിരിക്കുന്നവർക്ക് അതിനെ തടുക്കുന്നതു അവർക്ക് ക്ഷേത്രത്തിനും സങ്കടത്തിനും ഇടയാകുന്നതും തന്നിമിത്തം ലഹളകളോ മറ്റോ കൂടി ഹാനിവരാവുന്നതും ആലോചിക്കുന്നതിനാൽ ചക്കാലനായന്മാർക്കു ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനം മുമ്പിൽതന്നെ കല്പനപ്രകാരം അനുവദിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതിനെന്നും മേലാൽ മറ്റു നായന്മാർക്കുള്ള ക്രമത്തിൽ ഭേദംകൂടാതെ ചക്കാലനായന്മാർക്കും ഈ സംസ്ഥാനത്തെങ്ങും എല്ലാ ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിലും പ്രവേശിച്ചു ദർശനം കഴിക്കുന്നതിനും ക്ഷേത്രം വക കുളങ്ങളിൽ കുളിക്കുന്നതിനും പൊതുവായ അനുവാദം കൊടുക്കപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്നതായി എഴുതി അയച്ചിരുന്ന വിവരം തിരുമനസ്സറിയിച്ചതിൽ, ശേഷം തിരുവനന്തപുരത്തു ശ്രീ. പത്മനാഭസ്വാമി ക്ഷേത്രവും പഴവങ്ങാടിക്ഷേത്രവും ഒഴികെ ഈ സംസ്ഥാനത്തുള്ള സർക്കാർ വക എല്ലാ ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിലും ഉപക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിലും പ്രവേശനം അനുവദിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതുകൊണ്ട് വിവരം എഴുതി അയയ്ക്കണമെന്നും കല്പനയുണ്ടായിരിക്കുന്നതായി കൊട്ടാരം ദേവസ്വം കാര്യക്കാരരുടെ ... നമ്പർ ... എഴുതിയ സാധനം വന്നിരിക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. അതിനെന്നും തഹശീൽദാരന്മാർക്കു എഴുതി അയച്ചു ശട്ടംകെട്ടി നടത്തിയ്ക്കുകയും വിവരം ഹർജിക്കാരനെ തിര്യപ്പെടുത്തുകയും ചെയ്യേണ്ടതാകുന്നു.

(ഉത്തരവിൻപ്രകാരം)

ദേവസ്വം ഇൻസ്പെക്ടർ.

APPENDIX VII.

R. O. C. No. 344/25/G. B. Huzur Cutcherry,
Trivandrum, 9th March 1925.

From

The Chief Secretary to Government.

To

The Devaswom Commissioner,
Travancore.

Sir,

With reference to your letter R. O. C. No. 999 of 25, dated the 5th February 1925, I have the honour to request that you will be so good as to cease as far as possible subsidising animal sacrifices from Devaswom fund and to exert your personal influence and direct your assistants to use their personal influence for inducing the public to stop offering animal sacrifices in all Government temples. Please furnish as early as possible a complete list of Devaswoms where animal sacrifices are now permitted.

I have etc.,
R. KRISHNA PILLAI,
Chief Secretary to Government.

APPENDIX VIII.

Notice.

It is hereby notified for general information that the singing or reciting or uttering of any obscene song, ballad or words, or the doing of any obscene act in or near any public place, in connection with the Utsavam festival in the Shertalai temple is strictly prohibited and that those who contravene the directions herein contained are liable to be proceeded against according to law.

Huzur Cutcherry,
Trivandrum,
4th March 1927.

K. GEORGE,
Chief Secretary to Government.

APPENDIX IX.

Proceedings of the Government of Her Highness the Maha Rani Regent of Travancore.

Read:—

1. D. O. dated the 9th Makarom 1103, from the Assistant Commissioner of Devaswoms, Suchindram;

2. Letter R. O. C No. 1240/1105, dated the 9th Medom 1103, from the Assistant Commissioner of Devaswoms, Trivandrum;

3. Letter R. O. C. No. 11908/29, dated the 16th March 1929, to the Assistant Commissioner of Devaswoms, Suchindram;

4. Letter R. O. C. No. 1929/1103, dated the 7th Mithunam 1104, from the Assistant Commissioner of Devaswoms, Suchindram;

Read also:—

5. Huzur endorsement No. 3497, dated the 3rd Kanni 1085 to Lakshmi Muthamma;

6. Huzur Sadhanam No. 4173, dated the 12th Thulam 1085 to the Dewan Peishkar, Padmanahhapuram;

7. Huzur Sadhanam No. 2634 D., dated the 26th Mithunam 1086, to the Dewan Peishkar, Padmanabhapuram;

8. Huzur Sadhanam Dis. No. 293 of 21/G. B., dated the 10th Edavom 1096, to the Dewan Peishkar, Padmanabhapuram.

Like the Devadasis attached to the temples in the East Coast, women dedicated to temple service, known as Kudikaris have been doing several items of service in some of the important temples in the Suchindram District and in the Shencotta Group of the Trivandrum District. The ceremony which was in vogue in the Suchindram temple for dedicating a girl for service as Kudikari was briefly as follows:- Thalikettu was the important

portion of the ceremony, and it had to be performed before the girl attained puberty. On the day fixed for the Thalikettu, the girl came in procession in a palanquin to the temple. She was then taken inside the temple by her relatives with Ashtamangalyam in which the Thali was placed. The Ashtamangalyam with the Thali was conveyed by the priest and kept at the foot of the deity. When the Muhoortham came, the Thali was taken out and tied to the neck of the girl by the Vattappalli Stani of the temple. Some rice was then measured out to her for her subsistence, which was symbolical of her dependence on the temple. But she was detailed for duty in the temple only after she attained puberty.

For the services rendered, the Kudikari had a daily allowance of rice, kachapanam (money for purchase of cloth) and other perquisites from the temple. When a Kudikari became superannuated and unable to do active service, she was formally relieved of her duties; she then became a 'Thaikizhavi' and was given reduced allowances.

The following are the temples where the Kudikari system was in vogue:

Suchindram District.	Bhuthapandi Group.	Bhuthapandi.
	Nagercoil Group.	Suchindram. Kanniakumari. Parakkai. Krishnancoil. Thaliyal.
	Padmanabhapuram Group.	Neelakantaswamikoil. Keralapuram. Velimala.
Trivandrum District	Shencotta Group.	Ayikudi. Subramoniaswamicoil. Kalakanteswara-swamicoil. Samburvadakara. Klangad Kulasekharanatha-swamicoil.

The duties appertaining to the Kudikaris in the above temples were the following :—

(1) Singing, dancing, Kaikattu and holding 'thattuvilakku' daily in some temples and on festive occasions in others ;

(2) carrying panivilakku for sribeli ;

(3) sweeping the temple premises ;

(4) sweeping and cleaning the Nada after each puja and sribeli ;

(5) removing the leaves left by the Brahmins after Namaskaram feeding ;

(6) husking paddy for Nivedyam rice ;

(7) cleaning pujapatrams and other vessels ;

(8) attending at the reception of members of the Royal family when they visit the temples ;

(9) going to Trivandrum in connection with the Navaratri, H. H. the Maha Raja's and H. H. the Maha Rani Regent's birthdays, and the two Utsavoms in the Padmanabhaswami temple ; and

(10) performance of Amargom dance in temples on certain special occasions.

As in other places, the institution of Kudikaris degenerated here also, and began to work very unsatisfactorily. The earliest occasion when the freedom of recruitment to the class of Kudikaris happened to be restricted, was in 1084, when an application was made for the dedication of a Nair girl of 11 years to the Suchindram temple and for her affiliation to Kudi No. 12 attached to the Devaswom. The Division Assistant then in charge of the Padmanabhapuram Division ordered thereon, that it was punishable under Sections 372 and 373 of the T. P. C. to dedicate a girl below 16 years of age to a temple, and that in the present case it was specially so as the girl did not appear to belong to the class of Kudikaris. On appeal, Government declined to interfere with the Division Assistant's order. Similarly permission was refused in 1085 in the case of another application from Parakkai for dedication of a minor girl for temple service. A

memorial was then submitted to Government by the Kudikaris of Suchindram for a reconsideration of the Government order prohibiting Thalikettu in temples to girls below 16 years of age, as custom prohibited post-puberty Thalikettu in temples and the order would therefore virtually stop all recruitment to their class for purpose of service in temples. The question was fully considered by Government and disposed of in their order No. 2654|D., dated 26-11-1106, in which while adhering to their previous decision, Government allowed such of the children of the Kudikaris as had undergone the sacraments of Thalikettu in their houses (according to Marumakkathayam custom) being appointed to duties in temples if they elected to do so after attaining the age of 16. Though this order partially reopened the door to the enrolment of new members, it did not in effect bring in more than a couple of recruits to the Suchindram Devaswom, in the ten years following the order. The total number of Kudikaris dwindled down during this period from 33 to 24. In 1096 Government finally decided, in G. O. Dis. No. 293 of 21|G. B., dated 23rd May 1921, to prohibit absolutely any further recruitment to the class of Kudikaris either by adoption or by permission to work as a Kudikari by free choice after her 16th year of age. It was also laid down therein that other agencies might be substituted for the Kudikaris when vacancies arose. By this order, the institution was bound to die out in course of time, though slowly.

The present proposal of the Assistant Commissioners of Suchindram and Trivandrum Districts is only for the immediate discontinuance of the system and for getting the temple services of the Kudikaris performed by other agencies.

ORDER THEREON

DATED TRIVANDRUM, 15TH AUGUST 1931.

By the several steps which the Government have already taken from time to time to restrict, and finally to stop the recruitment of the Kudikaris, the Kudikari institution would come to an end gradually along with the death of the existing women. But Government think that this undesirable institution has outlived its

time and that it should not be continued any longer. All that is necessary is to arrange that the women affected by the stopping of the institution are not deprived of their means of subsistence.

Government have sanctioned the Kudikaris being relieved of their duties in the temples from the 1st Chingom 1106 M E The remuneration allowed to the Kudikaris in active service consisted of daily allowances of rice, monthly wages, 'Kachapanam' (yearly payment for purchasing cloth) and in some cases the enjoyment of Kudimanas (free house sites). Government are pleased to order that the Kudikaris who were in service on the last day of 1105 shall be granted all their usual emoluments during their life-time, excepting kuthucooli, and that those of them who were in enjoyment of kudimanas, as per list appended, may continue is possession of the same during their life-time.

Among the duties appended to by the Kudikaris, items 1, 8, 9 and 10 could not be done by other agency and are therefore done away with. Items 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 could be attended to by Ambalavasis and others, as is being done in other temples. The arrangements made tentatively from 1-1-1106 for the conduct of these items of work are made permanent.

(By order)

K. GEORGE,

Chief Secretary to Government.

Dissenting Minutes.

ശ്രീഃ

വന്ദേ വന്ദാരുജനതാമന്ദാരചരണാംബുജം
ഇടഹാപുരഗതം കിഞ്ചിത്തേജോമഹിഷമർദ്ദനം.
പ്രജ്ഞാവൈഭവമന്ഥദണ്ഡമഥിതാന്നിസ്ശ്ലേഷശാസ്ത്രാംബുധേഃ
സാരാത്ഥാമൃതം സ്വയം സുമധുരം സംപാദയൻ പായയൻ
ശിഷ്യാൻ വാത്സല്യതാഭരാൻ സുമനസസ്സന്മാൻ ബുധാൻ ഗീയതെ
യഃ സവ്വത്ര നതോഽസ്മി തം ഗുരുവരം ശ്രീശങ്കരം സാദരം.

പ്രഥമാദ്ധ്യായഃ.

പ്രാരംഭം.

൧. തിരുവിതാംകൂർ ഗവർണ്മെൻറ് ൧൯൩൨ നവംബർ ൮-ാംക്കു ൧൧൦൮ തുലാം ൨൩-ാം ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനവിഷയത്തെപ്പററി അന്വേഷിച്ചു റിപ്പോർട്ടുചെയ്യാൻ, ദിവാൻ ബഹദൂർ വി. എസ്സ്. സുബ്രഹ്മണ്യയ്യർ ബി. ഏ., ബി. എൽ. പെൻഷൻ ദിവാൻ അദ്ധ്യക്ഷനും, താഴെ കാണിക്കുന്ന അഞ്ചാളുകൾ മെംബർമാരുമായി ഒരു കമ്മിററി രൂപവൽകരിച്ച് പ്രസ്കമ്യൂണിക്ക പുറപ്പെടുവിച്ചു.

മെംബർമാർ.

(൧.) മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. പരമേശ്വരൻപിള്ള ബി. ഏ., ബി. എൽ. ഹൈക്കോർട്ടു ജഡ്ജി.

(൨.) ,, എം. ഗോവിന്ദൻ ബി. ഏ, ബി. എൽ. നിയമനിർമ്മാണസഭാമെംബർ

(൩.) ,, ടി. കെ. വേലുപ്പിള്ള ബി. ഏ., ബി. എൽ. ഹൈക്കോർട്ടുവക്കീൽ.

(൪.) റാവുസാഹേബ എസ്. പരമേശ്വരയ്യർ. എം. ഏ., ബി. എൽ. പെൻഷൻഡ് ദിവാൻപേഷ്കാർ.

(൫.) മിസ്റ്റർ ടി. കേശവൻശാസ്ത്രി, (പുലയപ്രതിനിധി)

൨. ഈ കാണിച്ച മെംബർമാരെ കൂടാതെ യാഥാസ്ഥിതികന്മാരുടെ പ്രതിനിധികളായി വേറെ ചില മെംബർമാരെ കൂടി ചേർത്ത് ഈ കമ്മിററി വഴിയേ പൂരിപ്പിക്കുന്നതാണെന്നും ആ പ്രസ്സ്കമ്യൂണിക്കിൽ കാണിച്ചിരുന്നു.

൩. അതിനുശേഷം ഈ കായ്യത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ച് ൧൯൩൨ നവംബർ ൨൬-ാംക്കു ൧൧൦൮ വൃശ്ചികം ൧൧-ാം

ദേവസ്വം ൬൪൮/൩൨-ാംനമ്പ്രായി ഒരു പ്രൊസീഡിംഗ്സ് പുറപ്പെടുവിച്ചതിൽ പ്രസിഡൻറായി ദിവാൻ ബഹദൂർ സുബ്രഹ്മണ്യയ്യരെത്തന്നെയും മെംബർമാരായി താഴെ പറയുന്ന എട്ടാളെയും നിശ്ചയിച്ചു.

ആ മെംബർമാർ.

൧. മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. പരമേശ്വരൻപിള്ള ബി. എ., ബി. എൽ. ഹൈക്കോർട്ടു ജഡ്ജി.

൨. ,, കെ. അനന്തനാരായണയ്യർ ബി. എ., ബി. എൽ. പെൻഷൻഡു ലാൻറു റവന്യൂകമ്മീഷണർ.

൩. ,, എം. ഗോവിന്ദൻ ബി. എ., ബി. എൽ. നിയമനിർമ്മാണസഭാമെംബർ, പെൻഷൻഡു ഡിസ്ട്രിക്ട് ജഡ്ജി

൪. റാവുസാഹിബ് ഉള്ളൂർ എസ്. പരമേശ്വരയ്യർ എം. എ., ബി. എൽ. പെൻഷൻഡ് ദിവാൻപേഷ്കാർ.

൫. മിസ്റ്റർ ടി. കെ. വേലുപ്പിള്ള ബി. എ., ബി. എൽ. ഹൈക്കോർട്ടുവക്കീൽ.

൬. ,, ടി. കേശവൻശാസ്ത്രി.

൭. തരണനല്ലൂർ നമ്പൂതിരിപ്പാടിനാൽ തിരഞ്ഞെടുത്തു നിശ്ചയിക്കപ്പെടുന്ന ഒരു മഹാൻ.

൮. ബ്രഹ്മശ്രീ പറമ്പൂർ ഇല്ലത്തു തന്ത്രി ചിങ്ങൻ നാരായണൻ ഭട്ടതിരിപ്പാട് (തിരുവല്ല.)

൪. പിന്നെ തരണനല്ലൂർ പരമേശ്വരൻ നമ്പൂതിരിപ്പാടവർകൾ, ഈ കമ്മിററിയിൽ അംഗമായിരിക്കണമെന്നകാണിച്ച് എനിക്ക ഒരെഴുത്ത് എൻെറ മാന്യസ്നേഹിതനായ ചങ്ങരംകോത കൃഷ്ണകത്താവവർകൾ പക്കൽ ൧൯൩൨ നവംബർ ൨൦-ാംക്ക ൧൧൦൮ വൃശ്ചികം ൫-ാം വയ്ക്കത്തുവച്ചു കിട്ടി.

൫. അതിന്നശേഷം ഞാൻ ഇക്കാര്യപ്പെററി പല സ്നേഹിതന്മാരുമായി ആലോചിക്കയും, ഈ കമ്മിററിയിൽ

അംഗമായിരിക്കുന്നതു് എന്റെ ദേഹസ്ഥിതിക്കും പ്രായാധിക്യത്തിനും അനേക കാര്യവ്യഗ്രതയ്ക്കും യോജിച്ചതല്ലെങ്കിലും, കാര്യഗൌരവത്തേയും വളരെ പുണ്യക്ഷേത്രദർശനത്തിനു സാധിക്കുമെന്നതിനേയും പൊന്നുതമ്പുരാൻതിരുമനസ്സിലെ ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ മഹിമാവിനേയും കത്തയച്ച നമ്പൂതിരിപ്പാടവർകളുടെ യോഗ്യതയെയും ആലോചിച്ചു കമ്മിററിയിൽ അംഗമായിരിക്കാം എന്നും ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ ആജ്ഞക്കനുസരിച്ചും സൗകര്യത്തിനൊത്തവണ്ണവും വേണ്ടതു പ്രവർത്തിക്കാമെന്നും മറുപടിയയക്കയും ചെയ്തു.

൫. പിന്നെ തിരുവിതാംകൂർ ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ, തരണനല്ലൂർ നമ്പൂതിരിപ്പാടു നോമിനേററുചെയ്തപ്രകാരം എന്നെ ആ കമ്മിററിയിൽ അംഗമായി നിശ്ചയിച്ചുവെന്നുംമററും കാണിച്ചു ൧൯൩൧ നവമ്പർ ൩൦-ാംനുക്കു ൧൧൦൭ വൃശ്ചികം ൧൪-നു ൧൯൫൨/൩൨-ാംനമ്പരായി അയച്ച അറിയിപ്പ് ൧൧൦൭ വൃശ്ചികം ൧൭-നുക്കു ൧൯൩൧ ഡിസംബർ ൩-ാം നു കിട്ടുകയും അതുപ്രകാരം അംഗമായിരിപ്പാൻ സമ്മതിച്ചു മറുപടിയയക്കുകയും ൧൧൦൭ വൃശ്ചികം ൨൮-നുക്കു ൯-൧൨-൩൨ തീയതി പുറപ്പെട്ടു്, വൃശ്ചികം ൨൫-ാംനുക്കു ഡിസംബർ ൧൧-ാംനു തിരുവനന്തപുരത്തുവന്നുചേരുകയും, പിറേറന്നാൾ തന്നെ പ്രസിഡണ്ടിനെ ചെന്നുകണ്ടു് അറിയിച്ചു പ്രവൃത്തിയിൽ ചേരുകയും ചെയ്തു.

൬. അതിൽപിന്നെ മററു് അംഗങ്ങളോടു ചേർന്നു് കമ്മിററിപ്രവൃത്തികളിൽ ശ്രദ്ധയോടെ പങ്കുകൊള്ളുകയും കമ്മിററി ചെയ്യേണ്ടതായി തോന്നുന്ന വിവരങ്ങളെ അതാതുസമയം നേരിട്ടു ബോധിപ്പിക്കുകയും അതിനു സാധിക്കാത്തപ്പോൾ എഴുതി അറിയിക്കുകയും പാട്ടുള്ളെടത്തോളം മീററിംഗിൽ ഹാജരാവുകയും ചെയ്തുവന്നു.

൭. സാക്ഷികളെ വിസ്തരിച്ചു മൊഴിവാങ്ങുന്ന പ്രവൃത്തിയുടെ അവസാനത്തിൽ കമ്മററിയിലെ അംഗമായ അനന്തനാരായണയ്യരവർകൾ നിര്യാതനാകയാൽ ആ സ്ഥാനത്തേക്കു പെൻഷൻഡു ദിവാൻപേഷ്കാർ എസ്. കെ. മഹാദേവയ്യരവർകളെ അംഗമായിനിശ്ചയിച്ചു ദേവസ്വം ആർ. ഒ. സി. ൧൧൮/൩൩-ാംനമ്പരായി ൧൯൩൩ ജൂൺ ൨൯-ാംനു ഗവണ്മെന്റു ഓർഡറു ഉണ്ടായി.

ദ്വിതീയാദ്ധ്യായം.

൯. (൧) ഈ സ്റ്റേററിലുള്ള ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ എല്ലാററിലുമൊ വല്ലതിലുമോ മററാർക്കുമില്ലാത്ത ആരാധനാവകാശം സവൎണ്ണഹിന്ദുക്കൾക്കുണ്ടോ? ക്ഷേത്രം തങ്ങൾക്കുവേണ്ടി സ്ഥാപിക്കപ്പെട്ടതാണെന്നുള്ള നിലയിലൊ ഉടമസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ നിലയിലൊ മററാ ആ ആരാധനശക്തിയെ സംബന്ധിച്ച് അംഗീകരിക്കപ്പെടാവുന്ന സിവിൾ അവകാശങ്ങൾ വല്ലതും സവൎണ്ണഹിന്ദുക്കൾക്കുണ്ടോ?

൧൦. ഇതിനെപ്പററി കൂലംകഷമായി നിരൂപിക്കുമ്പോൾ എല്ലാ സവൎണ്ണക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളുടേയും ഉടമസ്ഥന്മാർ സവൎണ്ണർ തന്നെയാകുന്നുവെന്നാണ് അറിയപ്പെടുന്നതു്. ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങൾ ആദ്യമായി സ്ഥാപിക്കുന്നവരെയല്ലാതെ വേറെ ആരെയും ഉടമസ്ഥന്മാരെന്നു കല്പിക്കുന്നതിനു യാതൊരു യുക്തിയും കാണുന്നില്ല. ഓരോ ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളും ഇന്നവരാണ് പ്രതിഷ്ഠിച്ചതെന്നു രേഖാമൂലമായി മുഴുവൻ തെളിയിക്കുവാൻ കഴിവില്ലെങ്കിലും ഐതിഹ്യങ്ങൾ കൊണ്ടും ചില രേഖകളെക്കൊണ്ടും സവൎണ്ണർതന്നെയാണ് ആ വകക്ഷേത്രങ്ങൾ പ്രതിഷ്ഠിച്ചവരെന്നു വിശ്വസിക്കത്തക്കവിധം അറിയുന്നുണ്ട്.

൧൧. സ്വയംഭൂക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ ചിലതു് അവൎണ്ണസ്ത്രീകൾ ആയുധങ്ങൾ മൂൎച്ചപിടിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ കൃഷ്ണശിലയിൽ രാവിയപ്പോൾ ചോരകണ്ടിട്ടും മററും ഉണ്ടായവയാണെന്നു ഐതിഹ്യം ഉണ്ടെങ്കിലും ആവക സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ പിന്നെ ക്ഷേത്രനിൎമ്മാണം, പ്രതിഷ്ഠ, കലശം മുതലായവ നടത്തി നിത്യപൂജ ഉത്സവം മുതലായവ തുടങ്ങിയതും ഇപ്പോഴും നടത്തിച്ചുവരുന്നതും സവൎണ്ണർ തന്നെയാണെന്നാണ് അറിയുന്നതു്. അതിനാൽ ആവക ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളുടെയും ഉടമസ്ഥാവകാശം സവൎണ്ണരിൽതന്നെയാണ് നിലനിൽക്കുന്നതു്.

൧൨. മേല്പറഞ്ഞ ഉടമസ്ഥന്മാർ പ്രതിഷ്ഠാസമയത്തുതന്നെ ഇന്ന ഇന്ന വൎഗ്ഗക്കാർ ഇന്ന ഇന്ന അതൃത്തിവരെ പ്രവേശിക്കാമെന്നും അവർക്ക് അവിടെനിന്നാരാധിക്കാമെന്നും നിശ്ചയിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. അങ്ങിനെ നിശ്ചയിച്ചതു് ഉടമസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ സൗജന്യംകൊണ്ടുമാത്രമാണ്. ആ നിശ്ചയം അവർക്ക് അധികാരപൂൎവ്വമായ അവകാശത്തെ ഉണ്ടാക്കുന്നതല്ല. ഉടമസ്ഥന്മാർ തന്നെ പ്രതിഷ്ഠാസമയം ചെയ്ത നിശ്ചയത്തെ പിന്നെ മററു

വാനധികാരമുണ്ടോ എന്നതന്നെ സംശയമാണ്. പ്രതിഷ്ഠാസമയം നിശ്ചയിക്കപ്പെടുന്ന വ്യവസ്ഥയെ മാറാനാണെങ്കിൽ വീണ്ടും ഒരു നവീകരണക്രിയ നടത്തിട്ടുവേണമെന്നു തീർച്ചതന്നെയാണ്. ആ വ്യവസ്ഥയ്ക്കു വിപരീതമായി പ്രവേശിപ്പാനും ആരാധിപ്പാനും ആരാധകന്മാർക്ക് ഒരുവിധവും അധികാരമില്ലെന്നുള്ളതു തീർച്ചയാകുന്നു. ആ വ്യവസ്ഥ ഇന്നവിധമാണെന്നു വളരെക്കാലമായി നടന്നുവരുന്ന ആചാരംകൊണ്ട് ഊഹിപ്പാനല്ലാതെ മററൊരുവിധം തീർച്ചയാക്കുവാൻ ഒരു പ്രമാണവും സുലഭമല്ല.

൨൩. അത്രയുമല്ല, അവൎണ്ണരിൽപെട്ട പ്രായേണ എല്ലാവൎഗ്ഗക്കാർക്കും ഈ സ്റ്റേററിലും മററു മലയാളപ്രദേശങ്ങളിലും പ്രത്യേകാവകാശമായി ചില ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങൾ പണ്ടുതന്നെയുണ്ട്. പുതുതായി ഉണ്ടാക്കാവുന്നതുമാണ്. അങ്ങിനെ ഉണ്ടാക്കിവരുന്നതുമുണ്ട്. അതുകളിൽ അതുകളുടെ പ്രതിഷ്ഠാകാലത്തു ചെയ്യപ്പെട്ട വ്യവസ്ഥയനുസരിച്ച് അവൎണ്ണർക്കു പ്രവേശിപ്പാനും ആരാധിപ്പാനും അവകാശമുണ്ട്. അങ്ങിനെ നിരാക്ഷേപമായി നടത്തിവരുന്നതുതന്നെ അതിനു തെളിവാകുന്നു.

൨൪. ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങൾ സ്ഥാപിക്കുമ്പോൾ അവമൂലം നാട്ടിലെല്ലാം ക്ഷേമവും അനൎത്ഥപരിഹാരവും ഉണ്ടാകേണമെന്നു പ്രാൎത്ഥിക്കുക പതിവുണ്ട്. ഈ ശുഭബുദ്ധികൊണ്ടുതന്നെയാകുന്നു:—

"ലോകാഃ സമസ്താഃ സുഖിനോ ഭവന്തു"

എന്ന പ്രാൎത്ഥനാരൂപമായ മുദ്രാവാക്യത്തെ സൎവ്വദാ ഹിന്ദുക്കൾ പ്രമാണിച്ചുപോരുന്നത്. ഇതുകൊണ്ട് ഈ മുദ്രാവാക്യത്തെ അവലംബിച്ചു നിർമ്മിക്കുന്ന സ്ഥാപനങ്ങളിൽ സമസ്തലോകങ്ങൾക്കും ഉടമസ്ഥാവകാശമൊ നിർബന്ധപൂൎവ്വകമായ ഉപയോഗാവകാശമൊ ഉണ്ടാകുന്നതല്ലെന്നു സൎവ്വസമ്മതമാകുന്നു.

൨൫. ചില മഹാത്മാക്കളുടെ ഗൃഹത്തിൽവച്ചു നടത്താറുള്ള ഈശ്വരാരാധനകൾക്കു ഉടമസ്ഥന്മാരല്ലാത്ത പലരും വന്നുചേരുകയും പങ്കുകൊള്ളുകയും ഉടമസ്ഥന്മാർ അവരെ സാദരം സ്വീകരിക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുമാറുണ്ട്. അതുകൊണ്ട് അവൎക്കു സ്വീകാൎയ്യമായ യാതൊരു അവകാശവും ഉണ്ടാകുന്നില്ല. അതാതുസമയം അവൎക്കു സിദ്ധിക്കുന്ന ആരാധനാസൗകൎയ്യം ഉടമസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ ദാക്ഷിണ്യമാത്രസിദ്ധമാകുന്നു. പ്രതിഷ്ഠിക്കപ്പെട്ട വിഗ്രഹങ്ങളിൽ ദേവസാന്നിദ്ധ്യം സ്ഥിരമാണ്. അതുകളിൽനിന്നു പൂജാവസാനത്തിൽ ദേവനെ ഉദ്വാസിക്കമാറില്ല. ഗൃഹങ്ങളിൽവെച്ച് നടത്തുന്ന ആരാധനകളിൽ ആവാഹനോദ്വാസന

ങ്ങളുണ്ട്. അതിനാൽ സാന്നിധ്യം താൽക്കാലികമാണ്. ഈ ഭേദംകൊണ്ട് ആരാധകന്മാരുടെ അവകാശത്തിന് ഭേദമുണ്ടാവുന്നതല്ല. ഉണ്ടെന്നു സമ്മതിക്കുന്നതായാലും വ്യവസ്ഥാനുസാരിയായ നടപടിക്കു വിപരീതമായി ഉണ്ടാകുവാൻ ഒരു ന്യായവും കാണുന്നില്ല. ആ നടപടി ശാസ്ത്രവചനങ്ങളെക്കൊണ്ടും പുരാതനാചാരംകൊണ്ടും സ്പഷ്ടമാകുന്നതുമാണ്.

൬൩ അതിനാൽ സവർണ്ണക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ അവർണ്ണർക്കില്ലാത്തവിധം പ്രവേശിച്ചു ആരാധന നടത്തുവാൻ സവർണ്ണഹിന്ദുക്കൾക്കു ഉടമസ്ഥന്മാരെന്ന നിലയിലും പ്രതിഷ്ഠാസമയം കല്പിക്കപ്പെട്ട വ്യവസ്ഥയനുസരിച്ചും അവകാശമുണ്ടെന്നു സിദ്ധമാകുന്നു. ചില സവർണ്ണക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ അവർണ്ണർ അവർക്കു നിശ്ചയിച്ച അതിർത്തിയെ അതിക്രമിച്ചു പ്രവേശിക്കുകനിമിത്തം ശുദ്ധികലശം മുതലായവ നടത്തുകയും അതിന്റെ ചിലവ് സിവിൽവ്യവഹാരത്താൽ വസൂൽചെയ്കയും ചെയ്തതായി കമ്മിററിമുമ്പാകെ ചിലർ മൊഴി തന്നിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഇതുകൊണ്ട് സവർണ്ണഹിന്ദുക്കൾക്കു ഈ ആരാധനശക്തിയെപ്പററി അംഗീകരിക്കപ്പെടാവുന്ന സിവിൽ അവകാശവും ഉണ്ടെന്നുകൂടി സിദ്ധമാകുന്നു.

തൃതീയാദ്ധ്യായം.

൬൪. (൧) ഏതെങ്കിലും പ്രത്യേകം സവർണ്ണഹിന്ദുക്ഷേത്രത്തിൽ അവർണ്ണർക്കു പ്രവേശം അനുവദിക്കുന്നതിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു വല്ല ദേശനടപടിയും ഉണ്ടോ?

൬൫. ഇക്കാര്യത്തിൽ ദേവസ്വംവകുപ്പാർട്ടുമെണ്ടു മുഖേന അന്വേഷിച്ചതിൽ ആറുക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ അവർണ്ണർ പ്രവേശിക്കുന്നതായിക്കാണുന്നുണ്ട്. അതുകളിൽ—

(൧) വക്കംഗ്രൂപ്പിൽ കാലാകൽ എന്ന ക്ഷേത്രമാണ്. ഇതിൽ നിത്യപൂജനടത്തുന്നതു ഈഴവനാണ്. സവർണ്ണർ സാധാരണയായി പ്രവേശിച്ചു ആരാധിക്കുന്ന പതിവില്ല.

൬൬. (൨) പാറശ്ശാലഗ്രൂപ്പിൽ നെയ്യാററുങ്കര താലൂക്കിൽ വെള്ളായണി ഭഗവതിക്ഷേത്രമാണ്. ഇതു ഒരു മുടിപ്പുരമാത്രമാണ്. നിത്യപൂജക്കാരൻ കൊല്ലനാണ്. സവർണ്ണർപോയി ഭജിക്കമാറില്ല.

൬൭. (൩) വെട്ടിക്കവലഗ്രൂപ്പിൽ മേലൂട്ടുശിവക്ഷേത്രമാണ്. അവിടെ മതില്പകം വലിയതാണ്. അഗ്നികോണിൽ പ്രത്യേക വഴി വെട്ടീട്ടുണ്ട്. കുറവർമാത്രം ആ വഴി പ്രവേശിച്ചു

കരുമൂലയിൽ നിന്നാരാധിക്കും. ആ സ്ഥലം യഥാൎത്ഥമതിലിനുള്ളിൽ പെട്ടതല്ലെന്നാണു പലരും പറയുന്നതു്. മതില്പുറം വലുതാക്കിയതാകുന്നു.

൨൧. (൪) അമ്പലപ്പുഴ പ്രസിദ്ധകൃഷ്ണസ്വാമിക്ഷേത്രമാണു്. ഇവിടെ പന്ത്രണ്ടുകൊല്ലം കൂടുമ്പോൾ പതിനഞ്ചുദിവസം പള്ളിപ്പാന എന്നൊരുത്സവമുണ്ടു്. അക്കാലം മതില്പുറത്തു മന്ത്രശാലയുടെ കിഴക്കെ മുററംവരെ പ്രദിക്ഷിണവഴിയിൽ നിന്നു അൻപതു അടി അകലെ ഈഴവരും വേലരും മാത്രം പ്രവേശിക്കുന്നുണ്ടു് ആ സ്ഥലം യഥാൎത്ഥമതിലിനു പുറത്താണു്. അവർ ആ ഉത്സവത്തിൽ പ്രവൃത്തിക്കാരുമാണു്. അവർ പോയാൽ ദ്രവ്യകലശം ചെയ്യുമാറുണ്ടു്.

൨൨. (൫) പത്മനാഭപുരം ഗ്രൂപ്പിൽ മണക്കാട്ടു ഭഗവതിക്ഷേത്രമാണു്. അവിടെ നിത്യപൂജക്കാരൻ കുരുക്കളാണു്. ഇതു സാധാരണമായി അവൎണ്ണർമാത്രം പോയി ഭജിക്കുന്ന ക്ഷേത്രമാണു്. ശില്പശാസ്ത്രപ്രകാരം പണിയിച്ച ക്ഷേത്രമല്ല. ആഗമപ്രകാരം വിഗ്രഹം പ്രതിഷ്ഠിച്ചിട്ടും ഇല്ല. ഒരു പുററുമാത്രമാണു വിഗ്രഹസ്ഥാനത്തുള്ളതു. മുമ്പു അവിടെ ആട്ടും കോഴിയും അറക്കുന്നപതിവും ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നു.

൨൩. (൬) അയിരൂർ പുതിയകാവു എന്ന ക്ഷേത്രമാണു്. കൊല്ലംതോറും പടയണി എന്ന ഉത്സവത്തിനു പ്രദക്ഷിണവഴിയിൽ നിന്നിരുപത്തഞ്ചു അടിദൂരെ ഈഴവർ പ്രവേശിക്കുന്നുണ്ടായിരുന്നു. പടയണിക്കു ഈഴവർ ചില പ്രവൃത്തി ചെയ്യേണ്ടതുണ്ടായിരുന്നു പിന്നെ ശുദ്ധിക്കു ദ്രവ്യകലശവും ചെയ്തിരുന്നു ഇപ്പോൾ പടയണി വേണ്ടെന്നുവെച്ചു. ഈഴവർ പ്രവേശിക്കമാറുമില്ല.

൨൪. ഇതെല്ലാമാലോചിക്കുമ്പോൾ ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ അവൎണ്ണരെക്കൊണ്ടു വല്ല പ്രവൃത്തിയും ചെയ്യിക്കേണ്ടതായിവരുമ്പോൾ പ്രത്യേക നിശ്ചയപ്രകാരം പ്രവൃത്തിക്കാർമാത്രം പ്രവേശിക്കയും അപ്പോൾ യഥോചിതം ശുദ്ധികൎമ്മം ചെയ്യുകയും മാത്രമാണു നടപടി എന്നു കാണുന്നു. ശാസ്ത്രാനുസരേണ പ്രതിഷ്ഠിക്കപ്പെടാത്ത ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ ഈ നിർബന്ധം ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നില്ലെന്നുമാണു കാണുന്നതു്.

൨൫. അവൎണ്ണൎക്കു പ്രവേശം ഇങ്ങനെയല്ലാതെ സാധാരണമായി ഒരു ക്ഷേത്രത്തിലും അനുവദിക്കുന്നനടപടി ഇല്ലെ

ന്നാണ കാണുന്നത്. പിന്നെ ശുദ്ധികൎമ്മം നടത്താമെന്നുവെച്ചു ശാസ്ത്രനിഷിദ്ധമായ പ്രവേശം അനുവദിക്കാവുന്നതല്ല. പ്രായശ്ചിത്തം അറിയാതെ വരുന്ന ദോഷത്തിന്നൊ അപരിഹാൎയ്യമായ ആവശ്യത്തിന്ന് ആപദ്ധൎമ്മവിധയാ വരുത്തുന്ന ദോഷങ്ങൾക്കൊ മാത്രമാണ വിധിക്കപ്പെടുന്നത്. മനഃപൂൎവ്വം അനാവശ്യമായി വരുത്തുന്ന ദോഷങ്ങൾക്കു പ്രായശ്ചിത്തം വിധിക്കപ്പെട്ടിട്ടില്ല.

ചതുൎത്ഥാധ്യായഃ.

൨൩. (൩൪) ഇപ്പോൾ സവൎണ്ണഹിന്ദുക്കൾക്കമാത്രം പ്രവേശമുള്ള ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ച ക്ഷേത്രത്തിന്റെ ഉള്ളിൽതന്നെയൊ അതിന്റെ പരിസരങ്ങളിലോ വച്ചുചെയ്യുന്ന മതപരമായ പൂജയുടെയൊ ക്രിയയുടെയൊ ഫലത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ച അവൎണ്ണഹിന്ദുക്കളുടെ ഇടയിൽ പൊതുവേയുള്ള ബോധം.

൨൪. അവൎണ്ണഹിന്ദുക്കൾക്ക ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽവച്ചു മതപരമായ പൂജയും ക്രിയകളും നടത്തുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു നല്ലഫലം കിട്ടുമെന്ന പൂൎണ്ണവിശ്വാസമുണ്ട്. അതില്ലെങ്കിലവർ അവക്ക നിശ്ചയിച്ച അതൃത്തിയിൽതന്നെ നിന്ന ക്ഷേത്രത്തിൽ പൂജ, നിവേദ്യം, വിളക്ക, മാല, കൎപ്പൂരാരാധന മുതലായവക്ക വഴിവാടായി ദ്രവ്യം കൊടുക്കുകയും അവിടെ നിന്ന കിട്ടുന്നപ്രസാദത്തെ ശ്രദ്ധയോടും ഭക്തിയോടുംകൂടി ഉപയോഗിക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുന്നതല്ലല്ലൊ.

൨൫. മൊഴിതന്ന അവൎണ്ണരിൽ ചിലർ തങ്ങളിപ്പോൾ സവൎണ്ണക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ വെളിയിൽനിന്നാരാധിപ്പാൻ പോകമാറില്ലെന്ന പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ളതു അവ്യക്തികളേയും ആ സമയത്തെയും മാത്രം ബാധിക്കുന്നതാണെന്നല്ലാതെ പൊതുവേ ബാധകമല്ല. അന്നും ഇന്നും അതിന്ന മുമ്പും ആവക ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ അനേകം അവൎണ്ണർ അവരവരുടെ അതൃത്തിവരെമാത്രം വന്ന യഥാപൂൎവ്വം ആരാധിച്ചുവരുന്നുണ്ട്. പരമ്പരയായി അനുഷ്ഠിച്ചുവരുന്ന അതിരുകളെ ഏതാനും ചിലരുടെ ഇച്ഛക്കും അനുമാനത്തിന്നും മാത്രമനുസരിച്ചു മാററുകഎന്നതിന ഒട്ടും ഔചിത്യവും പ്രാമാണ്യവുമില്ല.

൨൬. "യത്ര യത്ര യഥാ പ്രോക്തം
തത്ര കുൎയ്യാത്തഥാ ച തൽ
നാന്യഥാ സ്വാത്മമാത്രേണ
കുൎയ്യാൽ പ്രാജ്ഞോഽപി മാനവഃ."

എവിടെ എന്തു എപ്രകാരം ചെയ്യണമെന്ന പറയുകയും അനുഷ്ഠിച്ചുവരികയും ചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ടൊ അവിടെ അക്കാൎയ്യം

അപ്രകാരംതന്നെയായ ചെയ്യാവൂ. അല്ലാതെ ബുദ്ധിമാനായ ആളും കൂടി സ്വബുദ്ധികൊണ്ടു് അനുമാനിച്ചു മറെറാരുവിധം നടത്തിപോകരുതെന്നാണു സ്മൃതിവചനം.

൯൭. ഇതിനെത്തന്നെ മാധവാചാൎയ്യർ കുറെക്കൂടി വ്യക്തമാക്കിട്ടുണ്ടു്.—

"ഏകേന കചിദേകോ വിഷയവ്യവസ്ഥാ കല്പിതാ അന്യേന തദ്വിപരീതാ ചേൽ കസ്യ വ്യവസ്ഥായാഃ പ്രാമാണ്യം, കസ്യ അപ്രാമാണ്യം ഉഭയപ്രാമാണ്യേ അനവസ്ഥാ സ്പഷ്ടാ തസ്മാന്ന ബുദ്ധിമാത്രകൃതാ വ്യവസ്ഥാ യുക്താ പുരുഷസ്യ സൎവ്വജ്ഞത്വാഭാവാൽ ബുദ്ധേരപ്രതിഷ്ഠാനാച്ച ബുദ്ധിമാത്രവ്യവസ്ഥിതേഃ."

"കപിലോ യദി സൎവ്വജ്ഞഃ കണാദോ നേതി കാ പ്രമാ"

ഇതി ന്യായഃ പ്രസജ്യേത.

ഒരാൾ ഒരു ദിക്കിൽ ഒരു കാൎയ്യത്തിൽ ഒരു വ്യവസ്ഥ കല്പിക്കുന്നു. മറെറാരാൾ അതിന്നു വിപരീതമായി വേറെയൊരു വ്യവസ്ഥയും കല്പിക്കുന്നു എന്നിരുന്നാൽ അവയിൽ ഏതിന്നു പ്രാമാണ്യമെന്നും ഏതിന്നു അപ്രാമാണ്യമെന്നും തീൎച്ചപ്പെടുത്താൻ കഴിയുന്നതല്ല. രണ്ടിന്നും പ്രാമാണ്യം കല്പിക്കുന്നപക്ഷം വ്യവസ്ഥ ഇല്ലായ്മ സ്പഷ്ടമാണു്. സ്വബുദ്ധിമാത്രംകൊണ്ടു ഒരു തീൎപ്പും ചെയ്യുന്നതു യുക്തമല്ല മനുഷ്യൻ സൎവ്വജ്ഞനാണെന്നും ബുദ്ധിക്കു അനവധാനം വന്നുകൂടെന്നും നിശ്ചയമില്ലല്ലൊ. ഒരാളുടെ ബുദ്ധിമാത്രംകൊണ്ടു തീൎപ്പുകല്പിക്കുകയാണെങ്കിൽ "കപിലൻ സൎവ്വജ്ഞനാണെങ്കിൽ കണാദൻ അങ്ങിനെയല്ലെന്നുള്ളതിന്നു എന്താണു പ്രമാണം" എന്ന ന്യായവാദം വരുന്നതാണു്.

൯൮. സദാചാരത്തിന്റെ പ്രാമാണ്യം ജൈമിനീയന്യായമാലയിൽ, പൂൎവമീമാംസയിലെ ഉപാദശലക്ഷണിയിൽ ഒന്നാമദ്ധ്യായത്തിൽ മൂന്നാംപാദത്തിൽ നാലാമധികരണത്തിൽ പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ളതിനെ സംഗ്രഹിച്ചു കാണിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു്.—

"സദാചാരൊ പ്രമാ മാ വാ നിൎമൂലത്വാദമാനതാ
അഷ്ടകാദേരിവൈതസ്യ സമൂലത്വാൽ പ്രമാണതാ"

മൂലഭൂതമായ വചനം പ്രത്യക്ഷമായി കാണായ്കയാൽ ഹോളാകാദ്യാചാരത്തിന്നു പ്രാമാണ്യമില്ലെന്നു പൂൎവ്വപക്ഷമാകുന്നു. അഷ്ടക മുതലായ ആചാരങ്ങൾ ശിഷ്ടന്മാരായ വൈദികന്മാരാൽ സ്വീകരിക്കപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കനിമിത്തം സദാചാരങ്ങൾക്കു പ്രാമാണ്യം കല്പി

ക്കപ്പെടാവുന്നതാണ്. അതുനിമിത്തംതന്നെ പരോക്ഷസ്മൃതിവചനത്തെ ഇതിന്നു പ്രമാണമായി കല്പിക്കണമെന്നു ഒന്നാമദ്ധ്യായത്തിൽ മൂന്നാംപാദത്തിൽ ഒന്നാം അധികരണത്തിൽ സിദ്ധാന്തിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. പ്രാച്യാനാം വനാന്തൊത്സവൊ ഹോളകാ.

൩൫. മനുസ്മൃതിയിൽ പ്രമാണങ്ങളെ പ്രതിവാദിക്കുന്ന ഘട്ടത്തിൽ —

"ശ്രുതിസ്മൃതിസദാചാരഃ സ്വസ്യ ച പ്രിയമാത്മനഃ
ഏതച്ചതുർവിധം പ്രാഹുഃ സാക്ഷാദ്ധർമ്മസ്യ ലക്ഷണം."

എന്നിങ്ങനെ ശ്രുതിസ്മൃതികളെപ്പോലെ ശിഷ്ടാചാരത്തിന്നും പ്രാമാണ്യം കാണിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. ദേവലനും ഇക്കാൎയ്യത്തെ—

"യസ്മിൻ ദേശെ പുരെ ഗ്രാമെ ത്രൈവിദ്യെ നഗരേഽപി വാ
യോ യത്ര വിഹിതൊ ധൎമ്മസ്തം ധർമ്മം ന വിചാലയേൽ."

എന്നു സ്മരിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. ദേശഭേദംകൊണ്ടൊ പുരഭേദംകൊണ്ടൊ ഗ്രാമഭേദംകൊണ്ടൊ വിദ്യാഭേദംകൊണ്ടൊ നഗരഭേദംകൊണ്ടൊ യാതൊരു ധർമ്മം ആദരിക്കപ്പെട്ടുവരുന്നുവൊ ആ ധർമ്മത്തെ ഇളക്കിക്കൂടെന്നാണ് ഇതിന്റെ താൽപൎയ്യം.

൩൬. മനു കുലധർമ്മത്തെപ്പററി ഇങ്ങിനെ പറയുന്നു—

"യേനാസ്യ പിതരൊ യാതാ യേന യാതാഃ പിതാമഹാഃ
തേന യായാത്സതാം മാൎഗ്ഗം തേന ഗച്ഛന്ന രിഷ്യതി."

പിതൃപിതാമഹപ്രഭൃതികൾ കുലഭേദേന ആചരിച്ചു പോന്നിരുന്ന നടപടിയെ അതുപോലെ പിന്തുടരുന്നതു സദാചാരമാകുന്നു. അങ്ങിനെ ചെയ്താൽ ഒരിക്കലും ദോഷം വരുന്നതല്ലാ എന്നാണിതിന്റെ താൽപൎയ്യം.

൩൭. ദേവീഭാഗവതത്തിലും ആചാരത്തെപ്പററി ഇങ്ങിനെ പറഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നു—

"ആചാരഹീനം ന പുനന്തി വേദാ
യദ്യപ്യധീതാഃ സഹ ഷഡ്ഭിരംഗൈഃ
ഛന്ദാംസ്യേനം കാൎയ്യകാലെ ത്യജന്തി
നീഡം വിഹംഗാ ഇവ ജാതപക്ഷാഃ."

ഇതുകൊണ്ടു നാലുവേദങ്ങളും ആറു വേദാംഗങ്ങളും പഠിച്ചിരുന്നാലും ആചാരത്തെ വിട്ടുകളയുന്നവന് ഒരിക്കലും ശുദ്ധിയുണ്ടാവുന്നതല്ല. ഏതെങ്കിലും ഒരു കാൎയ്യം ഉണ്ടാകുമ്പോൾ വേദങ്ങളും

വേദാംഗങ്ങളും അവനെ വിട്ടുപൊയ്ക്കളയും. പക്ഷിക്കുട്ടികൾ ചിറകുണ്ടാവുന്നതുവരെ അവരുടെ കൂട്ടിൽതന്നെ പാർക്കുന്നുവെങ്കിലും ചിറകുണ്ടായാൽ കൂടിനെവിട്ടു പറന്നു പോകുന്നതുപോലെ എന്നാണിതിന്റെ താൽപര്യം.

൩൭. സദാചാരംകൊണ്ടു മൂലഭൂതവേദത്തെ അനുമിക്കാമെന്നാപ്തവാക്യവുമുണ്ട്.

„ന ശാസ്ത്രദൃഷ്ട്യാ വിദുഷാ കദാചി-
ദുല്ലംഘനീയാഃ കുലദേശധർമ്മാഃ
മൂലം ഹി തേഷാം ച്യുതവേദശാഖാ
മഹാൻ ഹി ധർമ്മച്യുതിജന്യദോഷഃ."

വിദ്വാന്മാർ ഒരിക്കലും ശാസ്ത്രവിരുദ്ധമായി കണ്ടാൽകൂടി കുലാചാരങ്ങളേയും ദേശാചാരങ്ങളേയും ഉല്ലംഘിക്കരുത്. ആ ആചാരങ്ങൾക്കു മൂലം വേദശാഖകൾതന്നെയാണ്. ആ മൂലഭൂതവേദവാക്യം പ്രത്യക്ഷമായിക്കാണുന്നില്ലെന്നുവെച്ച് ആചാരം നിർമൂലമെന്നു കരുതിപ്പോകരുത്. വേദത്തിന്റെ പല ശാഖകളും കാലത്താൽ നശിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. അവയിൽ ഈ ആചാരങ്ങൾക്കു മൂലവാക്യങ്ങളുണ്ടായിരിക്കും. അതിനാൽ പ്രത്യക്ഷശ്രുതിസ്മൃതിവാക്യങ്ങളെപ്പോലെ സദാചാരവും ധർമ്മത്തിന്ന് അടിസ്ഥാനമാണ്. ധർമ്മത്തിനെ ഉപേക്ഷിച്ചാലതുകൊണ്ടുള്ള ദോഷം വലിയതാണെന്നാണിതിന്റെ താൽപര്യം.

൩൮. ഇതിലേക്കു പ്രമാണഭൂതമായി വേറെയും ആപ്തവാക്യം കാണുന്നുണ്ട്.—

„യസ്മിൻ ദേശേ യ ആചാരഃ പാരമ്പര്യക്രമാഗതഃ
വർണ്ണാനാം സാന്തരാളാനാം സ സദാചാര ഉച്യതേ."

ഏതൊരു ദേശത്തിൽ ഏതൊരു ആചാരം പാരമ്പര്യക്രമേണ വളരെക്കാലമായി ബ്രാഹ്മണാദിവർണ്ണങ്ങളിൽപെട്ടവരും അന്തരാളന്മാരും അനുഷ്ഠിച്ചുവരുന്നുവോ ആ ആചാരം സദാചാരമെന്നു പറയപ്പെടുന്നു.

൩൯. ഈ വക എല്ലാ സംഗതികളും ആലോചിച്ചിട്ടുതന്നെയാണ് അവർണ്ണർ സവർണ്ണക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ വന്നു ക്ഷേത്രവും സ്തൂപികയും മാത്രം ദർശനംചെയ്തു വഴിപാടുകളും പ്രാർത്ഥനകളും നടത്തിക്കൊള്ളേണമെന്നു നിശ്ചയിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളത്. യഥാർത്ഥത്തിൽ

ഭക്തിയും ഈശ്വരവിശ്വാസവും ഇല്ലാത്ത ചുരുക്കം ചിലർമാത്രമാണു പൂർവ്വാചാരത്തെആദരിക്കാതേയും ആരാധനക്കപോകാതേയും ഇരിക്കുന്നതും പുതിയ വ്യവസ്ഥയെ ഉണ്ടാക്കിക്കിട്ടാനാഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നതുമെന്നതിനു സംശയമില്ല. അവക്കു ഫലസിദ്ധിയെപററി ബോധമില്ലായ്കയല്ല. ആ ആഗ്രഹത്തിനു കാരണം, അതു തങ്ങൾക്കു അഭിമാനക്ഷയകരമാണെന്ന വിചാരം മാത്രമാണ്. പ്രശ്നാവലിക്കു കിട്ടിയ ഉത്തരങ്ങളിൽ പലതും മേൽപറഞ്ഞകാൎയ്യം വ്യക്തമാക്കുന്നതുമുണ്ട്.

൩൮. മേൽകാണിച്ച സംഗതികളാൽ സവർണ്ണക്കുമാത്രം പ്രവേശമുള്ള ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ നടത്തിവരുന്ന പൂജയുടേയും മററുക്രിയകളുടേയും ഫലത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ച അവർണ്ണരുടെ ഇടയിലുള്ള ബോധം വ്യക്തമായിരിക്കുമെന്നു വിചാരിക്കുന്നു.

പഞ്ചമാദ്ധ്യായഃ.

൩൯. (൩-ബി) അവർണ്ണഹിന്ദുക്കൾക്കു ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശം അനുവദിച്ചുകഴിഞ്ഞാൽ പിന്നീടുണ്ടാവുന്ന ക്ഷേത്രത്തിന്റെ ഉള്ളിൽതന്നെയൊ അതിന്റെ പരിസരങ്ങളിലൊ വെച്ചു ചെയ്യുന്ന മതപരമായ പൂജയുടെയൊ ക്രിയയുടെയൊ ഫലത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു സവർണ്ണഹിന്ദുക്കളുടെ ഇടയിൽ പൊതുവെയുള്ള ഭാവം.

൪൦. ഇതിനെപ്പററി വിചാരിക്കുമ്പോൾ അവർണ്ണർ ശാസ്ത്രത്തിനും നടപടിക്കും വിരുദ്ധമായി അതൃത്തി അതിക്രമിച്ചു ക്ഷേത്രത്തിൽ പ്രവേശിച്ചാൽ ക്ഷേത്രം അശുദ്ധമാകുമെന്നും പിന്നെ പൂജാദികൾ ശുദ്ധികലശംകഴിക്കാതെ നടത്താൻപാടില്ലെന്നും ശുദ്ധികലശത്തിനു താമസംവന്നാൽ ദേവസാന്നിദ്ധ്യം നശിക്കുമെന്നും അതുകൊണ്ടു രാജ്യത്തിനും രാജാവിനും അനേകപ്രകാരം ദോഷഫലങ്ങളുണ്ടാകുമെന്നും സവർണ്ണരുടെ ഇടയിൽ പൊതുവെ വിശ്വാസമുണ്ട്.

൪൧. ക്ഷേത്രത്തിൽ പ്രതിഷ്ഠിക്കുന്ന പ്രതിമക്കു ആവാഹനം മുതലായ ക്രിയകളെക്കൊണ്ട് ഈശ്വരശക്തിയുണ്ടാകുമെന്നും അതുകൊണ്ട് മനുഷ്യക്കുള്ളതുപോലെ നല്ലതിൽ പ്രീതിയും ചീത്തയിൽ അപ്രീതിയുമുണ്ടാകുന്നുണ്ടെന്നും അതുപോലെ പുരാണങ്ങളിലും മററും പറയുന്ന അഞ്ചു സഭകളിലും ചിത്രങ്ങളിലധിഷ്ഠിതന്മാരായ ദേവന്മാൎക്കുകൂടി നാട്യാദികളിലെ രസവിശേഷാനു

ഭവം ഉണ്ടാകുന്നുണ്ടെന്നും അതുകൊണ്ടുതന്നെയാണു ദേവന്മാർ നൃത്തഗീതവാദ്യാദികളെക്കൊണ്ടു പ്രസാദിച്ചു നമുക്കു സന്താനം സമ്പത്തു മുതലായവ തരുന്നതെന്നും ബാലരാമഭാരതത്തിൽ വ്യക്തമായി പറയുന്നു. അതാവിതു—

"ഏവം ദേവതാപ്രതിമാദീനാമപി ആവാഹനപ്രതിഷ്ഠാദിഭിഃ ശക്ത്യധിഷ്ഠിതത്വാദാത്മൈകഗമ്യഭാവരസോഽസ്തി അത ഏവ പുരാണാഗമസിദ്ധാസു പഞ്ചസു സഭാസ്വപി ച്ഛത്രേഷ്വധിഷ്ഠിതശക്തിമതാം ദേവാനാമപി നടനജന്യരസവിശേഷഗ്രാഹകത്വമപി സംഭവതി, ഇദം ദേവാനാം ഫലദാനാദിനാനുമീയതേ."

൪൨. താന്ത്രികപ്രായശ്ചിത്തത്തിൽ മതില്ക്കകത്തുതന്നെ തീണ്ടലുള്ളവരുടെ പ്രവേശം നിഷേധിക്കപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുണ്ടു്. അതാവിതു—

"മനുഷ്യാണാം ച പശ്വാദേർബഹിർമണ്ഡലതോ ബഹിഃ
ജന്മമൃത്യൂ തഥാ തത്ര പുല്കസാദി പ്രവേശനം".

ഇതുകൊണ്ടു് മതില്ക്കകത്തു പ്രദക്ഷിണവഴിക്കു പുറത്തായാലും മനുഷ്യരൊ പശുക്കളൊ മററൊ മരിക്കുകയൊ ജനിക്കുകയൊ ചെയ്യുന്നതും പുല്കസന്മാർ മുതലായവർ പ്രവേശിക്കുന്നതും അശുദ്ധിനിമിത്തമാണെന്നു സിദ്ധിക്കുന്നു.

൪൩. കുഴിക്കാട്ടുപച്ചയിലും ഇതിനെ സ്പഷ്ടമായി പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ടു്. അതാവിതു—

"പ്രാകാരാന്തഃ പുഷ്പിതാസൂതികാബൗദ്ധപുല്കസാദീനാം
പ്രവേശെ അശുദ്ധിഃ. പുനർബഹിർമണ്ഡലസ്യാന്തസ്തക്ഷ-
കാദിപ്രവേശെ ദീപശാലായാ അന്തഃ രജകക്ഷുരകതന്തു-
വായാദീനാം പ്രവേശേഽപ്യശുദ്ധിഃ. പുനർമധ്യഹാരായാം
പഞ്ചപ്രാസാദേഷു ച പതിതാശൗചിപാഷണ്ഡിദാഹകാ-
ദീനാം വർണബാഹ്യജനസ്യ ച പ്രവേശെ അശുദ്ധിഃ
സ്യാൽ. പുനഃ ബാഹ്യഭിത്തേരന്തരസ്നാതസ്യ ശൂദ്രസ്യ അ-
ന്തർമണ്ഡലെ അസ്നാതസ്യ വൈശ്യസ്യ തദന്തർഭാഗെ അ-
സ്നാതസ്യ ക്ഷത്രിയസ്യ അളിന്ദെ അസ്നാതസ്യ വിപ്രസ്യ
പ്രവേശെ ചാഽശുദ്ധിഃ."

ഇതുകൊണ്ടു രജസ്വലയായ സ്ത്രീ, പ്രസവിച്ചുകിടക്കുന്ന സ്ത്രീ, ബൌദ്ധൻ മുതലായ അന്യമതക്കാർ, പുലയർ മുതലായ തീണ്ടലുകാർ ഇവർ മതില്ക്കകത്തുപ്രവേശിച്ചാൽ ക്ഷേത്രത്തിന്നു അശുദ്ധിതട്ടും.

ആൾരി മുതലായവർ പുറത്തു ബലിവട്ടത്തിനുള്ളിലും രജകൻ, ക്ഷുരകൻ, ചാലിയൻ ഇവർ വിളക്കുമാടത്തിനുള്ളിലും, പതിതന്മാർ, ആശൗചികൾ, പാഷണ്ഡികൾ, ശവദാഹകന്മാർ മുതലായവരും ചാതുർവർണ്ണ്യത്തിൽനിന്നും ബാഹ്യന്മാരായ മററാളുകളും പഞ്ചപ്രസാദങ്ങളിലും മദ്ധ്യഹാരയിലും ശൂദ്രർ കളിക്കാതെ നാലമ്പലത്തിന്നുള്ളിലും വൈശ്യർ കളിക്കാതെ അകത്തെ ബലിവട്ടത്തിന്നുള്ളിലും ക്ഷത്രിയർ മേഖംക്കല്ലിന്നുള്ളിലും ബ്രാഹ്മണർ എടനാഴിക്കുള്ളിലുംപ്രവേശിച്ചാലശുദ്ധിയുണ്ടെന്നു സിദ്ധിക്കുന്നു.

൪൪. വൈഖാനസാഗമത്തിൽ താഴെ പറയുംപ്രകാരം കാണുന്നു:—

"ഗർഭാഗാരെ ച സേവാർത്ഥം വൈഖാനസകുലോദ്ഭവാഃ
വേദാധ്യയനവിപ്രാണാമന്തർമണ്ഡപസേവിതം
യതീനാം വിഷ്ണുഭക്താനാം മഹാമണ്ഡപസേവിതം
രാജരാജകുലസ്ത്രീണാം നൃത്തമണ്ഡപസേവിതം.
വൈശ്യശൂദ്രാനുലോമാനാം ബാഹ്യമണ്ഡപസേവിതം
അന്യേഷാം വിഷ്ണുഭക്താനാം ഗോപുരം തു വിധീയതെ
പ്രതിലോമാന്ത്യജാതീനാം സ്തൂപീം ദൃഷ്ട്വാ സമാചരേത്."

അത്ര വൈഖാനസപദം തത്തദ്ദേവാരാധകാൻ വിഷ്ണുപദം തത്തദ്ദേവാംശ്ച ലക്ഷയതി. ഇതുകൊണ്ടു ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ അതാതുദേവന്മാരുടെ തന്ത്രികൾ മുതലായ ആരാധകന്മാർക്കു ഗർഭഗൃഹത്തിലും, വേദാധ്യയനമുള്ള ബ്രാഹ്മണർക്കു അർദ്ധമണ്ഡപത്തിലും, ഭക്തന്മാരായ ബ്രാഹ്മണസന്യാസികൾക്കു മഹാമണ്ഡപത്തിലും പ്രഭുകുലത്തിലുള്ള സ്ത്രീകൾക്കു നൃത്തമണ്ഡപത്തിലും വൈശ്യർ ശൂദ്രർ അനുലോമന്മാർ ഇവർക്കു ബാഹ്യമണ്ഡപത്തിലും ബാക്കിയുള്ള ഭക്തന്മാർക്കു ഗോപുരത്തിലും നിന്നു സേവിക്കാം. പ്രതിലോമന്മാർ, അന്ത്യജന്മാർ=ചണ്ഡാലാദികൾ ഇവർക്കെല്ലാം താഴികക്കുടം കണ്ടു സേവിച്ചാൽ മതി എന്നു സിദ്ധിക്കുന്നു.

൪൫. മനുസ്മൃതിയിൽ: —

"ചണ്ഡാലശ്വപചാനാം തു ബഹിർഗ്രാമാൻ പ്രതിശ്രയഃ
അപപാത്രാശ്ച കർത്തവ്യാ ധനമേഷാം ശ്വഗർദഭം."

എന്ന വചനംകൊണ്ടു ചണ്ഡാലന്മാരും ശ്വപചന്മാരും ഗ്രാമത്തിൽനിന്നു പുറത്തല്ലാതെ താമസിച്ചുകൂടാ. അവർക്കുപയോഗിപ്പാൻ ഭിന്നപാത്രങ്ങളല്ലാതെ അന്യന്മാർ ഉപയോഗിക്കുന്ന പാ

ത്തങ്ങൾ കൊട്ടപ്പാൻ പാടില്ല. ശ്വാക്കൾ ഗർദഭങ്ങൾ ഇവയാകുന്നു അവക്കുള്ള ധനമെന്നും—

"ന തൈഃ സമയമന്വിച്ഛേൽ പുരുഷോ ധർമ്മമാചരൻ"

എന്ന വചനംകൊണ്ടു വർണാശ്രമധർമ്മാനുഷ്ഠാനമുള്ളവർ ചണ്ഡാലാദികളോടുകൂടി രമിച്ചു സംവ്യവഹാരം ചെയ്യരുതെന്നും രാമായണം ബാലകാണ്ഡത്തിൽ—

"ബ്രാഹ്മണാ വാ മഹാത്മാനോ ഭുക്ത്വാ ചണ്ഡാലഭോജനം
കഥം സ്വർഗ്ഗം ഗമിഷ്യന്തി വിശ്വാമിത്രേണ പാലിതാഃ."

ത്രിശംകുവിന്റെ യാഗത്തിനു വരാൻ വിശ്വാമിത്രൻ വസിഷ്ഠപുത്രന്മാരെ ക്ഷണിച്ചപ്പോൾ അവർ പറയുന്ന ഈ വാക്യംകൊണ്ടു യോഗ്യന്മാരായ ബ്രാഹ്മണരും ചണ്ഡാലാന്നം ഭക്ഷിച്ചാൽ വിശ്വാമിത്രൻ വിചാരിച്ചാൽകൂടി അവരെ സ്വർഗ്ഗഗമനത്തിനു അർഹന്മാരാക്കിത്തീർക്കാൻ സാധിക്കുന്നതല്ലെന്നും സിദ്ധിക്കുന്നു.

൪൬. വൈഖാനസധർമ്മത്തിൽ ൧൪-ാം പ്രശ്നത്തിൽ ഇങ്ങനെ പറയുന്നു—

"ശൂദ്രാൽ ബ്രാഹ്മണ്യാം ചണ്ഡാലഃ സീസകാളായസാഭരണഃ വർദ്ധ്രാബദ്ധകണ്ഠഃ കക്ഷേ ഝല്ലരീയുക്തഃ യതസ്തതശ്ചരൻ സർവ്വകർമ്മബഹിഷ്കൃതഃ പൂർവാഹ്നേ ഗ്രാമാദൌ വീഥ്യാമന്യത്രാപി മലാദ്യപകൃഷ്യ ബഹിരപോഹതി. ഗ്രാമാദ്ബഹിർദ്ദൂരെ സ്വജാതീയൈർനിവസേൽ. മധ്യാഹ്നാൽപരം ഗ്രാമെ ന വിശത്യയം. വിശേച്ചേദ്രാജ്ഞാ വധ്യഃ, അന്യഥാ ഭ്രൂണഹത്യാമവാപ്നോതി. പുല്കസാദിപ്രായാം രജകഃ, ചണ്ഡാലാദിപ്രായാം ശ്വപചഃ, ചണ്ഡാലചിഹ്നയുക്തോ നിത്യനിന്ദ്യഃ, സർവ്വധർമ്മബഹിഷ്കാര്യഃ. നഗരാദൌ മലാപോഹകഃ ശ്മശാനെ വസൻ ഹേയപാത്രഗ്രാഹീ പ്രേതബന്ധം വിസൃജേൽ."

ശൂദ്രനിൽനിന്നു ബ്രാഹ്മണസ്ത്രീയിലുണ്ടായവനാണ് ചണ്ഡാലൻ. ഇരുമ്പു ഈയം ഇവകൊണ്ടുള്ള ആഭരണങ്ങൾ ധരിച്ചും കഴുത്തിൽ ചർമ്മംകൊണ്ടുള്ള സാധനം കെട്ടിയും കക്ഷത്തിൽ ഝല്ലരിഎന്ന കൊട്ടാനുള്ള തുടി ധരിച്ചും തെണ്ടിനടന്നും യാതൊരു വിഹിത കർമ്മങ്ങളും ചെയ്യാതെയും രാവിലെ ഗ്രാമത്തിലും മററും ചെന്നു തോട്ടിപ്രവൃത്തി നടത്തിയും ഗ്രാമത്തിൽനിന്നു പുറത്തു ചണ്ഡാല വീഥിയിൽ പാർക്കുന്നു. ഉച്ചതിരിഞ്ഞാൽപിന്നെ ഗ്രാമത്തിലേക്കു

വന്നുകൂട. വന്നുവെങ്കിൽ രാജാവു ശിക്ഷിക്കണം. അല്ലെങ്കിൽ രാജാവിന്നു ഭ്രൂണഹത്യാപാപമുണ്ടാകും. പുല്കസനിൽനിന്നു ബ്രാഹ്മണസ്ത്രീയിലുണ്ടായവൻ രജകൻ. ചണ്ഡാലനിൽനിന്നുബ്രാഹ്മണസ്ത്രീയിലുണ്ടായവൻ ശ്വപചൻ. അവരുടെ നടത്തയും ചണ്ഡാലനെപ്പോലെതന്നെ. ചണ്ഡാലനെക്കാൾ നിന്ദ്യനാണ്. ഒരു കർമ്മങ്ങളുമില്ല. നഗരത്തിൽ തോട്ടിപ്പണിക്കാരാണ്. ചുടലയിൽ പാർക്കും. വലിച്ചെറിയുന്ന കലം മുതലായവ എടുക്കും. അനാഥപ്രേതങ്ങളെ എടുത്തു മറചെയ്യും.

൪൧. സംവ്യവഹാരം എന്നതിനെ ബൃഹസ്പതി വിവരിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. അതാവിതു്—

"ഏകശയ്യാസനം പങ്ക്തിർഭാണ്ഡം പക്ത്യന്നമിശ്രതാ
യാജനാധ്യാപനെ യോനിസ്തഥാ ച സഹഭോജനം
നവധാ സംകരഃ പ്രോക്തോ ന കർത്തവ്യോഽധമൈസ്സഹ."

൧. ഒരു ശയ്യയിൽ കിടക്കുക, ൨. ഒരു ആസനത്തിന്മേലിരിക്കുക, ൩. ഒരു പന്തിയിലിരുന്നു ഭക്ഷിക്കുക, ൪. ഒരു പാത്രത്തെ ഉപയോഗിക്കുക, ൫. പന്തി വേറെ ആയാലും അന്നം മിശ്രമായിരിക്കുക, ൬. ദേവതാരാധനം മുതലായതു നടത്തിക്കുക, ൭. അധ്യയനം ചെയ്യിക്കുക, ൮. വിവാഹബന്ധം നടത്തുക, ൯. ഒരു പാത്രത്തിൽനിന്നെടുത്തു ഒരുമിച്ചുണ്ണുകഴിക്കുക ഈ ഒൻപതും സംകരമാകുന്നു. ഇതൊന്നും അധമന്മാരോടുകൂടി ചെയ്തുപോകരുതെന്നു ഇതിന്റെ സാരം.

൪൨. ഉത്തരകാരണാഗമത്തിൽ പറയുന്നതാവിതു്—

"ബ്രഹ്മഹന്താ സുരാപായീ ചണ്ഡാലമതഭേദകഃ
ഉപപാതകിനശ്ചൈവ പ്രമാദാദ്ദർശനം യദി
സഹസ്രസ്നപനം വാഽപി തദർദ്ധം വാ തദർദ്ധകം
അഷ്ടോത്തരശതം വാഽപി സ്നപനം വാഽപി പൂജനം"

ബ്രഹ്മഹത്യ ചെയ്തവൻ സുരാപാനം ചെയ്യുന്നവൻ ഇതുകൊണ്ടു മററു മഹാപാതകികളെയും ഉപലക്ഷണവിധയാ ഗ്രഹിക്കേണ്ടതാണ്. ചണ്ഡാലന്മാരിലുള്ള എല്ലാവർഗ്ഗക്കാരും (തീണ്ടലുള്ളവരെന്നസാരം) ഉപപാതകക്കാരും പ്രമാദംനിമിത്തം ബിംബത്തെ ദർശിച്ചുവെങ്കിൽ ആയിരം അല്ലെങ്കിലഞ്ഞൂറും അഥവാ ഇരുനൂററൻപതും ചുരുങ്ങിയതു ഒരു നൂററെട്ടെങ്കിലും കലശംകൊണ്ടു അഭിഷേകവും പ്രത്യേകപൂജയും നടത്തേണ്ടതാണെന്നു ഇതുകൊണ്ടു സിദ്ധിക്കുന്നു.

൪൯. തന്ത്രസമുച്ചയത്തിലിങ്ങനെ പറയുന്നു—

"ക്ഷേത്രേ മൃതിർജനനമംകണമണ്ഡപാദൗ
മൂത്രാസൃഗാദിപതനം പതിതാദിവേശഃ"

ഇതു അശുദ്ധിനിമിത്തങ്ങളെ പറയുന്ന ഘട്ടത്തിലുള്ളതാണ്. മതില്ക്കകത്തു മരണം, ജനനം, പതിതന്മാർ മുതലായവർ പ്രവേശിക്കുക, ബലിവട്ടത്തിനുള്ളിൽ മൂത്രം ചോര മുതലായവ വീഴുക ഇവ അശുദ്ധിനിമിത്തമാണെന്നു സിദ്ധിക്കുന്നു. പതിതാദി എന്ന ദിക്കിലെ ആദിശബ്ദംകൊണ്ടു കർമണാ അശുദ്ധിബാധിച്ച രജസ്വലാ, സൂതികാ, ആശൗചികാഃ ഇവരെയും ജന്മനാ അശുദ്ധിയുള്ള ചണ്ഡാലാദികളെയും ഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നു. അവരിൽ കർമ്മാശുദ്ധന്മാൎക്കു അതാതിനു വിധിച്ച ദിവസം കഴിഞ്ഞാൽ പിന്നെ അശുദ്ധിതീരും. അപ്പോൾ കടക്കാം. ജന്മാശുദ്ധി ജന്മാന്തരംകൊണ്ടു മാത്രമല്ലാതെ പോകുന്നതല്ല. ഗ്രന്ഥപ്രണേതാവിന്റെ പുത്രൻ താനുണ്ടാക്കിയ വിമർശനി എന്നു വ്യാഖ്യാനത്തിൽ "ഗോപുരാന്തഃ പതിതാദി പ്രവേശഃ" എന്നു വ്യക്തതരമായി വ്യാഖ്യാനിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. അങ്കണമണ്ഡപാദൗ എന്ന അധികരണസപ്തമ്യന്തപദം മൂത്രാസൃഗാദിപതനം എന്നിടത്തേക്കു മാത്രമെ സംബന്ധിക്കുന്നുള്ളുവെന്നാണു വ്യാഖ്യാതൃസിദ്ധാന്തം. മുമ്പെ കാണിച്ച 'മനുഷ്യാണാം ച പശ്വാദേഃ' എന്നതാന്ത്രികപ്രായശ്ചിത്തവചനത്തോടു ഐകരൂപ്യവും ഈ വ്യാഖ്യാനംകൊണ്ടു സിദ്ധിക്കും.

൫൦. അല്ലെങ്കിൽ ഈ ശ്ലോകത്തിലെ അന്വയം അങ്കണമണ്ഡപാദൗ ക്ഷേത്രെ മൃതിഃ ജനനം മൂത്രാസൃഗാദിപതനം പതിതാദിവേശഃ എന്നാണെന്നു വിചാരിക്കാം. അപ്പോൾ അങ്കണം മുതലായതും മണ്ഡപംമുതലായതുമായ ക്ഷേത്രത്തിലെന്ന് അൎത്ഥം സിദ്ധിക്കുന്നു. ക്ഷേത്രമെന്നതിനുതന്നെ മതില്ക്കകമെന്ന് അൎത്ഥമുണ്ടായിരിക്കെ ഈ വിശേഷണം വ്യൎത്ഥമല്ലേ എന്നചോദ്യത്തിന് അവകാശമുണ്ട്. മതില്ക്കകത്തു മുഴുവനും മൃത്യാദിപതിതാദിവേശാന്തമെല്ലാം ഉൽപാതനിമിത്തമാണെങ്കിലും അങ്കണാദിയിലും മണ്ഡപാദിയിലും നിമിത്തദോഷത്തിനു ഗുരുത്വമുണ്ടെന്നു ഈ വിശേഷണം സാധിപ്പിക്കുന്നു. ബലിവട്ടത്തിന്റെ പുറത്തു മൂത്രാസൃഗാദിപതനമുണ്ടായാൽ ശുദ്ധികലശം മുതലായ വലിയ പ്രായശ്ചിത്തം ചെയ്യുമാറില്ലെങ്കിലും സ്ഥലശുദ്ധിയുടെ അവയവ

ങ്ങളായ മാർജനപ്രോക്ഷണാദികൾ ചെയ്തുവരുന്ന സംപ്രദായമുണ്ട്. മൂത്രവിസർജനസ്ഥലം യാതൊരു ക്ഷേത്രത്തിലും മതില്ക്കകത്തുണ്ടാക്കിവരുമാറില്ലെന്നുള്ളതും ഈ ഘട്ടത്തിൽ പ്രത്യേകം ഓർമ്മിക്കേണ്ടതാണ്.

൭൧. "കലഹോ മരണം ജന്മരക്തശ്ലേഷ്മാശ്രുപാതനം" എന്ന വിഷ്ണുസംഹിതയിലെ ൨൭-ാംപടലത്തിലെ വചനംകൊണ്ടു രക്താദിപതനത്തിനും ജന്മമരണങ്ങൾക്കും ഒരുപോലെ ദോഷംകല്പിച്ചതും ശിവാഗമമഹോദധിയിൽ ഉത്തരഭാഗത്തിൽ—

"ഗോമയാലേപനാദ്യം ച സമാനം സർവകർമ്മസു"

എന്നു ഗോമയാലേപനാദികളെ പ്രായശ്ചിത്തകോടിയിൽവിധിച്ചതും ഈ വിഷയത്തിൽ ശ്രദ്ധിക്കേണ്ടതാകുന്നു.

൭൨. വേറെ ഒരുവിധത്തിൽ കൂടി "ക്ഷേത്രേ മൂതിർജനനം" എന്ന സമുച്ചയവചനത്തെ ചിലർ വ്യാഖ്യാനിക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. പതിതാദി എന്നടത്തെ ആദിശബ്ദംകൊണ്ട് ആശൌചികൾ, രജസ്വലമാർ, സൂതികമാർ ഇങ്ങനെയുള്ള കർമ്മജന്യദോഷയുക്തന്മാരെ മാത്രം ഗ്രഹിച്ചാൽ മതി. അവർ ജനനംമുതൽ ഈ കർമ്മദോഷം വരുന്നതുവരെ പ്രവേശിച്ചുവന്നവരാകയാൽ അവരുടെ പ്രവേശം സംഭാവ്യകോടിയിൽ ചേരുന്നതും അതുനിമിത്തം ഉൽപാതത്വേന പരിഗണിച്ചു നിഷേധിക്കേണ്ടതുമാണു. ജന്മാശുദ്ധന്മാരായ ചണ്ഡാലാദികൾ ഇതുവരെ ഒരിക്കലും പ്രവേശിച്ചിട്ടില്ലാത്തവരാകയാൽ അവരുടെ പ്രവേശം അസംഭാവ്യമാണ്. അതിനാൽ നിഷേധിക്കേണ്ടുന്നാവശ്യമില്ല. പ്രാപ്തപൂർവകമല്ലാതെ നിഷേധമില്ലെന്നുള്ളതു് ശാസ്ത്രസിദ്ധാന്തമാണ്. അത്രയുമല്ല പാതിത്യം ആശൌചം മുതലായ ദോഷങ്ങൾ ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശാനന്തരം സംഭവിക്കാവുന്നതുമാണ്. ചണ്ഡാലത്വം മുതലായ ദോഷങ്ങൾ അങ്ങിനെ സംഭവിക്കുന്നതുമല്ല. ഇതുകൊണ്ടുതന്നെയായിരിക്കണം വിവരണമെന്ന വ്യാഖ്യാനത്തിൽ സമുച്ചയപ്രണേതാവിന്റെ ശിഷ്യൻ ആദിശബ്ദം ചണ്ഡാലാദിഗ്രാഹകമെന്നു വ്യാഖ്യാനിക്കാതിരുന്നതു്. വിവരണത്തിൽ പതിതാ ബ്രഹ്മഹത്യാദിദോഷവശാൽ ഭ്രഷ്ടാ ആദിശബ്ദേന ആശൌചിനശ്ചാതുർവർണബാഹ്യാ മ്ലേച്ഛപാഷണ്ഡിനഃ ദാഹകാദയഃ വ്രാത്യാശ്ച ഗൃഹ്യന്തേ പ്രാപ്തദോഷദോഃ" എന്നു കാണുന്നതിനാൽ ആദി

ശബ്ദംകൊണ്ടു ചാതുർവ്വർണ്ണ്യബാഹ്യന്മാരായ ചണ്ഡാലാദികളെയാണു വിവക്ഷിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതെന്നു ചില പണ്ഡിതന്മാർ പറയുന്നുണ്ട്. അതു ശരിയല്ല. ചാതുർവ്വർണ്ണ്യബാഹ്യാഃ എന്നപദം വിശേഷ്യത്വേന ചണ്ഡാലാദികളെ ഗ്രഹിക്കാൻ വേണ്ടിയല്ല. അതാതു കർമ്മങ്ങളെക്കൊണ്ടു മ്ലേച്ഛന്മാരും മററുമായിത്തീൎന്ന ചാതുർവ്വർണ്ണ്യത്തിലുൾപ്പെട്ടിരുന്നവരെന്നു അൎത്ഥം കിട്ടുവാൻ മാത്രമാണ്. ചണ്ഡാലത്വാഭിപ്രായമുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ ആ പദംതന്നെ വ്യാഖ്യാതാവു പറയുമായിരുന്നു. അത്രയുമല്ല, പ്രാപ്തദോഷഭേദാഃ എന്നതു പൂൎവ്വാന്വയിയാണ്. അതശ്ച താൽകാലികകൎമ്മജന്യദോഷം നിമിത്തം ചാതുർവർണ്ണ്യത്തിൽനിന്നു പുറത്തുപോയവരെയാണു വിവക്ഷിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതെന്നു നല്ലവണ്ണം സ്പഷ്ടമാകുന്നുണ്ട്. വിമർശനീകാരൻ അസംഭാവ്യാവസ്ഥയെ ഗണിക്കാതെ "കുംഭാന്തരകന്താന്വേഷണന്യായ"ത്തെ അവലംബിച്ചു ചണ്ഡാലാദികളെ സംഗ്രഹിച്ചതു ക്ഷേത്രെ എന്നതു അവിടെക്കു അന്വയിച്ചതുമാണെന്നു കരുതാവുന്നതാകുന്നു.

൯൰. തന്ത്രസമുച്ചയത്തിൽതന്നെ—

"പ്രാസാദോൎച്ചാ ച വിശ്വേശിതുരിഹ വപുഷീ സ്ഥൂലസൂക്ഷ്മേ യതോതോ-
ത്രാധാരാധേയഭാവാദിതരതരഭവോന്യത്ര ചാദ്യേതി ദോഷഃ"

എന്നു പറഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നു. ഇതുകൊണ്ടു ക്ഷേത്രത്തിൽ പ്രാസാദം ദേവന്റെ സ്ഥൂലശരീരവും ബിംബം സൂക്ഷ്മശരീരവുമാകുന്നു. പ്രാസാദം ആധാരവും ബിംബം ആധേയവുമാകയാൽ ഇതിൽ ഒന്നിൽ ദോഷം തട്ടിയാൽ മറേറതിലും ആ ദോഷം സംക്രമിക്കും. അപ്പോൾ ഒന്നിൽ ദോഷംവന്നാൽ മറേറതിനും ശുദ്ധിചെയ്യണമെന്നാണ് ഇതിന്റെ സാരം. ഇവിടെ ഒരു വിശേഷംകൂടി ഗ്രഹിക്കേണ്ടതുണ്ട്. "ആധാരാധേയഭാവാത്" എന്ന ഹേതുപ്രദർശനംകൊണ്ടു ഈ ഹേതുനിമിത്തം മററുദിക്കിലും ഈ ന്യായം സംബന്ധിക്കുമെന്നാണ്. ക്ഷേത്രം ആധാരവും പ്രാസാദം ആധേയവുമാകയാൽ ക്ഷേത്രത്തിൽ സംഭവിക്കുന്ന ദോഷം പ്രാസാദത്തിലും സംക്രമിക്കുമെന്നാകുന്നു ആ വിശേഷം. ഇതിനെ വിവരണകാരൻ വ്യക്തമായി പറഞ്ഞിട്ടും ഉണ്ട്. ഹേതുപ്രദർശനംകൊണ്ടു വിശേഷാൎത്ഥത്തെ സൂചിപ്പിക്കുന്നതു ഗ്രന്ഥകാരന്മാരുടെ സ്വഭാവമാകുന്നു.

വാഗ്ഭടൻ—

"അല്പാംബുപാനവ്യായാമകടുതിക്താശനൈറലഘു,
ആജം ശോഷജ്വരശ്വാസരക്തപിത്താതിസാരജിൽ"

എന്ന ലഘുത്വപ്രതി പറഞ്ഞഹേതു സ്വതോ ഗുരുവായ ഗോക്ഷീരത്തിന്നും ഹേതുവിശേഷംകൊണ്ടു ലഘുത്വം വരുമെന്നു സൂചിപ്പിച്ചതിനെ വ്യാഖ്യാതാവു വെളിവാക്കീട്ടുണ്ട്.

൭൪. മതിൽക്കകത്തുമുഴുവനും ബിംബത്തിന്നും തമ്മിൽ വ്യാപ്യവ്യാപകഭാവം പ്രതിഷ്ഠാസമയം പ്രായേണ എല്ലാക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിലും കല്പിച്ചിരിക്കും. ആ കല്പനയും മതില്കകത്തിന്നും ബിംബത്തിന്നും തമ്മിൽ സംബന്ധത്തെ ഉണ്ടാക്കുന്നു. അതിനേയും വിവരണകാരൻ—

"വ്യാപ്തിരപി ച സ്ഥാപനാസമയ ഏവ കല്പിതാ"

എന്ന വചനംകൊണ്ടു വിധിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. ഈ കല്പനഇന്ന ക്ഷേത്രത്തിലിന്നവിധമെന്നു നടപ്പുകൊണ്ടു അനുമാനിക്കാനല്ലാതെ നിവൃത്തി ഇല്ല. ഈ കല്പനയുടെ ഭേദംനിമിത്തമായിരിക്കണം ചില ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ ചില ആചാരഭേദങ്ങൾകാണുന്നത്. താഴികക്കുടം കണ്ടു തൊഴുതാൽ ഫലസിദ്ധിയുണ്ടാവുന്നതിന്നും ഈ കല്പനതന്നെ കാരണമാണ്.

൭൫. ഇവിടെ പ്രാസാദമെന്നതിനെപ്പററി താന്ത്രികപ്രായശ്ചിത്തത്തിൽ—

"പ്രാസാദഞ്ച തഥാ പൂജാമണ്ഡപം ബലിമണ്ഡപം,
പൃഥക്സ്ഥിതാന്നശാലാം ച നൃത്തശാലാം ച ശർഭിണി.
വദന്തി പഞ്ചപ്രാസാദാൻ ഗുരുത്വേഷാം ഹി സർവതഃ"

എന്നുപറഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നു. ൧. ശ്രീകോവിൽ, ൨. പൂജാമണ്ഡപം ൩. ബലിമണ്ഡപം, ൪. ചിററമ്പലങ്ങളിൽ പെടാതെ നിൽക്കുന്ന തിടപ്പള്ളി, ൫. അണിയറയുള്ള കൂത്തമ്പലം ഈ അഞ്ചും പ്രാസാദങ്ങളാണ്. ഇവകൾക്ക് അധികം ഗുരുത്വമുണ്ടെന്നു സിദ്ധിക്കുന്നു. ഈ വചനത്തിൽ പ്രാസാദം എന്ന ശബ്ദം വിശേഷവാചിയും പ്രാസാദാൻ എന്ന ശബ്ദം സാമാന്യവാചിയുമാകുന്നു. അത്രേദമപിവക്തവ്യം "പ്രാസാദോച്ച ച"ഇതി സമുച്ചയവചനെ അന്യതരപദപൎയ്യായത്വേന ഇതരതരപദപ്രയോഗസ്യ സാധുത്വം ചിന്തനീയം, അന്യതരാന്യതമശബ്ദാവവ്യുല്പന്നൌ സ്വഭാവാൽ ദ്വിബഹുവിഷയെ നിർദ്ധാരണെ വർ

തേതേ. ഇതി ദീക്ഷിതോക്തഃ അന്യതര ശബ്ദയോഃ പര്യായതേപി ന സുസാധമവ്യുൽപന്നാന്യതരശബ്ദപര്യായത്വമിതരശബ്ദസ്യാധതരപ്രത്യായാന്തത്വം തഥാതേപി പ്രകൃതാൎത്ഥബോധകത്വം ച ഉസ്സാദെ ഏവേത്യലം.

൭൬. വ്യാഘ്രപാദൻ ഇങ്ങനെ പറയുന്നു.

ചണ്ഡാലം പതിതം ചൈവ ദൂരതഃ പരിവൎജ്ജയേത്,,

ചണ്ഡാലനേയും പതിതനേയും ദൂരത്തിൽ വൎജ്ജിക്കണമെന്നു സാരം. ഇവിടെ ചണ്ഡാലനാരാണ് പതിതനാരാണ് എന്നു വിചാരിക്കേണ്ടുന്ന ആവശ്യം വന്നിരിക്കുന്നു. അതിൽ മനുസ്മൃതിയിലെ—

"വിഹിതസ്യാനനുഷ്ഠാനാന്നിന്ദിതസ്യ ച സേവനാത്
അനിഗ്രഹാച്ചേന്ദ്രിയാണാം നരഃ പതനമൃച്ഛതി",,

എന്ന വചനത്താൽ വിഹിതകൎമ്മങ്ങളെ യഥാകാലവും യഥാവിധിയും അനുഷ്ഠിക്കാതിരിക്കയും നിഷിദ്ധങ്ങളെ ആചരിക്കയും ചക്ഷുരാദീന്ദ്രിയങ്ങൾക്കു വശ്യനായി വ്യവസ്ഥ കൂടാതെ പലതും പ്രവൎത്തിക്കയും ചെയ്താൽ പാതിത്യം വരുമെന്നു സിദ്ധിക്കുന്നു. അവൎക്ക അതാതു ദോഷത്തിനു യഥാവിധി പ്രായശ്ചിത്തം കഴിച്ചാൽ ശുദ്ധിവരും. മരണാന്തികപ്രായശ്ചിത്തം വരുന്ന പാപങ്ങളാണെങ്കിൽ മരണംവരെ ശുദ്ധിവരില്ല. അതുകൊണ്ടാണ് വ്യാഘ്രപാദൻ 'ചണ്ഡാലംപതിതം ച' എന്നൊന്നുപോലെ പറഞ്ഞതു്. ഈവക പതിതന്മാരിൽ നിന്നു ജനിക്കുന്നവരും പതിതന്മാരാകുന്നുവെന്നു—

'പതിതാൽപന്നഃ പതിതോ ഭവതി'

എന്നവചനംകൊണ്ടു വസിഷ്ഠൻ സിദ്ധാന്തിക്കുന്നു.

൭൭. ചണ്ഡാലന്മാരെപ്പററി യമൻ പറയുന്നതാവിതു—

"അശുദ്ധാപതിതാജ്ജാതോ ബ്രാഹ്മണ്യാംശൂദ്രജശ്ച യഃ
ചണ്ഡാലാ ത്രിവിധാ പ്രോക്താ സഗോത്രാദ്യശ്ച ജായതേ",

ഇതുകൊണ്ടു ശൂദ്രനിൽനിന്നു ബ്രാഹ്മണസ്ത്രീയിൽ ജനിക്കുന്നവൻ മാത്രമല്ല സഗോത്രവിവാഹത്തിൽ ജനിക്കുന്നവനും അശുദ്ധപതിതനിൽനിന്നു എന്നാൽ അധികകാലം ധൎമ്മാനുഷ്ഠാനം നടത്തിക്കൊണ്ടിരുന്നു പിന്നെ പതിതനായവനിൽനിന്നു ജനിക്കുന്നവനും ഇങ്ങിനെ മൂന്നുവിധം ചണ്ഡാലന്മാരുണ്ടെന്നു വരുന്നു.

൪൯. "ചണ്ഡാലഃ ശ്വപചഃ ക്ഷത്താ സൂതോ വൈദേ-
ഹകസ്തഥാ
മാഗധായോഗവൌ ചൈവ സപ്തൈതേന്ത്യാവസായിനഃ"

ഈ മധ്യമാംഗിരോവചനംകൊണ്ടു ൧. ചണ്ഡാലൻ, ൨. ശ്വപചൻ, ൩. ക്ഷത്താവു, ൪. സൂതൻ, ൫. വൈദേഹകൻ, ൬. മാഗധൻ ൭. ആയോഗവൻ ഇവരെല്ലാം അന്ത്യാവസായികളാണെന്നു സിദ്ധിക്കുന്നു. ഇതിൽ സൂതൻമുതലായ ചിലരുടെ അന്ത്യാവസായിത്വം മതാന്തരത്തിൽ പറഞ്ഞു കാണുന്നില്ല. ചണ്ഡാലശ്വപചാദികളുടെ അന്ത്യവസായിത്വം സർവസമ്മതമാകുന്നു.

൫൦. അന്ത്യജന്മാരെ ആപസ്തംബൻ—

"രജകശ്ചർമ്മകാരശ്ച നടോ ബുരുട ഏവ ച
കൈവർത്തമേദഭില്ലാശ്ച സപ്തൈതേ ചാന്ത്യജാ സ്മൃതാഃ"

൧. രജകൻ=മണ്ണാൻ, ൨. ചർമ്മകാരൻ=തോൽകൊല്ലൻ, ൩. നടൻ, ൪. ബുരുടൻ, ൫. കൈവർത്തൻ=മുക്കോൻ, ൬. മേദൻ, ൭. ഭില്ലൻ ഇങ്ങനെ ഏഴായി പരിഗണനം ചെയ്തിരിക്കുന്നു.

൫൧. ഇവ എല്ലാംകൂടി സൂക്ഷ്മമായി ആലോചിക്കുമ്പോൾ ചണ്ഡാലശബ്ദം യമവചനപ്രകാരമുള്ള മൂവരിൽ വിശേഷവാചിയായും തീണ്ടലുള്ളവരിൽ എല്ലാം സാമാന്യവാചിയായും ഇരിക്കുന്നുവെന്നു വിചാരിക്കാം. "അഗ്നിർമ്മാണവക" എന്നവാക്യത്തിൽ മാണവകനിൽ അഗ്നിസാദൃശ്യംനിമിത്തം അഗ്നിത്വം ആരോപിച്ചു ലക്ഷണയാ അഭേദം കല്പിക്കുന്നതുപോലെ ചണ്ഡാലന്മാരായ മൂന്നുവർഗ്ഗക്കാരൊഴിച്ചു മററുള്ള തീണ്ടൽജാതിക്കാരിലും വിപ്രകൃഷ്ടത്വം രൂപസാദൃശ്യംനിമിത്തം ചണ്ഡാലത്വം

ആരോപിച്ചു ലക്ഷണയാ ചണ്ഡാലാഭേദം കല്പിച്ചു വ്യവഹരിക്ക ന്നതും ഉപപന്നം തന്നെയാകുന്നു. വസിഷ്ഠൻ ൧൩-ാമദ്ധ്യായം ൧൧-ാം സൂത്രം:—

പ്രേതചണ്ഡാലാധ്യുഷിതെ ഗ്രാമെ പട്ടണെ വാ ന വെദോഽധ്യേതവ്യഃ" എന്നതുകൊണ്ടു ശവം കിടക്കുന്ന ഗ്രാമത്തിലൊ ചണ്ഡാലന്മാർ പാക്കുന്ന ഗ്രാമത്തിലൊ അങ്ങനെയുള്ള പട്ടണത്തിലൊ വച്ചു വേദാധ്യയനം ചെയ്യരുതെന്നു പറയുന്നു. ഒരുബ്രാഹ്മണഗ്രാമത്തിൽതന്നെ ഒരാൾ മരിച്ചാൽ ആ ശവസംസ്കാരം കഴിയുന്നതുവരെ ആ ഗ്രാമത്തിൽവച്ചു വേദാധ്യയനം ചെയ്യമാറില്ല. ൨൩-ാം അധ്യായം ൩൪-ാം സൂത്രംകൊണ്ടു:—

"വേദാധ്യയനകാലെ ചണ്ഡാലപതിതശബ്ദശ്രവണേ ദിനത്രയമുപോഷ്യം"

വേദാധ്യയനം ചെയ്യുന്നസമയം ചണ്ഡാലന്മാരുടെയൊ പതിതന്മാരുടെയൊ ശബ്ദംകേട്ടാൽ ൩ ദിവസം ഉപവസിക്കണമെന്നു പറയുന്നു.

൩൨. ആപസ്തംബസൂത്രത്തിൽ—

"ചണ്ഡാലോപസ്പർശനെ സംഭാഷായാം ദർശനെ ച ദോഷഃ"

ചണ്ഡാലന്മാരെ കാണുകയൊ സ്പർശിക്കുകയൊ അവരോടു സംഭാഷണംചെയ്കയൊ ദോഷമാകുന്നുവെന്നു പറഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നു. പരാശരൻ തന്റെ സ്മൃതിയിൽ:—

"ശ്വപാകം വാപി ചണ്ഡാലം വിപ്രഃ സംഭാഷതെ യദി
ദ്വിജസംഭാഷണം കുര്യാത്സാവിത്രീം തു സകൃജ്ജപേൽ"

ശ്വപാകനോടൊ ചണ്ഡാലനോടൊ ബ്രാഹ്മണൻ സംഭാഷണം ചെയ്യുന്നതായാൽ പ്രായശ്ചിത്തമായി ഗായത്രി ജപിക്കയും ബ്രാഹ്മണരോടു സംഭാഷണംചെയ്കയും വേണമെന്നു പറയുന്നു. ചണ്ഡാലനായി ജനിപ്പാനുള്ള കാരണത്തെ യാജ്ഞവല്ക്യൻ—

"പരദ്രവ്യാണ്യഭിധ്യായൻ തഥാനിഷ്ടാനി ചിന്തയൻ,
വിതഥാഭിനിവേശീ ച ജായതേന്ത്യാസു യോനിഷു"

പരദ്രവ്യങ്ങളെ അപഹരിക്കുന്നവൻ മാത്രമല്ല അപഹരിപ്പാനാലോചിക്കുന്നവനും അന്യന്മാൎക്ക അനിഷ്ടങ്ങളെ ഉണ്ടാക്കിത്തീൎക്കുന്നവൻ മാത്രമല്ല അതിന്നു ശ്രമിക്കുന്നവനും അസത്യമായ വസ്തുവിങ്കൽ അഭിനിവേശമുള്ളവനും=ഈശ്വരനില്ലെന്നും മററുമുള്ള അഭിപ്രായക്കാരനും അന്ത്യയോനികളിൽ=ചണ്ഡാലാദിയോനികളിൽ വന്നു ജനിക്കുന്നുവെന്നു പറയുന്നു.

ന്ദു ഛാന്ദോഗ്യോപനിഷദി പഞ്ചമാധ്യായെ ദശമഖണ്ഡെ
ത്യ ഇഹ രമണീയചരണാ അഭ്യാശോ വിയത്തെ രമണീയാം
യോനിമാപദ്യേരൻ ബ്രഹ്മയോനിം വാ ക്ഷത്രിയയോനിം വാ
വൈശ്യയോനിം വാ അഥ യ ഇഹ കപൂയചരണാ അഭ്യാശോ
വിയത്തെ കപൂയാം യോനിമാപദ്യേരൻ ശ്വയോനിം വാ
സൂകരയോനിം വാ ചണ്ഡാലയോനിം വാ''

നല്ല ആചാരത്തിലായിരുന്നാൽ ഉൽകൃഷ്ടമായജാതിയിലും ദുരാചാരത്തിലായിരുന്നാൽ നികൃഷ്ടജാതിയിലും വന്നുജനിക്കുമെന്നു പറയുന്നു. അഭ്യശോവിയൻ=ക്ഷിപ്രമേവ വിഷ്ണുസംഹിതാപഞ്ചവിംശപടലത്തിൽ—

''ശൂദ്രചോരവ്രാത്യപാഷണ്ഡിമേവലാദിപ്രവേശനം''

എന്നും, ഈശാനശിവഗുരുദേവപദ്ധതി ത്രിഷഷ്ടിതമപടലത്തിൽ

''ലിംഗെ പാഷണ്ഡിചണ്ഡാലശൂദ്രാദിസ്പൃഷ്ടേഭി ചാരകൈഃ
പ്രാസാദെ പ്രാംഗണെ വാപി മൃതെ വാ രുധിരോക്ഷിതെ
പ്രവിഷ്ടെ ച പ്രസൂതെ ച പ്രായശ്ചിത്തം നിഗദ്യതെ''

എന്നും, പ്രദ്യോതപ്രയോഗമഞ്ജരീവ്യാഖ്യാനെ കവിംശപടലത്തിൽ—

''ചണ്ഡാലപതിതോദക്യസൂതികോന്മത്തകാദിഭിഃ
ചോരൈരശുചിഭിർവ്യാളൈഃ പാഷണ്ഡൈർദേവലൈസ്തഥാ
പ്രവിഷ്ടെ''

എന്നും, ജ്ഞാനോദയഷഷ്ഠപടലെ—

''ചണ്ഡാലപതിതോദക്യദുർജ്ജനസ്പർശനാദിഷു
സ്ഥാനശുദ്ധിശ്ച കർത്തവ്യാ ബിംബശുദ്ധിശ്ച ശാന്തയെ''

എന്നും, രത്നാവലിയിൽ

''ചണ്ഡാലകുത്സിതസ്പർശനാദിഷു സ്നപനം കർത്തവ്യം

എന്നും, ചിന്താമണി നവമപടലത്തിൽ—

''ചണ്ഡാലസൂതികോദക്യാ പതിതവ്രാത്യദേവലൈഃ
ചോരപാഷണ്ഡിഭിസ്പൃഷ്ടെ കാകാദിഭിസ്തഥാ,
ബിംബശുദ്ധിശ്ച കർത്തവ്യാ ക്ഷാളനപ്ലാവനാദിഭിഃ

എന്നും, ചണ്ഡാലാദികളുടെ പ്രവേശംസ്പർശനംമുതലായതു ദോഷമാണെന്നും അതിന്നു പ്രായശ്ചിത്തം ചെയ്യണമെന്നും മററും വ്യക്തമായി പറഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നു.

൩൪. താന്ത്രികപ്രായശ്ചിത്തിൽ പ്രഥമപരിച്ഛേദത്തിൽ—

"ദ്വാരാന്തർമ്മണ്ഡലേ ച പ്രാസാദേഷു ച വേശനേ,
പാതക്യാശൗചിപാഷണ്ഡിവപ്തൄണാം, രാജകസ്യ ച,
മ്ലേച്ഛാനാം തന്തുവായാദിവർണബാഹ്യജനസ്യ ച,
പുഷ്പിതാസൂതികാകാരുചണ്ഡാലാനാം ക്രമാദ് ഗുരു:

എന്നു പറഞ്ഞതിനാൽ ചണ്ഡാലാദികൾ ദ്വാരകളിലും അന്തർമ്മണ്ഡലത്തിലും പഞ്ചപ്രാസാദങ്ങളിലും മാത്രം പ്രവേശിക്കരുതെന്നാണല്ലോ കിട്ടുന്നതു്. മതിലകത്തു പ്രവേശനംകൊണ്ടു അശുദ്ധി ഇല്ലെന്നു വിചാരിക്കരുതെ എന്നാക്ഷേപമുണ്ടെങ്കിലും സൂക്ഷ്മാലോചനത്തിങ്കൽ ദ്വാരാദികളിൽ പ്രവേശിക്കുന്നതു വർഗ്ഗഭേദേന അധികം ഗുരുത്വമുള്ളതാണെന്നുമാത്രമെ ഈ വചനത്തിനു താല്പര്യമുള്ളുവെന്നു ആ ഗ്രന്ഥത്തിൽ ഇതിനുമുമ്പുള്ളതും മുൻ വിവരിച്ചതുമായ "മനുഷ്യാണാം ച പശ്വാദെ" ഇത്യാദി വചനംകൊണ്ടു തീർച്ചപ്പെടുന്നുണ്ടു്. ഇതുതന്നെ "വർണഭേദാൽ ഗുരൂണി ഹി" "ക്രമാദ് ഗുരുതരാണി ഹി" "ജ്ഞേയാനി തത്ര ഗുരുലാഘവഭേദവന്തി" ഇത്യാദി പ്രമാണവചനസമൂഹങ്ങൾകൊണ്ടു വെളിവാക്കപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുണ്ടു്.

൩൭. അശുദ്ധ്യാദികൾ സംഭവിച്ചാൽ ചെയ്യേണ്ട

വിഷ്ണുസംഹിതയിൽ—

"ചിതാനാഗ്നിനിഭം വിദ്യാദ് ബിംബമുൽപാതദൂഷിതം,
അകൃതായാം തു നിഷ്കൃത്യാം വിനശ്യേദ്ദേവസന്നിധി:,
തൽസ്ഥാ: പ്രേതാ ഭയം കുര്യുർവ്യാധിശോകാദിഭിർന്നൃണാം."

എന്നു പറഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നു. ബിംബം യജ്ഞാഗ്നിപോലെയാകുന്നു. അതിനാലഗ്നിക്കു വിധിച്ച അശുദ്ധിഹേതുക്കൾ ബിംബത്തിനും സംബന്ധിക്കുമെന്നു സിദ്ധിക്കുന്നു. ബിംബത്തിനു അശുദ്ധിമുതലായ ഉല്പാതങ്ങൾ ബാധിച്ചാൽ ശുദ്ധികലശംമുതലായ പ്രായശ്ചിത്തങ്ങൾ ചെയ്യണമെന്നും അതുകൾ നടത്തുന്നതുവരെ പൂജയും മറ്റും നടത്തിക്കൂടെന്നും പ്രായശ്ചിത്തത്തിനു കാലതാമസം നേരിട്ടാൽ ദേവസാന്നിധ്യം നശിക്കുമെന്നും എന്നാൽ ആ ബിംബത്തിന്മേലുള്ള പഞ്ചപ്രേതാദികൾ ദേശത്തിനും ഉടമസ്ഥനും വ്യാധിദു:ഖാദ്യുപദ്രവങ്ങളെ ഉണ്ടാക്കുമെന്നുമാണിതിന്റെ താല്പര്യം. പ്രായശ്ചിത്തം കഴിക്കുന്നതുവരെ പൂജാദികൾ ചെയ്യരുതെന്നു വ്യക്തമായി വിഷ്ണുസംഹിതയിൽ വേറെയും പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ടു്. അതാവിതു—

"ഉൽപാതേഷു ച ജാതേഷു ന കുൎയ്യാത് പൂജനാ ഛരെഃ
അസ്പൃശ്യാ പ്രതിമാപീഠപ്രാസാദാ സാംഗദേവതാഃ
അകൃതായാം തു നിഷ്കൃത്യാം സ്പൃഷ്ടാ കുപ്യന്തി ദേവതാഃ
പൂജിതാ വാ തതൊ യതാന്നിഷ്കൃതിം കാരയേദ്ദ്രുതം
വിളംബനെ തു നിഷകൃത്യാ വിനഃശ്യദ്ദേവസന്നിധിഃ.

ഇതുകൊണ്ടു ഉൽപാതങ്ങളുണ്ടായാൽ പൂജിക്കരുതെന്നുമാത്രമല്ല ബിംബം, പീഠം, പ്രാസാദം, അംഗദേവതകൾ ഇതൊന്നും തൊട്ടുകൂടാ. തൊട്ടാലും പൂജിച്ചാലും ദേവകോപമുണ്ടാകും. അതിനാലുടനെ പ്രായശ്ചിത്തം നിർബന്ധമായി നടത്തണം. അല്ലെങ്കിൽ ദേവസാന്നിധ്യം നശിക്കുമെന്നു ഇതിനാൽ വ്യക്തമാകുന്നു.

൯൬. എന്നാൽ പ്രായശ്ചിത്തം ചെയ്താൽ ദോഷം തീരുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു് പ്രവേശിക്കുന്നതിനാലുള്ള ദോഷം തീക്കാമെന്നുവെച്ചു പ്രവേശം അനുവദിക്കപ്പെടാവുന്നതല്ല. പ്രായശ്ചിത്തം അറിയാതെ സംഭവിക്കുന്ന ദോഷത്തിന്നു മാത്രമാണ് മനഃപൂൎവ്വംവരുത്തുന്ന ദോഷത്തിന്നു പ്രായശ്ചിത്തവിധി ഇല്ല. ഛാഗലേയസ്മൃതിയിൽ—

"പ്രായശ്ചിത്തമകാമാനാം കാമാവാപ്ത്യൈ ന വിദ്യതെ."
ഇങ്ങനെ ഇതിനെ സ്പഷ്ടമായി പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുമുണ്ട്. ഇപ്പോഴും മലയാളത്തിൽ ചില ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ ചില വിശേഷദിവസങ്ങളിൽ തീണ്ടലുള്ളവരും പ്രവേശിക്കയും അതുനിമിത്തം അവർ പിരിഞ്ഞുപോയാൽ പിറെറദിവസം ശുദ്ധികൎമ്മം നടത്തുകയും കണ്ടുവരുന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിലും അതു അവൎക്കു പ്രവേശിപ്പാനനുവാദം കൊടുത്തിട്ടല്ല. അധികം ജനങ്ങൾ കൂടുന്നസമയം ചില അവർണരും പ്രവേശിക്കയും അങ്ങനെ പ്രവേശിച്ചിരിക്കുമെന്ന വിചാരത്താൽ പിറെറദിവസം പ്രായശ്ചിത്തമായി ശുദ്ധികൎമ്മം നടത്തുകയും മാത്രമാണ് ഇതിന്റെറ തത്വം. അല്ലാതെ അവർണ്ണൎക്കു പ്രവേശാനുവാദം കൊടുക്കുമാറില്ല. ഇക്കാൎയ്യം ഗുരുവായൂർ ക്ഷേത്രപരിസരങ്ങളിലുള്ള റോഡുകളിൽ (ക്ഷേത്രാന്തർഭാഗത്തിലല്ല) അവർണർ പ്രവേശിക്കുന്നതിനെപ്പററി നടന്ന കേസിൽ പാലക്കാട്ടു ഡിവിഷൻ മജിസ്ത്രേട്ടിന്റെറ തീൎപ്പിന്മേലുണ്ടായ റിവിഷൻ കാൎയ്യത്തിൽ മദിരാശി ഹൈക്കോർട്ടുതീർപ്പിൽ വ്യക്തമായി പ്രതിപാദിച്ചിട്ടും ആ തീർപ്പു "സനാതനഹിന്ദു"വെന്ന പേരിൽ ഗുരുവായൂർനിന്നു പുറപ്പെടുന്ന വൎത്തമാനക്കടലാസിൽ മലയാള

ത്തിൽ തൎജ്ജമചെയ്തു പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തീട്ടുമുണ്ട്. ഉൽപാതങ്ങ ളുണ്ടായാൽ കാലതാമസംവരുത്താതെ ഉടനെതന്നെ പ്രായശ്ചി ത്തം നടത്തണമെന്നുള്ള ശാസ്ത്രവിധിയും ഈ ഖണ്ഡത്തിൽ ഓൎക്കേ ണ്ടതാകുന്നു.

൯൬. "ദേവാലയസമീപസ്ഥാൻ ദേവസേവാൎത്ഥമാഗതാൻ
ചണ്ഡാലാൻ പതിതാൻ വാപി സ്പൃഷ്ട്വാ ന സ്നാന-
[മാചരേൽ."

ഈ ദേവലസ്മൃതികൊണ്ടു ചണ്ഡാലന്മാരൊ പതിതന്മാരൊ ദേവ സേവക്കായി വന്നു ക്ഷേത്രസമീപത്തിൽ നില്ക്കുന്നസമയം അ വരെ തൊട്ടുപോയാലും കുളിക്കണമെന്നില്ലെന്നു വിധിക്കുന്നു. അ തിനാലവൎക്കു ദേവസേവയ്ക്കുവേണ്ടി ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശം വിരുദ്ധമ ല്ലെന്നു വന്നില്ലെ എന്നാലോചിക്കുമ്പോൾ നേരെ വിപരീതം. അവൎക്കു ദേവനെ സേവിക്കാൻ ക്ഷേത്രത്തിൽ പ്രവേശിച്ചുകൂട. ക്ഷേത്രസമീപത്തിൽ അവൎക്കു നിശ്ചയിക്കപ്പെട്ട സ്ഥലത്തുവന്നു സേവിപ്പാനെ പാടുള്ളു എന്നു ഇതിനാൽ സ്പഷ്ടമാകുന്നു അല്ലെ ങ്കിൽ സമീപപദത്തിന്നു വൈയൎത്ഥ്യം സംഭവിക്കുമല്ലൊ.

"ദേവയാത്രാവിവാഹേഷു യജ്ഞപ്രകരണേഷു ച
ഉത്സവേഷു ച സൎവ്വേഷു സ്പൃഷ്ടാസ്പൃഷ്ടിൎന്ന വിദ്യതേ."

ഈ അത്രിസ്മൃതികൊണ്ടു ദേവനെ എഴുന്നെള്ളിക്കുക, വിവാഹക ൎമ്മമൊ യാഗക്രിയകളൊ നടത്തുക, ഏതെങ്കിലും ഒരുവിധമുള്ള ഉത്സവം നടത്തുക, ഈ വകകളിൽ തൊട്ടുകൂടാത്തവനെ അല്പം തൊട്ടുപോയാലും ദോഷമില്ലെന്നു പ്രതിപാദിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. ഈ വചനം അസ്പൃശ്യന്മാരെ സംബന്ധിക്കുന്നതല്ലാതെ വിപ്രകൃഷ്ട ന്മാരെ സംബന്ധിക്കുന്നതല്ല. അവരെക്കൂടി സംബന്ധിക്കുന്നതെ ന്നായാലും ക്ഷേത്രാന്തൎഭാഗത്തിലേക്കു പ്രവേശം ഇതുകൊണ്ടു അ നുവദിക്കപ്പെടുന്നില്ല. ദേവനെ എഴുന്നെള്ളിക്കുക വീഥികളിലും നടപ്പുള്ളതാണല്ലൊ.

൯൭. ഉൽപാതഖണ്ഡത്തിൽ പുല്ക്കസാദിപ്രവേശം എ ന്നതിൽ പുല്ക്കസരേയും അവരെക്കാൾ നികൃഷ്ടന്മാരെയും മാത്രമ ല്ലാതെ ഉൽകൃഷ്ടന്മാരായ ഈഴവർ മുതലായവരെ ഗ്രഹിപ്പാൻ പാടില്ലെന്ന ഒരാക്ഷേപത്തിന്നും വഴിയുണ്ട്. വസ്തുതസ്തു ഇവി ടെ ആദിശബ്ദം പ്രകാരവാചിയാകുന്നു. വ്യവസ്ഥാവാചിയല്ല പ്രകാരമെന്നാൽ സാദൃശ്യമാണ്. പ്രകൃതത്തിൽ തീണ്ടലുള്ളവർ

എന്നു ഗ്രഹിക്കേണ്ടതാണു്. തീണ്ടലുള്ളവർ ഇന്നവരാണെന്നു പ്രകരണാന്തരത്തിൽ കാണിക്കും. എന്നാൽ ആ വർഗ്ഗത്തിൽ ഉൽകൃഷ്ടന്മാരെ കാണിക്കാതെ പുല്കസന്മാരെ ഗ്രഹിച്ചതെന്തിനാണെന്നാണെങ്കിൽ അവരുടെ പ്രവേശത്തിനു ദോഷാധിക്യമുണ്ടെന്നു കാണിപ്പാനാകുന്നു. വ്യവസ്ഥാവാചിയും പ്രകാരവാചിയുമായ ആദിശബ്ദങ്ങൾക്കു ഏകശേഷം വരുത്തിയതാണു് ഈ ആദിശബ്ദമെന്നു സിദ്ധാന്തമാണു്. തീണ്ടലുള്ള എല്ലാവരുടേയും പ്രവേശം ദോഷമുള്ളതാണെന്നും അതിൽ പുല്കസന്മാരുടെയും അവരെക്കാൾ നികൃഷ്ടന്മാരുടേയും പ്രവേശം അധികദോഷമാകുന്നു എന്നുമാണു് പിണ്ഡിതാർത്ഥം. ഇവിടെ—

"ഭൂവാദയോ ധാതവഃ ആദിശബ്ദയോർവ്യവസ്ഥാപ്രകാര-
വാചിനോരേകശേഷഃ ഭൂപ്രഭൃതയോ വാ സദൃശാ ഇത്യർത്ഥഃ
സാദൃശ്യം ചാത്ര ക്രിയാ വാചിത്വേന ഏവം ചക്രിയാ-
വാചിനോ ഭ്വാദയോ ധാതുസംജ്ഞാ സ്യുരിത്യർത്ഥഃ സിദ്ധ്യതി."

എന്ന വ്യാകരണശാസ്ത്രവചനംകൂടി അനുസന്ധേയമാണു്.

൯൯. ഈവക സംഗതികളാൽ അവർണ്ണഹിന്ദുക്കൾക്കു സവർണ്ണക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ പ്രവേശം അനുവദിച്ചാലവിടെ ദേവസാന്നിധ്യം നശിക്കുമെന്നും പിന്നീടു പൂജാദികൾ നടത്താൻ പാടില്ലെന്നും നടത്തിയാൽ ഫലം ദോഷമായിത്തീരുമെന്നും മാത്രമല്ല ആ ക്ഷേത്രത്തെ ആദ്യം സവർണ്ണരും പിന്നെ അവർണരും ക്രമേണ ഉപേക്ഷിക്കുമെന്നും ആലോചനാശക്തിയും ദൈവവിശ്വാസവുമുള്ള എല്ലാ സവർണർക്കും പൊതുവെ പൂർണ്ണമായ അഭിപ്രായം ഉണ്ടെന്നു കാണുന്നു.

ഷഷ്ഠാദ്ധ്യായഃ.

൧൦൦. (൪) ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശം അനുവദിച്ചു സമുദായസംബന്ധമായും മതസംബന്ധമായും സമത്വം സൃഷ്ടിക്കുന്നതിനെപ്പറ്റി സവർണഹിന്ദുക്കളുടേയും അവർണ്ണഹിന്ദുക്കളുടേയും ഇടയിലുള്ള വല്ലഭാവത്തിന്റേയും വ്യാപ്തിയും അങ്ങിനെയുള്ള ഒരു കാര്യപരിപാടിയും ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശസംരംഭവും വിഭാജ്യമായ ഭാഗമൊ അവിഭാജ്യമായ ഭാഗമൊ എന്നു്.

൧൦൧. ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശം അനുവദിച്ചാലും സവർണ്ണരും അവർണ്ണരും തമ്മിൽ സമുദായസംബന്ധമായോ മതസംബന്ധമായോ സമത്വമുണ്ടാകുന്നതല്ല അതുണ്ടാകുമെന്നു് ആലോചനാശക്തിയുള്ള സവർണ്ണരും അവർണ്ണരും വിചാരിക്കുന്നുമില്ല. സമുദായസം

ബന്ധമായ സമത്വം കൃഷി, കച്ചവടം, കൈത്തൊഴിൽ മുതലായ കാൎയ്യങ്ങളിൽ ഇപ്പോഴും പ്രായേണ ഉണ്ട്. ആവക കാൎയ്യങ്ങളിൽ സവൎണ്ണരും അവൎണ്ണരും അന്യോന്യം ധാരാളം സഹകരിച്ചുവരുന്നതുമുണ്ട്. മതസംബന്ധമായ സമത്വം, മിശ്രഭോജനം, മിശ്രവിവാഹം, വിവാഹാദിക്രിയകളിൽ അന്യോന്യം ഉപയോഗപ്പെടുക മുതലായതാണ്. ആയതു ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശംകൊണ്ടു സിദ്ധിക്കുന്നതല്ല. അനേകകാലമായി ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശം നടന്നുവരുന്ന സവൎണ്ണരുടെയിടയിൽ ഓരോവൎഗ്ഗക്കാരും തമ്മിൽ ഇതേവരെ ആ സമത്വം ഉണ്ടായിക്കാണുന്നില്ല. അതിനാൽ അവൎണ്ണൎക്കു ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശം കൊടുത്താൽ സവൎണ്ണരും അവൎണ്ണരും തമ്മിൽ സമത്വമുണ്ടാകുമെന്നു വിചാരിച്ചുകൂടാ.

൧൨. അത്രയുമല്ല, അവൎണ്ണൎക്കു ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശം അനുവദിച്ചാൽ സവൎണ്ണൎക്കു മതസംബന്ധമായ ക്രിയകളിൽ തടസ്ഥങ്ങളും ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടുകളും നേരിടും. അപ്പോൾ അവർതമ്മിൽ വിരോധവും സംഭവിക്കും. അതുനിമിത്തം ഇപ്പോഴുള്ള സമുദായഗതമായ സമത്വവും പരസ്പരസഹായവുംകൂടി നശിച്ചുവെന്നും വരാം. അതു രാജ്യത്തിൽ അനൎത്ഥങ്ങൾക്കും വിപ്ലവത്തിനും സാമ്പത്തികമായ കുഴപ്പത്തിനുംകൂടി കാരണമാകും. ഗാഢാലോചനയിൽ ഇക്കാൎയ്യം അനായാസേന ഗ്രഹിക്കാവുന്നതാണ്. സവൎണ്ണരും അവൎണ്ണരും തമ്മിലെന്നല്ല ആ രണ്ടുകൂട്ടരിലുമുള്ള അവാന്തരവൎഗ്ഗക്കാർ തമ്മിൽതന്നെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസാദികാൎയ്യങ്ങളിൽ സമത്വം കാണുന്നില്ല. സവൎണ്ണരിൽതന്നെ മലയാളബ്രാഹ്മണരിൽ ൩൫-ം പരദേശബ്രാഹ്മണരിൽ ൩൦-ം നായന്മാരിൽ ൪൪-ം അമ്പലവാസികളിൽ ൩൩-ം ക്ഷത്രിയരിൽ ൧൩-ം ശതമാനും ആളുകളാണ് ൧൦൩൧ ലെ കാനേഷുമാരിപ്രകാരം ഈ സ്റ്റേറ്റിൽ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസമുള്ളവരായി കാണപ്പെടുന്നതു്. ഈ കണക്ക് ആറിലധികം വയസ്സുള്ളവരെ സംബന്ധിച്ചുള്ളതും ദശാംശം വിട്ടിട്ടുള്ളതുമാകുന്നു.

൧൩. അവൎണ്ണരിൽ ഈഴവരിലും കമ്മാളരിലും ൨൧-ം നാടാന്മാരിൽ ൧൭-ം പുലയരിൽ ൪-ം തണ്ടാന്മാരിൽ ൧൦-ം വേലന്മാരിൽ ൨൪-ം വാലന്മാരിൽ ൧൪-ം കുറവരിൽ ൧-ം പള്ളരിൽ ൨-ം വേടന്മാരിൽ ൧-ം ശതമാനം മാത്രമാണ് മുൻപറഞ്ഞതുപോലെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസമുള്ളവർ. ഇതുപോലെതന്നെ

കച്ചവടം, ധനസ്ഥിതി, ഉത്സാഹശക്തി, ആലോചനാശക്തി, അദ്ധ്വാനശീലം മുതലായ വിഷയങ്ങളിലും, അവാന്തരവൎഗ്ഗക്കാൎക്കുതന്നെ അസമത്വം സ്പഷ്ടമാകുന്നു. ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശം അസമത്വത്തെ ഇല്ലായ്മചെയ്വാൻ ഉപകരിക്കുന്നതുമല്ല. അതിനാൽ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം മുതലായ കാൎയ്യങ്ങളിൽ താണനിലയിലുള്ളവൎക്കു ഉൽകൎഷം സിദ്ധിപ്പാൻ നല്ലമാൎഗ്ഗം കണ്ടുപിടിച്ചു നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തുകയാണു വേണ്ടതു്. ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശം അനുവദിക്കുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു സമത്വം സിദ്ധിക്കുന്നതല്ല. പ്രത്യുത, അന്യോന്യമത്സരംകൊണ്ടു അനൎത്ഥങ്ങൾ സംഭവിക്കുകയുംചെയ്യും. ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശമെന്ന വിഷയത്തിൽ സമത്വമുണ്ടാകുമല്ലൊ എന്നാണെങ്കിൽ ആയതു നിസ്സാരവും അനേകദോഷകാരണവുമാകുന്നു.

൧൪. ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനസംരംഭവും സമത്വം ഉണ്ടാക്കുവാനുള്ള കാൎയ്യപരിപാടിയും തമ്മിൽ യാതൊരു സംബന്ധവുമില്ല. രണ്ടും മുമ്പെതന്നെ വിഭക്തങ്ങളാണു്. അതുകളെ ഇനി ഭാഗിക്കയൊ ഭാഗിക്കാതിരിക്കുകയൊ ചെയ്യേണ്ടതില്ല. അതുകൾ തമ്മിൽ കൂട്ടിച്ചേൎക്കുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു് യാതൊരു ഗുണവും ഉണ്ടാകുവാനില്ല. കൂട്ടിച്ചേൎപ്പാൻ സാധിക്കുന്നതുമല്ല.

സപ്തമാദ്ധ്യായഃ.

൧൫. (൧) ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശം അനുവദിക്കുന്നതായാൽ താൽക്കാലികമായും സ്ഥിരമായും സംഭവിക്കുന്ന ഫലങ്ങൾ. നിശ്ചിതമായ അതൃത്തിയെ അതിക്രമിച്ചു അവൎണ്ണർ അകത്തുകടക്കുന്നതു അധികം സവൎണ്ണർ സഹിക്കുന്നതല്ല. ഈശ്വരവിശ്വാസവും ഭക്തിയുമുള്ള സവൎണ്ണർ ഇപ്പോഴും വളരെയുണ്ടു്. ഓരോ ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ ദൎശനത്തിനു നിത്യതയായും വിശേഷദിവസങ്ങളിലും കൂടുന്ന ബഹുജനയോഗം ഇതിനു സാക്ഷിയാണു്. ആവക ഭക്തന്മാർ സ്വന്തദേഹത്തേക്കാൾ ക്ഷേത്രമൎയ്യാദയെ രക്ഷിപ്പാൻ അധികം ഉൽകണ്ഠയുള്ളവരായിക്കും. അവൎണ്ണർ തങ്ങൾക്കു അനുവദിച്ചുകിട്ടിയ അവകാശത്തെ ഉപേക്ഷിപ്പാൻ മനസ്സുള്ളവരായിരിക്കയില്ല. അപ്പോൾ ഇരുകൂട്ടരും തമ്മിൽ വലിയ വിരോധത്തിനും അതുനിമിത്തം ലഹളക്കും ഇടയാകും. അപ്പോൾ ഗവണ്മെൻറിനു ശാന്തിനെ അമൎത്താൻ സ്വീയശക്തിയെ ഉപയോഗിക്കേണ്ടിവരും. അങ്ങിനെ ശക്തിയെ ഉപയോഗിച്ചു ശാസ്ത്രത്തിനും സദാചാരത്തിനും വിരുദ്ധവും അധാൎമ്മികവും ദോഷബഹുലവും അധികജനവിസമ്മതവും സജ്ജനഗൎഹ്യവുമായ

കാൎയ്യത്തെ നടത്തിക്കുന്നതു ഗവൎമ്മെൻറിന്നു—വിശേഷിച്ച് ശ്രീപത്മനാഭദാസനായ പൊന്നുതമ്പുരാൻതിരുമനസ്സിലെ ഗവൎമ്മെൻറിന്നു—ഭൂഷണമായി വരുന്നതല്ല.

൧൬. അത്രയുമല്ല, അവരുടെ പ്രവേശം ഉൽപാതനിമിത്തമാവും. ദേവസാന്നിദ്ധ്യം അതിനാൽ നശിക്കും. ക്ഷേത്രം അശുദ്ധമാകും. അപ്പോൾ പൂജമുതലായവ നടത്താൻ പാടില്ലാതെയാകും. ക്ഷേത്രപ്രതിഷ്ഠയുടെ ഉദ്ദേശം സമസ്തലോകസൌഖ്യവും ക്ഷേമാഭിവൃദ്ധിയും വിശിഷ്യ പ്രതിഷ്ഠാപകന്റെ ശ്രേയഃപ്രാപ്തിയുമാണെല്ലൊ. അതുകളുണ്ടാകയില്ലെന്നു മാത്രമല്ല രാജ്യത്തിലനേകപ്രകാരത്തിലനൎത്ഥങ്ങളും പ്രജകൾക്കു അന്യോന്യകലഹവും ദുഃഖവും വിശിഷ്യ ക്ഷേത്രാധികാരികൾക്കു ദാരിദ്ര്യം, മഹാവ്യാധി, സന്താനനാശം, കലഹം മുതലായ അനൎത്ഥങ്ങളും രാജാവിന്നുതന്നെ അസ്വാസ്ഥ്യവും സംഭവിക്കാനിടയാകും. യോഗ്യതയുള്ള പൂജകനേയും തന്ത്രിയേയും കിട്ടുന്നതല്ലെന്നു പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുമുണ്ടല്ലൊ.

൧൭. ഇപ്പോൾ ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ ദൎശനവും ആരാധനവും നടത്തുന്ന സവൎണ്ണർ ക്ഷേത്രമശുദ്ധമായി എന്നുവിചാരിച്ചു അതിന്നു പോവുകയില്ല. പ്രവേശം കൊടുക്കണമെന്നുപറയുന്ന സവൎണ്ണർ മുമ്പേതന്നെ ക്ഷേത്രത്തിൽ ശ്രദ്ധാഭക്തിപുരസ്സരം പോകുന്നവരല്ല. അവർ കുറച്ചുദിവസം ഒരുസമയം പോയേയ്ക്കാം. സ്ഥിരമായി പോവുകയില്ല. ഇപ്പോൾ വെളിയിൽ ആരാധിക്കുന്ന അവൎണ്ണരും കുറച്ചുദിവസം പോയി എന്നുവരാം. സാന്നിദ്ധ്യം ക്ഷയിക്കുകനിമിത്തം ഈശ്വരഭജനത്തിന്നു ക്ഷേത്രത്തെ ആരും ഉപയോഗപ്പെടുത്താതെയാകും. . .അപ്പോൾ ക്ഷേത്രമെന്ന നിലയിൽ യാതൊരാവശ്യവുമില്ലാതെയാകും അപ്പോൾ ആ സ്ഥലം അനാഥശാലയായൊ കച്ചവടസ്ഥലമായൊ പാഠശാലയായൊ മറെറാ ഉപയോഗിക്കത്തക്കതായി കലാശിക്കും. ക്രമേണ ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളും വിഗ്രഹാരാധനയും ലോകത്തിൽനിന്നു പുനരാവൃത്തിരഹിതമായി മറഞ്ഞുപോകയുംചെയ്യും.

൧൮. മൊഴിതന്നവരിൽ ഒരാൾ തന്റെ ക്ഷേത്രത്തിലവൎണ്ണർ ബലാൽക്കാരേണ പ്രവേശിച്ചു. അവരെ പുറത്താക്കി ശുദ്ധികലശംകഴിച്ച് നഷ്ടം സിവിൾവ്യവഹാരംകൊണ്ടു വസൂലാക്കി ഇപ്പോഴും ആ ക്ഷേത്രം മുമ്പെത്തെപോലെ ജനങ്ങളുടെ

ആദരത്തിന്നു പാത്രമാകുന്നില്ല എന്നു പറഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നു. പ്രായശ്ചിത്തമായ കലശത്തിന്നു താമസംവന്നുപോയതുനിമിത്തം സാന്നിധ്യത്തിന്നു കുറവുവന്നതാകുന്നു. ജനങ്ങളുടെ അനാദരത്തിന്നു നിമിത്തമെന്നും നവീകരണക്രിയകൊണ്ടല്ലാതെ ആ ദോഷം തീരുന്നതല്ലെന്നും ഈ ഘട്ടത്തിൽ വിചാരിക്കാവുന്നതാകുന്നു.

൭൯. ശ്രീകാശീ, ഗോകർണ്ണം, ഈ മഹാക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ ജാതിഭേദംകൂടാതെ എല്ലാം ഹിന്ദുക്കളും ബിംബം തൊടുന്നതും അഭിഷേകാദികൾ നടത്തുന്നതുംകൊണ്ടു സാന്നിധ്യക്ഷയം വരുന്നില്ലല്ലൊ എന്നു ചോദിക്കുന്നതായാൽ അവിടെ ആ നടപടി അനാദികാലം മുതൽക്കുതന്നെ ഉള്ളതാകയാൽ സദാചാരപ്രാമാണ്യംകൊണ്ടു അതിന്നു ദോഷമില്ലെന്നു സമാധാനിക്കാം. അത്രയുമല്ല ഈശ്വരന്നു സഗുണനെന്നും നിർഗ്ഗുണനെന്നും രണ്ടു ഭേദമുണ്ട്. അവിടെ നിർഗ്ഗുണപ്രതിഷ്ഠയായിരിക്കും. നിർഗ്ഗുണാവസ്ഥയിൽ ജാത്യാദിഭേദമില്ല. നിർഗ്ഗുണാവസ്ഥയിൽ രൂപമില്ലെങ്കിലും അവിടെ ആരാധകന്മാരുടെ മനസ്സിന്നു ഏകതാനത്വം സിദ്ധിക്കേണ്ടതിന്നു ഒരു രൂപം കല്പിക്കപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കയാണ്. അവിടെയുള്ള ബിംബം കരചരണാദ്യവയവവിശിഷ്ടവുമല്ല. അവിടെ സാമാന്യരൂപത്തെ മഹാബലേശ്വരനെന്നും വിശ്വനാഥനെന്നും പേരു കല്പിച്ചതും അതുകൊണ്ടുതന്നെയായിരിക്കാം. അവിടെ വേദം മുതലായതുകൊണ്ടു സാമാന്യരൂപേണ ആരാധനമാണു പ്രായേണ നടത്തിവരുന്നതും. ശൈവ-വൈഷ്ണ-വാദിഭേദേനയുള്ള പലരും അവിടെ ഭജിക്കുന്നുമുണ്ട്. അവിടങ്ങളിൽ ശൈവരൂപേണയാണ് അധികജനങ്ങളുപാസിക്കുന്നത്. അതുകൊണ്ട് സഗുണോപാസനതന്നെയല്ലെ എന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ സർവ്വകാരണഭൂതവും സച്ചിദാനന്ദരൂപവുമായ മൂലപ്രകൃതി സദാശിവനാണെന്നു അധികജനങ്ങൾ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നതുകൊണ്ട് അങ്ങിനെ ഒരു വിശേഷ കല്പന ഗതാനുഗതികന്യായേന ഉണ്ടായതാണെന്നു മാത്രമെ വിചാരിപ്പാനുള്ളൂ. വിഷ്ണുഭക്തന്മാരിലഗ്രഗണ്യനായ മേല്പത്തൂർ നാരായണഭട്ടതിരിതന്നെ നാരായണീയസ്തോത്രത്തിലിങ്ങിനെ പറയുന്നു.—

"മൂർത്തിത്രയേശ്വരസദാശിവപഞ്ചകം യൽ
പ്രാഹുഃ പരാത്മവപുരേവ സദാശിവോസ്മിൻ"

൧. ബ്രഹ്മാവ്, ൨. വിഷ്ണു, ൩. രുദ്രൻ, ൪. ഈശ്വരൻ ൫. സദാശിവൻ ഇങ്ങിനെ അഞ്ചു പരതത്വങ്ങളെ പറഞ്ഞുവരു

ന്നതിൽ സദാശിവനെന്ന പരതത്വംതന്നെയാണ ബാക്കി നാലു കളുടേയും രൂപമെന്ന സാരം.

വ്യ ഠ. അതുകൊണ്ടു സഗുണോപാസനം നടത്തിവരുന്ന മററു ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ ശാസ്ത്രവിധിയേയും സദാചാരത്തേയും രാജകീയനിയമങ്ങളെയും ലംഘിച്ചു അവർണക്കു ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശം അനുവദിക്കുന്നതായാൽ താൽകാലികമായും സ്ഥിരമായും സംഭവിക്കുന്ന ഫലങ്ങൾ അതിദോഷഹേതുക്കളായി തിരാതിരിക്കുന്നതല്ലെന്നു തീച്ചയാണ്.

അഷ്ടമോധ്യായഃ.

വ്യ ഫ. (ന്ത) ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനകാൎയ്യത്തെയൊ അതിൻെറ വല്ല ഭാഗത്തെയൊ സംബന്ധിച്ച് പൂൎവ്വാചാരനിഷ്ഠരായ ഹിന്ദുക്കളും ഇതരഹിന്ദുക്കളും തമ്മിൽ ഒരു സന്ധിയുണ്ടാവുന്നതു സംഭാവ്യമാണൊ? അതു സംഭാവ്യമാണെങ്കിൽ സന്ധിപ്പിക്കാനുള്ള ഉത്തമമാൎഗ്ഗങ്ങൾ എന്തെല്ലാം?

വ്യ വ. ഇതിനെപ്പററി വായ്മൊഴിതന്നവരിൽ പലരോടും ചോദിച്ചിട്ടും വേറെ പലവിധം ആലോചിച്ചിട്ടും ഉണ്ട്. ഒരു വൎഗ്ഗക്കാർ പൂൎവ്വാചാരങ്ങളെ അണുമാത്രം വിടാതെ രക്ഷിക്കണമെന്നു ദൃഢപ്രതിജ്ഞചെയ്യുന്നു. മററെ വൎഗ്ഗക്കാർ പൂൎവ്വാചാരവും പ്രമാണങ്ങളും എന്തുതന്നെയായാലുംവേണ്ടതില്ല, മേലിൽ ജാതികൃതമായ അസമത്വം അണുപോലും വെച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കാൻപാടില്ലെന്നു ശഠിക്കുന്നു. ഈ സ്ഥിതിക്കു ഈ രണ്ടുകൂട്ടരും തമ്മിൽ സന്ധിഉണ്ടാവുക എന്നതു് അസംഭാവ്യമാണെന്നുതന്നെയാണ തോന്നുന്നതു്. എന്നാൽ ഇക്കാൎയ്യത്തിൽ ഗവണ്മെൻറു് തടസ്ഥദൃഷ്ട്യാ ന്യായാന്യായങ്ങളെ ആലോചിച്ചു ഇരുകൂട്ടക്കും സമ്മതിപ്പാൻ ന്യായമുള്ളതായ ഒരു തീർപ്പു ചെയ്യേണ്ടതാകുന്നു. ആ തീർപ്പിന്മേൽ ഏതെങ്കിലും കൂട്ടർ വിസമ്മതം ഭാവിക്കുകയാണെങ്കിലതിനെ വകവെക്കേണ്ടതില്ല. സ്ഥിരതയോടും ധീരതയോടുംകൂടി ആ തീർപ്പിന്നനുസരിച്ചു പ്രവൎത്തിക്കേണ്ടതെ ഉള്ളൂ. അങ്ങിനെ സന്ധിപ്പാനുള്ള മാൎഗ്ഗങ്ങൾ താഴെ കാണിക്കുന്നു. അവയിൽ ഏതാണുത്തമമെന്നു ചിന്തിക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുന്നു. ദേവാരാധനം എല്ലാവക്കും ആവശ്യമാണ്. എല്ലാവക്കും അതിനു ന്യായാനുസൃതമായും ധർമ്മവിരുദ്ധമല്ലാതെയും വഴി വെച്ചുകൊടുക്കണം. അതുപ്രകാരം ആലോചിക്കുമ്പോൾ അഞ്ചുമാൎഗ്ഗങ്ങളാണു കാണുന്നതു്.

൧. അവർണക്ക് ഇപ്പോഠം ആചാരപ്രകാരമുള്ള അതൃത്തിയിൽ നിന്ന കുറേക്കൂടി മുന്നോട്ട പ്രവേശം കൊടുക്കുക.

൨. അവർണക്കും സവർണക്കും ക്ലിപ്തസമയം നിശ്ചയിച്ചു സോപാനം വരെ പ്രവേശം കൊടുക്കുക.

൩. ഗവർണ്മെണ്ടുവകയായ ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ ചിലതു സവർണ്ണക്കെന്നപോലെ അവർണക്കുകൂടി പ്രവേശത്തിന്ന സമ്മതിച്ചുകൊടുക്കുക.

൪. ചില ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങഠം അവർണക്കുമാത്രമായും ചിലതു സവർണക്കുമാത്രമായും നീക്കിവെയ്ക്കുക.

൫. അവർണക്കു ആരാധിപ്പാൻ ഇപ്പോഠം അവരുടെ വകയായുള്ള ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങഠംക്കുപുറമേ വേണ്ടിടത്തോളം ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളുണ്ടാക്കുവാൻ സാഹായ്യം ചെയ്തുകൊടുക്കുക.

൬. ഇതിൽ ഏതാണ ന്യായമെന്നാലോചിച്ചുനോക്കാം. അതിൽ ൧-ാംമത്തെമാൎഗ്ഗം അവർണക്കു തൃപ്തിപ്രദമാവില്ല. ഓരോരുത്തക്കും ഓരോ അതിരുകഠം ഒരുകാലത്തു നിശ്ചയിച്ചതു അപ്പോഴത്തെ കാലസ്ഥിതിയും ജനങ്ങളുടെ മനോഭാവവും ധർമ്മശാസ്ത്രതത്വവും ആലോചിച്ചായിരിക്കും. ആ അതിരുകളെ കാലഭേദംകൊണ്ട് അല്പാല്പം അതിക്രമിച്ചുകാണുണ്ട്. ആയതു ധർമ്മവിരുദ്ധമല്ലെന്ന കാണുന്നപക്ഷം അക്കാൎയ്യത്തിൽ ഗവണ്മെൻറ് ഒന്നും കടന്ന പ്രവൎത്തിക്കേണ്ടതുണ്ടെന്ന തോന്നുന്നില്ല. അന്യന്മാക്കുപദ്രവകരമായും ധർമ്മവിരുദ്ധമായും അതിരു മാററം ചെയ്യാൻ നിശ്ചയംചെയ്യുന്നതു ഗവർണ്മെൻറിന്ന് ഉചിതവുമല്ല. ജാതികൃതമായ അസമത്വം അണുമാത്രം സഹിക്കാത്ത അവർണക്ക് അതു തൃപ്തികരമാവുന്നതുമല്ല. സവർണർക്കു ആ മാററം വലിയ മനോവേദനയെ ഉണ്ടാക്കയും ചെയ്യും. ധർമ്മശാസ്ത്രത്തിന്ന വിരുദ്ധമായും തീരും. അതിനാൽ ഒന്നാമത്തെ മാൎഗ്ഗം ന്യായമല്ലെന്ന തെളിയുന്നു.

൭. ൨-ാമത്തേതും ശാസ്ത്രവിരുദ്ധമാകുന്നു. അവർണരുടെ പ്രവേശംകൊണ്ടു ക്ഷേത്രം അശുദ്ധമാകും. എന്നാൽ ശുദ്ധികലശം മുതലായവ നടത്തണം. അതുവരെ പൂജ മുതലായവ നടത്തിക്കൂടാ. അതിന്ന താമസിച്ചാൽ ദേവസാന്നിദ്ധ്യം നശിക്കും. അതുയുമല്ല പ്രായശ്ചിത്തം വിധിക്കുന്നതു മനഃപൂൎവ്വമല്ലാതെ വന്നുചേരുന്നതൊ, ആപദ്ധർമ്മമായൊ അനന്യസാദ്ധ്യമായ കാൎയ്യ

ത്തിന്നുവേണ്ടിയോ ചെയ്യുന്നതോ ആയ ദോഷത്തിന്നുമാത്രമാണ്. അല്ലാതെ മനഃപൂർവ്വം ദോഷം വരുത്താൻ പ്രായശ്ചിത്തം അനുവദിക്കുന്നില്ല. അതിനാൽ ഇതു ധർമ്മവിരുദ്ധമാണെന്നുവെച്ചു സവർണ്ണർ അനുവദിക്കില്ല. സമയവ്യവസ്ഥയും പ്രായശ്ചിത്തവും ജാതികൃതമായ അസമത്വത്തെ സ്ഥിരീകരിക്കുമെന്നതിനാലവർണ്ണരും തൃപ്തിപ്പെടുന്നതല്ല. തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലും വേറെയും ചില ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ ചിലദിവസം അവർണ്ണർ പ്രവേശിക്കയും പിറ്റെന്നു ശുദ്ധികർമ്മം നടത്തുകയും ചെയ്യുന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിലും അതു അവർണ്ണർക്കു പ്രവേശാനുവാദം കൊടുത്തിട്ടല്ല. ആ ദിവസം അധികം ജനങ്ങൾ വരുന്ന കൂട്ടത്തിൽ ചില അവർണ്ണരും ഉണ്ടായിരിക്കുമെന്നു കരുതി ശുദ്ധികർമ്മം നടത്തുന്നതാണ്. അതിനാൽ ഈ മാർഗ്ഗവും സ്വീകാര്യമാവുന്നില്ല.

൯൫. ചില ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങൾ അവർണ്ണർക്കുകൂടി പ്രവേശിപ്പാൻ സമ്മതിച്ചുകൊടുക്കുക എന്ന ൩-ാമത്തെ മാർഗ്ഗവും ഉചിതമാവില്ല. അങ്ങിനെ ചെയ്താൽ ആ ക്ഷേത്രം അശുദ്ധമാകും. അപ്പോൾ ധാർമ്മികന്മാരായ സവർണ്ണർ അതിനെ ബഹിഷ്കരിക്കും. അവർണ്ണരിൽ ചിലർ പോകുമായിരിക്കാം. തന്ത്രിമാർ, പൂജക്കാർ മുതലായവരെ വേണ്ടതുപോലെ കിട്ടുന്നതുമല്ല. ചിലതു മാത്രം അങ്ങിനെ നീക്കിവെക്കുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു ജാതികൃതമായ അസമത്വം വ്യക്തമാകുമെന്നുവെച്ചു അവർണ്ണരും ഇതിൽ തൃപ്തിപ്പെടുന്നതല്ല. അതിനാൽ ആവക ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങൾ ഉപയോഗശൂന്യമായിത്തീരും. എല്ലാമാലോചിക്കുമ്പോൾ ഈ മാർഗ്ഗവും സ്വീകരിക്കത്തക്കതല്ല.

൯൬. ൪-ാമതായി കാണിച്ച മാർഗ്ഗവും ഇതുപോലെ തന്നെയാകുന്നു. സവർണ്ണർക്കു നീക്കിവെയ്ക്കേണ്ടതേതു്, അവർണ്ണർക്കൊഴിഞ്ഞുകൊടുക്കേണ്ടതേതു് എന്നു തീർച്ചയാക്കാൻ വളരെ പ്രയാസമാണ്. അങ്ങിനെ ചെയ്യുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു് അസമത്വനിവൃത്തിവരുന്നില്ലെന്നുവെച്ചു് അവർണ്ണർ ഇതിനെ ഇഷ്ടപ്പെടില്ല. ധാർമ്മികരായ സവർണ്ണർക്കു ഒരുവിധവും തൃപ്തിയുണ്ടാവില്ല. ഇതന്നു കൊടുത്ത ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു ധർമ്മശാസ്ത്രവിരോധവും വരും. ആ ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങൾ അവസാനം ഉപയോഗശൂന്യമായിത്തീരുകയും ചെയ്യും.

൭൧. അഞ്ചാമത്തെമാർഗ്ഗം ആർക്കും അതൃപ്തിക്കു ന്യായമായി കാരണമാകുന്നതല്ല. അവർണർക്കു ക്ഷേത്രമുണ്ടാക്കുവാൻ സഹായിക്കുന്നതുകൊണ്ടു് ഇപ്പോഴുള്ള സവർണക്ഷേത്രങ്ങൾക്കൊ അവർണക്ഷേത്രങ്ങൾക്കൊ യാതൊരു ദോഷവും സംഭവിപ്പാനില്ലല്ലൊ. ഈ ദേവാരാധനം സൗകര്യമായി നടത്താനിച്ഛിക്കുന്ന അവർണർക്കു തൃപ്തികരമാകാതിരിപ്പാൻ ന്യായമില്ല. ദേവനെ ആരാധിപ്പാൻ എല്ലാവർക്കും അധികാരമുണ്ടു്. ഇന്നവർ ഇന്ന ദേവനെ ഇന്ന ദ്രവ്യംകൊണ്ടു ഇന്നവിധം ആരാധിക്കണമെന്നു പ്രത്യേകവിധിയുമുണ്ടു്; അതുപ്രകാരം ആരാധിക്കുന്നതായാൽ അതിന്റെ പരിപൂർണ്ണഫലം കിട്ടാതിരിക്കുന്നതുമല്ല. ഇപ്പോഴും പണ്ടുതന്നെയും അവർണരിൽപ്പെട്ട ഓരോവർഗ്ഗക്കാർക്കു പ്രത്യേകം ഓരോ ദേവതാവിശേഷത്തെ ആരാധിപ്പാൻ ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളുണ്ടു്. അവർ അവിടെ ആരാധിച്ചുവരുന്നതുമുണ്ടു്. അതുപോലെ ആരാധിപ്പാൻ ജനസംഖ്യ വർദ്ധിക്കുന്നതുനിമിത്തം പുതുതായ ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളുണ്ടാക്കേണ്ടതും അതിലേക്കു ഗവൺമെന്റും ശക്തിയുള്ള പ്രഭുക്കന്മാരും യഥോചിതവും യഥാകാലവും യഥാശക്തിയും സകലവിധസഹായങ്ങളും ചെയ്യേണ്ടതുമാണ്. ഗവർൺമെന്റു് അതിനു തക്കതായ ഒരു സംഖ്യ ബഡ്ജറ്റിൽ നീക്കിവെച്ചു യഥാകാലം ആ സംഖ്യയെ വിനിയോഗിക്കണം.

൭൨. ഈഴവർ മുതലായ അവർണരുടെ കോട്ടക്കകത്തുള്ള പ്രവേശവും അങ്ങാടിയിലുംമററുമുള്ള സഞ്ചാരവും മുമ്പേ നാട്ടുനടപ്പിനു വിരോധമായിരുന്നു. ഇതു് ഇംഗ്ലീഷുവർഷം ൩൦൦-ാമതിൽ സ്ഥാണുരവി എന്ന ഒരു രാജാവു നാലു കുടി ഈഴവർക്കും ഏഴു പ്രത്യേക ഈഴവർക്കും ഒരുകുടി വണ്ണാനും അങ്ങാടിയിലും കോട്ടമതിലിനകത്തും വണ്ടികൊണ്ടുവന്നു വ്യാപരിക്കാമെന്നും അവരെ ആരും തടയരുതെന്നുംമററും കാണിച്ചു എഴുതിക്കൊടുത്ത ശാസനംകൊണ്ടു കാണുന്നുണ്ടു്.

൭൩. ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ അവനവനു വിധിച്ചപ്രകാരവും സ്ഥലനിയമപ്രകാരവും ആരാധിക്കുന്നതു് അന്യന്മാർക്കു വിധിച്ച പ്രകാരവും അവരുടെ സ്ഥലത്തുവെച്ചും ആരാധിക്കുന്നതിനെക്കാൾ അധികം ഫലപ്രദമാകുന്നു. അതു സർവ്വശാസ്ത്രസിദ്ധമാകുന്നു. ഈ സ്ഥിതിക്കു ശാസ്ത്രത്തിനും അനാദിയായി നടന്നുവരുന്ന സദാചാരത്തിനും വിരുദ്ധമായ ഒരു സന്ധിയെ ആലോചി

പ്പാനൊരുപ്രകാരത്തിലും അവകാശമില്ലെന്നു പൂർണ്ണമായി തെളിയിന്നുണ്ട്. അത്രയുമല്ല ഈ ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനവാദം പുരാതനമായി നടപ്പുള്ള വിപ്രകൃഷ്യത്വം, അസ്പൃശ്യത്വം, (തീണ്ടൽ തൊടിൽ) ഇവയോട് ഏറക്കുറെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു കിടക്കുന്നതാണ്. ആവക എന്നല്ല മതസംബന്ധമായുള്ള എല്ലാ കാര്യങ്ങളിലും വിധായകത്വം, സർവ്വസമ്മതമായി വഹിക്കുന്നത് ന്നു വൈദികന്മാർ, ഉവാദ്ധ്യാന്മാരുംപ്പെട്ട യോഗക്കാർ, പ്രധാനപ്പെട്ട തന്ത്രിമാർ, തിരുവിതാംകൂർ, കൊച്ചി, മലബാർ ഇതുകളിലെ ന. രാജാക്കന്മാർ ഇവരാണ്. അതിൽ ഈ ന. രാജാക്കന്മാരുടെ അനുമതിയോടുകൂടി അതിൽ ഒരാളുടെ രാജധാനിയിൽ ശാസ്ത്രസമ്മതമായ ഒരു പരിഷത്തു മേൽകാണിച്ചവരും മഠാധിപതികളും തന്ത്രാക്കളുംമററും കൂടി ചേൻ ഇരുഭാഗക്കാരുടേയും വാദങ്ങളെ അവരാൽ തിരഞ്ഞെടുത്തു നിശ്ചയിക്കപ്പെടുന്ന ചുരുക്കം ആളുകളിൽനിന്നു ഗ്രഹിച്ചും ഈ കമ്മററിയുടെ കടലാസ്സുകൾ നോക്കിയും തീർച്ചയാക്കുന്നത് അധികം നന്നായിരിക്കുമെന്നു പറയാതിരിപ്പാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ല.

൯൦. ഈ ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനവാദത്തിൽ ൧-ാമതായി കാണിച്ച ഈ മാറ്റം സന്ധിയുടെകൂട്ടത്തിൽ ചേരുന്നതല്ല. വേറെക്ഷേത്രമുണ്ടാക്കുകയെന്നതു വേറേ ഒരു പ്രസ്ഥാനമാണെന്ന് ഒരാക്ഷേപത്തിന്ന് അവകാശമുണ്ട്. എന്നാൽ അവർണ്ണക്കിപ്പോൾ ബിംബം കാണത്തക്കവിധം പ്രവേശിച്ചു ആരാധിപ്പാൻ സൗകര്യപ്പെടുന്ന ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങൾ കുറച്ചുമാത്രമെ ഉള്ളവെന്ന കാരണത്താലാണ് ഈ പ്രക്ഷോഭണമെന്നു വിചാരിക്കാവുന്നസ്ഥിതിക്ക് അതിന്നുള്ള മാറ്റം ഇങ്ങിനെയായാൽ അവർ വിചാരിച്ചപോലെയല്ലെങ്കിലും മറെറാരുവിധം സാധിക്കുന്നതിനാൽ ഇതിനെ സന്ധിയായിത്തന്നെ വിചാരിക്കാം. ഒരുകൂട്ടർ വിചാരിക്കുന്നതുപോലെതന്നെ ഇഷ്ടം സാധിക്കുന്നതല്ല സന്ധി. പ്രകാരാന്തരേണ സാധിക്കുന്നതാണ് സന്ധി. സർവ്വഥാ ഇതു സന്ധിയല്ലെന്നു വാദിക്കുന്നുവെങ്കിൽ 'ആസ്താം ഇഷ്ടാപത്തിഃ' എന്ന അല്പചേതസമാധാനന്യായേന ഞാനും സമ്മതിക്കാം. എന്നാൽ സർവ്വസമ്മതമായ ഒരു സന്ധിക്കു മാറ്റം കാണായ്കയാൽ അവർണ്ണക്കു ദേവാരാധനത്തിന്ന് ഇപ്പോഴത്തെക്കാൾ അധികം സൗകര്യത്തിന്ന് ഒരു മാറ്റത്തെ സൂചിപ്പിച്ചുവെന്നു വിചാരിച്ചാൽമാത്രം മതി.

൯൧. വസ്തുതസ്സ അവൎണ്ണൎക്കിപ്പോൾതന്നെ സവൎണ്ണക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ ആരാധനത്തിന്ന ശാസ്ത്രസമ്മതമായ അതൃത്തിയും സൗകൎയ്യവും ഉണ്ട്. അഭിമാനംകൊണ്ടോ മററുവല്ല കാരണത്താലൊ അവർ അതുവിട്ട് അന്യധൎമ്മത്തെ എടുക്കണമെന്നാശിക്കുന്നതായാൽ ധൎമ്മരാജ്യത്തിലെ പൊന്നുതമ്പുരാൻതിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടോ അവിടുത്തെ ഗവർണ്മെൻറാ അതിന്ന് ഒരിക്കലും ഒരുവിധത്തിലും അനുകൂലിപ്പാൻ പാടുള്ളതല്ല. പ്രജകളുടെ ഇഷ്ടത്തെയല്ല പഥ്യത്തെയാണ രാജാവു അധികം പൂരിപ്പിക്കേണ്ടതു്. അപഥ്യം ചിലപ്പോൾ ഇഷ്ടമായി വന്നേക്കാം. അതിനെ പൂരിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനാലവൎക്കു ദോഷവും വരും. അപ്പോളതു് ഇഷ്ടമാണെങ്കിലും അപഥ്യമാണെന്നു മനസ്സിലാക്കിക്കൊടുത്തു് അവരെ ആ ഇഷ്ടത്തിൽനിന്നു പിൻവലിപ്പിക്കുന്നതാണ് ഉത്തമമായ ധൎമ്മം. പ്രജകളുടെ വിനയാധാനം പ്രഥമമായ രാജധൎമ്മമാണെന്നു പറയുന്നതിൻെറ തത്വവും ഇതുതന്നെയാകുന്നു.

൯൨. വൎണ്ണാശ്രമധൎമ്മങ്ങളെ യഥോചിതം രക്ഷിക്കുന്നതു രാജധൎമ്മമാണ്. ധൎമ്മവ്യവസ്ഥനിമിത്തം തന്നെയാണ് ആസേതുശീതാചലം വ്യാപിച്ചുകിടക്കുന്ന ഈ ഭാരതവർഷത്തെ മററ് എട്ടു വർഷങ്ങളേക്കാളധികം ശ്രേഷ്ഠമെന്നു പ്രാചീനന്മാർ തീർച്ചപ്പെടുത്തീട്ടുള്ളതു്. അതിൽ തിരുവിതാംകൂർ, കൊച്ചി, ബ്രിട്ടീഷ്മലബാർ ഉൾപ്പെടെയുള്ള മലയാളരാജ്യം സദാചാരത്തിൻെറ ഇരിപ്പിടംതന്നെയാണ്. ധർമ്മവ്യവസ്ഥയും ഈ മലയാളരാജ്യത്തിൽ പ്രധാനമായി നടന്നുവരുന്നു. ഇപ്പോൾ ശാസ്ത്രത്തിന്നും സദാചാരത്തിന്നും വിരുദ്ധമായി അവൎണ്ണൎക്കു ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശംകൊടുക്കുന്നതു് ആ ധർമ്മവ്യവസ്ഥക്കും സദാചാരത്തിന്നും മൂലകഠാരമായിത്തീരാതിരിക്കുന്നതല്ല. കാലക്രമേണ ചില മാററങ്ങൾ വരുന്നതാണ്. അതു് ഇന്നും വരുന്നതുമുണ്ട്. അതു വരുത്തേണ്ടതുമില്ല. ആവകമാററങ്ങൾ അതിവേഗത്തിലും കഠിനരീതിയിലും അത്യന്തം ധർമ്മവിരുദ്ധമായും വരാതിരിപ്പാൻ ന്യായമായ ശ്രമങ്ങൾ ചെയ്യുന്നോക്കേണ്ടതാണ്. ഇന്ത്യയിൽ പലെടത്തും ധർമ്മവിരുദ്ധമായ മാററത്തെ ഉന്മൂലനംചെയ്തു സദാചാരങ്ങളേയും വൎണ്ണാശ്രമധർമ്മങ്ങളേയും രക്ഷിപ്പാനുള്ള ഉത്സാഹവും അങ്കുരിച്ചും വർദ്ധിച്ചും വരുന്നുണ്ടെന്നുള്ളതും സ്പഷ്ടമാണ്.

൯൩. തീണ്ടലെന്നു പറയുന്നതും ശാസ്ത്രത്തിനും, സദാചാരത്തിനും അനുസരിച്ചുള്ളതാണ്. അതു ചില ജാതിക്കാർ അടുത്തുവന്നാൽ ചിലജാതിക്കാർ കുളിക്കയും മററും വേണമെന്നുള്ളതാകുന്നു. അതു ശ്രൌതാഗ്നികളും സ്മാർത്താഗ്നികളും ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിലുള്ള ബിംബങ്ങൾക്കും ചാതുർവ്വർണ്ണ്യത്തിനും സംബന്ധിക്കുന്നതാകുന്നു. ആ തീണ്ടൽനിമിത്തമാണ് അവർണ്ണർക്കു ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശം നിഷേധിക്കപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുള്ളതു്. അതിനാൽ തീണ്ടലിന്റെ കാര്യവും ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനസംബന്ധിതേന പര്യാലോചിക്കാം എന്നൊരു യുക്തി പിടിച്ചു് ആലോചിക്കുന്നതായാൽ ആ തീണ്ടലിപ്പോൾ പബ്ലിക്കു സ്ഥലങ്ങളിലാചരിക്കുന്നില്ല. സർക്കാർവക കച്ചേരികൾ, കോടതികൾ, ആഫീസുകൾ, പാഠശാലകൾ, പബ്ലിക്ക് റോഡുകൾ, കച്ചവടസ്ഥലങ്ങൾ മുതലായ ദിക്കുകളിലവർണ്ണർക്കു യഥേഷ്ടം പ്രവേശിക്കാം. ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങൾ, ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ച കുളങ്ങൾ, കിണറുകൾ, കൊട്ടിലുകൾ, കൊട്ടാരങ്ങൾ, ചില സത്രങ്ങൾ, സങ്കേതവഴികൾ മുതലായവകളിൽ മാത്രമെ തീണ്ടലുകാർക്കു പ്രവേശിച്ചുകൂടായ്കയുള്ളു. ഇപ്പോഴുള്ള ഈ നടപ്പിനെ ഗവണ്മെന്റു പുതുതാക്കി പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തുന്നതിനു വിരോധമില്ല. വസ്തുതസ്തു ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനത്തെപ്പററി അന്വേഷിപ്പാൻ നിശ്ചയിക്കപ്പെട്ട ഈ കമ്മിററി തീണ്ടലിനെപ്പററി നിരൂപണം ചെയ്യേണ്ടുന്നാവശ്യമില്ല. പ്രസക്താനുപ്രസക്ത്യാന്യായത്തെ അവലംബിച്ചു കുറച്ചുമാത്രം ഇവിടെ പ്രസ്താവിച്ചുവെന്നേഉള്ളു.

൯൪. ഗ്രാമദേവതകളെ പ്രതിഷ്ഠിക്കാൻ ഗ്രാമദേവതാപ്രതിഷ്ഠാ എന്ന ഗ്രന്ഥത്തിൽ വിധിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു്.

> "അഥ ഗ്രാമീണാഃ സ്വേഷാം സമഷ്ടിക്ഷേമായ സ്ഥാനീയേ ഗ്രാമേ ഗ്രാമാദ്ബഹിർവ്വാ ഗ്രാമശക്തി പ്രതിഷ്ഠാപ്യ പൂജയേയു, വൈഷ്ണവാ ഗ്രാമമദ്ധ്യേ ശാക്താ ബഹിഃ കാപാലികാഃ ശ്മശാനേ ഗാണപത്യാ ദ്വാരദേശേ സ്കന്ദദേശേ വാ അന്യേ തത്തരാ വണിജഃ പണ്യവീഥ്യാം സർവ്വേ ജലാന്തികേ വനേ വാ പാഷാണമൃന്മയായതനേഷു പ്രഷ്ഠ്യേയുഃ."

ആഗമസ്മൃതിസാരപ്രകാരം ഗ്രാമദേവതകളെ അർച്ചിപ്പാനധികാരികളായ ഗ്രാമക്കാർ സമഷ്ടിയായി സർവ്വക്ഷേമം വരേണ്ടതിന്നു

സ്വന്തം ഗ്രാമത്തിലോ. പുറത്തോ ഗ്രാമശക്തിദേവതയെ പ്രതിഷ്ഠിച്ചു പൂജിക്കണം. അതിൽ വൈഷ്ണവന്മാർ ഗ്രാമമദ്ധ്യത്തിലും ശാക്തന്മാർ പുറത്തും കാപാലികന്മാർ ചുടലകളിലും ഗാണപത്യന്മാർ ഉമ്മറത്തും അല്ലെങ്കിൽ ഇളത്തിന്മേലും കച്ചവടക്കാർ കച്ചവടത്തെരുവിന്റെ നടുവിലും മററുള്ളവർ ഏതെങ്കിലും അന്തരപ്രദേശങ്ങളിലും കല്ലുകൊണ്ടോ മരംകൊണ്ടോ മണ്ണുകൊണ്ടൊ യഥാശക്തി ആലയങ്ങളുണ്ടാക്കി അവയെ പ്രതിഷ്ഠിച്ച് അർച്ചിക്കണം. ജലസമീപത്തിലും കാട്ടിലും ഗ്രാമക്കാർക്കെല്ലാം പ്രതിഷ്ഠിച്ചാരാധിക്കാം. ഇങ്ങനെ ഗ്രാമദേവതകളെ പ്രതിഷ്ഠിച്ചാരാധിച്ചാലുള്ള ഫലത്തേയും ആ ഗ്രന്ഥത്തിൽ തന്നെ കാണിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്.—

"പ്രസന്നാ യദാ യത്ര ഗ്രാമദേവതാസ്തദാ തത്ര മാരികാദരോഗപശുരോഗദുർഭിക്ഷസ്വക്ഷരോഗാദയഃ ശാമ്യന്തി, യോഗക്ഷേമം കല്പതെ രാഷ്ട്രേ ച. പ്രജാക്ഷേമം ച ഭവതീതി വിജ്ഞായതെ"

ഗ്രാമദേവതകളെ മേൽപറഞ്ഞപ്രകാരം പ്രതിഷ്ഠിച്ചാരാധിച്ചു പ്രസാദിപ്പിച്ചാൽ വസൂരിമുതലായ മാരികാരോഗങ്ങളെയൊ നാൽക്കാലിരോഗങ്ങളെയൊ ദുർഭിക്ഷമൊ തെണ്ടുമുതലായവയുള്ള മാഥാളി മുതലായ രോഗങ്ങളൊ ഉണ്ടാവുന്നതല്ല. ഉണ്ടായവ നശിക്കും. രാജ്യത്തിൽ യോഗക്ഷേമമുണ്ടാവുന്നതും അതിനാൽ സുഖം വർദ്ധിക്കുന്നതുമാകുന്നു.

"അലബ്ധലാഭോ യോഗഃ സ്യാൽ ക്ഷേമോ ലബ്ധസ്യ രക്ഷണം."

ഇതുകൊണ്ടു യോഗമെന്നാലവനവന്നു കിട്ടേണ്ടുന്നവ ശരിയായി കിട്ടുകയും ക്ഷേമമെന്നാലതുകൾക്കു ശരിയായ രക്ഷയുണ്ടാകയുമാണെന്നു സിദ്ധിക്കുന്നു. ദേവീയാമളത്തിൽ ഗ്രാമദേവതകളെ നാൽ—

"കാലകർമ്മവശാദ്യാതാഃ കല്പിതാ ബുദ്ധിയോഗതഃ
സ്വദേശഭാഷാനാമാദ്യൈരർച്യന്തെ ഗ്രാമദേവതാഃ."

ഓരോകാലത്ത് ഓരോകർമ്മംകൊണ്ടുണ്ടാവുന്നവയും ഭക്തന്മാർ സ്വസ്വബുദ്ധ്യനുസാരേണ കല്പിച്ചുണ്ടാക്കിയവയുമാണെന്നും അവരെ ദേശഭാഷാരൂപങ്ങളായ മന്ത്രങ്ങളെക്കൊണ്ടും അവരവരുടെ നാമങ്ങളെക്കൊണ്ടും അർച്ചിപ്പിക്കാമെന്നും പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ട്. മുണ്ടിയൻ കറുപ്പൻ മുതലായവ ഇതിലുൾപ്പെടും.

൯൪. അവരവൎക്കുള്ള വിധി നല്ലതല്ലെന്നു വിചാരിച്ച് അനുഷ്ഠിക്കാതെ തള്ളുന്നതും അന്യന്മാൎക്കുള്ള വിധി നല്ലതാണെന്നു വിചാരിച്ച് അനുഷ്ഠിക്കുന്നതും ദോഷമാണ്.—

"ശ്രേയാൻ സ്വധൎമ്മോ വിഗുണഃ പരധൎമ്മാത് സ്വനു-
ഷ്ഠിതാത്"

അപിശബ്ദോ/ത്രാദയത്രാൎത്ഥാത്സിദ്ധ്യതി. ഈ ഗീതാവാക്യംകൊണ്ട് അന്യധൎമ്മത്തെ വളരെ നന്നായി അനുഷ്ഠിക്കുന്നതിനേക്കാൾ ചീത്തയാണെങ്കിലും സ്വധൎമ്മത്തെ അനുഷ്ഠിക്കുന്നതുതന്നെയാണു അധികം നല്ലതെന്നു സിദ്ധിക്കുന്നു. അവൎണ്ണർ ഈ തത്വം മനസ്സിലാക്കാതെ ദുരഭിമാനംകൊണ്ടോ മറ്റൊ അതിരു ലംഘിച്ചു പ്രവേശിക്കാനാഗ്രഹിച്ചു പ്രക്ഷോഭം നടത്തുന്നതായാലതിന്ന് അനുകൂലിപ്പാൻ പാടില്ല. രാജാവു പ്രജകളെ പുത്രനിൎവ്വിശേഷം പാലിക്കേണ്ടതാണ്. അതിൽ മുഖ്യങ്ങൾ.—

"പ്രജാനാം വിനയാധാനാദ്രക്ഷണാദ് ഭരണാദപി!
സ പിതാ പിതരസ്താസാം കേവലം ജന്മഹേതവഃ"

എന്നു കാളിദാസവചനപ്രകാരം നോക്കുമ്പോൾ (൧) വിനയാധാനം, (൨) രക്ഷണം, (൩) ഭരണം, ഇതുകളാകുന്നു. വിനയമില്ലായ്കയാലാണു ദുരഭിമാനമുണ്ടാകുന്നതും ശാസ്ത്രവിരുദ്ധമായ പരധൎമ്മാനുഷ്ഠാനത്തിന്നാഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നതും. അന്യന്മാരിൽനിന്നുപദ്രവം തട്ടാതെ രക്ഷിക്കുന്നതു ൨-ാമത്തേതാണ്. രോഗാദികൊണ്ടോ ഈതിബാധകൊണ്ടോ അന്യോന്യകലഹാദികൊണ്ടോ ഭക്ഷണവസ്ത്രാദികൾക്കു വകയില്ലാതെ ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടുമ്പോൾ പ്രവൃത്തിയുണ്ടാക്കിക്കൊടുത്തും കൃഷി കച്ചവടാദികൾക്കു സഹായിച്ചും മററും ഭരിക്കുന്നതു മൂന്നാമത്തേതാകുന്നു. ഇതു് അപാരവിജ്ഞാനനിധികളായ പ്രാചീനമഹാശയന്മാരുടെ ആശയം അറിഞ്ഞും സ്വന്തമായിപരീക്ഷിച്ചും കൗടല്യൻ ക്രോഡീകരിച്ച അൎത്ഥശാസ്ത്രത്തിൽനിന്നു കാളിദാസൻ സംഗ്രഹിച്ച സാരമാകുന്നു.

൯൫. ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശകാൎയ്യത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു ഇരുകൂട്ടൎക്കും ദോഷപ്രദമല്ലാതെയും സമുചിതമായും ഒരു തീൎപ്പുചെയ്യേണ്ടതു് അവൎണ്ണൎക്കു ദേവാരാധനക്ക് ഇപ്പോളുള്ളതിന്നുപുറമെ ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളുണ്ടാക്കുന്നതിൽ സഹായിക്കാമെന്നാകുന്നു. അവൎണ്ണോദ്ധാരകനായ മിസ്റ്റർ ദാമോദരൻതന്നെ പ്രകാരാന്തരേണ ഇതിനെ കമ്മിററിയെ അറിയിച്ചിട്ടും ഉണ്ട്.

൯൧. അതിനാൽ ഗവണ്മെൻറ് ആറാമതായി നിർദ്ദേശിച്ച സന്ധികാര്യത്തെപ്പററി അഞ്ചു മാർഗ്ഗങ്ങൾ കാണിച്ചതിൽ അഞ്ചാമത്തേതായ "അവർണർക്ക് ആരാധിപ്പാൻ ഇപ്പോൾ അവരുടെ വകയായുള്ള ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങൾക്കുപുറമെ വേണ്ടിടത്തോളം ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളുണ്ടാക്കുവാൻ സഹായം ചെയ്തുകൊടുക്കുക" എന്ന മാർഗ്ഗമാണ് ഒരു വിധം സ്വീകാര്യമായിട്ടുള്ളതായി തോന്നുന്നത്.

നവമാദ്ധ്യായഃ.

൯൨. (൧) സവർണഹിന്ദുക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ മതപരമായ ആരാധനയേയും കർമ്മങ്ങളേയും നിയന്ത്രിക്കുന്ന തത്വങ്ങളും നിയമങ്ങളും ആചാരവും ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനവിഷയത്തിൽ എങ്ങിനെ ബാധകമാകുന്നുവെന്നു ക്ഷേത്രത്തെ ഉണ്ടാക്കി ദേവനെ പ്രതിഷ്ഠിച്ച് നിത്യപൂജാ, വിശേഷപൂജാ, ഉത്സവം കലശം മുതലായ ക്രിയകൾ നടത്തേണ്ടതിന്ന് അർഹനായതാരാണെന്നു മുമ്പെ വിചാരിക്കാം. സമുച്ചയത്തിലിങ്ങിനെ പറയുന്നു:—

"വിപ്രഃ കുലീനഃ കൃതസംസ്ക്രിയൌഘഃ
സ്വധീതവേദാഗമതത്വവേത്താ
വർണാശ്രമാചാരപരോ/ധിദീക്ഷോ
ദക്ഷസ്തപസ്വീ ഗുരുരാസ്തികോ/സ്തു."

വിശിഷ്ടതറവാട്ടിൽ ജനിച്ചു ഷോഡശക്രിയകളെ യഥാവിധി നടത്തി വേദങ്ങളേയും ആഗമങ്ങളേയും നല്ലവണ്ണം പഠിച്ച് അതുകളുടെ തത്വങ്ങളെ ശരിയായി ഗ്രഹിച്ചു വർണ്ണധർമ്മങ്ങളേയും ആശ്രമധർമ്മങ്ങളേയും യഥാവിധിയനുഷ്ഠിച്ചു സദാചാരനിഷ്ഠനായി പൂജാദികർമ്മങ്ങളിൽ സമർത്ഥനും തപസ്വിയും പരലോകവിശ്വാസിയുമായ ബ്രാഹ്മണനാകുന്നു ദേവപൂജാദികൾക്ക് അധികാരി. വിഷ്ണുസംഹിതയിലെ വചനമിതാകുന്നു:—

"ദീക്ഷിതഃ സമയാചാരശീലവാൻ സർവ്വതന്ത്രവിൽ
അഭിഷിക്തസ്തു വിജ്ഞേയോ ഗുരുർദ്ധ്യാനാർച്ചനാദികൃൽ.
വർണേഷു വിപ്രാ വിപ്രേഷു വൈഷ്ണവാസ്തേഷു ദീക്ഷിതാഃ
തേഷു മന്ത്രവിദസ്തേഷു തന്ത്രജ്ഞാസ്തേഷു പൂജകാഃ.
തേഷു ച ഗ്രന്ഥവന്തോ/ത്ര പാഠകാസ്തേഷു തത്വവിദഃ
തേഷു സിദ്ധാശ്ച തേഷ്വപ്യഭിഷിക്തോ വിശിഷ്യതെ."

ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ പൂജാ, ധ്യാനം മുതലായവ ചെയ്യാനുള്ള യോഗം ഒന്നാമത്തു പൂജാദീക്ഷനടത്തി സദാചാരവും അതിന്റെ അറിവും ശീലഗുണവുമുണ്ടായി തന്ത്രകാൎയ്യങ്ങളെല്ലാമറിഞ്ഞു് അതാതു ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിലെ പൂജാദികൾ നടത്തുവാൻ അവരോധിക്കപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കണം. ബ്രാഹ്മണരാവണം. അവരിൽതന്നെ അതാതു ദേവന്മാരുടെ പൂജയ്ക്കു് അതാതുദേവന്മാരെ പ്രത്യേകിച്ചു സേവിക്കുന്നവനായിരിക്കണം. (അത്ര വൈഷ്ണവപദം തത്തദ്ദേവസേവിനാമുപലക്ഷണം) അവരിൽ പൂജാദീക്ഷകഴിച്ചവരും, അവരിൽ അനേകമന്ത്രജ്ഞന്മാരും, അവരിൽ തന്ത്രശാസ്ത്രംപഠിച്ചവരും, അവരിൽ പൂജ നിത്യകൎമ്മമായി കരുതുന്നവരും, അവരിൽ തന്ത്രഗ്രന്ഥം കൈവശമുള്ളവരും, അവരിലതുവായിക്കുന്നവരും, അവരിലതിന്റെ അൎത്ഥം നല്ലവണ്ണമറിയുന്നവരും, അവരിൽ പുരശ്ചരണംചെയ്തു മന്ത്രസിദ്ധിവരുത്തിയവരും, അവരിലതാതു ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിലവരോധിക്കപ്പെട്ടവരും യഥാക്രമം ഉൽകൃഷ്ടന്മാരാകുന്നു. ഇതുകൊണ്ടു ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ പൂജാദികൾക്കു് അതിന്നുമുമ്പിൽ പറഞ്ഞ ഗുണങ്ങളെല്ലാം തികഞ്ഞവരെ മാത്രമെ അവരോധിക്കാവൂ എന്നു സിദ്ധിക്കുന്നു. വൈഖാനസാഗമത്തിലങ്ങിനെ പറയുന്നു:—

"വൈഖാനസേന സൂത്രേണ നിഷേകാദിക്രിയാന്വിതഃ
അദ്ധ്യാത്മഗുണസംയുക്തോ വിപ്രഃ സ്വാദ്ധ്യായസംയുതഃ.
ശ്രുതവാൻ സത്യവാദീ ച സ്നാനശീലശ്ച യോഗവിൽ
ഗൃഹസ്ഥോ ബ്രഹ്മചാരീ വാ ഭക്ത്യൈവാൎച്ചനമാരഭേൽ."

വൈഖാനസപദമത്രേതരേഷാം സൂത്രാണാമുപലക്ഷണം. താന്താങ്ങൾക്കു വിധിച്ചപ്രകാരം ആധാനാദിക്രിയകൾ നടത്തി മാനസഗുണങ്ങളെ ലഭിച്ചു വേദാദ്ധ്യയനംചെയ്തു സ്വാദ്ധ്യായം നടത്തി ശാസ്ത്രങ്ങളെ അഭ്യസിച്ചു യോഗശാസ്ത്രത്തെയുമറിഞ്ഞു യഥാകാലം സ്നാനസന്ധ്യാദികളെ അനുഷ്ഠിച്ചു് സത്യവാക്കായിരിക്കുന്ന ബ്രാഹ്മണൻ ബ്രഹ്മചാരിയായൊ ഗൃഹസ്ഥനായൊ ഭക്തിയോടു കൂടി തന്നെ ദേവപൂജയെ നടത്തേണ്ടതാകുന്നു. അഹിർബുധ്ന്യൻ പറയുന്നതെവിതു:—

"ബ്രാഹ്മണോ ബ്രഹ്മയോനിസ്ഥഃ സദാരനിരതഃ ശുചിഃ
അധികുൎയ്യാത് ക്രിയാശക്തിം വിഷ്ണോൎമന്ത്രമയീം പരാം".

അത്ര വിഷ്ണുപദമേഷാം ദേവാനാമപ്യുപലക്ഷണം. ഗൃഹസ്ഥാശ്രമത്തെ യഥാവിധി അനുഷ്ഠിക്കുന്ന ബ്രാഹ്മണനാണു മന്ത്രാത്മികയായ ദേവതാശക്തിയെ പൂജിക്കുവാനുള്ള അധികാരം. ഇവിടെ

ആശ്രമവ്യവസ്ഥ സനിർബന്ധമല്ല. ബ്രഹ്മചാര്യാദികർമ്മങ്ങം വിധിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നവല്ലൊ.

൯൯. വിഷ്ണുസംഹിതയിൽ ശൂദ്രനെപ്പററിയിങ്ങിനെ കാണുന്നു.—

"ദീക്ഷിതോഽപി ന ശൂദ്രസ്തു ചാരേച്ച ശൃണുയാത്തഥാ
ഗുരുദത്തം ജപേന്മന്ത്രമച്ച്യേൽ സ്ഥണ്ഡിലേ ച സഃ.
വ്യാഖ്യാസ്ഥാപി തദേവാച്ച്യാ ഹോമമേഷാസ്യ ന കർത്തൃതാ"

ശൂദ്രൻ ദീക്ഷ സ്വീകരിച്ചാലും പൂജയ്ക്കുള്ള മന്ത്രം ഗുരുവിങ്കൽ നിന്നു വാങ്ങി താൻ ചൊല്ലുകയൊ മററൊരാൾ ചൊല്ലുന്നതിനെ കേൾക്കുവാൻ ശ്രമിക്കയൊ ചെയ്യരുതു്. സ്ഥണ്ഡിലത്തിങ്കൽ ദേവനെ അമന്ത്രകമായി പൂജിക്കുന്നതിന്നു യാതൊരു വിരോധവുമില്ല. ആഗമാദികളിൽ സിദ്ധാന്തിച്ചുവെച്ചിട്ടുള്ള പ്രകാരം ദേവനെ പൂജിക്കുവാനൊ ഹോമങ്ങൾ നടത്തുവാനൊ ശൂദ്രന്നു് അധികാരമില്ലെന്നു താൽപര്യം.

൧൦൦. ഭക്തന്മാരായ ജനങ്ങൾക്കു പൂജാദികളെ നടത്തി ഐഹികമായും പാരത്രികമായുമുള്ള ശ്രേയസ്സിനെ സമ്പാദിപ്പാൻവേണ്ടി ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ പ്രതിമകളിലേയ്ക്കു ദേവനെ ആവാഹിക്കുന്നതിനെപ്പററി സമുച്ചയത്തിലിങ്ങനെ പറയുന്നു.—

"സർവ്വഗോസി ഭഗവൻ കില യദ്യപി ത്വാ-
മാവാഹയാമി ഹി യഥാ വ്യജനേന വായും
ഗൂഢോ യഥൈവ ദഹനോ മഥനാദുപൈതി
ഹ്യാവാഹിതോപി ഹി തഥാ ത്വമുപൈതി ചാർച്ചാം."

സർവ്വവ്യാപിയായ ദേവനെ ബിംബത്തിന്മേലാവാഹിക്കുന്നതു സർവ്വവ്യാപിയായ വായുവിനെ വ്യജനവ്യാപാരംകൊണ്ടു ഉപയോഗക്ഷമനാക്കിത്തീക്കുന്നതുപോലെയും അപ്രത്യക്ഷനായി അരണിയിന്മേൽ കിടക്കുന്ന അഗ്നിയെ മഥനവ്യാപാരംകൊണ്ടു പ്രത്യക്ഷനാക്കിത്തീക്കുന്നതുപോലെയുമാകുന്നു. ഇങ്ങിനെ ബിംബത്തിന്മേൽ ദേവനെ ആവാഹിച്ചുകഴിഞ്ഞാലുടനെതന്നെ ആ ബിംബത്തിന്മേൽ സാന്നിദ്ധ്യം സ്ഥിരമായി നില്ക്കേണ്ടതിന്നു—

"ലോകാനുഗ്രഹഹേത്വർത്ഥം സ്ഥിരീഭവ സുഖായ നഃ"

എന്ന മന്ത്രംകൊണ്ടു പ്രതിഷ്ഠാപകൻ പ്രാൎത്ഥിക്കുന്നു. ഇങ്ങിനെ പലേ പടങ്ങളും മന്ത്രങ്ങളും കലശങ്ങളും മുദ്രകളും മുതലായ തോട്ടുകൂടി നടത്തുന്ന ക്രിയകളെ വിധിക്കുന്ന ഗ്രന്ഥങ്ങളെയാണു്

ആഗമങ്ങളെന്നു പറയുന്നതു്. അതുകൾ പ്രമാണഗ്രന്ഥങ്ങളാണെന്നു സ്ഥാപിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. പരമേശ്വരനിൽനിന്നുണ്ടായതും പാൎവ്വതി പഠിച്ചതും ശ്രീവാസുദേവൻ സമ്മതിച്ചതുംനിമിത്തം ആ ഗ്രന്ഥത്തിന്നു ആഗമസംജ്ഞ സിദ്ധിച്ചുവെന്നു്:—

"ആഗതം പഞ്ചവക്ത്രാത്തു ഗതം ച ഗിരിജാനനെ
മതം ച വാസുദേവസ്യ തസ്മാദാഗമ ഉച്യതേ."

എന്ന വചനംകൊണ്ടും ൧. സൃഷ്ടി, ൨. പ്രളയം, ൩. ദേവതാപൂജാ, ൪. പൂജാസാധനം, ൫. പുരശ്ചരണം, ൬. ഷൾകൎമ്മ (സ്നാനസന്ധ്യാദി)വിധി, ൭. നാലുപ്രകാരമുള്ള ധ്യാനയോഗം ഇൗ ഏഴുലക്ഷണങ്ങളുണ്ടായിരിക്കണമെന്നു.—

"സൃഷ്ടിശ്ച പ്രളയശ്ചൈവ ദേവതാനാം തഥാൎച്ചനം
സാധനാ ചൈവ സൎവ്വേഷാം പുരശ്ചരണമേവ ച
ഷൾകൎമ്മസാധനം ചൈവ ധ്യാനയോഗശ്ചതുൎവ്വിധഃ
സപ്തഭിൎല്ലക്ഷണൈൎയ്യുക്തമാഗമം തദ്വിദുൎബ്ബുധാഃ."

എന്ന വചനംകൊണ്ടും സിദ്ധിക്കുന്നു.

൧൦൧. ആഗമങ്ങളുടെ കൎത്താവു പരമേശ്വരനാകയാൽ വേദത്തിനെപ്പോലെ പ്രാമാണ്യം ആഗമത്തിന്നുമുണ്ടു്. തന്ത്രം എന്നു് ആഗമത്തെത്തന്നെ സംജ്ഞാന്തരംകൊണ്ടു വ്യവഹരിക്കുന്നു. ആ ആഗമങ്ങളെന്ന തന്ത്രങ്ങളെല്ലാം പരിശോധിച്ചു സാരത്തെ സംഗ്രഹിച്ചുണ്ടാക്കിയ ഗ്രന്ഥമാണു തന്ത്രസമുച്ചയം. ഇൗ തന്ത്രാപരപൎയ്യായമായ ആഗമത്തിന്റെ പ്രാമാണ്യം.—

"വേദമൂലതയാ തന്ത്രമാപ്തമൂലതയാഥവാ
പുരാണവത് പ്രമാണം സ്യാത്തഥാ മന്വാദിവാക്യവൽ."

(അത്രാപ്തപദമാപ്തവാക്യലക്ഷകം) എന്ന വിഷ്ണുസംഹിതാവചനംകൊണ്ടും.—

"യദ്യേവമാഗമാനാം ഹി ജന്മസിദ്ധം മഹേശ്വരാൽ"
"ശിവാഗമാശ്ച വേദാശ്ച നിത്യാ ഏവ പ്രമാണതഃ"
"നിത്യാഃ ശിവാഗമാ വേദൈഃ ശിവേനാദാവഭേദതഃ"
"അനാദിസ്സ ശിവോ മുഖ്യോ യഥാന്യേഭ്യോ വിലക്ഷണഃ
തഥാ തദ്വദനോദീൎണ്ണാ വാചോന്യേഭ്യോ വിലക്ഷണാഃ"
"വൈഖൎയ്യാദിപദൈൎവ്വ്യക്തം പ്രാപ്യൈഷാ ശിവവക്ത്രതഃ
തദ്വതാ വാഗഭിനിൎയ്യാതി ശബ്ദബോധാഗമാത്മികാ."

എന്നുമുതലായി രാമകണ്ടൻ, ഈശാനഗുരുദേവപദ്ധതി, തന്ത്രപദ്ധതി മുതലായ വളരെ ഗ്രന്ഥങ്ങളുടെ വചനംകൊണ്ടും സ്ഥിരീകരിക്കപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്നു.

൧൦൨. ഈവണ്ണം ബിംബത്തിന്മേലാവാഹിക്കപ്പെട്ട ദേവന്റെ സാന്നിദ്ധ്യം സ്ഥിരീഭവിക്കേണ്ടതിന്നു സാന്നിദ്ധ്യക്ഷയകാരണങ്ങൾ വരാതെ സൂക്ഷിക്കണം. അനർഹന്മാരുടെ അവിഹിതസ്ഥലപ്രവേശം സാന്നിദ്ധ്യത്തെ നശിപ്പിക്കുമെന്നു പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ടല്ലോ. ഇപ്പോൾ സദാചാരപ്രകാരം ഇന്നിന്നവർ ഇന്നിന്നടിക്കിൽ പ്രവേശിക്കാമെന്നു പറയുന്നതിന്നു മുമ്പെ ക്ഷേത്രസീമകളെപ്പറ്റി പാഞ്ചരാത്രത്തിലുള്ള വചനം കാണിക്കുന്നു.—

"സപ്തസീമാസമായുക്തം സ്ഥാനം സർവ്വദിവൌകസാം
അന്തർമ്മണ്ഡലമാദ്യം സ്യാദ്ഗർഭാഗാരാദ്ബഹിസ്ഥലാത്.
തസ്മാദപ്യേകദണ്ഡാന്തെ ചാന്ത്യഹാരാ ഗൃഹാദ്ബഹിഃ
മൂലസ്ഥാനാത്ത്രിദണ്ഡാന്തെ ദീപശാലാ സുശോഭനാ
നീചഹാരാം തതഃ കുര്യാത്പഞ്ചദണ്ഡാർദ്ധഭിത്തിമുജ്ജ്വലാം
മദ്ധ്യഹാരാ ചതുർദ്ദണ്ഡ മര്യാദാ സപ്തസമ്മിതെ.
ഏകവിംശതിദണ്ഡാന്തെ മഹാമര്യാദഭിത്തികാ."

ഇതുകൊണ്ടു് ൧. അന്തർമ്മണ്ഡലം, ൨. അന്ത്യഹാരാ, ൩. ദീപശാലാ, ൪. നീചഹാരാ, ൫. മദ്ധ്യഹാരാ, ൬. മര്യാദാ, ൭. മഹാമര്യാദാ ഇങ്ങിനെ ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ ഏഴു സ്ഥാനപരിധികൾ കല്പിക്കപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്നു. വിഷ്ണുസംഹിതയിൽ.—

• "അന്തർമ്മണ്ഡലദണ്ഡാർദ്ധെ ദണ്ഡഃ സ്യാദന്തഹാരകാ
മദ്ധ്യഹാരാ ദ്വിദണ്ഡാ ച ചതുർമ്മര്യാദഭിത്തികാ
സപ്തദണ്ഡായതാ കാര്യാ മര്യാദാ മഹതീ തഥാ."

ഇതുകൊണ്ടു് ൧. അന്തർമണ്ഡലാ, ൨. അന്തഹാരാ, ൩. മദ്ധ്യഹാരാ, ൪. മര്യാദാ, ൫. മഹാമര്യാദാ ഇങ്ങിനെ ൫ സ്ഥാനപരിധികൾ കല്പിക്കപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്നു. ഇതുകൂടാതെയും പലേപ്രകാരഭേദങ്ങളും മതഭേദേന ഉണ്ടെങ്കിലും പ്രായേണ ഇട്ടിക്കകളിലെ ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങൾ പാഞ്ചരാത്രപ്രകാരം സപ്തപ്രാകാരകോടിയിലൊ വിഷ്ണുസംഹിതാപ്രകാരം പഞ്ചപ്രാകാരകോടിയിലൊ ഉൾപ്പെട്ടു കാണുന്നു.

൨൦൩. ഇന്നിന്നവർ ഇന്നിന്നടിക്കിൽ പ്രവേശിച്ചുവന്ദിക്കുന്ന എന്നനടപ്പും പ്രായികമായി കാണിക്കാം. ൧. ഗർഭഗൃഹത്തിൽ തന്ത്രി, ഓയിക്കൻ, നിശ്ചിയക്കപ്പെട്ടപൂജകൻ ഇവർക്കും, ൨. പരിചാരകന്മാരായ ശിവബ്രാഹ്മണരെന്ന മൂസ്സതിന്മാൎക്കു മുഖമണ്ഡപത്തിലും എടൊഴിയിലും, ൩. ബ്രാഹ്മണൎക്കും ക്ഷത്രിയൎക്കും ഗർഭഗൃഹത്തിന്റെ മുൻവശത്തുള്ള സോപാനത്തിലും, വേദമന്ത്രങ്ങൾ ഉച്ചരിക്കുന്നതിനും നമസ്കരിക്കുന്നതിനും നമസ്കാരമണ്ഡപത്തിലും, ൪. വൈശ്യൎക്കും ശൂദ്രൎക്കും സോപാനംവരെയും, ൫. തീണ്ടലില്ലാത്ത മററചിലൎക്കു (ശൂദ്രരിൽതന്നെ താണവർ) പുറത്തു പ്രദക്ഷിണവഴിവരെയും, ൬. തീണ്ടൽജാതിക്കാൎക്കു മതിൽക്കുവെളിയിലും നിന്നാരാധിക്കാം. ഇതു പ്രായികനിശ്ചയമാണ്. ഓരോ ക്ഷേത്രഭേദേന സ്വല്പം ഭേദവും ഉണ്ടായിക്കാണുന്നു.

൨൦൪. ബിംബത്തിന്മേലാവാഹിക്കുന്നതു സഗുണരൂപേണയാണ്. ഒരു രൂപത്തെക്കൂടാതെ ധ്യാനിപ്പാനാൎക്കും സാധിക്കുന്നതല്ല. വിഷ്ണുസംഹിതാ ൨൯-ാം പടലത്തിൽ ഇതു വ്യക്തമായി പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ടു്.

"ന ച രൂപം വിനാ ദേവോ ധ്യാതും കേനാപി ശക്യതേ
സർവരൂപനിവൃത്താ ഹി ബുദ്ധിഃ കുത്രാസ്യ തിഷ്ഠതി."

ഇതി. കരചരണാദ്യവയവങ്ങളുള്ള ഒരു രൂപത്തെ കല്പിക്കുന്നതു സാധകന്മാരെന്നാരാധകന്മാൎക്കു ശ്രേയസ്സിനുവേണ്ടിയാണെന്നു കുളാൎണ്ണവതന്ത്രത്തിലും പറയുന്നു. അതാവിതു:—

"ചിന്മയസ്യ പ്രമേയസ്യ നിർഗ്ഗുണസ്യാശരീരിണഃ
സാധകാനാം ഹിതാൎത്ഥായ ബ്രഹ്മണോ രൂപകല്പനാ."

൨൦൫. ദേവനെ പൂജിക്കുന്നതു് അത്യാവശ്യമാണ്. പ്രതിമയിലും നിലംമിഴുകീട്ടും ജലത്തിലും അഗ്നിയിലും ആവാം. ഹാരീതസ്മൃതിവചനം നോക്കുക. അതാവിതു്:—

"കുൎവീത ദേവതാപൂജാം ജപയജ്ഞാദനന്തരം
സ്ഥണ്ഡിലേ പ്രതിമായാം വാ ജലേഗ്നൗ ഹൃദയേപി വാ."

മനു [illegible]-ാമദ്ധ്യായത്തിൽ—

"ദേവാനൃഷീൻ മനുഷ്യാംശ്ച പിതൄൻ ഗൃഹ്യാംശ്ച ദേവതാഃ
പൂജയിത്വാ തതഃ പശ്ചാദ് ഗൃഹസ്ഥഃ ശേഷഭുഗ് ഭവേൽ"

എന്നും, പരാശരൻ:—

"ഷൾകർമ്മാഭിരതോ നിത്യം ദേവതാതിഥിപൂജകഃ
ഹുതശേഷം തു ഭുഞ്ജാനോ ബ്രാഹ്മണോ നാവസീദതി."

എന്നും, ബോധായനഗൃഹ്യപരിശിഷ്ടത്തിൽ:—

"അഥ ഗൃഹസ്ഥോ ഗൃഹ്യധരധരിഷ്ഠാം ദേവതാമിഷ്ട്വാ അഭീഷ്ടാനർത്ഥാംശ്ച പ്രാപ്നോതി. തേ ച ഗണപതിർവാ സ്കന്ദോ വാ സൂര്യോ വാ സരസ്വതീ വാ ഗൗരീ വാ ഗൗരീപതിർവാ ശ്രീർവാ ശ്രീപതിർവാന്യോവാ അഭിമതാസ്തു ഏതേ യഥാരുചി സമസ്താ വ്യസ്താ വെജ്യന്തെ"

എന്നും പറഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നു. ഹാരീതൻ ദേവതാപൂജ ചെയ്യാതിരുന്നാലുള്ള ശിക്ഷയെക്കൂടി:—

"യോ മോഹാദഥവാലസ്യാദകൃത്വാ ദേവതാർച്ചനം
ഭുങ്‌ക്തേ സ യാതി നരകം തിര്യഗ്യോനൗ പ്രജായതെ."

എന്നു വിധിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു.

൨൦൩. ദേവീപുരാണത്തിൽ വർണ്ണഭേദേന ആരാധ്യദേവതാഭേദത്തെ:—

"ബ്രഹ്മാ തു ബ്രാഹ്മണൈസ്ഥാപ്യോ ഗായത്രീസഹിതഃ പ്രഭുഃ
ചതുർവ്വർണ്ണൈസ്തഥാ വിഷ്ണുഃ പ്രതിഷ്ഠാപ്യഃ സുഖാർത്ഥിഭിഃ
ഭൈരവോ/പി ചതുർവ്വർണ്ണൈരന്ത്യജാനാം തഥാ മതഃ
മാതരഃ സർവ്വലോകൈസ്തു സ്ഥാപ്യാഃ പൂജ്യാഃ സുരോത്തമ!
ലിങ്ഗം ഗൃഹീയതിർവ്വാപി സംസ്ഥാപ്യാനയജേൽ സദാ."

ഇങ്ങനെ പ്രതിപാദിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. വർണ്ണഭേദേന പൂജാഭേദത്തെ നാരദൻ:—

"വൈദികം ബ്രാഹ്മണാനാം സ്യാദ്രാജ്ഞാം വൈദികതാന്ത്രികം
താന്ത്രികം വൈശ്യശൂദ്രാണാം സർവ്വേഷാം താന്ത്രികം തു വാ."

ഇങ്ങിനെ പറഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നു.

൨൦൪. കുളാർണ്ണവതന്ത്രത്തിൽ:—

"അർച്ചകസ്യ തപോയോഗാദർച്ചനസ്യാതിശായനാൽ
ആഭിരൂപ്യാച്ച ബിംബാനാം ദേവഃ സാന്നിധ്യമൃച്ഛതി."

എന്നും, പ്രമാണാന്തരത്തിൽ:—

"ആചാര്യതപസാമ്‌നായജപേന നിയമേന ച
ഉത്സവേനാന്നദാനേന ക്ഷേത്രവൃദ്ധിസ്തു പഞ്ചഭിഃ."

ർഎന്നും, (അത്ര ക്ഷേത്രപദം ക്ഷേത്രപ്രതിഷ്ഠിതദേവസാന്നിധ്യപ-രം) വചനങ്ങൾകൊണ്ടു ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ അർച്ചകന്മാർക്കുള്ള തപശ്ശക്തികൊണ്ടും നടത്തുന്ന പൂജയുടെ എണ്ണത്തിന്റേയും ഗുണത്തിന്റേയും ആധിക്യംകൊണ്ടും ബിംബത്തിന്മേൽ തിരുവാഭരണംമുതലായതു ചാൎത്തി മോടിപിടിപ്പിക്കുന്നതുകൊണ്ടും മന്ത്രം ജപിക്കുന്നതുകൊണ്ടും പൂജാദികളുടെ കാലാദിനിയമംകൊണ്ടും ഉത്സവം നടത്തുന്നതുകൊണ്ടും നമസ്കാരംമുതലായ അന്നദാനംകൊണ്ടും ഈശ്വരസാന്നിധ്യം വർദ്ധിക്കുന്നുവെന്നു സിദ്ധിക്കുന്നു.

൧൦൭. പ്രതിഷ്ഠാപിതബിംബത്തിന്മേൽ ആധാനാദ്യാ-ധാനാന്തഷോഡശക്രിയകളെല്ലാമൊ അവകളിൽ ചിലതൊ ദേവഭേദേന നടത്തണമെന്നു തന്ത്രസമുച്ചയത്തിൽ:—

“ഈശേ ഷോഡശസേകപുംസവനസീമന്തോന്നയാ ജാതക-
ൎമ്മാഖ്യാ നിഷ്ക്രമഭുക്തിചൌളമുപനീതിശ്ച വ്രതാനി ക്രിയാഃ
സ്നാനോദ്വാഹവിതാനവഹ്നികരണം ശേഷേഷ്വനിഷ്ക്രാന്തയഃ
സന്ത്വഷ്ടോപനയാന്തിമാ മഹിഷഹന്ത്ര്യാം സപ്തചൌളാന്തിമാഃ.

ഈ വചനംകൊണ്ടു വിവരിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു.

൧൦൮. മുമ്പെ ബിംബം വിതാനാഗ്നിയെപ്പോലെയാണെന്നു കാണിച്ചതുകൊണ്ടും ഇപ്പോൾ ഷോഡശക്രിയകൾ നടത്തുന്നുണ്ടെന്നു കാണിച്ചതുകൊണ്ടും ശ്രൌതാഗ്നിക്കും ഷോഡശക്രിയാധികാരിയായ ബ്രാഹ്മണനും ഉള്ളതുപോലെ തീണ്ടൽ ബിംബത്തിന്നുമാചരിക്കണമെന്നും സിദ്ധിക്കുന്നു. തീണ്ടലിന്റെ അളവു താഴെ പറയുമ്പ്രകാരമാകുന്നു. ൧. സപ്തഷ്ഖുദ്രനു ൩. അടി, ൨. അന്ത്യശൂദ്രനും ൩. രജകനും ൪. പതിതനും ൬ അടി, ൭ രജസ്വലക്കു ൧൨ അടി, ൬ ദാഹകൻ ൭. ശൌണ്ഡികൻ (ഈഴവൻ) ൮. ശില്പികൾ (അൻകുടികമ്മാളർ) ഇവൎക്കു ൨൪ അടി, ൯. പുലയൻ ൧൦. വേടൻ ൧൧. പറയൻ ഇവൎക്കു ൪൮ അടി, ൧൨. ബാക്കി തീണ്ടലുകാൎക്കെല്ലാം ൩൬ അടി. ൧൩. സൂതികയ്ക്കു ൧൮ അടി, ഇങ്ങനെ തീണ്ടലിന്റെ കണക്കു്. പക്ഷാന്തരത്തിൽ പുലയൻ, വേടൻ, പറയൻ ഇവൎക്കു ൬൪ അടിയുണ്ടു്. ഇതിനെ ബൃഹസ്പതിപരാശരന്മാർ—

“യുഗം യുഗദ്വയം ചൈവ ത്രിയുഗം ച ചതുൎയ്യുഗം
ചണ്ഡാലസൂതികോദക്യാപതിതാനാമധഃ ക്രമാൽ.”

എന്നും, (അധഃക്രമാൽ=വിപരീതക്രമമണേത്യൎത്ഥഃ.) സ്മൃതിമു ക്താഫലത്തിൽ:—

"സൂതികാപതിതോകൃശ്ചണ്ഡാലശ്ച ചതുൎത്ഥകഃ
യഥാക്രമം പരിഹരേദേകദ്വിത്രിചതുൎയ്യുഗം."

എന്നും, (അത്ര യഥാക്രമം=യഥാവിധി ഇതി വ്യാഖ്യേയം. കല്പെ വിധിക്രമൗ ഇതികോശഃ വിധിശ്ച ബൃഹസ്പതിപരാശരവിഹി- തഃ.) ലഘുധൎമ്മപ്രകാശികയിൽ —

"പാദഷൾകാദ് ബഹിസ്തിഷ്ഠേച് ഛൂദ്രോഗേഃ പതിതസ്തഥാ
പദത്രയാദ്വാ സച് ഛൂദ്രോ രജകഃ പദഷൾകതഃ.
പദദ്വാദശകാന്നാരീ ബഹിസ്തിഷ്ഠേദ്രജസ്വലാ
അഷ്ടദേശകതോ ബാഹ്യേ പദാനാം സൂതികാ ചരേൽ.
ചതുൎവിംശതികാത്തേഷാം ദാഹകഃ പ്രചരേദ് ബഹിഃ
തക്ഷാ ച ലോഹകാരശ്ച സ്വൎണ്ണകാരശ്ച കാംസ്യകൃൽ.
ശിലാകൃച്ഛൗണ്ഡികശ്ചാഥ തതോ ദ്വിഗുണതോ ബഹിഃ
ശ്വപചഃ പുൽകസ്സാ വ്യാധശ്ചൈതേ,ഷൾത്രിംശതാപദൈഃ
മിതാദ് ബഹിരന്തകതാസ്സു, ചതുഷ്ഷഷ്ട്യാ തു കേചന
ഇച്ഛന്തി ശ്വപചാദീനാം വിപ്രകൎഷം പദൈൎബുധാഃ.
സാധാരണോ'യം വൎണ്ണാനാം സൎവേഷാം ന തു കേവലം
ഗൃഹ്യാഗ്നേരേവ ബോദ്ധവ്യഃ സമുദാചാര ഈരിതഃ."

എന്നും, മഹിഷമംഗലത്തിന്റെ പ്രായശ്ചിത്തവിമൎശിനി യിൽ:—

"ശൂദ്രഃ ഷൾകം ത്രികം വാ പതിതരജകകൗ
വിപ്രകൃഷ്യാഃ പദാനാം
ഷൾകാ സ്ത്രീധൎമ്മിണീ തദ്ദ്വിഗുണമുകയുഗം
ദാഹകഃ ശൗണ്ഡികശ്ച
തക്ഷൈവം തദ്ദ്വിഗുണം പുൽകസമൃഗയുമുഖാ-
കീൎത്തോഷോത്രാന്തരസ്ഥാഃ
ഷൾത്രിംശത് സൂതികാ തദ്ദ്വിഗുണമഹികൃതിത്തു-
ല്യം തു വാ പുഷ്കസാദ്യാഃ."

എന്നും പറഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നു. ഇതിൽ ലഘുധൎമ്മപ്രകാശിക എന്നതു ശാംകരസ്മൃതി എന്നതു തന്നെയാണു. അതിനു മൂലഭൂതമായി

ഭാർഗ്ഗവസ്മൃതിവചനമുണ്ടെന്നു താഴെ കാണിക്കുന്ന ശാംകര സ്മൃതിവചനംകൊണ്ടു സിദ്ധിക്കുന്നു:—

"ആലോക്യ ഭാർഗ്ഗവാൻ പ്രാപ്തം ധർമ്മശാസ്ത്രമിതസ്തതഃ
വിസ്തരേണ വിഷീദന്തു കൃപയാ മനുജേഷു
പ്രായസ്തദേവ സംക്ഷിപ്യ ക്രിയതേ."

൧൧൦. നീലകണ്ഠയോഗീശ്വരൻ "ബൃഹസ്പതിപരാശര വചനവിവരണരൂപത്തിൽ:—

"ഇത്ര യുഗമാനം സ്യാദ്ദണ്ഡാഖ്യം ഹി ഷൾപദം
ചണ്ഡാലാസ്ത്രിവിധാ ജ്ഞേയാ മുഖ്യമദ്ധ്യമഹീനകാഃ
തേഷാം തു യുഗമാനം സ്യാൽ ഷണ്ണവദ്വാദശാത്മകം."

ഇങ്ങനെയും, മാർക്കണ്ഡേയപുരാണത്തിൽ:—

"ദ്വേ വിതസ്തീ തഥാ ഹസ്തോ ബ്രാഹ്മതീർത്ഥാദിവേഷ്ടനം
ചതുർഹസ്തം ധനുർദ്ദണ്ഡം നാഡികായുഗമേവ ച."

എന്നും, മേദിനീകോശകാരൻ—

"യുഗോ രഥാദ്യുപകരണേ ഹസ്തയോസ്തു കൃതാദിഷു
യുഗ്മേ ഹസ്തചതുഷ്കേപി വൃദ്ധിനാമൗഷധേപി ച."

എന്നും, ഹസ്തപ്രമാണത്തെ പററി ആര്യഭടൻ—

"ഹസ്തോംഗുലവിംശത്യാ ചതുരസ്ത്രയാമാതുഷ്കരോ ദണ്ഡഃ."

എന്നും, ഈശദേവൻ ക്രിയാപദ്ധതിഗ്രന്ഥത്തിൽ:—

"മാനാംഗുലദ്വാദശകം വിതസ്തിഃ
വിതസ്തിയുഗ്മം ഖലു കിഷ്കുസംജ്ഞഃ
ഹസ്തം ഭവേത്തസ്തു ചതുർവിംശസ്ത്യാ-
ദന്യോ ദണ്ഡോപി സംഖ്യയാ തൌ."

ഹസ്തപ്രമാണനിരൂപണത്തിലിപ്രകാരവും പറഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നു. ഇങ്ങനെ രീതികളെ പററി അനേകം പ്രമാണവചനങ്ങളും അതുകളിൽ തന്നെ വളരെ മതഭേദങ്ങളും ഉണ്ടെങ്കിലും ബ്രിട്ടീഷ്മലബാർ, കൊച്ചി, തിരുവിതാംകൂർ ഇതുകളുൾപ്പെട്ട ഈ മലയാളത്തിൽ സർവ്വസമ്മതമായും സാർവ്വത്രികമായും അവിച്ഛിന്നപാരമ്പര്യകാലമായി ആചരിച്ചുവരുന്ന രീതികൾ മുമ്പെ കാണിച്ചപ്രകാരമാണ്. ഇതിന്റെ വിധി വിതാനാംഗങ്ങളാണെങ്കിലും ചതുർവർണ്ണങ്ങളിൽ പെട്ട എല്ലാവർക്കും ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിലെ ദേവന്മാർക്കും കളം 'കിണറു

മുതലായവകൾക്കും ഒരുപോലെ ബാധകംതന്നെയാകുന്നു. മലയാളത്തിൽ നീലകണ്ഠയോഗീശ്വരവചനത്തിന്നും കരുണാകര അനുഷ്ഠാനത്തിന്നും വിമൃശനീപ്രായശ്ചിത്തത്തിന്നും ശാംകരസ്മൃതിക്കും ഒരുപോലെ പ്രാമാണ്യം വൈദികന്മാർ, വാദ്ധ്യാന്മാരുൾപ്പെട്ട യോഗക്കാർ, സ്മാർത്തന്മാർ, മീമാംസകന്മാർ, ഓതിക്കന്മാർ, രാജാക്കന്മാർ മുതലായവരെല്ലാം ഒരുപോലെ സമ്മതിച്ചുവരുന്നുണ്ട്.

൧൧൧. ഈ നടപടിക്കു ആപദ്ധർമ്മത്തെ ഒരു സംകോചം പ്രമാണവിഹിതമായിത്തന്നെ കാണുന്നുണ്ട്:—

"സംകടെ വിഷമെ ചൈവ ദുർഗ്ഗെ ചൈവ വിശേഷതഃ
വിട്ടപട്ടണമാർഗ്ഗെ ച യഥാ സംഭവമിഷ്യതെ"

എന്ന സംവർത്തവചനംകൊണ്ടു വീതികുറഞ്ഞവഴി മുതലായ ദിക്കിലും വിഷമസ്ഥലത്തിലും കോട്ട മുതലായ ദുർഗ്ഗപ്രദേശങ്ങളിലും കച്ചവടസ്ഥലങ്ങളിലും പട്ടണങ്ങളിലും ഇതുപോലെയുള്ള മററു പ്രദേശങ്ങളിലും സാധിക്കുന്നവിധം തീണ്ടലിനെ അനുഷ്ഠിച്ചാൽ മതി എന്നു സിദ്ധിക്കുന്നു. ബോധായനന്റെ—

"ആസനം ശയനം യാനം നൌഃ പന്ഥാശ്ച തൃണാനി ച
ചണ്ഡാലപതിതസ്പൃഷ്ടം മാരുതേനൈവ ശുദ്ധ്യതി."

ഈ വചനംകൊണ്ടു ഇരിപ്പുള്ളവ, കിടപ്പാനുള്ളവ, വാഹനം തോണി മുതലായ ജലതരണസാധനങ്ങൾ, വഴി, പുല്ല്, ഇവകൾ ചണ്ഡാലപതിതന്മാർ തൊട്ടാൽകൂടി കാററു തട്ടിയാൽ ശുദ്ധി തീന്നതാകുന്നുവെന്ന വചനവും, പരാശരഷഷ്ഠാദ്ധ്യായത്തിലെ—

"സംപ്രണീതഃ ശ്മശാനേഷു ദീപ്തോഗ്നിഃ ശവഭക്ഷകഃ
ഏവം ച വേദവിദ്വിപ്രഃ സർവ്വഭക്ഷോപി ദൈവതം"

ഈ വചനവും, ഇതിന്റെ വ്യാഖ്യാനമായി മാധവാചാര്യൻ—

"യഥാ ഹ്യഗ്നിഃ ശ്മശാനം നീതഃ ശവഭക്ഷകോപി ദേവതാം നാഥാപയതി ഏവം ബ്രാഹ്മണോപ്യേകൈകസ്യ മന്ത്രസ്യാഭക്ഷ്യഭക്ഷണാദ്യശേഷദോഷനിവർത്തകത്വാൻ ഏവംവിധകൃതേഷ്വപി ദോഷേഷു നിഷ്കൃതിസ്തസ്യ മന്ത്രശക്ത്യാ വർത്തത ഇതി ന തേഷാം കർമ്മണാ നിന്ദനീയതാ."

ഇങ്ങിനെ പ്രതിപാദിച്ചതും, മനു ദശമാദ്ധ്യായത്തിൽ ൧൦൩-ാം ശ്ലോകത്തെ—

"നാധ്യാപനാത്യാജനാദ്വാ ഗർഹിതാദ്വാ പ്രതിഗ്രഹാത്
ദോഷോ ഭവതി വിപ്രാണാം ജ്വലനാംബുസമാ ഹി തെ."

എന്നു വ്യക്തമായി പറഞ്ഞതും ഈ ലെട്ടത്തിൽ പ്രത്യകം ഓക്കേണ്ടതാകുന്നു. എന്നാൽ ഇതെല്ലാം അപവാദ മതേപന ഉള്ള വിധികളാണെന്നു കരുതേണ്ടതാകുന്നു.

൧൧൨. ഈ തീണ്ടലിനെ സജ്ജനങ്ങളാചരിച്ചു വന്നു, എന്നുവെന്നു ശങ്കരവിജയത്തിൽ ശംകരാചാര്യ തിരുവണ്ണാ ലെട്ടത്തിൽ—

"ശങ്കരോ ദിവസമധ്യമഭാഗെ
പങ്കജോജ്ജ്വലപരാഗകഷായാം
ജാഹ്നവീമഭിയയൗ ബഹുശിഷ്യൈ-
രാഹ്നികാവിധിവിശേഷവിധിത്സുഃ
സോന്ത്യജം പഥി നിരീക്ഷ്യ ചതുർഭി-
ർഭീഷണൈഃ ശ്വഭിരനുദ്രുതമാരാൻ
ഗച്ഛ ദൂരമിതി തം നിജഗാദ
പ്രത്യുവാച സ ച ശങ്കരമേനം."

ശങ്കരാചാര്യസ്വാമികൾ ഒരു ദിവസം മധ്യാഹ്നസമയം ശിഷ്യന്മാരോടുകൂടി യഥാവിധി ആഹ്നികകർമ്മം നടത്തുവാൻ പുഷ്പസൗരഭ്യമുള്ള ഗംഗാനദിയിലേക്കു പോകുമ്പോൾ വഴിയിൽ ഭയങ്കരങ്ങളായ നാലു ശ്വാക്കളോടുകൂടിവരുന്ന ഒരു ചണ്ഡാലനെ കണ്ടിട്ടു "നീ അടുത്തുവരാതെ അകലെ പോ" എന്നു വ്യക്തമായി പറഞ്ഞു എന്നു കാണുന്നതിനാൽ തെളിയുന്നുണ്ടു്. സർവ്വസമ്മതമായ സത്തമതപം സിദ്ധിച്ച ആചാര്യസ്വാമികളുടെ ഈ വാക്കുകൊണ്ടു തീണ്ടൽജാതിക്കാരുത്തുവരുകൂടാ എന്നുള്ളതു പുരാതനസദാചാരമാണെന്നു സിദ്ധിക്കുന്നു.

൧൧൩. തീണ്ടലുകളുടെ ക്ഷേത്രാന്തഃപ്രവേശത്തെപ്പററി പ്രായശ്ചിത്തദ്രവ്യകലശത്തിൽ—

"സൂതീപുല്കസബ്രഹ്മപക്ഷിവൈധ്യ വ്യാധാദികാനാം പുനഃ
സാലാന്തർഭുവി ബാഹ്യമണ്ഡലപദെ തക്ഷാദിപാനാം പി
ദീപാഗാരപദെ ച വപ തുരഗാദീനാം തഥാ മധ്യമാ-
രാന്തർമണ്ഡപപദ്മകെ വൃഷലവതാം പ്രപ്ലാവശുദ്ധ്യൈ ഭവേൽ",

ഇങ്ങിനെ പറഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നു. അപ്പയ്യദീക്ഷിതർ ശിവതത്വവി

വേകമെന്ന സ്വഗ്രന്ഥത്തിൽ ശിവനാമോച്ചാരണമാഹാത്മ്യഘട്ടത്തിൽ –

"അപി വാ യശ്ചണ്ഡാലഃ ശിവ ഇതി വാചം
വിസൃജേ തേന സഹ സംവസേൽ."

ഇങ്ങിനെ പറഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നു. ഇതുകൊണ്ടു ചണ്ഡാലൻ തന്നെ ഈശ്വരഭക്തിപരിപൂർണ്ണനായി തന്റെ ജന്മകുലത്തെപ്പററി പശ്ചാത്തപിച്ചു ശ്രദ്ധാദരങ്ങളോടുകൂടി ശിവനാമം പതിവായി ജപിക്കുന്നതായാൽ ആ ചണ്ഡാലന്റെ തീണ്ടൽ പോകും. അവനോടുകൂടി സഹവസിക്കാം എന്നു സിദ്ധിക്കുന്നു. ചിലർ ഇതിന്റെ താൽപര്യം ശിവനാമോച്ചാരണമാഹാത്മ്യത്തിൽ മാത്രമാണ്, വാച്യാർത്ഥത്തിൽ ഇല്ല. അതിനാൽ ഇതു അർത്ഥവാദമാണെന്നു പറയുന്നു. അതെന്തായാലും തീണ്ടൽക്കാരുടെ സാമീപ്യത്തിൽ വേണ്ടതു ചെയ്യാതിരിക്കുന്നതിനെ ഉദാചാരകോടിയിലൊ ആപദ്ധർമ്മകോടിയിലൊ ചേർക്കാനെ വഴിയുള്ളു. നന്ദൻ മുതലായ പഴയ ചില ഭക്തോത്തമന്മാരുടെ കഥ ഇപ്പോഴും വിചാരിച്ചിട്ടു ഫലമില്ല. അതുപോലെയുള്ളവർ ഇക്കാലത്തില്ലല്ലൊ. ആ വിശേഷം വ്യക്തിപരമാകുന്നു. ജാതിപരമല്ല.

ഫ റ ർ. ബ്രാഹ്മണാദി നാലു വർണ്ണങ്ങളെ നാലംഗങ്ങളിൽനിന്നു ഈശ്വരൻ സൃഷ്ടിച്ചു അവക്കു ഓരോ ധർമ്മങ്ങളും നിശ്ചയിച്ചു. അവരിൽനിന്നു ബാഹ്യന്മാരായി ചില ജാതിക്കാർ കർമ്മദോഷംകൊണ്ടും പ്രതിലോമസങ്കരംകൊണ്ടും ഉണ്ടായിവന്നു. അവരെ എല്ലാം ദസ്യുക്കളെന്നു വേദങ്ങളിൽ പറയുന്നു—

"ലോകാനാം തു വിവൃദ്ധ്യർത്ഥം മുഖബാഹൂരുപാദതഃ
ബ്രാഹ്മണം ക്ഷത്രിയം വൈശ്യം ശൂദ്രം ച നിരവർത്തയൽ."

"ഏകമേവ തു ശൂദ്രസ്യ പ്രഭുഃ കർമ്മ സമാദിശൽ
ഏതേഷാമേവ വർണ്ണാനാം ശുശ്രൂഷാമനസൂയയാ."

എന്നു മനു വിവരിച്ചതിന്നുപുറമെ—

"ബ്രാഹ്മണഃ ക്ഷത്രിയോ വൈശ്യസ്ത്രയോ വർണ്ണാ ദ്വിജാതയഃ
ചതുർത്ഥ ഏകജാതിസ്തു ശൂദ്രോ നാസ്തി തു പഞ്ചമഃ."

എന്ന വചനംകൊണ്ടു ബ്രാഹ്മണക്ഷത്രിയവൈശ്യന്മാർ ദ്വിജന്മാരണെന്നും നാലുകൂടാതെ അഞ്ചാമതായി ഒരു വർണ്ണമില്ലെന്നും സിദ്ധിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. വർണ്ണക്കാരിലൊ തദ്ബാഹ്യന്മാരിലൊ യഥാ

വിധിവിവാഹംചെയ്ത സ്ത്രീകളിൽ സമാനവർഗ്ഗക്കാരിൽനിന്നുണ്ടാ യുന്നവർ അതാതു വർഗ്ഗത്തിൽതന്നെ ചേരുന്നുവെന്നു—

"സവർണ്ണേഭ്യഃ സവർണ്ണാസു ജായന്തേ ഹി സജാതയഃ
അനിന്ദ്യേഷു വിവാഹേഷു പുത്രാഃ സന്താനവർദ്ധനാഃ."

ഈ വചനംകൊണ്ടു സ്മൃതികർത്താക്കന്മാർ തീർച്ചപ്പെടുത്തിയിരിക്കുന്നു.

൧൧൭. മനു ദശമാദ്ധ്യായം ൪൫-ാം ശ്ലോകം—

"മുഖബാഹൂരുപജ്ജാനാം യാ ലോകേ ജാതയോ ബഹിഃ
മ്ലേച്ഛവാചശ്ചാര്യവാചഃ സർവ്വേ തേ ദസ്യവഃ സ്മൃതാഃ."

എന്നു ദസ്യുക്കളെ വിവരിക്കുന്നു. ഇതുകൂടാതെ നാല ജാതിയിൽനിന്നും ചെയ്യരുതാത്തവകളായ ദുഷ്ടകർമ്മങ്ങൾനിമിത്തം സജ്ജനങ്ങളാൽ ബഹിഷ്കരിക്കപ്പെടുന്നവരും ദസ്യുകോടിയിലുൾപ്പെടുമെന്നു—

"ഏതേ സർവ്വേ ദസ്യവോ ദോഷൈശ്ചൗര്യാദ്യൈഃ
സദ്ബഹിഷ്കൃതാഃ."

എന്ന വചനംകൊണ്ടു സിദ്ധിക്കുന്നു. ഇവരെ എല്ലാം ധർമ്മശാസ്ത്രപ്രണേതാക്കൾ സാമാന്യനാമംകൊണ്ടു ചണ്ഡാലന്മാർ, അധമന്മാർ, അന്ത്യജന്മാർ, അന്ത്യാവസായികൾ എന്നുമററും ഓരോ ഘട്ടത്തിൽ വ്യവഹരിച്ചുവരുന്നുണ്ട്.

൧൧൮. സജ്ജനങ്ങൾ വേദശാസ്ത്രാദ്യഭിജ്ഞന്മാർ തിക്കുന്നതു ധർമ്മവും നിന്ദിക്കുന്നതു അധർമ്മവുമാണെന്നു—

"യമാര്യാഃ ക്രിയമാണം ഹി ശംസന്ത്യാഗമവേദിനഃ
സ ധർമ്മോ യം വിഗർഹന്തേ തമധർമ്മം പ്രചക്ഷതേ."

എന്ന വിശ്വാമിത്രവചനംകൊണ്ടും ഒരു ധർമ്മം മററൊരു ധർമ്മത്തെ ബാധിക്കുന്നുവെങ്കിലതു ധർമ്മമല്ല അധർമ്മം തന്നെയാകുന്നു വെന്നു—

"ധർമ്മം യോ ബാധതേ ധർമ്മോ ന സ ധർമ്മഃ കദാചന
അവിരോധീ തു യോ ധർമ്മഃ സ ധർമ്മഃ സദ്ഭിരുച്യതേ."

എന്ന വ്യാസവചനംകൊണ്ടും ധർമ്മവിരോധിയായാൽ അർത്ഥത്തെയും കാമത്തെയും വർജ്ജിക്കണമെന്നും ധർമ്മംതന്നെയായാലും ഉത്തരഫലം ദുഃഖമായി ലോകങ്ങൾ പരക്കെ വിദ്വേഷിക്കുന്നതായാൽ അതിനെ ഉപേക്ഷിക്കാമെന്ന്—

“പരിത്യജേദർത്ഥകാമൗ യൗ സ്യാതാം ധർമ്മവർജ്ജിതൗ
ധർമ്മം ചാപ്യസുഖോദർക്കം ലോകവിക്രുഷ്ടമേവ ച”

എന്ന മനു ൪–൧൭൬–ാം ശ്ലോകംകൊണ്ടും—

“കർമ്മണാ മനസാ വാചാ യത്നാദ്ധർമ്മം സമാചരേൽ
അസ്വർഗ്ഗ്യം ലോകവിദ്വിഷ്ടം ധർമ്മമപ്യാചരേന്ന തു”

എന്ന യാജ്ഞവല്ക്യാചാരകാണ്ഡം ൧൫൬–ാം ശ്ലോകംകൊണ്ടും—

“പരിത്യജേദർത്ഥകാമൗ ധർമ്മപീഡാകരൗ നൃപ!
ധർമ്മമപ്യസുഖോദർക്കം ലോകവിദ്വിഷ്ടമേവ ച.”

എന്ന വിഷ്ണുപുരാണവചനംകൊണ്ടും ശാങ്കരസ്മൃതിയിലെ—

“ന കുര്യാല്ലോകവിദ്വിഷ്ടം ധർമ്മമപ്യുദിതം ക്വചിൽ.”

എന്ന വചനംകൊണ്ടും സിദ്ധിക്കുന്നു.

൧൧൭. ചണ്ഡാലാദികളെല്ലാം ശൂദ്രരിൽ ഉൾപ്പെട്ടവർ തന്നെയാണ്. പാണിനിമഹർഷി തന്റെ വ്യാകരണസൂത്രത്തിൽ—

“ശൂദ്രാണാമനിരവസിതാനാം” എന്നു സൂത്രിക്കയും പ്രാമാണികന്മാരായ തദ്വ്യാഖ്യാതാക്കന്മാർ “തക്ഷായസ്കാരം” എന്നുദാഹരിക്കുകയും “അനിരവസിതാനാം കിം” എന്നെടുത്തു “ചണ്ഡാലമൃതപാഃ” എന്നു പ്രത്യുദാഹരിക്കയും ചെയ്തതു ഇതിലേക്കു സാധകമാകുന്നു എന്നു ശങ്കിക്കുന്നുവെങ്കിൽ ഭാഷ്യകാരൻ ശൂദ്രപദത്തെ എടുത്തു “അത്ര ശൂദ്രപദം ത്രൈവർണികേതരപരം” എന്നു വ്യാഖ്യാനിച്ചിരിക്കയാൽ ആ ശങ്കക്കു അസ്പദമില്ലെന്നു തെളിയുന്നു.

൧൧൮. മ്ലേച്ഛന്മാരെപ്പററി ബൃഹന്മനു—

“ഗോമാംസഖാദകോ യസ്തു വിരുദ്ധം ബഹു ഭാഷതേ
സർവ്വാചാരവിഹീനശ്ച മ്ലേച്ഛ ഇത്യഭിധീയതേ.”

എന്നും യാജ്ഞവല്ക്യപ്രായശ്ചിത്തഷഷ്ഠശ്ലോകവ്യാഖ്യാനേ വിജ്ഞാനേശ്വരൻ പാഷണ്ഡികളെപ്പററി—

“നരശിരഃ കപാലാദിശ്രുതിബാഹ്യലിംഗധാരണം
പാഷണ്ഡം തദ്യേഷാം തേ പാഷണ്ഡിനഃ.”

എന്നും ഗ്രന്ഥാന്തരത്തിൽ പാഷണ്ഡന്മാരെന്ന പാഠത്തെ അവലംബിച്ചു—

"പാവനാച്ച ത്രയീധർമ്മഃ പാശണ്ഡ്യേന നിഗദ്യതേ
തം ഖണ്ഡയന്തി തേ യസ്മാൽ പാഖണ്ഡാസ്തേന ഹേതുനാ,"

എന്നും, യാജ്ഞവല്ക്യൻ വ്രാത്യന്മാരെപ്പററി—

"അനുലോമാ നികൃഷ്ടായാമുൽകൃഷ്ടാദ്ഭവന്തി യേ
പ്രതിലോമാ വിപര്യസ്താ വ്രാത്യാസ്തൽപ്രതിലോമജാഃ."

എന്നും, മറെറാരു ധർമ്മശാസ്ത്രപ്രണേതാവു്—

"ദ്വിജാതയഃ സവർണ്ണാസു ജനയന്ത്യവ്രതാസ്തു യാൻ
താൻ സാവിത്രീപരിഭ്രഷ്ടാൻ വ്രാത്യാനിതി വിനിർദ്ദിശേൽ.

എന്നും, മനു—

"അത ഊർദ്ധ്വം ത്രയോപ്യേതേ യഥാകാലമസംസ്കൃതാഃ
സാവിത്രീപതിതാ വ്രാത്യാ ഭവന്ത്യാര്യവിഗർഹിതാഃ"

എന്നും, ബോധായനൻ—

"ത്രിഷു വർണ്ണേഷു സാദൃശ്യാദവ്രതോ ജനയേത്തു യാൻ
താൻ സാവിത്രീപരിഭ്രഷ്ടാൻ വ്രാത്യാനാഹുർമനീഷിണഃ."

എന്നും, ദേവലകനെ പററി സാത്വതസംഹിതയിൽ ഉപാചരിച്ഛേദത്തിൽ—

"ഗൃഹീത്വാ ദേവബിംബം വൃത്ത്യർത്ഥമടതീഹ യഃ
നഗരാപ്പണവീഥീഷു തസ്യ ദേവലകസ്യ ച."

എന്നും, ദേവലൻ—

"ദേവാർച്ചനപരോ നിത്യം വിത്താർത്ഥീ വത്സരത്രയം
അസൌ ദേവലകോ നാമ ഹവ്യകവ്യേഷു ഗർഹിതഃ
അപാങ്ക്തേയസ്സ വിജ്ഞേയഃ സർവ്വകർമ്മസു സർവ്വദാ"

എന്നും, ദേവലകപദവ്യാഖ്യാതാക്കന്മാർ—

പശുബലികർത്താ പ്രതിമോപജീവീ ഹീനജാതിർദ്ദേവലകഃ.

എന്നും മററും പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ളതു ഈ ഘട്ടത്തിൽ ഓർമ്മിക്കേണ്ടതാകുന്നു.

ഏഫന ഋഗ്വേദം ൯-ാം മണ്ഡലം ൧൯-ാം അനുവാകം എന്നു.

"സസർപ്പരീരമതിം ബാധമാനാ ബൃഹന്മിമായ ജമദഗ്നിദത്താ സസർപ്പരീരഭരത്തൂയമേഭ്യോധി ശ്രവഃ പാഞ്ചജന്യാസു കൃഷ്ടിഷു"

എന്ന മന്ത്രവും ഇതിന്റെ ഭാഷ്യത്തിലെ—

"സസർപരീഃ സർവ്വത്ര ഗദ്യപദ്യാത്മകത്വേന സർപണശീലാ വാഗ്ദേവതാ പാഞ്ചജന്യാസു കൃഷ്ടിഷു നിഷാദപഞ്ചമാശ്ചത്വാരോ വർണ്ണാസ്തത്സംബന്ധിനീഷു പ്രജാസു യൽ ശ്രവഃ അന്നം വിദ്യതേ തന്ന അസ്മഭ്യം അധി അധികം യഥാ ഭവതി തഥാ തളയം ക്ഷിപ്രം അഭരൽ ഭരതു സംപാദയേത്തു"

എന്ന വാക്യവും ചതുർവർണ്ണബഹിർഭൂതന്മാരായ ചില വർഗ്ഗക്കാരുണ്ടെന്നു തെളിയിക്കുന്നു.

൧൮൦. ഇങ്ങനെയുള്ള ചണ്ഡാലന്മാർക്കു ക്ഷേത്രാന്തപ്രവേശം അനുവദിക്കപ്പെടാവുന്നതല്ലെങ്കിലും അവർ പൂർവ്വജന്മാർജ്ജിതഫലാനുഭോക്താക്കളാകയാൽ അവരെ നിന്ദിക്കയൊ അവരുടെനേരെ കോപിക്കയൊ ചെയ്യരുതെന്നും പശ്ചാത്താപംകൊണ്ടു അവർക്കു ജന്മാന്തരത്തിൽ ശുദ്ധിവന്നു ഉൽകൃഷ്ടജാതിത്വം സിദ്ധിക്കുമെന്നും മഹാഭാരതം അനുശാസനപർവ്വത്തിൽ [illegible]-ാം അദ്ധ്യായത്തിലെ

"നച നിന്ദേനാപി കർമ്മൽ ഭുഞ്ജതേ സ്വകൃതം ഫലം
ചണ്ഡാലാ അപി താം ജാതിം ശോചന്തഃ ശുദ്ധിമാപ്നുയുഃ"

എന്ന വചനംകൊണ്ടു സിദ്ധിക്കുന്നു. അതിനാൽ അവരുടെ സ്ഥിതിയെ ഉയർത്തിക്കൊണ്ടു വരുന്നതത്യാവശ്യമാണ്. അതിനു അവർക്കു ഈശ്വരാരാധനത്തിനും മതസംബന്ധമായ അറിവു വർദ്ധിപ്പാനും സൌകര്യമുണ്ടാക്കിക്കൊടുക്കേണ്ടതാകുന്നു. തിരുവല്ലാത്താലൂക്കിൽ പനയന്നാർകാവ് എന്നൊരു ക്ഷേത്രമുണ്ടു. അതിൽ പള്ളിയറയിൽ ഹവിഷ്യരും ബാക്കിസ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ അടികളും നിത്യത പൂജനടത്തുന്നു. കൊല്ലംതോറും ഒരിക്കൽ തന്ത്രിവന്നു ശുദ്ധിക്രിയ നടത്തി ൨ ദിവസം വിശേഷപൂജചെയ്തു പിന്നെ നിത്യതപൂജക്കാർക്കു ഒഴിഞ്ഞുകൊടുക്കുന്നു. ഇതുപോലെ ഈഴവരുടെ ചില ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ ബ്രാഹ്മണരാണ് പ്രതിഷ്ഠാക്രിയ നടത്തിയതെന്നും അവരുടെ ഉപദേശപ്രകാരം ഈഴവർ തന്നെ നിത്യപൂജ നടത്തിവരുന്നുവെന്നും കാണുന്നുണ്ടു.

൧൨൮. ഈ തത്വമെല്ലാമാലോചിക്കുമ്പോൾ സവർണ്ണക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ അവർണ്ണർക്കു പുരാതനകല്പിതമായ അതിരിനെ ലംഘിച്ചു പ്രവേശിപ്പാനാഗ്രഹിക്കേണ്ടതില്ലെന്നും സ്വന്തമായി അതാതുവർഗ്ഗക്കാർക്കു പ്രത്യേകം ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളുണ്ടാക്കി ആരാധനയും മറ്റും നടത്താവുന്നതാണെന്നും കാണുന്നു. ഇതുകൊണ്ടു സവർണ്ണഹിന്ദുക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ മതപരമായ ആരാധനയേയും കർമ്മങ്ങളേയും നിയന്ത്രിക്കുന്ന തത്വങ്ങളും നിയമങ്ങളും ആചാരവും ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശവിഷയത്തിൽ ബാധകമാകാതെ ഇരിക്കുന്നതല്ലെന്നു പൂർണ്ണമായി സിദ്ധിക്കുന്നു.

ദശമാദ്ധ്യായം.

൧൨൯. (൧) ഗവർമ്മെൻറു മാനേജുമെൻറിൽ ഇരിക്കുന്നതൊ അല്ലാത്തതൊ ആയ സ്വകാര്യക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളുടെ കാര്യത്തിൽ ഗവർമ്മെൻറിനു എത്രമാത്രം പ്രവേശിക്കാം. അല്ലെങ്കിൽ എത്രമാത്രം പ്രവേശിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്? ഇക്കാര്യത്തിൽ ഗവർമ്മെൻറിനു ഗവർമ്മെൻറുഭരണത്തിലിരിക്കുന്ന ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചു എന്തവകാശമാണുള്ളതെന്നു ഒന്നാമതായി ആലോചിക്കണം. ഭരണം ഏറ്റെടുത്തസമയം അതുകളെ ഭരിപ്പാനുള്ള അധികാരം മാത്രമാണു വഹിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളത്. ൯൮൬-ാം കൊല്ലവർഷം കന്നി ൨൮-ാംനു-കർണ്ണൽമൺറോ സായ്പ് ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങൾ ഏറ്റെടുത്തതിനു ശേഷം ൧൨൬-ാം നമ്പ്രായി സർവ്വാധികാര്യന്മാർക്കെഴുതിയ സന്നതിൽ "മാമൂൽപ്രകാരം പൂജയടിയന്തിരം വകക്കു ചിലവിട്ടുവിച്ചുകൊള്ളുകയും വേണം" എന്നു കാണിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. അതുകൊണ്ട് ചിലവിൻെറ കാര്യമാണ് വ്യക്തമായി പറഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ളതെങ്കിലും യാതൊരു മാമൂലും ഭേദപ്പെടുത്തരുതെന്നുള്ള അർത്ഥം അർത്ഥാപത്ത്യാ അന്തർലീനമായി കിടക്കുന്നുണ്ട്.

൧൩൦. അത്രയുമല്ല, തിരുവിതാംകൂർ ലാറിപ്പോർട്ട ൧൩-ാം വാല്യം ൧൨൪-ാം നമ്പറിൽ "ഗവർമ്മെൻറിനു ക്ഷേത്രത്തിൽ ഉടമസ്ഥത ഇല്ല. ഭരണാവകാശം മാത്രമെ ഉള്ളു. അതിനാൽ ട്രസ്റ്റി എന്ന നിലയാകയാൽ ദേവസ്വം ഭൂമിയിന്മേൽ പണ്ടാരഭൂമിയിന്മേലുള്ളതുപോലെ സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം പ്രവർത്തിച്ചുകൂടാ" എന്നു തീരുമാനിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. ആചാരവിരുദ്ധമായി ട്രസ്റ്റിമാർ പ്രവേശനമില്ലാത്തവർക്കു പ്രവേശാനുവാദം കൊടുക്കുകയോ

മററം ചെയ്താൽ അക്കാൎയ്യത്തിൽ ക്ഷേത്രത്തിലാരാധന നടത്തുന്ന എല്ലാവൎക്കും ആക്ഷേപിപ്പാനവകാശമുണ്ടെന്നു് "ശംകരലിംഗനാടാൻ അഭിരാമേശ്വരധ്വരെ" എന്ന കേസ്സിൽ മദിരാശി ഹൈക്കോർട്ടു വിധിച്ചതിനെ പ്രിവി കൌൺസിൽ സ്ഥിരപ്പെടുത്തീട്ടുമുണ്ടു്. ആയതു മദിരാശി ലാ റിപ്പോർട്ടു ൩൧-ാം വാല്യം ൨൩൬-ാം ഭാഗത്തിൽ പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തീട്ടും ഉണ്ടു്.

൧൨൪. പ്രകൃതത്തിലിരിക്കുന്ന അവൎണ്ണരുടെ പ്രവേശം പാടില്ലെന്നുള്ള സംഗതി ഗവൎമ്മെന്റിനു സമ്മതിക്കത്തക്കതാണെന്നുള്ളതിലേക്കു ക്രിമിനലും സിവിലുമായി അനേകം വിധികൾ ഉള്ളതെടുത്തെഴുതി അധികം ഗ്രന്ഥവിസ്തരം വരുത്തുവാൻ ശ്രമിക്കുന്നില്ല. ൧൮൮൮ ഏപ്രിൽ ൧൨-നു-ക്കു ൧൦൬൩ മീനം ൩൦-നു-ശ്രീമൂലംതിരുനാൾ മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടു പുറപ്പെടുവിച്ച കല്പനയിൽ "ശരിയായിട്ടുള്ളതെന്നു നമ്മുടെ ഗവൎമ്മെന്റു സമ്മതിക്കാവുന്ന ആചാരവും നടപ്പും അനുസരിച്ചു ദേവസ്വങ്ങളെ ഭരിക്കയും ചെയ്യേണ്ടതാകുന്നു" എന്നു വ്യക്തമായി കാണിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു്. ആ സ്ഥിതിക്കു ഈ ആചാരത്തെ ഭേദപ്പെടുത്താൻ തിരുമനസ്സിലെ ഗവൎമ്മെന്റിനു പാടുള്ളതല്ലെന്നു വ്യക്തമാകുന്നു.

൧൨൫. ൧൭൫൦ ജനുവരി ൧൭-നു-നടന്ന തിരുപ്പടിദാനമെന്ന പ്രസിദ്ധമായ പത്മനാഭസ്വാമിക്കുള്ള രാജ്യസമൎപ്പണത്തിനുശേഷം മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടുതന്നെ ശ്രീപത്മനാഭദാസനെന്ന നിലയിൽ പ്രതിനിധിയാണെന്നു കരുതേണ്ടതാണു്. ആ സ്ഥിതിക്കു തിരുമനസ്സിലെ ഗവൎമ്മെന്റിനു ധൎമ്മശാസ്ത്രത്തിനു അനുസരിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതും ആദികാലം നിശ്ചയിപ്പാൻ കഴിയാത്തവിധം പഴക്കമുള്ളതും ഈ സ്റ്റേററിൽ മുഴുവൻ മാത്രമല്ല കൊച്ചിൻസ്റ്റേററിലും, ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് മലബാറിലും ഒരുപോലെ വ്യാപിച്ചു കിടക്കുന്നതുമായ ഒരു കാൎയ്യത്തിലതിനെ അന്യഥാകരിക്കത്തക്കവിധം പ്രവേശിപ്പാൻ പാടുള്ളതല്ലെന്നു സ്പഷ്ടമാകുന്നു.

൧൨൬. ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളുടെ കാൎയ്യത്തിൽ തിരുവിതാംകൂർ ഗവൎമ്മെന്റു എത്രത്തോളം പ്രവേശിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നാലോചിക്കുമ്പോൾ ശുചീന്ദ്രം ക്ഷേത്രത്തിൽവെച്ചു തിളച്ചുകിടക്കുന്ന നെയ്യിൽ

കൈമുക്കുക എന്നൊരു ക്രിയ നടത്തിയിരുന്നതു ചൂഷിക്കല്പന ൧൦൩൯-ാമതിൽ നിഷേധിച്ചതായി കാണുന്നുണ്ടു്. ആ ക്രിയ കായികമായ കഠിനോപദ്രവം തട്ടാവുന്നതാണു്. അക്കാൎയ്യത്തിൽ ബ്രിട്ടീഷ് ഗവൎമ്മെൻറിൻെറ പ്രേരണയുമുണ്ടായി എന്നാണു അറിയുന്നതു്. ആ ക്രിയ നിൎത്തുന്നതുനിമിത്തം ക്ഷേത്രത്തിൽ സ്വാന്നിദ്ധ്യക്ഷയവൊ മറ്റൊ ഉണ്ടാമെന്നു വിചാരിപ്പാൻ ശാസ്ത്രമൊ ന്യായമൊ ഇല്ല. ആയതു വ്യഭിചാരശങ്കയിൽ നടത്തിവന്നിരുന്ന ഒരു പരീക്ഷയൊ പ്രായശ്ചിത്തമൊ മാത്രമാണു്. സ്ഥലമാഹാത്മ്യംനിമിത്തം അവിടെവെച്ചു നടത്തുവാൻ നിശ്ചയിച്ചുവെന്നതുകൊണ്ടു ആയതു ക്ഷേത്രകാൎയ്യമായി ഗണിപ്പാനവകാശമില്ല. ആ ആചാരം നിവൃത്തിയില്ലാത്തതിനാൽ നിൎത്തിക്കളഞ്ഞുവെങ്കിലും തന്ത്രാക്കറ്റു, വാദ്ധ്യാന്മാർ, വൈദികന്മാർ, ആഢ്യന്മാർ, പണ്ഡിതന്മാർ, സ്മാൎത്തന്മാർ, മീമാംസകന്മാർ, മുതലായി വേദവേദാംഗാദിനിപുണന്മാരായ വിശിഷ്ടമലയാളബ്രാഹ്മണരെ വരുത്തി ആ ക്രിയയുടെ സ്ഥാനത്തു വേറെ ചില ക്രിയകൾ നിശ്ചയിച്ചിട്ടുമുണ്ടു്.

൧൫൭. പിന്നെ ചേൎത്തല ഭഗവതീക്ഷേത്രത്തിൽ പൂരപ്പാട്ടു പാടുക എന്നൊരു ജുഗുപ്സിതമായ നടപടിയുണ്ടായിരുന്നതിനെ നിൎത്തീട്ടുണ്ടു്. ആ നടപടി ധൎമ്മശാസ്ത്രവിഹിതവും ആഗമാൎത്ഥാനുസാരിയുമല്ലായ്കയാൽ സദാചാരമായിരുന്നില്ല. അതിനാലതു പ്രകൃതകാൎയ്യത്തിൽ സംബന്ധിപ്പിക്കാവുന്നതല്ല. ഇതു ക്ഷേത്രമതിലിനു പുറത്തായിരുന്നു. ൧൦൬൭-ൽ മണ്ടക്കാട്ടുക്ഷേത്രത്തിൽ ആടുകളെയും കോഴികളെയും അറുത്തു ബലി കഴിക്കുക എന്ന ഒരു പ്രവൃത്തി നടന്നിരുന്നതിനെ നിൎത്തൽചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ടു്. ആ പ്രവൃത്തിയും ക്ഷേത്രമതിലിനു പുറത്തുവെച്ചു നടന്നിരുന്നതാണു്. അതിനാലിതും ക്ഷേത്രകാൎയ്യസംബന്ധമല്ല. അത്രയുമല്ല ഈ നടപടികൾ ഒന്നൊ രണ്ടൊ ചുരുക്കം ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ മാത്രമെ ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നുള്ളു. ശാസ്ത്രവിഹിതവും സാൎവ്വത്രികവും ശിഷ്ടസമ്മതവുമായ സദാചാരത്തെ മാററിയതായി ഇതുകൊണ്ടു വിചാരിപ്പാൻ വഴിയില്ല.

൧൫൮. ൧൦൯൭-ൽ ചക്കാലനായന്മാൎക്കു നാലമ്പലത്തിനകത്തു മററു നായന്മാരെപ്പോലെ പ്രവേശിക്കാമെന്നു തീൎച്ച മാനിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു്. ആയതു അവർ നായന്മാരുടെ വൎഗ്ഗത്തിൽപ്പെ

ങ്ങളാകാണെന്നും മുമ്പു പ്രവേശിച്ചു വന്നിരുന്നവയെന്നും ഉള്ള കാരണത്തിന്മേലും തന്ത്രിമാരുടേയും മററു വിശിഷ്ടബ്രാഹ്മണരുടെയും അനുവാദത്തോടുകൂടിയും ചെയ്തതാണെന്നു കാണുന്നുണ്ട്. അതിനാലിതും സദാചാരലംഘനമാവുന്നതല്ല. അത്രയുമല്ല, ശ്രീ പത്മനാഭസ്വാമിക്ഷേത്രത്തിലും പത്മതീൎത്ഥത്തിലും ചക്കാലനായന്മാരുടെ പ്രവേശം പണ്ടില്ലായിരുന്നതിനാൽ മേലിലും പാടില്ലെന്ന് ആ തീൎപ്പിൽ കാണിച്ചിട്ടും ഉണ്ട്.

൧൧൯. ൧൯൨൧-ൽ ചില ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ ദേവദാസിമാർ ചെയ്തുവന്നിരുന്ന നടപടിയെ നിൎത്തൽ ചെയ്തതായി കാണുന്നുണ്ട്. ആ നടപടി ഈ സ്റ്റേററിലൊ മററു മലയാളരാജ്യത്തിലൊ സാൎവ്വത്രികമായി നടന്നുവരുന്നതല്ല. രണ്ടോ നാലോ ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ മാത്രമെ നടന്നുവന്നിരുന്നുള്ളു. ആയതു കേരളാചാരത്തിന്റെ കൂട്ടത്തിൽ ഗണിക്കപ്പെടാവുന്നതല്ലാത്തതിനാൽ വേണ്ടെന്നു വെച്ചതാണു.

൧൨൦. സമുദ്രയാത്രചെയ്തവരും തലമുടി വെട്ടിയവരും അമ്പലത്തിൽ പ്രവേശിച്ചിരുന്നില്ലെന്നും ഇപ്പോൾ പ്രവേശിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെന്നും ഒരു ആചാരമാററത്തെ ചിലർ കല്പിക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. സമുദ്രയാത്ര താല്പൎയ്യേണ (അതൊരു സ്വഭാവമായി) ചെയ്യുന്നതിനെ മാത്രമെ ധൎമ്മശാസ്ത്രം വിരോധിക്കുന്നുള്ളു. സന്ധ്യാലോപവും ആചാരഭ്രംശവും വരുത്താതെ അത്യാവശ്യമായ കാൎയ്യത്തിനു മാത്രം യാത്ര ചെയ്യുന്നവൎക്കു ആയതു ബാധകമാകുവാൻ ധൎമ്മശാസ്ത്രം സഹായിക്കുന്നില്ല. അല്ലെങ്കിലത്യന്തപുണ്യമെന്നു ശിഷ്ടസമ്മതമായ സേതുസ്നാനത്തിനു പോയവൎക്കെല്ലാം ഈ ദോഷം കല്പിക്കപ്പെടേണ്ടിവരും. സമുദ്രയാത്രകൂടാതെ ധനുഷ്കോടിയിൽ സേതുസ്നാനമസാദ്ധ്യമാണല്ലൊ. ക്ഷേത്രവിധിയെ പ്രതിപാദിക്കുന്ന ആഗമങ്ങളിൽ ഇതിനെ വിരോധിച്ചതായി കാണുന്നതുമില്ല. "സമുദ്രയായീ" എന്ന പദത്തിലെ താച്ഛീല്യാൎത്ഥകണിനിപ്രത്യയവും—

"ദ്വിജസ്യാബ്ധൌ തു നൌയാതുഃ ശോധിതസ്യാപി സംഗ്രഹഃ"

എന്നെടുത്തു നൌയാതൃപദത്തിൽ "ആ ക്വേസ്തച്ഛീലതദ്ധൎമ്മതത്സാധുകാരിഷു" എന്നു കല്പിക്കേണ്ടുന്ന തൃൻ പ്രത്യയവും ഇതിലേക്കു സാധകമാണ്. തലമുടിവെട്ടിയവരുടെ കാൎയ്യത്തിൽ ശി

ഛാത്യാഗം ദോഷമാണെങ്കിലും ആപല്ധർമ്മമായൊ പ്രത്യേകകാരണത്താലൊ ചെയ്കതാണെങ്കിൽ വലിയ ദോഷമാകുന്നതല്ല. ക്ഷേത്രത്തിൽ ആരാധനക്ക വരുന്നവരുടെ നടപടികളെല്ലാം പരിശോധിച്ചു ദോഷമൊന്നുമില്ലെന്നു തീർച്ചപ്പെടുത്തുന്നതു ദുസ്സാധ്യമാണ്. ഇവർ മുമ്പു ക്ഷേത്രത്തിൽ പ്രവേശിച്ചിരുന്നില്ലെങ്കിൽ ഈ പ്രവൃത്തികൾ നിമിത്തം തങ്ങൾക്ക ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശയോഗ്യത ഇല്ലാതെയായി എന്നു അവർ തന്നെ തീർച്ചയാക്കി പ്രവേശിക്കാത്തതായിരിക്കണം. അല്ലാതെ അവരുടെ പ്രവേശം മുമ്പു ഗവൺമെൻറു കല്പനകൊണ്ടു നിഷേധിച്ചതായൊ ഇപ്പോൾ അനുവദിച്ചതായൊ കാണുന്നതുമില്ല.

൨൧൨. അതിനാൽ ശാസ്ത്രത്തിനും ആചാരത്തിനും നിയമത്തിനും വിരുദ്ധമായി, ഗവൺമെൻറുഭരണത്തിലിരിക്കുന്നതൊ അല്ലാത്തതൊ ആയ ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ ഗവർൺമെൻറിനു ഒന്നും പ്രവൃത്തിപ്പാൻ പാടില്ലെന്നു തീർച്ചതന്നെയാണ്. ഗവർൺമെൻറു അങ്ങിനെ പ്രവൃത്തിക്കുന്നതായാൽ അതിനെ തടുക്കുവാനാർക്കും ശക്തി ഇല്ലന്നൊ തടുക്കുന്നതല്ലെന്നൊ ഉള്ള കാരണത്തിന്മേൽ, സകലകാൎയ്യങ്ങളും ന്യായമായും മൎയ്യാദയായും നടത്തുന്നമെന്നു ദൃഢാഭിപ്രായമുള്ള തിരുമനസ്സിലെ ഗവൺമെൻറിനു ആയതു പ്രവൃത്തിക്കുന്നതു ഒട്ടും ഉചിതമായിത്തീരുന്നതല്ല.

ഏകാദശാദ്ധ്യായഃ.

൨൧൩. (൧) ഗവൺമെൻറു വല്ല ഏല്പനയും ചെയ്കഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ടോ? എന്നതിനെപ്പററിയാലോചിക്കുമ്പോൾ താഴെ കാണിക്കുന്ന ഏഴ് ഏല്പനകൾ ചെയ്കിട്ടുള്ളതായി വ്യക്തമായി കാണുന്നുണ്ട്. ഈ ഏല്പനകൾ ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ ഗവർൺമെൻറിനു കീഴ്മൎയ്യാദയും ന്യായവുമനുസരിച്ചു ഭരണം നടത്തേണ്ടതിന്നല്ലാതെ സദാചാരപ്രകാരവും ധർമ്മശാസ്ത്രപ്രകാരവും ശരിയായുള്ള നടപടികളെ ഭേദപ്പെടുത്താനവകാശമില്ലെന്നു തെളിയിക്കുന്നു.

(൨) വയ്ക്കം ക്ഷേത്രത്തിലെ ൭ ൪-ാമാണ്ടു ഗ്രന്ഥവരിപ്രകാരം ക്ഷേത്രത്തിലെ ഊരാഴ്മക്കാരുടെ അപേക്ഷയനുസരിച്ചു മഹാരാജാവു ദേവനേയും ആചാരത്തേയും കീഴ്മൎയ്യാദപോലെ പരിപാലിക്കാമെന്നു കയ്യേററിട്ടുണ്ട്,

(൫) ൯൨൫-ാമാണ്ടു തിരുപ്പടിദാനം അനുസരിച്ചു മാൎത്താണ്ഡവൎമ്മ മഹാരാജാവു് പത്മനാഭന്റെ ദാസനായി കീഴമൎയ്യാദപ്രകാരം രാജ്യത്തെ ഭരിച്ചുപോരാമെന്നു ഉറപ്പു കൊടുത്തു കയ്യേററിട്ടുണ്ടു്.

(൬) ൯൨൬-ാമാണ്ടിൽ ആലങ്ങാട്ടുരാജാവിനോടു കീഴ്മൎയ്യാദപ്രകാരം ദേവനേയും ബ്രാഹ്മണരേയും രക്ഷിക്കാമെന്നു ഉടമ്പടി ചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ടു്.

(൭) ൯൮൯-ാമാണ്ടിൽ പറവൂർ രാജാവിനോടു മേൽകാണിച്ചപ്രകാരം ഉടമ്പടി ചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ടു്.

(൮) ൯൮൬-ാമാണ്ടിൽ കൎണ്ണൽമൺറൊ സായ്പു ഊരായ്മക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളെ സംസ്ഥാനത്തിലേക്കു ചേൎത്തപ്പോൾ ൩൮൨ ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങൾക്കു സ്ഥാവരസ്വത്തുക്കളുണ്ടായിരുന്നു. ൧൧൨൧ ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങൾക്കു സ്ഥാവരസ്വത്തുക്കളില്ലായിരുന്നുവെന്നും ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളെ നല്ലപോലെ ഭരിക്കാമെന്നുള്ള ഉദ്ദേശ്യത്തിന്മേലെടുത്തതാണെന്നും ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാർ എഴുതിഅയച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതായി കാണുന്നു.

(൯) ൧൦൪൮-ാമാണ്ടു രാജ്യഭരണറിപ്പോർട്ടിൽ സൎക്കാരിലേക്കു ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ ട്രസ്റ്റ് സ്ഥാനമേ ഉള്ളുവെന്നു പ്രസ്താവിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു്.

(൧൦) ൧൦൯൬-ാമാണ്ടിൽ ലാൻറുറവന്യു ൪൦ ലക്ഷത്തിൽ നിന്നു ദേവസ്വം ഭരണത്തിനായി ൧൬ലക്ഷം രൂപ കൊടുക്കണമെന്നു തീൎച്ചപ്പെടുത്തി വിളംബരം ചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ടു്.

ഷോഡശാദ്ധ്യായഃ.

ഉപസംഹാരഃ.

൧൩൩. ഗവൺമെന്റിൽനിന്നു പ്രത്യേകം ചില കാൎയ്യങ്ങളെപ്പററി റിപ്പോർട്ടുചെയ്വാൻ ഉദ്ദേശിച്ചപ്രകാരം അതുകളെപ്പററി അഭിപ്രായങ്ങൾ ഇതുവരെയുള്ള അദ്ധ്യായങ്ങളിൽ സപ്രമാണമായും സയുക്തികമായും കാണിച്ചതിൽ ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശത്തെപ്പററിയ അഭിപ്രായവും ഉൾപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുണ്ടെങ്കിലും അതിനെപ്പററി സംക്ഷേപിച്ചു ഒരു നിരൂപണം ഈ അദ്ധ്യായത്തിൽ ചെയ്വാൻ തുടങ്ങുന്നു.

൧൩൪. ക്ഷേത്രത്തിലെ ആചാരങ്ങൾക്കും പ്രമാണങ്ങൾക്കും വിരുദ്ധമായി അവൎണ്ണൎക്കു അതിരുവിട്ടു അകത്തു പ്രവേശം

ക്കാട്ടുകനെന്നതുകൊണ്ടു ക്ഷേത്രത്തിന്നു അശുദ്ധിതട്ടുകയും പൂജമുതലായതു നടത്താൻ പാടില്ലാതെയാകയും ദേവസാന്നിദ്ധ്യം നശിക്കയം ചെയ്യുമെന്നു തീർച്ചയാണ്. അതുനിമിത്തം അവൎക്ക് അതുമാതിരി പ്രവേശം അനുവദിച്ചു കൊടുപ്പാൻ പാടുള്ളതല്ല. അതാതാളുകൾക്കു നിശ്ചയിച്ചു പ്രകാരമല്ലാതെ അന്യന്മാൎക്കു നിശ്ചയിച്ച പ്രകാരം ധൎമ്മകാൎയ്യം തന്നെ അനുഷ്ഠിക്കുന്നതു ദോഷമാണെന്നു മുമ്പു വിവരിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്.

൧൩൮. അവൎണ്ണർ അറിവില്ലായ്മനിമിത്തമൊ മറെറാ ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിലും ആ അധൎമ്മപ്രവൃത്തി നടത്തി അവൎക്കുതന്നെ ദോഷം വരുത്തുവാൻ ഗവൎമ്മെന്റ് ഒരു വിധവും വഴി വെച്ചു കൊടുക്കരുതാത്തതാകുന്നു. പ്രജകളെ അധൎമ്മമാൎഗ്ഗത്തിൽനിന്ന് പിൻമടക്കേണ്ടതു ഗവൎമ്മെന്റിന്റെ മുഖ്യചുമതലയാണ്. അങ്ങിനെ ചെയ്യാതിരുന്നാൽ രാജാവിന്നും പ്രജകൾക്കും രാജ്യത്തിന്നും വലിയ അനൎത്ഥങ്ങൾ വന്നുചേരുന്നതാണെന്നു മാത്രമല്ല, അവൎണ്ണരുടെ പ്രവേശം നിമിത്തം തൽക്കാലം പല ലഹളകൾക്കും ഇടയാകയും ക്രമേണ ക്ഷേത്രം നിരുപയോഗമായിത്തീരുകയും ചെയ്യുമെന്നതിന്നു സംശയമില്ല. അധികം, കമ്മിററിമുമ്പാകെ പ്രശ്നാവലിക്കുത്തരമായും മൊഴിയായും കിട്ടിയ ജനാഭിപ്രായം നോക്കിയാൽ അധികാഭിപ്രായം ആചാരവിരുദ്ധമായും പ്രമാണവിരുദ്ധമായും അവൎണ്ണൎക്കു ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശം കൊടുക്കരുതെന്നാണെന്നു കാണുന്നു.

൧൩൯. ഗവൎമ്മെന്റിന്നു ഇപ്പോൾ ഗവൎമ്മെന്റു ഭരണത്തിലിരിക്കുന്ന ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ ട്രസ്റ്റിയവകാശം മാത്രമാകയാൽ കീഴ്മൎയ്യാദപ്രകാരം നടപ്പായുള്ള മാമൂലുകളെ രക്ഷിപ്പാനല്ലാതെ മാമൂലുകൾ ഭേദപ്പെടുത്താനധികാരമില്ല. ശക്തിയുള്ളതുകൊണ്ടു അധികാരത്തെ അതിക്രമിച്ചു പ്രവൎത്തിക്കുക എന്നതു മാതൃകാരാജ്യമെന്നും ധൎമ്മരാജ്യമെന്നും പ്രസിദ്ധിനേടിയ ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലും പത്മനാഭദാസനെന്നു എത്രയോ വിലയേറിയ സ്ഥാനം സിദ്ധിച്ച പൊന്നുതമ്പുരാൻ തിരുമനസ്സിലെ ഗവൎമ്മെന്റിന്നും ഒരിക്കലും പാടില്ലാത്തതാകുന്നു.

൧൪൦. തീണ്ടൽ എന്നു പറയുന്നതു ശാസ്ത്രവിഹിതവും പുരാതനാചാരസിദ്ധവുമാണെങ്കിലും അതുനിമിത്തം തീണ്ടൽജാതിക്കാൎക്കു കാൎയ്യനടത്തിപ്പിന്നു ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടു വരാതിരിപ്പാൻ ഗവ

ൎണ്മെൻറുകോടതികൾ, കച്ചേരികൾ, സക്കാരാഫീസ്സുകൾ, പാഠശാലകൾ, പബ്ലിക്ക്റോഡുകൾ മുതലായസ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ തീണ്ടൽക്കാരുടെ പ്രവേശനത്തിന്നു വിരോധമില്ലാത്തവിധം മുമ്പുതന്നെ പരസ്യംചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ട്. പ്രജകളും തീണ്ടലെന്നയാചാരത്തെ ഇപ്പോൾ പരക്കെ ആചരിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെന്നു പറയുവാൻ നിവൃത്തി ഇല്ലെങ്കിലും പലെ ആളുകളും പബ്ലിക്കു സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ പോയിവന്നാലശ്ശുദ്ധമായി എന്നു കരുതുകയും തൽപരിഹാരാൎത്ഥം സ്നാനം മുതലായവയാചരിക്കുകയും പതിവുണ്ട്. ആ തീണ്ടലിനെ ഇച്ഛയുള്ളവർ മാത്രമാചരിക്കുകയും അന്ന്യന്മാർ ആചരിക്കാതിരിക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുന്ന കാൎയ്യത്തിൽ ഗവൎണ്മെൻറും വിധായകന്മാരുംമൌനംഭിക്ഷിക്കുക മാത്രമെ ചെയ്യേണ്ടതുള്ളു.

൱൰൮. ആ തീണ്ടലിനെതന്നെ ചില വിഷയത്തിൽ കൂടി നിയമംകൊണ്ടു ഇല്ലായ്മ ചെയ്യണമെങ്കിൽ ൮൯-ാം വകുപ്പിൽ കാണിച്ചപ്രകാരമുള്ള പരിഷത്തിൻെറ അഭിപ്രായം വരുത്തേണ്ടതാകുന്നു. ആ പരിഷത്തിൽ ബ്രാഹ്മണജാതിയിൽപെട്ടവരായാലും വ്രതങ്ങളനുഷ്ഠിക്കാതെയും മന്ത്രങ്ങൾ ജപിക്കാതെയും എത്രയോ അധികംപേർ ചേൎന്നാലും ഫലമില്ലെന്നു—

"അവ്രതാനാമമന്ത്രാണാം ജാതിമാത്രോപജീവിനാം
സഹസ്രശഃ സമേതാനാം പരിഷത്ത്വം ന വിദ്യതേ"

എന്ന പരാശരവചനംകൊണ്ടും, വേദം മുഴുവൻ അദ്ധ്യയനം ചെയ്തിരുന്നാലും ധൎമ്മശാസ്ത്രങ്ങളിൽ പരിശ്രമിക്കാതെയും നാസ്തികന്മാരായും ഇരിക്കുന്നവൎക്ക് ആ പരിഷത്തുകളിലംഗമായി ചേരുവാൻ പാടില്ലെന്ന്—

"വേദപാരമതീതാ യെ ധൎമ്മശാസ്ത്രവിവൎജിതാഃ'
പരിഷത്ത്വം ന തേഷാം സ്യാന്നാസ്തികാനാം വിശേഷതഃ'

എന്ന ചതുൎവ്വിംശതിമതവചനംകൊണ്ടും സിദ്ധിക്കുന്ന വിവരം ഈ ഘട്ടത്തിൽ പ്രസ്താവയോഗ്യമാകുന്നു.

൱൰൯. ഈ ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനകാൎയ്യത്തിൽ കണ്ടുകിട്ടിയ പ്രമാണവചനങ്ങളും നിയമങ്ങളും ആചാരനടപടികളും ഈ റിപ്പോൎട്ടിൽ കാണിച്ചവകൂടാതെ വളരെയുണ്ടെങ്കിലും തീൎച്ചപ്പെടുത്തിയ കാൎയ്യങ്ങളെ പ്രബലപ്പെടുത്തേണ്ടതിന്നിപ്പോൾ കാണി

ക്കൊട്ടുക്കന്നതുകൊണ്ടു ക്ഷേത്രത്തിനു അശുദ്ധിതട്ടുകയും പൂജമുതലായതു നടത്താൻ പാടില്ലാതെയാകയും ദേവസാന്നിദ്ധ്യം നശിക്കയും ചെയ്യുമെന്നു തീർച്ചയാണ്. അതുനിമിത്തം അവൎക്ക് അതുമാതിരി പ്രവേശം അനുവദിച്ചു കൊടുപ്പാൻ പാടുള്ളതല്ല. അതാതാളുകൾക്കു നിശ്ചയിച്ച പ്രകാരമല്ലാതെ അന്യന്മാർ നിശ്ചയിച്ച പ്രകാരം ധൎമ്മകാൎയ്യം തന്നെ അനുഷ്ഠിക്കുന്നതു ദോഷമാണെന്നു മുമ്പു വിവരിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്.

൨൯. അവൎണ്ണർ അറിവില്ലായ്മനിമിത്തമൊ മറ്റൊ ആഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിലും ആ അധൎമ്മപ്രവൃത്തി നടത്തി അവൎക്കുതന്നെ ദോഷം വരുത്തുവാൻ ഗവണ്മെന്റ് ഒരു വിധവും വഴിവെച്ചു കൊടുക്കരുതാത്തതാകുന്നു. പ്രജകളെ അധൎമ്മമാൎഗ്ഗത്തിൽനിന്നു പിൻമടക്കേണ്ടതു ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ മുഖ്യചുമതലയാണ്. ആയതു ചെയ്യാതിരുന്നാൽ രാജാവിനും പ്രജകൾക്കും രാജ്യത്തിനും വലിയ അനൎത്ഥങ്ങൾ വന്നുചേരുന്നതാണെന്നു മാത്രമല്ല, അവൎണ്ണരുടെ പ്രവേശം നിമിത്തം തൽക്കാലം പല വിപ്ലവങ്ങൾക്കും ഇടയാകയും ക്രമേണ ക്ഷേത്രം നിരുപയോഗമായിത്തീരുകയും ചെയ്യുമെന്നതിനു സംശയമില്ല. അപിച, കമ്മിറ്റിമുമ്പാകെ പ്രശ്നാവലിക്കുത്തരമായും മൊഴിയായും കിട്ടിയ ജനാഭിപ്രായം നോക്കിയാൽ അധികാഭിപ്രായം ആചാരവിരുദ്ധമായും പ്രമാണവിരുദ്ധമായും അവൎണ്ണൎക്കു ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശം കൊടുക്കരുതെന്നാണെന്നു കാണുന്നു.

൩൰. ഗവണ്മെന്റിനു ഇപ്പോൾ ഗവണ്മെന്റു ഭരണത്തിലിരിക്കുന്ന ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ ട്രസ്റ്റിയവകാശം മാത്രമാകയാൽ കീഴ്മൎയ്യാദപ്രകാരം ഭരിപ്പുന്ന മാമൂലുകളെ രക്ഷിപ്പാനല്ലാതെ മാമൂലുകൾ ഭേദപ്പെടുത്താനധികാരമില്ല. ശക്തിയുള്ളതുകൊണ്ടു അധികാരത്തെ അതിക്രമിച്ചു പ്രവൎത്തിക്കുക എന്നതു മാതൃകാരാജ്യമെന്നും ധൎമ്മരാജ്യമെന്നും പ്രസിദ്ധിനേടിയ ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലും പത്മനാഭദാസനെന്ന എത്രയോ വിലയേറിയ സ്ഥാനം സിദ്ധിച്ച പൊന്നുതമ്പുരാൻ തിരുമനസ്സിലെ ഗവണ്മെന്റിനും ഒരിക്കലും പാടില്ലാത്തതാകുന്നു.

൩൧. തീണ്ടൽ എന്നു പറയുന്നതു ശാസ്ത്രവിഹിതവും പുരാതനാചാരസിദ്ധവുമാണെങ്കിലും അതുനിമിത്തം തീണ്ടൽജാതിക്കാൎക്കു കാൎയ്യനടത്തിപ്പിനു ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടു വരാതിരിപ്പാൻ ഗവ

ർണ്ണെമെൻറുകോടതികൾ, കച്ചേരികൾ, സക്കാരാഫീസ്സുകൾ, പാഠശാലകൾ, പബ്ലിക്ക്റോഡുകൾ മുതലായസ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ തീണ്ടൽക്കാരുടെ പ്രവേശത്തിന്ന വിരോധമില്ലാത്തവിധം മുമ്പുതന്നെ പരസ്യംചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ട്. പ്രജകളും തീണ്ടലെന്നയാചാരത്തെ ഇപ്പോൾ പരക്കെ ആചരിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെന്ന പറയുവാൻ നിവൃത്തി ഇല്ലെങ്കിലും പലെ ആളുകളും പബ്ലിക്ക സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽ പോയിവന്നാലശുദ്ധമായി എന്ന കരുതുകയും തൽപരിഹാരാത്ഥം സ്നാനം മുതലായവയാചരിക്കുകയും പതിവുണ്ട്. ആ തീണ്ടലിനെ ഇച്ഛയുള്ളവർ മാത്രമാചരിക്കുകയും അന്യന്മാർ ആചരിക്കാതിരിക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുന്ന കാര്യത്തിൽ ഗവണ്മെൻറും വിധായകന്മാരുംമൌനംഭീക്ഷിക്കുക മാത്രമെ ചെയ്യേണ്ടതുള്ളു.

൧൩൮. ആ തീണ്ടലിനെതന്നെ ചില വിഷയത്തിൽ കൂടി നിയമംകൊണ്ടു ഇല്ലായ്മ ചെയ്യണമെങ്കിൽ ൮൯-ാം വകുപ്പിൽ കാണിച്ചപ്രകാരമുള്ള പരിഷത്തിൻെറ അഭിപ്രായം വരുത്തേണ്ടതാണ്. ആ പരിഷത്തിൽ ബ്രാഹ്മണജാതിയിൽപെട്ടവരായാലും വ്രതങ്ങളനുഷ്ഠിക്കാതെയും മന്ത്രങ്ങൾ ജപിക്കാതെയും എത്രയോ അധികംപേർ ചേൎന്നാലും ഫലമില്ലെന്ന—

"അവ്രതാനാമമന്ത്രാണാം ജാതിമാത്രോപജീവിനാം
സഹസ്രശഃ സമേതാനാം പരിഷത്ത്വം ന വിദ്യതേ"

എന്ന പരാശരവചനംകൊണ്ടും, വേദം മുഴുവൻ അധ്യയനം ചെയ്തിരുന്നാലും ധർമ്മശാസ്ത്രങ്ങളിൽ പരിശ്രമിക്കാതെയും നാസ്തികന്മാരായും ഇരിക്കുന്നവർക്ക് ആ പരിഷത്തുകളിലംഗമായി ചേരുവാൻ പാടില്ലെന്ന്—

"വേദപാരമതീതാ യെ ധർമ്മശാസ്ത്രവിവർജിതാഃ
പരിഷത്ത്വം ന തേഷാം സ്യാന്നാസ്തികാനാം വിശേഷതഃ"

എന്ന ചതുൎവ്വിംശതിമതവചനംകൊണ്ടും സിദ്ധിക്കുന്ന വിവരം ഈ ഘട്ടത്തിൽ പ്രസ്താവയോഗ്യമാകുന്നു.

൧൩൯. ഈ ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനകാര്യത്തിൽ കണ്ടുകിട്ടിയ പ്രമാണവചനങ്ങളും നിയമങ്ങളും ആചാരനടപടികളും ഈ റിപ്പോർട്ടിൽ കാണിച്ചവകൂടാതെ വളരെയുണ്ടെങ്കിലും തീർച്ചപ്പെടുത്തിയ കാര്യങ്ങളെ പ്രബലപ്പെടുത്തേണ്ടതിന്ന് ഇപ്പോൾ കാണി

ച്ചിടത്തോളം ഉള്ളവ ധാരാളം മതിയാകുമെന്നും ഇതിലധികം പ്രമാണവചനങ്ങളെയും മററും ചേൎത്തു് അത്യാവശ്യമല്ലാത്ത വിധം ഗ്രന്ഥവിസ്തരം വരുത്തുന്നതു വായനക്കാൎക്കു ഉത്സാഹഭഞ്ജകമാകുമെന്നും വിചാരിച്ചു് ഏതാവന്മാത്രത്തിൽ സമാപിക്കുന്നു

൧൪൦—

൧. സദ്ധൎമ്മശാസ്ത്രനിവഹം പരിശോധ്യ ശിഷ്ടൈഃ
സത്രാ സമശ്രുതധരൈർബഹുസന്മതം ച
വിജ്ഞാപനാ വിലിഖിതേയമുദ്ബുദ്ധഭക്തി
ശ്രീപത്മനാഭപദപത്മയുഗേൎപ്യതേദ്യ.

൨. ശ്രീരാമവൎമ്മകുലശേഖരവഞ്ചിരാജ-
ദ്രഷ്ടുഃ പ്രപദ്യ വിഷയത്വമിയം കദാചിൽ
സാഫല്യമാത്മജനുഷോ ലഭതാമിതീയ-
മഭ്യൎത്ഥനാ മമ ഭവത്വതികൌതുകേന.

൩. ധൎമ്മോസ്മൽകുലദൈവമിത്യമിതധീ-
സാരൈഃ പുരാമുദ്രിതം
വാക്യം ചാരുതരം ഗഭീരമനഘം
സംരക്ഷിതും സാദരം
ഭാസേ സ്വപ്ന മഹാമതൌ നൃപവരെ
ചിത്തൎക്ഷജേ നിശ്ചലം
നിൎബന്ധം ജനയേൽ കഥം ന ഭഗവാൻ
ശ്രീപത്മനാഭഃ പ്രഭുഃ

൪. ഇഹാപുരേ ജയതി യാ കുലദൈവതം നോ
ദേവീ കഠോരമഹിഷാസുരമൎദ്ദയിത്രീ
സൎവ്വേശ്വരീ പ്രണതകാമദുഘാംഘ്രിപത്മാ
സാ പ്രീയതാം മയി സദാ കരുണാപയോധിഃ.

൧൧൦൯ ധനു ൨൩൹,
൭-൧-൧൯൩൪,
തിരുവനന്തപുരം.

പുന്നശ്ശേരി നമ്പി നീലകണ്ഠശൎമ്മാവ്,
ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനാന്വേഷണക്കമ്മിററി
മെമ്പർ.

ഓം.

ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനാന്വേഷണക്കമ്മറ്റി റിപ്പോർട്ടിന്

റ്റി. റ്റി. കേശവൻ ശാസ്ത്രിയുടെ

സപ്ളിമെൻററി മെമ്മോറാണ്ടം.

ഈശ്വരസൃഷ്ടിയിലുള്ള വിവിധജീവജാലങ്ങളെ അപേക്ഷിച്ചു മനുഷ്യനുള്ള പ്രാമാണ്യം വിശിഷ്ടമായ വിവേകജ്ഞാനമൊന്നുമാത്രമാണല്ലോ. ജീവിതത്തിൽ സർവ്വപ്രധാനമായി കാണപ്പെടാവുന്ന ആഹാരനിദ്രാദികൾ മനുഷ്യരിൽ എന്നപോലെ പ്രാണികളിലും, ജനനമരണാദ്യവസ്ഥകൾ ജീവികളിലെന്നപോലെ മനുഷ്യരിലും കാണപ്പെടാവുന്ന ഒരു സംഭവമാണ്. എങ്കിലും മനുഷ്യനു ജന്മസിദ്ധവും ദൈവദത്തവുമായ വിവേകത്താൽ സകല ചരാചരങ്ങളേയും അടക്കിഭരിക്കുവാനുള്ള കെൽപ്പും കഴിവുമുണ്ട്. തന്നിമിത്തം അനന്യമായ വൈശിഷ്ട്യങ്ങൾക്കു മനുഷ്യരെ സർവ്വഥാ അർഹരായി കാണാനും കഴിയുന്നു. മനുഷ്യരുടെ ആദ്ധ്യാത്മികവും ലൗകികവുമായ ആവശ്യങ്ങളുടെ പുരോഗമനത്തിനു അത്യന്താവശ്യകങ്ങളായ എല്ലാ പദ്ധതികളും; അതീതരും അമാനുഷരുമായ പുരാണപുരുഷന്മാരാൽ ഭൂമണ്ഡലത്തിൽ സംസ്ഥാപനം ചെയ്യപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുണ്ടു. ലൗകികാവശ്യങ്ങളെക്കാൾ ആദ്ധ്യാത്മികാവശ്യങ്ങൾക്കു വൈശിഷ്ട്യം കല്പിക്കുകയും തദനുസരണം മനുഷ്യലോകം ജീവസന്ധാരണം തുടരാനുള്ള പദ്ധതികൾ യഥാവിധി നിർമ്മിക്കപ്പെടുകയുമാണ് ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ളത്. ഏതാദൃശസരണിയെ—ആശ്രയിച്ച്, സമുദായസംഘടനയുടെ "പരാല്പരവ്യാഖ്യാനത്തെ" നിലനിർത്താൻ അവതരണംചെയ്തിരുന്ന പുരുഷപുംഗവന്മാർ കൈക്കൊണ്ട പ്രവർത്തനപരിപാടികളാണ് മതങ്ങളായി പരിണമിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളത്. ഐഹികവും പാരത്രികവുമായ എല്ലാ അനുഭവങ്ങൾക്കും മതം സാക്ഷിയാണെന്നും മതബോധംകൂടാതെ—മതത്തെ ആശ്രയിച്ച് ആചാരാനുഷ്ഠാനങ്ങൾ നിവഹിക്കാതെ കൈവല്യപ്രാപ്തി ലബ്ധമാകുന്നതല്ലെന്നുംകൂടിയുള്ള ചിരന്തനവും പാരമ്പര്യവുമായ വിശ്വാസപരിപാടി മനുഷ്യരിൽ പൊതുവെ ഉറയ്ക്കുന്തക്കവിധം മതങ്ങളുടെ വളർച്ചയും ആചാരവുമായി

ട്ടുണ്ട്. ഇപ്രകാരം മനുഷ്യസമുദായം ജീവിതാദർശമായി ആദരിച്ചാരാധിച്ചുപോരുന്ന മതങ്ങൾ ഭൂമണ്ഡലത്തിൽ അനവധി ഉണ്ട്. ഓരോമതസ്ഥരും പുരാണപുരുഷന്മാരേയും ഉപദേശപദ്ധതികളേയും ആശ്രയിച്ചുകഴിയുന്നു. ആഹാരാദിജീവിതാവശ്യങ്ങളിലും മററും വ്യാപൃതരാകേണ്ട മനുഷ്യർക്ക് മതപരമായ കാര്യങ്ങളിൽ ഇടപെടാൻ ചില പ്രത്യേകനിയമങ്ങളും നിർദ്ദേശങ്ങളും കൂടി ഉണ്ടായി.

ഈശ്വരനെ ആരാധിക്കുവാൻ പരിശുദ്ധമായ ഒരു സങ്കേതമാവശ്യമെന്നോണം സംസ്ഥാപിതങ്ങളായിത്തീർന്നിട്ടുള്ള പ്രത്യേകസങ്കേതങ്ങളാണ് അമ്പലം, ക്ഷേത്രം, പള്ളി, വിഹാരം, ദേവാലയം എന്നുംമററുമുള്ള പേരുകളാൽ അറിയപ്പെടാൻ ഇടയായിട്ടുള്ളതു്.

പൌരാണികകാലംമുതൽക്കു മനുഷ്യർ ഏതാദൃശദേവാലയങ്ങളെ ആശ്രയിച്ചു നിർദ്ദിഷ്ടങ്ങളായ ആചാരങ്ങൾക്കു വഴിപ്പെട്ടു കൈവല്യത്തിനായി അർച്ചനകൾ ചെയ്തുവന്നിട്ടുള്ളതായിട്ടാണറിയുന്നതു്. പ്രാപഞ്ചികമാഹാത്മ്യങ്ങളേയൊ ഇഹപരധർമ്മാനുഷ്ഠാനങ്ങളേയൊ കുറിച്ച് യഥാർത്ഥബോധം ലഭിക്കാതെ മാനവാദർശമറിഞ്ഞു ജീവസന്ധാരണംചെയ്യാൻ കഴിവില്ലാതെ സങ്കടപ്പെടുന്ന സാമാന്യജനങ്ങൾക്ക് ആശ്വാസത്തിനും ആശ്രയത്തിനും ഏതാദൃശമതസങ്കേതങ്ങളായ ദേവാലയങ്ങൾ ഇന്നും കർമ്മസാക്ഷികളായിത്തീർന്നുകാണുന്നു. ദേവാലയങ്ങളെ ആശ്രയിച്ചുള്ള ആരാധനയ്ക്കു ഫലസിദ്ധി അധികമാവുമെന്നുള്ള പൊതുജനവിശ്വാസം പ്രചുരപ്രചാരമായിത്തീരുകയാൽ ഇങ്ങനെയുള്ള ദേവാലയങ്ങളുടെ എണ്ണം മനുഷ്യാധിവാസമുള്ള സ്ഥലങ്ങളിലെല്ലാം വർദ്ധിക്കുന്നതിനും ഈശ്വരസാക്ഷാൽക്കാരത്തിനു വഴിപ്പെട്ടുസംതൃപ്തി സമ്പാദിക്കുന്നതിനും മററുമായി നിശ്ചിതങ്ങളായ പല കർമ്മങ്ങളെ കൂടി യഥാവിധി സ്വീകരിക്കുവാൻ മനുഷ്യർ ഇന്നും ഉത്സുകതരുമൽസുകരുമായിട്ടാണ് കാണപ്പെടുന്നതു്.

ഈശ്വരപ്രീതിക്കു സങ്കല്പിതങ്ങളായ അർച്ചനകൾ നടത്താനും നടത്തിക്കുവാനുമുള്ള സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം ഓരോമതാധികാരികളും നിർദ്ദേശിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. അന്യമതങ്ങളെപ്പോലെയുള്ള വ്യക്തിമാഹാത്മ്യംമാത്രമല്ല ഹൈന്ദവമതത്തിനുള്ളതെന്നത്രെ ഹിന്ദുക്കൾ വിശ്വസിച്ചുപോരുന്നതു്. മനുഷ്യജീവിതസാഫല്യമായിത്തീരേണ്ട

ന്നവധി ആവശ്യങ്ങളെക്കുറിച്ചും പരിപൂർണ്ണമായ ജ്ഞാനം ലഭി
ക്കത്തക്കവിധത്തിൽ വിവിധവിജ്ഞാനസങ്കലിതമായ ആശയസ
മൂഹങ്ങൾ മതത്തിന്റെപേരിൽ പലകാലങ്ങളിലായി പല അവ
താരപുരുഷന്മാരാൽ സംസ്ഥാപനം ചെയ്യപ്പെട്ടുകയും അവ ഓരോ
വിധത്തിൽ കാലാനുകൂലം മനുഷ്യരാൽ ആദരിച്ചനുസ്സരിക്കപ്പെട്ടു
കയും, ചെയ്യത്തക്കവിധത്തിൽ വേദശാസ്ത്രപുരാണേതിഹാസരൂ
പങ്ങളായി നിലനിന്നിപ്പോരുന്ന ആദർശവിശേഷമൊന്നത്രേ
ഹൈന്ദവമതം. കാലാനുകൂലങ്ങളായ ആദർശവിശേഷങ്ങൾക്കു
മാർഗ്ഗനിർദ്ദേശം ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ള അനവധിഗ്രന്ഥങ്ങളും ആചാരങ്ങ
ളും അവലംബങ്ങളായിട്ടുള്ളതിനാലാണ് ജന്മസാഫല്യത്തെ സ
ഹായിക്കുന്ന ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനാരാധനസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യത്തിനായിപൊ
തുജനങ്ങൾ അധികം നിർബന്ധിതരായിട്ടുള്ളത്. ഇതരമതങ്ങ
ളിലെ ബാഹ്യങ്ങളായ ആരാധനാനുഷ്ഠാനങ്ങളെ അപേക്ഷിച്ചു
വ്യതിരിക്തമായ ഒരു പദ്ധതിയിലൂടെ ഹിന്ദുമതാരാധനാരീതി
നിലനിന്നുപോരുന്നു. അല്പബുദ്ധികൾക്കുകൂടി ആരാധനാസ
ക്തി അങ്കുരിക്കുന്നതിനു യോജിച്ചവിധത്തിൽ വിഗ്രഹാരാധനാ
പദ്ധതി നടപ്പിലാക്കിക്കൊണ്ടുണ്ടാക്കിയിട്ടുള്ള ദേവാലയങ്ങളെ
ഈശ്വരസങ്കേതമായി വിശ്വസിക്കാനും ആരാധിക്കാനും സംഗ
തിയുമായി. ഹൈന്ദവമതാദർശങ്ങൾ വർദ്ധമാനമാകുന്നതിനും
അന്യമതങ്ങളുടെ പ്രചാരം കുറയുന്നതിനും ഈ പദ്ധതി സഹാ
യിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതായി വിചാരിക്കാൻ ലക്ഷണങ്ങൾ കാണുന്നുണ്ട്.
ഹൈന്ദവമതാഭിവൃദ്ധി പരിപാലിക്കുവാൻ വേണ്ട പരിശ്രമങ്ങൾ
ചെയ്തിരുന്നവർ ജ്ഞാനസമ്പന്നന്മാരും കാലാകാലങ്ങളിലെ ആ
വശ്യങ്ങൾക്കനുയോജ്യങ്ങളായ മതഗ്രന്ഥങ്ങൾ നിർമ്മിക്കുവാൻത
ക്ക പണ്ഡിതന്മാരുമായിരുന്നു എന്നുള്ളതിനു സംശയമില്ല. "മൂ
ർത്തിപൂജാധമാധമാ" എന്നുള്ള പൗരാണികവചനം വിചിന്തനം
ചെയ്താൽ വിഗ്രഹാരാധനാപദ്ധതിയിലൂടെ കൈവല്യമാർജ്ജിക്കു
വാനുള്ള അവസരവുമവകാശവും ആഗമികങ്ങളും അതിഗഹന
ങ്ങളുമായിരുന്നിരുന്ന വൈദികാചാരസരണികളിൽ സ്വച്ഛന്ദവി
ഹാരംചെയ്വാൻ കഴിവില്ലാതിരുന്ന ഹൈന്ദവജനതയുടെ ആവ
ശ്യത്തിനായി വിജ്ഞാനവിദഗ്ദ്ധന്മാരായ അധികൃതന്മാരുടെമേൽ
നോട്ടത്തിൽ ക്ഷേത്രനിർമ്മാണം ചെയ്യപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുള്ളതായി വിചാ
രിക്കുവാൻ അവകാശമുള്ളതായി തോന്നുന്നു. പാമരഹൃദയങ്ങ
ളെ വശീകരിച്ചു മതഭക്തി വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കുവാൻ ആഗ്രഹിച്ചിരുന്ന

വിധം വൈദികന്മാരുടെ ശ്രമം ഫലിച്ചിരുന്നതായും ക്ഷേത്രനിർമ്മാണങ്ങൾകൊണ്ടു ഏതാണ്ട് ഊഹിക്കുവാൻ കഴിയുന്നതാണ്.

ആൎയ്യന്മാരെ അപേക്ഷിച്ച് വിജ്ഞാനസമ്പാദനവിഷയങ്ങളിൽ ക്ഷീണതയുണ്ടായിരുന്നവരും ഹിന്ദുമതം സ്വീകരിച്ച് മതനിയമങ്ങളംഗീകരിച്ചു ഹൈന്ദവന്മാരായിത്തീൎന്നവരുമായ അനാൎയ്യന്മാരുടെ സംഘടനയേയും തദ്വാരാ മതപരമായ ഹൈന്ദവസംഘടനയേയും പരിരക്ഷിച്ചു പുരോഗമനം നേടാൻ ക്ഷേത്രനിർമ്മാണങ്ങൾ അധികമധികംസഹായിക്കുകയും ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ളതായി ഇന്നും നിലനിന്നുവരുന്ന പൗരാണികക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളും ഹൈന്ദവമതത്തിൽ പൊന്തിനില്ക്കുന്ന പലപല അനുഷ്ഠാനാവശിഷ്ടങ്ങളും സാക്ഷ്യംവഹിക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. ഇന്നു കീൎത്തനീയങ്ങളായും പൊതുജനാരാധനകേന്ദ്രങ്ങളായും ഉള്ള അനവധിക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളും പുരാതനകാലങ്ങളിൽ നിർമ്മിക്കപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുള്ളതായിട്ടാണ് അറിയുന്നത്. ഈ അടുത്തുകഴിഞ്ഞ കാലങ്ങളിൽ നിർമ്മിതങ്ങളായ ചില ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങൾ ധനാഢ്യരായ ഏതാനും ആളുകളുടെ ശ്രമങ്ങളാലോ പൊതുമുതൽ ചെലവുകളാലോ മാത്രം സാധിപ്പിച്ചതായി വിശ്വസിക്കാമെന്നല്ലാതെ സവൎണ്ണാവൎണ്ണവ്യത്യാസമെന്യേ ഹൈന്ദവമതത്തിലേക്കു മൂൎത്തി പൂജാദികളാലും മററും വന്നുചേൎന്ന പൊതുജനങ്ങളാൽ ഉണ്ടാക്കപ്പെട്ട പുരാതനക്ഷേത്രങ്ങൾ ഇന്നവൎഗ്ഗക്കാരുടെ മാത്രമാണെന്നനുമാനിക്കുവാൻതക്ക ലക്ഷണങ്ങളൊന്നുമില്ല.

ഹിന്ദുമതത്തിന്റെ വളൎച്ചയ്ക്കും ഹിന്ദുമതാനുയായികളുടെ സുശോഭനമായ ആദ്ധ്യാത്മികാവശ്യത്തിനുമായി സംസ്ഥാപനം ചെയ്തിരുന്ന ക്ഷേത്രസങ്കേതങ്ങൾ ഏതാനുംപേരുടെ അധികൃതാദികളിൽ ദീർഘകാലം നിലനില്ക്കാനുംമററും സംഗതിയായിട്ടുള്ളതുകൊണ്ടുമാത്രമാണ് ആരാധകന്മാരിൽ വൈവിധ്യം വന്നുചേൎന്നിട്ടുള്ളത്.

നവീനഹിന്ദുമതപ്രചാരത്തിനുമുൻപ് ഭാരതത്തിൽ ബുദ്ധമതത്തിനും ജൈനമതത്തിനും, ബഹുജനസമ്മതവും പ്രസക്തിയുമുണ്ടായിരുന്നുവെന്നും പ്രസ്തുതമതനിയമങ്ങൾക്കധീനമായിരുന്ന പല ദേവാലയങ്ങളും അവശേഷിച്ചിരുന്നു എന്നുംപെരുമ്പാമ്പരാമന്നശേഷമാണുകൾ നിശ്ശേഷം നശിക്കപ്പെട്ടുപോയതെന്നും ഊഹിക്കുവാൻ പൂൎവ്വചരിത്രങ്ങൾ സാക്ഷ്യം വഹിക്കുന്നുണ്ടു. സ്വയംഭൂവായും മററ

ന്നേകം ദേവന്മാരുടെ നാമത്തിൽ സ്ഥാപിതങ്ങളായും ഇന്നുകാ ണുന്ന ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളെല്ലാം ഹൈന്ദവജനതതിയുടെ ആകമാനമുള്ള ആരാധനാകേന്ദ്രങ്ങളായിട്ടാണറിയുന്നതു്. ഇപ്പോഠം അറിയപ്പെ ട്ടുന്നരീതിയിൽ എങ്കിൽ അസംസ്കാരങ്ങളാലോ മറ്റോ ഹിന്ദുക്ക ളുടെ ഏകയോഗക്ഷേമത്തിനു വിഘാതം സംഭവിക്കുമാറു് പല പല പടികളിലായി നിർദ്ദിഷ്ടസ്ഥാനങ്ങളിലായി അനേകകാലം ആരാധനകഠം നടത്തുകയും അതിനു വ്യത്യാസം വരുമാറു് ദേവ സാമീപ്യവും സാലോക്യവുംകൊണ്ടു കൂടുതൽ ഫലസിദ്ധിയെ ആ ഗ്രഹിച്ചും വിശ്വസിച്ചും ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനത്തിനതില്ലാത്തവരും ഉള്ളവരുമായി പൊതുവെ ശ്രമംചെയ്തു് ആരാധനാവിഷയത്തിൽ ഒരു പുതിയ ഉണർവുണ്ടാകുവാൻ കാരണവുമായ്ത്തീരത്തക്കവ ണ്ണം ഹൈന്ദവസങ്കേതം പ്രക്ഷുബ്ധമായൊരുവശവും പ്രശാന്തമാ യി വേറൊരുവശവുമായിട്ടാണു പര്യവസാനിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതു്. ക്ഷേ ത്രപ്രവേശനം ആനന്ദാനുഭൂതിക്കു ഹേതുകമായ അന്തമ്മഃചൈതന്യ ത്തിനു കാരണമാകയാൽ അതിൽ അധികംപേർ ഉണൎന്നു് ആഗ്ര ഹം പ്രകടിപ്പിക്കുന്നുവെന്നേ ഉള്ളൂ.

സവൎണ്ണാവൎണ്ണഭേദമില്ലാതെ സകല ഹൈന്ദവജനതയും ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനവും ആരാധനാസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യവും അനുഭവിച്ചു് ഏകീകൃതരായി മതമഹിമ പുലത്തിയിരുന്നതായി ഭൂതകാലചരി ത്രം വെളിപ്പെടുത്തുന്നു. ഈശ്വരസങ്കേതമായ ക്ഷേത്രത്തിൽ ജനനമരണാദ്യവസ്ഥകാക്കിടയായാൽ അതശ്ശുദ്ധിയായി പരി ഗണിച്ചു് ശുദ്ധികമ്മം ചെയ്യണമെന്നുണ്ടായിരുന്ന ആചാരം വദ്ധ മാനമാവുകയും തദ്വാരാ അസംസ്കാരപരമായ വൃത്തികേടിനേയും, ക്ഷേത്രസാമീപ്യത്തിനു ദോഷമായും, ദേവസാന്നിദ്ധ്യത്തിനു വി ഘാതമായും ഉള്ള പ്രവൃത്തികളേയും തടയുന്നതിന്നു് ഒരാചാരപ ദ്ധതി ക്രമേണ നടപ്പിലാക്കുവാൻ അധികാരികഠം ചെയ്ത ശ്രമ ത്തിൻെറ ഫലമത്രെ ഹിന്ദുക്കളിൽ പ്രധാനമായ രണ്ടു വിഭാ ഗങ്ങഠം നടപ്പിൽവരുത്താനും അതു സവൎണ്ണാവൎണ്ണഭേദങ്ങളായി ഇന്നറിയപ്പെടാനും ഇടയായിട്ടുള്ളതു്. ഗുണകമ്മവിഭാഗങ്ങളെ ക്കൊണ്ടു ശ്രീമൽ ഭഗവൽഗീതയിൽ പ്രസ്താവിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള ചാതുൎവ്വ ൎണ്ണ്യം കാലക്രമേണ രൂപാന്തരപ്പെട്ടു് ആചാരങ്ങളിലും അനുഷ്ഠാ നങ്ങളിലും മറവായി ഇന്നു നിലനിന്നുവരുന്ന നാലു ജാതികളാ യിത്തീൎന്നിട്ടുള്ളതുമാണു്. ഈശ്വരസാന്നിദ്ധ്യം കണ്ടുകണ്ടാനന്ദി

ക്കുന്നതിനും ആരാധനകൾ ചെയ്യുന്നതിനും ഇന്നത്തെ അവർണ്ണരേക്കാൾ കൂടുതൽ സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യവും സൌകര്യവും സവർണ്ണക്കുള്ളതുകൊണ്ട് അവരുടെ സാമൂഹികങ്ങളും മററുമായ കാര്യങ്ങൾക്കു ഹേതുവായ മേന്മയും അന്യമായ പല ആവശ്യവും നന്മയും ലഭിക്കാൻ സംഗതിയായിട്ടുള്ളതായി വിശ്വസിച്ചുപോരുന്നവർ രണ്ടുകൂട്ടരിലും ഇല്ലാതില്ലെന്നുള്ളതു പരമാർത്ഥം തന്നെ.

ഹിന്ദുക്കളിൽ വർണ്ണവ്യത്യാസം രൂപാന്തരപ്പെട്ട് ജാതിവ്യത്യാസമായി പരിണമിച്ചിട്ടും ഉൽകൃഷ്ടാപകൃഷ്ടാവസ്ഥകൾ നിലകൊള്ളാൻ ആചാരങ്ങൾ അനുവദിച്ചിരുന്നിട്ടും ആദ്ധ്യാത്മികരക്ഷയ്ക്കു സർവ്വപ്രധാനമായി കരുതിയിരുന്ന വിഗ്രഹാരാധനാവിഷയത്തിലുള്ള ശ്രദ്ധ പ്രത്യേകമായി പാലിച്ചുവരുകയാണു ചെയ്തിരുന്നത്. ജാതിയിൽ ഉൽകൃഷ്ടരായിത്തീർന്നവർ ആരാധനാസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യവും അധികാരവും കൈവശംവച്ചനുഭവിക്കാൻ തുടങ്ങിയതോടുകൂടി അതില്ലാത്തവർ അവർക്കു ലഭിച്ചിരുന്ന വഴികളിലൂടെ ആരാധനകൾ ചെയ്യാൻ ഉദ്യുക്തരായിത്തീർന്നു. തന്നിമിത്തം ഇന്നും നിലവിലിരിക്കുന്ന ആചാരങ്ങൾക്കും മററും സ്ഥാനമുണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ളതായി വിചാരിക്കാവുന്നതാണ്. കുറഞ്ഞൊരു കാലങ്ങൾക്കു മുൻപുവരെ അവർണ്ണരിൽ പ്രധാനികളായി അറിയപ്പെടുന്ന ഈഴവർ മുതലായവർവരെയുള്ള സകലരും അവരവർക്കു നിർദ്ദിഷ്ടങ്ങളായ സ്ഥാനങ്ങളിൽ ഭ്രപായി ആരാധനകളും മററും നിർവ്വഹിച്ചും ക്ഷേത്രാവശ്യങ്ങൾക്ക് ആവശ്യമായിരുന്ന സ്വത്തുക്കൾ ദാനം ചെയ്തും വിശ്വാസപ്രേരിതരായി വർത്തിച്ചിരുന്നു. എന്നാൽ ഇപ്രകാരമുള്ള ആരാധനനിമിത്തം തങ്ങളുടെ ആത്മാഭിമാനത്തിന് അല്പ ക്ഷതമുണ്ടാകുന്നതാണെന്നുള്ള ഉറച്ച വിശ്വാസവും, വിഗ്രഹം കണ്ടാരാധിച്ചാൽ ഇതിൽ കൂടുതൽ ഫലം ലഭിക്കുമെന്നുള്ള ബോധവും, സ്വമതവിശ്വാസികളിലും അന്യായികളിലും അന്യമതസ്ഥർക്കില്ലാത്ത ആചാരങ്ങൾ പലതും നിന്ദ്യങ്ങളായി നിർവ്വഹിക്കേണ്ട ഒരു സ്വഭാവവും ആയി നിലനിന്നുവരുന്നതുകൊണ്ടും വിശ്വാസത്തിനുള്ള മാററം ദർശനാരാധനാമാർഗ്ഗത്തിൽ പ്രതിഷ്ഠിതമായിത്തീരുകയാണുണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ളത്.

ഇപ്പോൾ സവർണരായി അറിയപ്പെടുന്നവർക്കു മാത്രമെ ക്ഷേത്രത്തിൽ നിർബ്ബാധമായി പ്രവേശിച്ച് ആരാധിക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കുന്നൊള്ളൂ. ചിരകാലമായി പ്രസ്തുത ആരാധനാസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം

സവർണ്ണരിൽ സ്ഥിതിചെയ്യുവാൻ സംഗതിയായിത്തീരുകയാൽ ഹിന്ദുമതാവലംബികളായാലും അന്യർക്ക് ഏതാദൃശസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം അനുവദിക്കുവാൻ ചിലർക്കു സമ്മതവും സന്തോഷവും ഇല്ലാതെയാണിരിക്കുന്നത്.

അവർണ്ണരായി അറിയപ്പെടുന്നവരും ഇപ്പോഴും ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനം നിരോധിക്കപ്പെടുന്നവരുമായ ജനസമുദായങ്ങളിൽനിന്നും ഇന്നും സകലരും ആരാധിച്ചുപോരുന്ന അനേകപുരുഷപുംഗവന്മാർ സംജാതരായിട്ടുള്ളതായും മതനിയമങ്ങളും ആദർശങ്ങളും യഥാകാലം പരിരക്ഷിക്കുവാൻ അവർ ജീവത്യാഗം ചെയ്തതായും ഗണ്യങ്ങളായ രേഖകൾ ഉണ്ട്. വാത്മീകി, വേദവ്യാസൻ, പരാശരൻ, പാക്കനാർ, നന്തനാർ, തിരുവള്ളുവർ, നാറാണത്തുഭ്രാന്തൻ തുടങ്ങിയ യോഗീന്ദ്രന്മാർ ഇതിനു സാക്ഷികളാണ്. അതീതരായ പ്രസ്തുത പുരാണപുരുഷന്മാർ അവതരണം ചെയ്തിരുന്ന വംശാവലികളോരോന്നും ഓരോ പേരുകളാൽ ഇന്നും അറിയപ്പെടുന്നതത്രെ. പറച്ചിപെററ പന്തിരുപേർ സ്ഥാപനം ചെയ്ത ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളും, അവർണ്ണർ ശാന്തികർമ്മംചെയ്ത് സവർണ്ണാവർണ്ണഭേദമെന്യേ ഇന്നും ആരാധിച്ചുപോരുന്ന ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളും ഈ രാജ്യത്തിലും വെളിയിലുമുണ്ട്. ഒരുകാലത്ത് ഇന്ന് അധഃസ്ഥിതരായിട്ടുള്ള അവർണ്ണരുടെ സാമുദായികശക്തിയും ആരാധനാവ്യാപ്തിയും ഏററവും ശ്രേയസ്കരമായി കഴിഞ്ഞിരുന്നു എന്നുള്ളതിനു അനേകം തെളിവുകൾ ചരിത്രപ്രധാനങ്ങളായിട്ടുണ്ട്. ശാന്തിധനന്മാരായ മുനികളും കവികളും, കവയിത്രികളും നാടുവാഴികളും സകലവിധമാനവസൗഖ്യങ്ങളും അനുഭവിച്ച് ജീവിതം നയിച്ചിരുന്നതായും അറിവാൻ കഴിയുന്നുണ്ട്. എന്നാൽ അവർണ്ണരിൽ മനുഷ്യസഹജങ്ങളായ സമ്പൂർണ്ണജീവിതസൗകര്യങ്ങൾ ഇല്ലാതെ ദുരന്തദുരിതമനുഭവിക്കുന്നവർ ഇല്ലാതില്ല. അവർണ്ണരിൽ അധഃസ്ഥിതരായ പുലയരും പറയരുംമററും അതീതകാലംമുതല്ക്കുതന്നെ ഹിന്ദുമതവിശ്വാസികളും, വളരെ ഉന്നതമായ നിലയിൽ ജീവിതംചെയ്തിരുന്നവരുമായിരുന്നുവെന്നു ചരിത്രം സാക്ഷ്യം വഹിക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. ശ്രീപത്മനാഭസ്വാമിക്ഷേത്രത്തിലെ പുലയരുടെ പൂർവ്വീകബന്ധത്തെ അനുസ്മരിപ്പിക്കുന്ന ആചാരങ്ങളും ചരിത്രരേഖകളും ഇന്നും കാണാം. ചിറട്ടയിലെ നിവേദ്യം പുത്തരികണ്ടത്തിൻെറ പൂർവ്വാവകാശം, തീയാടിപ്പുലയിയുടെ വംശചരിത്രം

എന്നിവ ഇതിനു തെളിവുകളാണ്. കൂടാതെ, സുപ്രസിദ്ധങ്ങളായ കൊടുങ്ങല്ലൂർ, വൈയ്ക്കം, ഏററുമാനൂർ, ചെങ്ങന്നൂർ, ആറന്മുള മുതലായ മഹാക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ ഇന്നും നിലവിലിരിക്കുന്ന ആചാരങ്ങളും, ഇവരുടെ ക്ഷേത്രസംബന്ധവും, പുലയനാർകോട്ട, പുലമൺ, അയ്യരനാട്ട, കുട്ടനാട്ട്, നെടുമങ്ങാട്ട്, ചടയമംഗലം എന്നീ സ്ഥലങ്ങൾ ഇവർ നാടുവാഴികളായിരുന്നു എന്നുള്ളതിനു പ്രത്യേകസാക്ഷ്യവുമാകുന്നു. വേദസംപൂജ്യമായ കർഷകവൃത്തി ഇന്നും ആചരിച്ചു ഹൈന്ദവാദർശം ഇന്നും ആശ്രയിച്ചു ജീവിച്ചുപോരുന്ന പുലയർ മുതലായവരുടെ വിഗ്രഹാരാധനാസക്തി പൂർവ്വാധികം വർദ്ധിക്കുകയും, വിഗ്രഹംകണ്ടാരാധിച്ചാൽ കൂടുതൽ ഫലം സിദ്ധിക്കുമെന്നുള്ള വിശ്വാസമധികമാവുകയും ചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ട്. പല ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിലും ഇന്ന് അവർണ്ണരായി അറിയപ്പെടുന്ന ഓരോ ജാതിക്കാർക്കും പ്രത്യേകചില അവകാശങ്ങളുംമററും നിലനിന്നുവരുന്നുണ്ട്. ഓരോ ജാതിക്കാരുടെയും വ്യക്തിഗതമായ അവകാശാനുഭവങ്ങളെ പരിശോധിച്ചാൽ അവർണ്ണഹിന്ദുക്കളുടെ അവകാശം ഇടയ്ക്കു എങ്ങനെയോ നഷ്ടപ്പെട്ടുപോയിട്ടുള്ളതായി വിശ്വസിക്കാവുന്നതാണ്.

അവർണ്ണരിൽ അധഃസ്ഥിതർ ധനത്തിലും വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിലുംമററും ഏററം പിന്നോക്കമത്രെ. പുലയരും പറയരും മററും ഈ വിഷയങ്ങളിൽ കൂടുതൽ താല്പര്യം പ്രകടിപ്പിച്ചുവരുന്നു എന്നേയുള്ളു. മതപരമായ ആരാധനാവകാശങ്ങൾ ലഭിക്കായ്കയാലും, അന്യമതസ്ഥർക്ക് ലഭിക്കുന്നേടത്തോളമെങ്കിലും ബാഹ്യസൌകര്യങ്ങൾതന്നെ സ്വന്തമതത്തിൽനിന്നും സിദ്ധിക്കാതായിത്തീർന്നതിനാലും, ഹിന്ദുമതസ്ഥരായ അവർണ്ണർ ഒരു വലിയ ഭൂരിപക്ഷമായി അന്യമതങ്ങളിലേക്കു പരിവർത്തനംചെയ്യാനിടയായിട്ടുണ്ട്. ഇവർക്കു കൂടുതൽ ആനുകൂല്യങ്ങളുംമററും ക്രിസ്ത്യാനിക്കും, മഹമ്മദീയനും എന്നാണം ഇന്നും വേണ്ടവിധം സിദ്ധിച്ചുവരുന്നുമുണ്ട്. എന്നാൽ ഹിന്ദുമതാവലംബികളായ അവർണ്ണരുടെ അവകാശങ്ങളെക്കുറിച്ച് ഇക്കഴിഞ്ഞ കാലംവരെ ഗണ്യമായി ആരും കരുതിയിരുന്നതേയില്ല. എങ്കിലും ഒരു വ്യാഴവട്ടക്കാലത്തിനുമുൻപുമുതൽ അവർണ്ണർ ക്ഷേത്രസാമീപ്യത്തിനും ആരാധനയ്ക്കുമായി തങ്ങൾക്കുണ്ടായിരുന്ന ആഗ്രഹം പ്രകടിപ്പിച്ചിരുന്നിരുന്നു. ഏതാവൽപര്യന്തം പ്രസ്തുത ആഗ്രഹത്തിന് സമാ

ധർമ്മം ലഭിക്കാതെയാണിരിക്കുന്നതെന്നാലും ചിരന്തനവും ജന്മസിദ്ധവുമായ വിശ്വാസത്തെ അവർണ്ണർ ഇന്നും പരിത്യജിക്കുവാൻ തയ്യാറാകാതെ അവരുടെ ആദ്ധ്യാത്മികാദർശത്തിനുവേണ്ടി പലവഴി പ്രയാസപ്പെട്ടിട്ടും ജീവിതംചെയ്തുവരുകയാണ്.

ചില സവർണ്ണക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിൽ സ്ത്രീകളുടെ പ്രവേശനത്തിന്നു തടസ്സമുള്ളതായി ഒരാചാരം നടന്നുവരുന്നു. അതിനു വിപരീതമായി പലക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളിലും അവർണ്ണരിൽപെട്ട ചില ജാതിക്കാരുടെ സ്ത്രീകൾക്ക് ഏതാനും അവകാശം ഉള്ളതായും അറിയുന്നു. കോട്ടയംതാലൂക്കിലുള്ള മണർകാട്ട ഭഗവതിക്ഷേത്രം ഉദാഹരണമാണ്. കുംഭമാസത്തിലെ ഭരണിദിവസം ആശാരി ഈഴവൻ, വേലൻ, പുലയൻ, പറയൻ, കുറവൻ എന്നീജാതി സ്ത്രീകൾക്കുള്ള പ്രത്യേക അവകാശവും അവരുടെ പുരുഷന്മാർക്കുള്ള ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യവുംകൊണ്ട് ഇവരുടെ പ്രത്യേകമായ ഒരു അവകാശം ഗണ്യമാകുന്നുണ്ട്.

ഒരു കാലം രാജവംശക്കാരായി ജീവിതം ചെയ്തിരുന്നവരായിരുന്നുവെങ്കിലും ഏതുവിധത്തിലൊ ക്രമേണ സമുദായശക്തി ക്ഷയിച്ചു അധികാരങ്ങളും, അവകാശങ്ങളും നാമമാത്രങ്ങളായി ഇവർ അനേകവർഷങ്ങളോളം അനുഭവിച്ചിരുന്ന അതിനികൃഷ്ട ജീവിതം വിസ്മരിക്കത്തക്കതല്ല. സഞ്ചാരസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യമില്ലാതെയും വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം സർക്കാർജീവനം എന്നിങ്ങനെയുള്ള പ്രത്യേക കാര്യങ്ങൾക്കർഹതയില്ലാതെയും, അടിയത്തക്കാരായി കഴിയേണ്ടതായി വന്നിരുന്നു. രാജർഷിപുംഗവനായ ശ്രീമൂലംതിരുനാൾ തിരുമനസ്സിലെ രാജ്യഭരണകാലംവരെ ഏതാദൃശമായ അശരണഭാവത്തിലും അധഃപതിതാവസ്ഥയിലും കാലം കഴിച്ചിരുന്നു. പ്രജാവിഭാഗങ്ങളിൽ ഒരു കൂട്ടം അനുഭവിച്ചിരുന്ന ദയനീയാവസ്ഥകളെ പരിഹരിക്കാൻ വേണ്ട രാജശാസനങ്ങൾ യഥാക്രമം ഉണ്ടാകുകയും, പ്രതിബന്ധങ്ങൾ ഒന്നൊന്നായി മാറാൻ തുടങ്ങുകയും ചെയ്തു. അവർണ്ണരുടെ പള്ളിക്കൂടപ്രവേശനാവസരത്തിൽ നടന്നിരുന്ന സവർണ്ണരുടെ അപ്രതിപത്തിയും നിർദ്ദാക്ഷിണ്യമായ മർദ്ദനനയവും മാറി ഇന്നത്തെ ശാന്തസുന്ദരമായ നില എത്തിച്ചേരുകയാണുണ്ടായത്. ഏറിയ കാലം നിലനിന്നിരുന്ന അയിത്തവും തീണ്ടിക്കുളിയും ഏതാണ്ടുമാറി മാറി സഹകരണവും സഹഭോജനവും മററുമായി. സവർണ്ണരുടെ ഈ മാനസാന്തരം

ർഷിലപ്പെടുവാൻ പ്രധാനകാരണം മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിലെ കാരുണ്യവും ഗവൺമെൻറിലെ ആനുകൂല്യവും മററുമാണെന്നേ പറയാനുള്ളു. ഇപ്പോൾ അവർണ്ണസമുദായങ്ങളുടെ നാനാവിധവളർച്ചകളും ഏതാണ്ടു ഉൽക്കർഷഹേതുകമായിത്തീർന്നിട്ടുണ്ടു്. വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം, സാമൂഹികസംഘടന മതാനുഷ്ഠാനരീതി, ഔദ്യോഗികപടികളിലുള്ള സ്ഥാനം എന്നിങ്ങനെ നോക്കിയാൽ എല്ലാവിധത്തിലും അവർണ്ണരിൽ മിക്കസമുദായക്കാരും സവർണ്ണരോടു അടുത്തിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നു വിചാരിക്കാം. അധഃസ്ഥിതരും ഹിന്ദുമതസ്ഥരുമായ ഒരു വലിയ ജനസമൂഹം പഠിപ്പിലും പരിഷ്കാരത്തിലും വളർന്നുവരുന്നുമുണ്ടു്. എന്നാൽ ഇവരുടെ ധനാഗമമാർഗ്ഗങ്ങളും പുരോഗമനപദ്ധതികളും മററുള്ളവരോടൊപ്പമോ അതിൽ പകുതിപോലുമോ ആയിട്ടില്ലാത്തതും ഔദ്യോഗികമായ കാര്യങ്ങളിൽ അധികം അഭിവൃദ്ധി വന്നിട്ടില്ലാത്തതുമാകുന്നു. മനുഷ്യരുടെ ജീവിതാവശ്യങ്ങൾ പൊതുവെ നിർവഹിക്കേണ്ടതാണെന്നുള്ള ബോധം ഇവരിലും മററുള്ളവരിലും പരക്കെയായിട്ടുള്ളതിനാലും ഇവരുടെ ഉന്നമനത്തിനു പ്രതിബന്ധങ്ങളായി നിന്നിരുന്ന ദുർഘടങ്ങൾ മുക്കാലും നീങ്ങിപ്പോയിട്ടുള്ളതിനാലും പ്രകടമായ ഒരു സാമുദായികോത്ഥാനബുദ്ധി ഇവർക്കുണ്ടായിട്ടുണ്ടു്.

അന്യമതസ്ഥരുടെ സഹകരണവും സംഘടനയും ഇതിനു സാഹായം നൽകിയിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നുള്ള കാര്യം മറച്ചുവയ്ക്കത്തക്കതുമല്ല. എങ്കിലും ഹിന്ദുമതാവലംബികളായ അവർണ്ണരുടെ ആദ്ധ്യാത്മികജീവിതാവശ്യങ്ങൾക്കു ഇന്നും ശരിയായ പ്രസ്ഥാനങ്ങളൊ സ്ഥാപനങ്ങളൊ ഗണ്യങ്ങളായിട്ടില്ലതന്നെ. അതിനാൽ ദൈനംദിനം ഉണ്ടായിക്കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്ന മതപരിവർത്തനം ഒരു വഴി അവരെ സഹായിക്കാനും കാരണമാകുന്നു. എങ്കിലും ഏററവും വലുതായ അവർണ്ണസമിതി ഇന്നും ഹൈന്ദവമതാദർശത്തെയാണാശ്രയിച്ചു പോരുന്നതു. ഇന്നത്തെ നിലയിൽ മേലും ഹൈന്ദവാചാരഘടന നിലനിൽക്കുന്നതായാൽ കഴിഞ്ഞ കാലങ്ങളിലേതുപോലെതന്നെ ആരാധനാസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യത്തിനും മററുമായി അവർണ്ണരിൽ അധികവും അന്യമതങ്ങളെ ആശ്രയിക്കേണ്ടതായി വരുമെന്നുള്ളതിനു സംശയമില്ല. ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനപ്രശ്നം സർവജാതിമതസ്ഥരുടേയും ശ്രദ്ധയ്ക്കു വിഷയീഭവിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു്. കമ്മിററിയുടെ സഞ്ചാരത്തിനിടയിൽ രാജ്യത്തിലെ ബഹുജനങ്ങളുടെ

ന്റഭിപ്രായം രേഖപ്പെടുത്തിയിട്ടുള്ളതുമാണു്. ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശ
വിഷയത്തിൽ ബ്രാഹ്മണർ തുടങ്ങി ചതുർവർണ്ണസംബന്ധികളും
അല്ലാത്തവരുമായ വലിയ ഭൂരിപക്ഷം അനുകൂലിച്ചും സവർണ്ണ
രിൽ ഭൂതകാലാഭിപ്രായങ്ങളിൽ നിന്നു കുറെ ഭേദപ്പെട്ടാണെങ്കി
ലും ഒരു വലിയഭാഗം പ്രതികൂലിച്ചും അഭിപ്രായം പ്രകടിപ്പിച്ചി
ട്ടുമുണ്ടു്. അനുകൂലിക്കുന്നവർ മതത്തിന്റെ നിലനില്പിനേയും
അവർണ്ണരുടെ ആരാധനാസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യത്തേയും അവലംബിച്ചും
പ്രതികൂലിക്കുന്നവർ കീഴ്നടപ്പിനേയും ശാസ്ത്രങ്ങളേയും ആശ്ര
യിച്ചും അവരവരുടെ വാദമുഖങ്ങളെ സ്ഥാപിക്കുവാൻ വേണ്ടവി
ധം ശ്രമിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതുമാണു് അനുകൂലിക്കുന്നവരിൽ ചിലർസോ
പാനം വരെയും, വേറെചിലർ നാലമ്പലംവരെയും മററുചിലർ
ധ്വജസ്തംഭംവരെയും, അന്യർ മതില്ക്കകംവരെയും അവർണ്ണരെ
പ്രവേശിപ്പിക്കാമെന്നും, ഒരു ന്യൂനപക്ഷം ക്ലിപ്തസമയംകൊണ്ടു്
പ്രവേശനം അനുവദിക്കാനും ചില ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങൾ അവർണ്ണക്കായി
ഒഴിച്ചുകൊടുക്കാനുമാണഭിപ്രായപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുള്ളതു്. പ്രതികൂലിക്കുന്ന
വരിൽ ഒരുഭാഗം ക്ഷേത്രമതില്ക്കകത്തു പ്രവേശിക്കുവാൻ അനു
വദിച്ചും, അന്യർ നിലവിലിരിക്കുന്ന ആചാരങ്ങൾക്കു വ്യത്യാസം
വരുത്തിയാൽ ദേവസാന്നിധ്യത്തിനു കുറവുവരുമെന്നും ആകയാൽ
ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനത്തെ ശക്തിപൂർവം പ്രതികൂലിച്ചും ആണു്
അവരവരുടെ അഭിപ്രായങ്ങൾ രേഖപ്പെടുത്തിയിട്ടുള്ളതു്. ഇരു
കൂട്ടരുടേയും വിശ്വാസവും ആഗ്രഹവും രണ്ടുതരത്തിലാകയാൽ
ഒരു രാജിവ്യവസ്ഥയെ അനുകൂലിക്കാതേയുമാണിരിക്കുന്നതു്. രാ
ജ്യക്ഷേമത്തേയും മതാഭിവൃദ്ധിയേയും അനസ്യൂതമായി കാംക്ഷി
ക്കുന്നവരിൽ ഏതാനുംപേർക്കു രണ്ടുവശങ്ങളിലും ഈ അഭിപ്രായ
ത്തോടു ആനുകൂല്യമില്ലാതെയുമില്ല. ചിരന്തനമായ വിശ്വാസപ്ര
തിപത്തിക്കു സ്വമനസ്സാലെ വ്യതിചലനം വരുത്തുവാൻ കഴിവി
ല്ലാതെ ഓരോരുത്തരും അഭിപ്രായപ്രകടനം ചെയ്യുവാൻ തയ്യാ
റായിട്ടുള്ളതാണെന്നും മതാധികാരികളായ വൈദികന്മാരൊ മ
ഹാരാജാവുതിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടുതന്നെയുമോ ചെയ്യുന്ന തീരുമാന
ത്തിനുവഴിപ്പെട്ടുകൊള്ളാമെന്നും ഉള്ള മനോഭാവം നിർവ്വിശങ്കം
രേഖപ്പെടുത്തിയിട്ടുള്ള ചില സവർണ്ണസാക്ഷികളെ വിസ്തരിക്കുവാ
ൻ കമ്മററിക്കു കഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടുള്ളതുമാണു്. പ്രതികൂലിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളവരും
ശാസ്ത്രജ്ഞാനമില്ലാത്തവരുമായ ഒരുകൂട്ടം സാക്ഷികൾ കീഴ്നട

പ്പിന്നെമാത്രം അഭയം പ്രാപിച്ചുകൊണ്ടുമാത്രമാണ് അഭിപ്രായം പുറപ്പെടുവിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളത്. കീഴ്നടപ്പിന്ന വിപരീതമായി നടപ്പിൽ വന്നിട്ടുള്ള പലവിധ ചടങ്ങുകളും ഇന്നും നിലവിലിരിക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. എന്നാൽ അപ്രകാരം പരിഷ്കരിക്കപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുള്ള ആചാരങ്ങൾ രാജ്യത്തിനും ജനക്ഷേമത്തിനും ഏററവും പ്രയോജനകരങ്ങളായിട്ടാണ തീൎന്നിട്ടുള്ളത്. ഓരോ കാലങ്ങളിൽ അതിപ്രധാനങ്ങളും ആവശ്യങ്ങളുമായിരുന്നിരുന്ന ഒരു പല ആചാരങ്ങളും കാലാനുസൃതം വേണ്ട ഭേദഗതികളോടുകൂടി അംഗീകരിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതായി രാജ്യചരിത്രം വെളിവാക്കുന്നു. കാലദേശാവസ്ഥയ്ക്കനുകൂലമായ ആചാരപരിഷ്കാരങ്ങളെയാണ പുരാണേതിഹാസങ്ങളിൽ ഘോഷിക്കുന്നതും അനുകൂലിക്കുന്നതും. പുരാതനമായി നടപ്പിലിരിക്കുന്നതും ആഭരണമിടുന്നതിന്ന അടിയറതീൎക്കണമെന്നുണ്ടായിരുന്നതുമായ പതിവു നിൎത്തിയും, ഈഴവർ മുതലായവൎക്ക കുട, വിളക്ക്, നാരായം, വീരശൃംഖല മുതലായവ ഉപയോഗിക്കുന്നതിന്ന അനുവാദമുണ്ടായും, പുലയർ ഈഴവർ മുതലായവരുടെ പേരിൽ ഉണ്ടായിരുന്ന കരം, ചെത്തുപാട്ടം മുതലായതു നിൎത്തിയും ശൂദ്രർ തുടങ്ങിയ ജാതിക്കാൎക്ക എല്ലാവിധ ആഭരണവിശേഷങ്ങളണിയുന്നതിന്ന അനുവാദമുണ്ടായും, മാറു മറയ്ക്കാൻ പാടില്ലെന്നുണ്ടായിരുന്ന ആചാരത്തെ മാററി വിധിയുണ്ടായും, കച്ചേരിസ്ഥലങ്ങളിലും മററും എല്ലാവൎക്കും പൊതുവെ പ്രവേശനാനുവാദം ഉണ്ടായും, അടിമക്കച്ചവടം, പുലപ്പേടി, മണ്ണാപ്പേടി, മുലക്കച്ച, പൂരപ്പാട്ട്, ജന്തുഹിംസ, മണ്ടയ്ക്കാട്ടുക്ഷേത്രത്തിലെ മല്ല്യ:റിവെട്ടും, ചക്കാലനായന്മാരുടെ ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനനിരോധം, ദേവദാസിയാട്ടം, കപ്പൽയാത്രക്കാരുടേയും കടൽമറിച്ചവരുടേയും ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനനിരോധം മുതലായ ആചാരങ്ങളെ രാജശാസനങ്ങളാൽ ഓരോ കാലങ്ങളിൽ ധ്വംസനംചെയ്തും, നമ്പൂതിരി റഗ്ഗുലേഷൻ, ക്ഷത്രിയറഗ്ഗുലേഷൻ, നായർറഗ്ഗുലേഷൻ എന്നിത്യാദി അംഗീകരണം ചെയ്തും മററും ഇത്തരത്തിൽ രാജ്യക്ഷേമത്തിന്ന മഹാരാജാക്കന്മാർ ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ള അഭിനന്ദനീയങ്ങളായ കൎമ്മങ്ങൾ അസാധാരണങ്ങളാണ്. ഏതാദൃശങ്ങളായ ആചാരഭ്രംശങ്ങൾ വരുത്തിയ സന്ദൎഭങ്ങളിൽ എല്ലാം ഇന്നത്തേതു പോലെ ജനങ്ങൾ പൊതുവെ വിവിധാഭിപ്രായക്കാരായിട്ടാണിരുന്നിട്ടുള്ളത്.

രജസ്വല, ചണ്ഡാളൻ, പതിതൻ ആദിയായവരുടെ ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനത്തെ പ്രതിരോധിക്കുന്ന ശാസ്ത്രവചനങ്ങൾ കാണുന്നുണ്ട്. കേരളക്ഷേത്രാചാരങ്ങളെ നിലനിൎത്തിപ്പോരുന്ന തന്ത്രസമുച്ചയത്തിലെ:—

„ക്ഷേത്രേ മൃതിർജനനമങ്കണമണ്ഡപാദൌ"

എന്ന പദ്യമാണ് ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനപ്രതിരോധികൾ അംഗീകരിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളത്. ഈ പദ്യംകൊണ്ട് പതിതന്മാരേയും, ചണ്ഡാലാദികളേയും നിർദ്ദേശിക്കപ്പെടുന്നതേയുള്ളൂ. അവർണ്ണരെന്നറിയപ്പെടുന്നവരാരു തന്നെ പതിതരും ചാണ്ഡാളരുമാണെന്നുള്ളതിനു യാതൊരു ലക്ഷ്യവും ലക്ഷണവുമില്ല. തന്നെയല്ല ചണ്ഡാലാദികളുടെ ലക്ഷണങ്ങൾ ആചാരങ്ങൾ പ്രത്യേക ജീവിതവശങ്ങൾ ഇവയൊന്നും അവർണ്ണരെ ബാധിക്കുന്നതുമില്ല. സവർണ്ണരെപ്പോലെയുള്ള ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനാരാധനാസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം ഇവൎക്കിപ്പോൾ ഇല്ലെന്നുള്ളതൊഴികെ ഇവരിൽ ഏതാനും ചില ജാതിക്കാൎക്ക സാമൂഹികജീവിതത്തിലുള്ള അധഃപതനമാണ് ഗണ്യമായി കരുതിവരുന്നത്. ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനം ലബ്ധമായെന്നിരുന്നാലും പ്രസ്തുതന്യൂനതകൾ പരിഹരിക്കപ്പെടുവാൻ പ്രയാസമായിട്ടാണിരിക്കുന്നത്. സ്വന്തമായി കുടിപാൎപ്പിനു ഭൂമിയില്ലാതേയും ഉന്നതവിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിനു കഴിവില്ലാതേയും പ്രയാസപ്പെടുന്നവരുടെ സംഖ്യ വളരെ കൂടുതലാണ്. അതിനാൽ ഇവൎക്ക ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനത്തേക്കാൾ ആവശ്യം ഏതാദൃശങ്ങളായ ദുരിതകോടികൾ പരിഹരിക്കയാണ് വേണ്ടതെന്ന സവർണ്ണരിലും അവൎണ്ണരിലും ഒരുകൂട്ടം അഭിപ്രായം പുറപ്പെടുവിക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. ധനാഗമനമാർഗ്ഗങ്ങളും മറ്റുമുണ്ടായിരുന്നാലും ഈശ്വരസങ്കേതങ്ങളിൽ ഇവൎക്കുപ്രവേശിച്ചു ആരാധനനടത്തുന്ന വിഷയത്തിലുള്ള സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യക്കുറവു പരിഹരിക്കാതിരിക്കുന്നിടത്തോളം ഉൽക്കടമായ ഉൽക്കൎഷം നിൎവിഘ്നം നിൎവഹിക്കുവാൻ വളരെ പ്രയാസമായിരിക്കുന്നതാണ്.

അവർണ്ണരെ ഉദ്ദേശിച്ചു കമ്മിററി ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ള നിർദ്ദേശങ്ങൾ ഏററവും പ്രയോജനകരങ്ങളും അവ നടപ്പിൽ വരുന്നപക്ഷം ഹൈന്ദവമതാവലംബികളും, ഇഹപരസാഫല്യങ്ങൾക്ക എല്ലാവിധത്തിലും അൎഹരമായ ഒരു വൎഗ്ഗമായിത്തീരുന്ന ജനക്കൂട്ടത്തിന്റെ ഭാവിശോഭനമായിത്തീരുന്നതുമാണ്. അവൎണ്ണരുടെ അഭിമാന

ത്തെ മലീമസമാക്കി ചിരകാലം സ്ഥിതിചെയ്തിരുന്ന അയിത്താചാരത്തെ പാടെ വിപാടനം ചെയ്യുവാൻ തക്കവണ്ണം കമ്മിററിയിൽനിന്നും ചെയ്തിരുന്ന പ്രത്യേകനിർദ്ദേശപ്രകാരം പ്രജാക്ഷേമൈകതല്പരനായ മഹാരാജാവുതിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടു് കല്പിച്ചു പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തിയിട്ടുള്ള പ്രസ്സ് കമ്മ്യൂണിക് (Press Communique) പൊതുജനങ്ങളെ പൊതുവെ ആഹ്ലാദചിത്തവൃത്തികളാക്കിത്തീർത്തിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നുള്ളതു വിസ്മരിക്കത്തക്കതല്ല. കേവലം കർഷകജീവിതം ചെയ്യുന്നവരും നിർദ്ധനരുമാണെന്നിരുന്നാലും ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനമനുവദിച്ചാൽ ഇവർ ഏററവും വൃത്തിയായും നിർദ്ദിഷ്ടനിയമങ്ങളെ ശിരസാ വഹിച്ചുകൊണ്ടും ആരാധനയിൽ പങ്കുകൊള്ളുന്നതായിരിക്കും. ഗുതം കൈക്കൊണ്ട കൊടുങ്ങല്ലൂർ, ശബരിമല, മണ്ടക്കാട്ട്, പഴനി മുതലായ ദേവാലയങ്ങളിൽ അധഃകൃതരും അവർണ്ണരും ഇപ്പോഴും അനവധി പൊയ്ക്കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്നതുകൊണ്ടുതന്നെ ദേവസാമീപ്യത്തിനിവർക്കാഗ്രഹമുള്ളതല്ലാതെ ഭയമോ ദോഷഫലമുണ്ടാകുമെന്നുള്ള വിശ്വാസമോ ഇല്ലെന്നുള്ള കാര്യം സ്പഷ്ടമായിട്ടുള്ളതാണല്ലോ. ഒരു വഴി സർവസമുദായമൈത്രിയും, രാജ്യക്ഷേമവും സാധാരണ ജനങ്ങൾ കാംക്ഷിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെന്നിരുന്നാലും സകല ഹൈന്ദവജനതയും ബിംബാരാധനയിൽ ബദ്ധശ്രദ്ധരായിട്ടാണു കാണുന്നതു്. ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം അനുവദിച്ചു് അവർണ്ണരുടെ ആരാധനാസക്തി നിറവേററുകയും നഷ്ടപ്പെട്ട ഹൈന്ദവശക്തി പുനഃസ്ഥാപനം ചെയ്യുകയും ചെയ്യേണ്ടതു് അത്യാവശ്യംതന്നെയാണ്.

തന്ത്രസമുച്ചയം, മനുസ്മൃതി, പരാശരസ്മൃതി, സ്മാർത്തപ്രായശ്ചിത്തം, കരുത്താചാരം, വൈഖാനസാഗമം, വിഷ്ണുസംഹിത, ഭൃഗുസംഹിത, തത്വദീപിക, പാശുപതം, ബ്രഹ്മപുരാണം മുതലായ ഗ്രന്ഥങ്ങളിലെല്ലാം ചണ്ഡാലപതിതാദികളുടെ ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനത്തെ നിരോധിക്കുന്ന ഭാഗങ്ങൾ മാത്രമേ ഉള്ളൂ. അതീതകാലങ്ങൾക്കും ആചാരങ്ങൾക്കും അവ അനുയോജ്യങ്ങളായിരുന്നതിനാൽ അതാതു ഗ്രന്ഥകാരന്മാർ നിർദ്ദേശിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതായി വിചാരിക്കാം. എന്നാൽ കാലാനുകൂലമായ ആചാരങ്ങളെ കുറിക്കുന്ന പലഭാഗങ്ങളും, എക്കാലവും മതാനുയായികൾക്കു സ്വീകാര്യമായ ഭാഗങ്ങളും സ്മൃത്യാദിഗ്രന്ഥങ്ങളിൽ സുലഭങ്ങളാണ്. ആചാരങ്ങളെ അതിലംഘിച്ചു പൊതുജനാവശ്യത്തെ ആദരിച്ചു്

നടപ്പിൽ വരുത്തിയിട്ടുള്ള പലതിനും ശാസ്ത്രാഭിപ്രായമനുവദിച്ചു കാണുന്നില്ലെന്നുള്ള സംഗതി പ്രത്യേകം അനുസ്മരണീയമാണ്.

൧. "ന വിശേഷോഽസ്തി വർണ്ണാനാം
സർവ്വം ബ്രാഹ്മമിദം ജഗൽ
ബ്രാഹ്മണാ പൂർവ്വസൃഷ്ടാ ഹി
കർമ്മണാ വർണ്ണതാം ഗതാഃ"

എന്ന് മഹാഭാരതം ശാന്തിപർവ്വത്തിലും,

൨. "ഭൂമിർന്നദ്യോ നഗാശ്ശൈലാഃ
സിദ്ധാ ദേവർഷയസ്തഥാ
കാലം സമനുവർത്തന്തെ
യഥാഭൂതാ യുഗേ യുഗേ."

എന്ന് മഹാഭാരതം ആരണ്യപർവ്വത്തിലും,

൩. "ദേശഭേദാൽ കാലഭേദാൽ
പുംഭേദാദന്യഥാന്യഥാ
പശ്യവസ്യതി ശാസ്ത്രാർത്ഥാ
ഇതി പൂർവ്വമവാദൃശം."

എന്ന് മാധവാചാര്യരും,

൪. "ത്യജേൽ ദേശം കൃതയുഗേ
ത്രേതായാം ഗ്രാമമുൽസൃജേൽ
ദ്വാപരെ കുലമേകം തു
കർത്താരം തു കലൗ യുഗേ."

എന്ന് പരാശരനും അഭിപ്രായപ്പെട്ടിട്ടുള്ള ഭാഗങ്ങൾ എന്നും ആദരണീയവും, അനുവർത്തനീയവുമാണ്.

൫. "പ്രതികാലം പ്രമാണാനി
ഭിദ്യന്തെ കാലഭേദവാൽ
പ്രതിദേശം ച ഭിദ്യന്തെ
തൽ പശ്യേൽ ബഹുസമ്മതം."

എന്നു ശാങ്കരസ്മൃതി, പതിനൊന്നാം അദ്ധ്യായം ഇരുപത്തിരണ്ടാം ശ്ലോകത്തിലും,

ന്നു. "അസ്വർഗ്ഗ്യം ലോകവിദ്വിഷ്ടം
ധർമ്മമപ്യാചരേന്നതു."

എന്ന് യാജ്ഞവൽക്യസ്മൃതി, ആചാരകാണ്ഡം ൧൫൬-ാം ശ്ലോകത്തിലും പറയപ്പെട്ടുന്ന ധർമ്മം ഇപ്പോൾ നിർവഹണീയമായിട്ടാണിരിക്കുന്നതു്. വൈദികമതത്തിലും, ഹിന്ദുമതാവലംബികൾക്കും വിദ്വിഷ്ടമായിത്തീർന്നിട്ടുള്ള ആചാരങ്ങൾ മാറേണ്ടതു് മതാധികാരികളുടെ ന്യായമായ കടമകൂടിയാണെന്ന ശാസ്ത്രോക്തിയുണ്ട്. എന്നാൽ ഈ വിഷയത്തിൽ പ്രതിധ്വനിക്കുന്ന അഭിപ്രായവ്യത്യാസങ്ങളെക്കുറിച്ച് മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടു് കല്പിച്ച് ഒരു തീരുമാനം ചെയ്യുന്നതു് അവിടത്തെ പ്രജാവലികളായ സവർണ്ണരും അവർണ്ണരും ഭക്തിപൂർവ്വം അംഗീകരിക്കുമെന്നുള്ളതിനു യാതൊരു സംശയവുമില്ല. തിരുമനസ്സിലെ പ്രജാവിഭാഗങ്ങളെ കാരുണ്യപൂർവ്വം തൃക്കൺപാർത്തു നവനവങ്ങളായ കല്പനകളാൽ രാജ്യക്ഷേമത്തെ പുലർത്തുന്ന ഈ സുവർണ്ണാവസരം ആരാലും ആരാദ്ധ്യമത്രെ.

തിരുമനസ്സിലെ സോദരിയും വഞ്ചിവംശവർദ്ധിനിയും ആയ കാർത്തികതിരുനാൾ തിരുമനസ്സിലെ വിഖ്യാതവും പാവനവുമായ പള്ളിക്കെട്ടുമഹം സംബന്ധിച്ച് സർവ്വജാതിമതസ്ഥരായ പ്രജാസഞ്ചയത്തോടും കല്പിച്ച സമനിലയിൽ പ്രകടിപ്പിച്ച പ്രജാവാത്സല്യം അഭൂതപൂർവ്വവും ഇദംപ്രഥമവുമായിരുന്നിട്ടും ഉയർന്നവരും താണവരും ഏകീകൃതമനഃസാക്ഷിയോടും അകളങ്കവും അനന്യസാമാന്യവുമായ രാജഭക്തിയോടും കൂടിയാണ് ആ മംഗളസംപൂർണ്ണമായ കർമ്മങ്ങളിലോരോന്നിലും സംബന്ധിച്ചിരുന്നതു്. വാദാവിഷയമായ ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനത്തെക്കുറിച്ച് പല വഴി വിചിന്തനം ചെയ്തുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്ന ബഹുഭൂരിപക്ഷം ജനങ്ങൾക്ക് ആരാദ്ധ്യമാനസയായ അമ്മമഹാറാണി തിരുമനസ്സിലേയും, മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിലെ ഉപദേഷ്ടാക്കളുടേയും പേരിലുള്ള നിസ്തുലമായ ഭക്തിയും നന്ദിയും വിശ്വാസവും പള്ളിക്കെട്ടു മഹോത്സവത്തിൽ മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടു് സദയം കല്പിച്ച് പ്രസിദ്ധം ചെയ്ത അനുഗ്രഹീതരാജശാസനവും മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമേനിയേയും, അത്യന്തമായി ആരാധിക്കുന്നതിനു് കാരണമായിത്തീർന്നിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നുള്ളതു് തിരുവിതാംകൂർ ചരിത്രത്തിനു് ഒരു സുവർണ്ണഘട്ടമത്രെ.

വഞ്ചിരാജ്യത്തിൻെറ പൂവ്പുണ്യപരിപാകമായി അവതരണംചെയ്ത മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിലെ മഹനീയരാജ്യഭരണം എല്ലാത്തരത്തിലും ശ്രേയസ്കരവും പ്രജാക്ഷേമപരവുമായിത്തീരുമെന്നുള്ളതിന് യാതൊരു സംശയവുമ് ല്ല. തിരുമനസ്സിലെ ദീർഘായുർഭാഗ്യത്തിനും, തിരുവിതാംക്കൂറിൻെറ ഭാവിഭദ്രത്തിനും ശ്രീപത്മനാഭൻ കനിവാൻ വരമരുളുമാറാവട്ടെ.

തിരുവനന്തപുരം, }
൨൪-൩-൧൧൦൬. } റി. റി. കേശവൻശാസ്ത്രി.

THE TEMPLE ENTRY ENQUIRY COMMITTEE.

Note by Mr. T. K. Velu Pillai.

The report of the Temple Entry Enquiry Committee recommends certain changes in the existing practice. I am in favour of allowing entry to the Avarnas. But, I consider two stages necessary.

The first stage.

At present the Avarnas are not allowed to enter even within the outer premises of temples inside the walls (*prakaras*). The offer worship from outside the outer walls without being able to see or even to catch a glimpse of the images of the deities. This must change immediately. It is common ground with the supporters and the opponents of the movement that the sight of the image makes worship more efficacious. I am of opinion that the votaries may be permitted to approach the shrine as far as the Dwajasthambhom or flagstaff from which spot generally a view of the Garbhagraha and the Partishta may be had.

The Smritis and Agamas not against entry.

In taking this view, I have relied on the Agamas themselves. They do not prohibit the entry of Avarnas up to the limit specified above. The Agamas are the authoritative books containing the rules pertaining to:—

1. The construction of temples.
2. Image-making.
3. Social rules (Varnasrama Dharmas).
4. Public festivals (Ulsavas).

The Agamas are numerous. The most prominent are the Pancharatra, Saivagama, Vaikhanasa Kamika *et cetra.*

The root ideas in these Agamas are the same. For example the Kanchukas in the Saiva theology are analogous to the three Saktis, Maya, Niyati and Kala in the Pancharatra which lays down the Vaishnava creed. Professor Bhandarkar was of

the view that some of the forms of Agama worship were in existence in the first century before Christ. Schrader has pointed out that the authority of the Agamas was recognised by Yamunacharya the spiritual preceptor of Ramanuja. The rules of the Agamas are said to have been expounded by Easwara and to be of divine origin. Some of them are very ancient.

Prohibition in the Tantrasamuchaya.

The authority which is followed in Travancore and the Kerala country is the Tantrasamuchaya, the work of Chennassu Narayanan Namputiri, compiled about five hundred years ago. It is mainly based on the Vishnusamhita. Among other rules such as those relating to the construction of temples, the consecration of images, and the worship in temples, the Tantrasamuchaya enumerates certain kinds of *nimittams* (pollution). The entry of Pathithas and *such like* is one cause of pollution. A Pathitha is one who has fallen from his caste. The literal sense of the word does not include Chandalas and others who are now excluded from temples. But if a person born in a high caste forfeits his right to enter temples on losing his caste it follows that one who is born in a caste understood to be low should also be denied admission. The Elavas, Shanars and many others lower to them in the ladder of caste, were also excluded, possibly because they hailed from Ceylon and other foreign countries. The exclusion of Saraswata Brahmins who are admittedly caste-Hindus would support this inference. The orthodox school relies on the text of the Tantrasamuchaya in their attempt to prevent the admission of Avarnas within the temple, the outer limits as well as the inner premises.

No prohibition of Avarnas entering.

I do not think that the texts prohibit entry within the outer premises. I proceed to state my reasons.

" *Kshetre mritir jananam Ankanamandapadou*

Mutrasrigadi patanam patitadivesa " is the couplet to be interpreted. It means that the death or birth of a human being within the temple (*kshetra*) causes pollution. But the dropping of urine or blood would cause pollution only if it occurs within the

Ankana or *Mandapa* (*i. e.,* in the inner premises within, the Nalambalam). According to the ideas of caste which ruled at that time the entry of unapproachables into the temple could hardly have been thought of. But a high-caste man who was accustomed to worship the deity from within the inner precincts might do to-morrow what he did yesterday. Hence, perhaps, the express prohibition of the entry of Pathithas. The dropping of blood, urine, etc., in the Ankana or Mandapa was regarded as *nimittams* of one kind (physical pollution), while the entry of Pathithas and such like were held to be *nimithams* of another kind (ceremonial pollution). The word 'kshetram' is a comprehensive one and has to be understood with reference to the context. It sometimes denotes the whole area within the outer walls, (*maryada*), and at other times signifies local internal subdivisions. The Ankana and the Mandapa are within the Nalambalam, the inner precincts. The text of the Tantrasamuchayam therefore means that the entry of Pathithas and such like would cause pollution and affect the sanctity of the image only when the events (nimittams) occur within the inner precincts.

The books do not prevent entry.

The Committee has found that the rules regarding pollution by approach have been relaxed in practice except within the temples. Customs are not immutable. They may be changed with propriety where the rules of the Agamas are not only not prohibitory but bear a liberal interpretation. This view derives considerable support from the exposition of the text by one of the Sishyas (disciples) of the author as set forth in the "Vivarana" which is a commentary written some time after the Tantrasamuchaya itself. In a Malayalam translation of the Tantrasamuchaya known as the Podoor Grandha occurs a passage which shows that the entry of Pathithas or the dropping of blood causes pollution only if it occures within the Ankana or Mandapa. The nimithams are narrated in a particular order in the Tantrasamuchaya. The outermost places in the precincts are dealt with first, and then come the inner subdivisions, one after another. The other commentaries, the Vimarsini by the author's

son and the one known as Karuthapara express the view that the entry of Pathithas, etc., within the outer wall causes pollution as well. I adopt the Vivarana as the more correct and reliable exposition.

The pollution limits.

This interpretation may be supported by the Sastras and Agamas themselves. The deity is conceived as an individual of the highest caste. Man worships God as man with human attributes. The Brahmin represented then the highest spiritual ideal in India, a Brahmin by qualities and not by birth alone. The idea of Vithanagni was imported into the Pratishta. It was a time when orthodox Brahmins, and others following their example, observed the rules of unapproachability or distance pollution. But that is a thing of the past in the life outside the temple, in the vast majority of cases. It was suggested that the deity is conceived not as a Brahmin but as a Kshatriya; and reference was made to the marks and emblems of royalty in certain temples. But the custom of Brahmins taking the Nivedyam, food which is Daivochhishtam, is an effective answer to that; for the Brahmins do not take food from non-Brahmins. I do not pursue the point further because untouchability and unapproachability are observed by the Kshatriyas as well as by the Brahmins. The orthodox rule of distance is 6 feet for Pathithas, 12 feet for women in their periods, 24 feet for Elavas and carpenters, and 48 feet for Pulayas and Pariahs. This rule is recognised in the Parasara, Brihaspati and other Smrithis and has been explained to that effect by Nilakanta Yogi. The carpenters and toddy-drawers are thus within the same bracket. But the carpenters are now being permitted to enter certain temples and proceed up to the flagstaff while the Elavas are not allowed to enter the temple premises at all. This is a freak of society. The ground on which the Soundikas were excluded was that they manufactured or sold intoxicating liquor. Those who drank toddy were also excluded. But at present drinking is not considered to be a disqualifying vice, nor the selling of liquor. Brahmins and Nairs are allowed to make money by wholesale business in arrack and toddy, but they are not disqualified.

There are other *nimittams*. The touch of a crow is a nimittam. (*Vide* the Tatwaprakasika). But very often the

cooked food intended for offerings to the deity is made unclean by that troublesome and dirty intruder. Yet purificatory rites are not performed on such occasions. (*Vide* the report of the Kshetrodamastha Samithi.)

The Pasupatha has a text. "Pravishtay Poojaney sprishtey Dravyanam sparshaney thatha." I would interpret the text of the Pasupatha to mean that touching the Pujari and entry within touching distance is what is prohibited. The touching of articles intended for offering is also prohibited. It is well known that ghee, molasses, fruits, etc., are purchased from the bazaar, sometimes from non-caste Hindu dealers.

Another text, one from the Vishnu-samhita, is instructive on this point. "Prasada garbha peedarcha sareeratwena sargina." This means that the subtle body of the deity extends from the Bimbom to the pedestal, thence to the Garbhagriha and finally covers the Prasada. The Prasadas are generally within the Nalambalam and the exceptions in the case of the Nritha mandapam (dancing hall) are so few that they may be ignored in a general discussion. To increase the ambit of the subtle body in an arbitrary manner will be going against the Vishnusamhita which is in large measure the basis of the Tantrasamuchaya. It is open to another serious objection. The Prasadas are said to be the extensions of the subtle body as distinguished from the corporeal. But the centre from which pollution is measured is the image. Some say that the starting point of pollution is the Gopuram. But this view is not entitled to any serious consideration, for, if that be the rule, the caste-Hindus themselves, not even the Brahmins, may enter any temple as only the officiating priest can touch the image. In Gopala Mooppanar *v.* Dharmakota Subramonia (1914, Madras Weekly Notes 622) Justice Sadasiva Aiyar takes notice of the practice that Pathithas (outcastes) were not allowed to pass beyond the limit of the Dhwajasthambhom (flagstaff). In the several texts perused by the Committee the Pathithas and the Chandalas are seen to be included in the same category so far as temple entry is concerned. Therefore, it may be legitimately held that if the Pathithas and non-Hindus, as in many temples in British India are allowed

within the temple up to the Dhwajom, the Chandalas may also be given the same concession. I do not propose to examine the question as to who are Chandalas and who are not. The Chandalas form the lowest caste and if they may enter the temple all those who are above them can enter with greater propriety.

Local practices favouring entry.

From the evidence recorded by the Committee it will be seen that there are local practices in certain temples from which it may be argued with some force that Avarnas were permitted to enter the premises and proceed up to the Dhwajom and perhaps up to the Nalampalam. Some witnesses, whose respectability is a safe test of their veracity, speak to the actual entry of Elavas and others in the Kumarakovil temple in South Travancore. Mr. Ayyan Kali, the leader of Pulayas says that he ventured inside once, but did it informally, perhaps stealthly. No doubt the Devaswom officers deny this. But the Devaswom authorities on the spot are small officers and their responsibility to get things done according to mamool makes it improbable, humanly speaking, that they would admit the fact. I believe the first set of witnesses in preference to the latter class of persons. The same is my opinion on the alleged entry of Avarnas into the Chettikulangara temple on certain occasions. The report states that in the Ayiroor Puthiakavu temple a few Elava families used to enter the outer premises for the purpose of Nadatheendal, but that it has now fallen into desuetude. That, I believe, is due to the self-respect movement among the Elavas whose policy is to boycott caste-Hindu temples wherein they have no admission. Perhaps purificatory ceremonies might have been performed to preserve the sancity untarnished. If such ceremonies will take away all evil from nimithams or events of pollution, there should have been no obstacles to their admission within the inner premises (Nalampalam) subject to an appropriate ceremoney to be performed afterwards. But it has never been in vogue. This shows that the entry of Avarnas within the outer premises is sanctioned by custom in certain temples and not prohibited by the Agama sastras.

An objection examined.

Mr. Narayanan Bhattathirippad, a member of the Committee pointed out that in several temples there are minor deities (Upadevatas) and that some of them are housed outside the Pradakshinavazhi. It may be so. But the question will arise whether those subsidiary deities are conceived as Brahmin deities or such of the Avarna gods who were admitted within the Hindu pantheon in times past. If they belong to the latter class the approach of Avarnas cannot pollute them. Even if hey are polluted, such pollution will not affect the sanctity of the ruling deity; for, the Avarna deities are kept beyond the prohibited distance. If the test mentioned above fails, and the attendent deities are discovered to be of Aryan origin and satisfy at the same time the Brahmin conception, a reform may be effected at least in those temples where there are no attendent gods outside the Pradakshinavazhi. A study of the various Sthalapuranas and scrutiny of local traditions should enable the Devaswom Department to find out the real facts. If difficulties present themselves, some of the temples may be retained in their present exclusion and the concession made inapplicable to them for the time being. Fourteen Savarna witnesses are for giving entry to the Avarnas up to the Dwajom. I may repeat there is no prohibition in the sacred books of the admission of Avarnas up to the Dwajom.

Conclusion on the first point.

I have given the most anxious care to the question, in a spirit of reverence for the sacred books and a legitimate and deserving respect for a long-standing custom. I am distinctly of the opinion that the Avarnas of all castes should be admitted up to the Dwajom forthwith. The opinion of a Parishat is not necessary to effect the change, except perhaps that the opinion of a Parishat will serve to remove the opposition of a large body of orthodox Savarnas who follow the custom, but have no first hand knowledge of the sacred literature. This can only be justified *ex abundante cautela.*

THE SECOND STAGE

Certain difficulties.

I now propose to examine the larger question of unrestricted admission of all classes of Avarnas up to the Sopanam. or the immediate front of the shrine or Garbha Graha. The path of enquiry is beset with difficulties. The population of Travancore is fifty-one lakhs of whom thirty one lakhs are Hindus. Of these roughly eleven lakhs are Savarnas with the right of temple-entry as ordinraily understood while the vast bulk are Avarnas without that right. There are some Savarna caste like the Gowda-Saraswatha Brahmins who have no entry. In certain temples the Kshatriyas, the pink of Malabar aristocracy, are not permitted to enter while from others women, whatever be their caste, are excluded. There is no Indian State or province where women are held in greater respect than in Kerala where they are the stocks of descent in Marumakkathayam families. These facts prove that customs and usuages vary in different localities. During the last forty or fifty years social customs have undergone great changes. But those supported by religious convictions and sanctioned by superstitious apprehensions still continue. Women in their periods become untouchable for four days in the month. The death of a close relation or the birth of a child creates a temporary pollution during which neither a male nor a female ventures to enter the precincts of a temple. The ideas of religion play a prominent part in the life of the Hindus. Even the Avarnas, are not immune from fear of sin or free from sacerdotal influence. An examination of the question of temple-entry for the Avarnas cannot be pursued with any profit unless the root-ideas of Hinduism are clearly understood. That, however, is not a smooth enterprise for its doctrines lie scattered in hundreds of books, perhaps thousands, in many languages ancient, medieval, and modern. I must, however, state a few facts which I consider necessary for a correct understanding of the present situation and the nature of the reforms suggested.

Temples and faith.

The moment for temple-entry is a religious one. This has been reiterated by Mahatma Gandhi who is the person most competent to describe the nature of the demand which he and his

friends are making, Ideas of faith, doctrine, and ceremonial therefore play an important part. Temples are places of worship where the spiritual side of human nature is strengthened and developed in accordance with the precepts of the Agamas and the rules and customs which prescribe the rituals and other ceremonials. The sanctity of a temple is essentially a matter of faith. The tests applied for the determination of such sanctity are different from those of the material sciences or even those of pure logic. Religious doctrines are not capable of demonstration or proof. They have their origin in the transitory nature of life on this planet. They embody principles like the transmigration of the soul, the effect of Karma, the notions of reward and punishment, blessedness and perdition, heaven and hell. It is therefore that Bhakti or devotion to the Almighty is the *sine qua non* of salvation in all systems of religious belief. It is Bhakti and not universal brotherhood nor cosmopolitanism nor even humanitarianism which has its place in a temple. The Bhagavatha Purana asserts that faith and piety are the shortest and easiest roads to Moksha. So does the earlier authority, the Bhagavat Gita, Lord Sree Krishna's revelation. The teachings of Christianity and Islam are not different in this respect. Faith is an enthusiasm involving the greatest transformation, a transformation of all his values that a human being can undergo. The difference between faith and its absence is said to be like that between eyesight and blindness. "Man has a three-fold nature, body, soul, and spirit; and the best which the spirit is capable of is beyond the reach of the natural man". The mind is a greater force than a knowledge of all the terrestrial sciences. Yet it is not always strong enough to break the trammels of the association of ideas. If tooth-ache or a bad digestion makes mental concentration difficult, a feeling of injury and a compulsory acquiescence in a new order of things in matters of religion, brought on by violent changes, is bound to affect the caste-Hindus adversely. If things are left as they are, the non-caste Hindus are not conciliated and substantial reforms effected, the condition of the Hindus and their religion is bound to deteriorate further. But the fundamentals of religious practice and the substantial groundwork of its doctrines should not be abandoned in the attempt to effect reforms. Political, social, or international

considerations can have but a subordinate place in the solution of this difficult problem.

Nature of the Movement.

In the past there had been religious upheavals and reformations in Hindu society. But the movements were associated with such names as Sankara, Ramanuja, Chaitanya or Ramakrishna, men who were devotees, thinkers, or saints not men of action who were solely interested in strengthening social solidarity in order to encourage the growth of nationality. Religion may go hand in-hand with politics. But those who scoff at religion and condemn rituals should have no palace in the discussion of a religious matter of a quasi-religious one. It is no use evading the real question. If Hinduism is going to be jeoparadised by the admission of non-caste Hindus, and if that admission is against the authority of the acknowledged Sastras the movement for temple-entry cannot be encouraged. If, on the other hand, the practice of excluding Avarnas is note prohibited by the substantive commands of religion the disability should be removed.

Harijana uplift : Political.

The renovation of the Dharma is a difficult task. When there is deterioration in the Dharma the Almighty sends his own self in some form, an incarnation like Sri Krishna, a Son like Jesus, or a Prophet like Mohamed. The idea is ingrained in the beliefs of all nations. The Budha did not pretend to any such origin or authority. But the piety of hin later followers made him an Avatar. Changes in religious ideas and opinions have been the result of deep study and reflection on the part of those who made themselves competent to deal with them. But even the ignorant who attend public meetings function for scholars and sages at the present day. The social and economic uplift of the "Harijana" has been a plank in the programme of the Indian National Congress. The politicians say that if religious doctrines and practices are obstacles to the success of their endeavour they should be done away with. Such is the creed which has become fashionable. One is reminded of the Khilafat problem at the time of the Great European War. The

Hindus have never taken kindly to the growth of Islam in India, nor have they been known to sympathise with the religious aspirations of Turkish Mahomedans. But in order to offer a united front in politics every Hindu who accepted the lead of the congress subscribed to the Khilafat. This attitude of mind explains why many persons who are indifferent to temples are interesting themselves in the Temple-Entry movement. It must be noted that Mahatma Gandhi, who believes in soul-force and spirituality more than in anything else, has not been able to do anything substantial to improve the religious out-look of the Hindus, apart from the question of temple-entry. The scheme of Harijan uplift is now the chief item in his political programme. Many of his supporters in the Temple-Entry movement are indifferent to religion while there are not a few who are confirmed agnostics or resolute atheists. The newspapers are concerned more with the things of this world than of the next. Hinduism has become a welter of strange customs and inconsistent doctrines. The reaffirmation of the doctrines of Hinduism is essential to progress and the safety and security of the Hindu community. If the doctrines cannot be ascertained temples will do good to none.

Religion : Want of authority.

The large majority of caste Hindus look upon the caste system as an integral part of their religion; and may believe that, if the rules of caste are tampered with, the change would spell the ruin of their religion. No two individuals are seen to agree on the fundamental principles of Hinduism. The ancient commentators have lost their hold on the minds of the people The spread of western knowledge has been instrumental in creating a kind of unbelief among the educated. Rituals are regarded as the marks of superstition. While the educated Christans and Mahomedans, who are quite as much conversant with scientific thought as the Hindus, hug their respective creeds to their bosom and regard the Bible and the Koran as sacred revelations, the Hindus permit their own people, along with others, to indulge in disparaging criticisms of the authoritative books. These criticisms are levelled at them from the high-peaks of secular logic raised on ignorance and impatience.

The difficulty appears to lie in the absence of a common religious head or a college of spiritual chiefs to decide points of dispute and interpret the Sruthies and Smrithies in a manner calculated to reconcile them to modern conditions. The bulk of Hindus are governed by the British Government while the others pay loyalty to a large number of Princes and Chiefs some of whom have advanced far ahead of the old moorings. Indian rulers are obliged to assume not only toleration, but a kind of religious neutrality, a timid indifference, in order to conciliate the non-Hindus and deserve their loyalty. The Matathipathies have lost their position and they remind us of the *Saurians* of bye-gone ages whose skeletons are little more than objects of curiosity.

Changes in Vedic religion.

What are the principles of the Hindu religion? A number of difficulties arrest our attention on the very threshold of the inquiry. The Vedas which are said to be the highest authority have fallen from their pedestal. When the infallible Srutis were thus dislodged, the Smrities, the Agamas' and the Puranas followed suit; for these latter borrow only a limited authority from the Vedas. The sceptre of the Universe was wrested from the hands of one deity after another. Varuna was at one time the ruler of the Universe according to the Vedas. So was Indra. Rudra assumed prominence and was then turned down. The hymns addressed to Rudra were made to apply to Mahadeva. The Brihaspati hymn was transferred to Ganesa which latter developed from a malevolent deity into a kind and benevolent god. Agni. Yama, and the Maruts yielded to Prajapati who was known later on as Brahma. Brahma was very popular for a time. Even so late as the time of AlBiruni's vist, there were so many as 900 temples at which Brahma was worshipped. The Brahma cult has now been practically forgotten. But' if there was subtraction, there was also addition. The gods of peoples outside the pale of Hinduism were from time to time taken over and placed among those of the Hindu pantheon. The deities worshipped by the people of Manipur, for example, were recognised as forms of Siva or Durga. Dravidian ideas were engrafted on the Aryan religion and Dravidian gods incorporated. Tamil hymns are believed to have almost the same authority as the Vedas themselves.

Even before this transformation and the absorption of non-Aryan forms the Vedas showed deterioration. The Yajurveda attests the luxuriant growth of ritualism and sacredotalism. "Pompous performances garnished with lip-service took the place of devotion to the Gods. Then the Upanishads swept aside the rituals like cobwebs". Buddhism and Jainism arose but they could not hold on permanently. The paraphernalia of Mahayana Buddhism were copied by Hinduism. The final authority of the Vedas themselves have been challenged by latter-day commentators. From the Vedas to the Upanishads and thence to the Tantras was the progress through centuries The Mahanirvana Tantra asserts that "the fool who would follow doctrines other than those of the Tantra is as great a sinner as a parricide, or the murderer of a Brahmin or a woman. The vedic rites and mantras which were efficacious in the past age have ceased to have power in this. They are now as powerless as snakes whose fangs have been drawn and are like dead things." The Kularnava Tantra is positive that salvation cannot be obtained by vedic sacrifices, or ascetism, or the reading of sacred books but it can be won only by tantric rites.

Tantras Different opinions.

Now the tantric rites are more important in the worship of Sakti than in that of any other god or goddess. Some Tantras prescribe rituals and ceremonies which appear to be coarse and against public decency. But others maintain with unabated vigour, that the Panchatattvas and the Pancha-makaras (the five M's, Madya, Mamsa, Matsya, Mudra, and Maithuna are essential to success.' Sir Charles Eliot is surprised in that "the members of the nationalist party in Bengal who clamour for parliamentary institutions are among the devotees of Kali who is depicted with gaping mouth and protruded tongue dancing on a prostrate body.[1] The ceremonies appear to some as horrible. Animal sacrifices are regarded by many as a relic of barbarism. But Eliot himself cites Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Dinesh Chandra Sen and Sister Nivedita as authorities for the alternative view that the terrible manifestation is a reminder that birth and death are twins and that the conception of Kali is an essential part of higher spiritual life. The Hindu temples came into

prominence after the later Buddhism, the Mahayana. The prevalence of animal sacrifices in the temples of Kali shows that the ceremonies prescribed by the Vedas were restored to Hinduism after full examination of the opposing principles which had their own day.

Points of view.

What is it that makes the killing of animals a disgusting cruelty? The number of animals killed to propitiate gods of goddesses is negligible in comparison to those killed for food even in India. All killing is not evil. The crucified Jesus is an emblem of self- sacrifice and is adored as a Saviour who gave his life to save mankind. The civilised peoples of the world are sending thousands, and thousands of thousands, of able-bodied men, the props of large families, to the fields of battle; and they cheerfully enter Veeraswarga. In the case of animals killed in religious sacrifices there is at least the prominent fact that their young ones do not depend upon them for their sustenance. And the very conception of Hindu sacrifice removes all possible objections. For the sacrificer thinks, at any rate he ought to think of the god or goddess as being present in the victims body "He prays to him as being all the gods in one and strikes the blow after consecrating the axe. "The victim becomes God". I am not attempting to justify the practice. The sight of the poor animal's head severed from the body and rolling on the ground in pools of blood is revolting. But if animal food is relished by the bulk of the civilised peoples of the world, and if the votaries are allowed to offer to the deity what they like best, the educated Bengalee cannot be condemned for continuing the sacrifices in the shrines of the Goddess Kali in conformity with ancient custom. I am not praising one form of worship or condemning another. I am only attempting to show that there are diverse, heterogeneous, and divergent views on the subject.

In this wilderness of beliefs, customs and practices the principles of the Hindu religion are seen to play hide and seek. It is stated by some scholars that Ramanuja was influenced by the ideas of Christian theism. The doctrines laid down by Ramananda were compromises between Hinduism and Islam.

The Kabir-Panthis and the Sikhs have advanced even more in that direction. The Arya Samaj, the Ramakrishna Mission, the Bharat Dharma Mahamadal, the Brahmo Samaj and the Theosophical Society are all here working each its own way. Some of the Hindu sects maintain that their doctrines are fundamentally different from those of all others. Yet all are Hindus.

No certain standard.

Mr. Govinda Das has made an attempt, in his book on Hinduism, to show that the usual tests are inapplicable to present day Hinduism. Here are his main arguments.

1. Birth from Hindu parents is not essential.

2. Birth within the geographical limits of India is not necessary.

3. Belief in the Veda is not necessary.

4. Belief in the caste system not indispensable.

5. Belief in the sanctity of the cow and the Brahmin is not a *sine-quanon*.

6. The sikha (top-knot of the head) and the sacred thread are not essential.

7. Rules as to forbidden food are not observed.

8. Rites and sacraments are not prescribed to all classes.

9. Belief in the theory of Karma or the existence of the soul is not necessary.

10. Faith in Avatars is not indispensable.

The learned author calls Hinduism an anthropological process rather than a religion. Some of the views adumbrated in the book are hypercritical. But they raise points which cannot be altogether ignored. Every one of the manifold phases of Hinduism may be capable of philosophical or allegorical explanation. But the vast bulk of the community is unable to travel in those rarified regions. Leaders of political though like Mahatma Gandhi and Madan Mohan Malavya are believed to practice the Hindu religion they profess. But the majority of their political followers are indifferent to religion. Some condemn prayers as derogatory to self-respect and self-determination. They interpret

offerings as bribes, which a sensible God should never encourage. The temples are, to many of them, sinks of corruption, the edifices of superstition which may be turned to advantage by being converted into manufactories or schools or cinema halls. The Christian or the Mahommedan does not rail at his religion. If he does, he will be soon brought to order. The educated Hindu, on the other hand, takes advantage of the mild philosophic resignation of his co-religionists and attempts to rear his own self-importance and his reputation for independent judgment on the foundations laid in sceptical shallowness in the darkness of ignorance.

Defects in the Hindu outlook.

Hindu fasts and ceremonies have become the targets for raillery and abuse. The Christian keeps his Christmas and Lent and Easter with undiminished ardour. The Mohammedan observes the Ramzan and the Bakrid with rigorous discipline. But what is the average educated Hindu doing? He condemns the Vedas as being antiquated, the Smrithis as the outcome of Brahmin selfishness, and the Puranas as cock-and-bull stories. There are some who think that Sree Ramachandra was a wicked person in that he approved of Sita taking the ordeal by fire. Lord Krishna appears to them to have been a thieving boy and a clandestine lover. This kind of attitude from within is undermining the structure of religious faith among the Hindus. The Christian or the Mahommedan sees good in his religion and in that alone. And the Hindu sees evil in his only. It seems to me that the crocodile's tears shed by noisy reformers should never weigh with the reasonable section of the community. Reduced to lowest terms their advice is this: Do not become Mahommedans. Do not embrace Christianity. Be Hindus. But while remaining within the fold of Hinduism, take care that you do not believe in its antiquated and absurd doctrines. I would prefer proselytization to other religions to remaining in Hinduism without faith in its tenets and its practices. The opening of caste-Hindu temples to the Avarnas is the suggested way of strengthening Hinduism. Mahatma Gandhi has reiterated that the temple-entry movement is one of a religious character. This means that faith should continue and should grow "Love and

fear go with faith. Feeling is the soul of religion, creed is the body, the bone and muscle, apart from which it could have no place or work in the world. Ritual is the garb in which it arrays itself." The idea of improving religion without rituals can seldom be successful. Discipline of some kind is essential to progress.

Caste no bar.

I have heard it said that orthodoxy will never permit the change of custom. But the History of India falsifies the statement. The stories of Nandanar and Kannappa Nayanar, of Nam Alwar and Thiruppan Alwar, attest the readiness of Saivaites and Vaishnavaits alike to relax the rule of birth in order to take within Hinduism the deserving members of communities in the lowest rungs of the ladder of caste. Some of the Sanatanists maintain that birth in a particular caste is the result of Karma. But the absorption of non-Aryans into the Hindu-Aryan society in blocks was common in the past. This has been certified by many eminent historians. The Sisunagas, Lichchavis and several other ruling families in or near Magadha were not Indian Aryans by blood. They were hill-men of the Mangolian type resembling the Tibetans, Gurkhas, Bhutias and other Himalayan tribes of the present day. Heliodorus, the envoy of king Antialkidas, dedicated a monolithic column to Vasudeva, a form of Vishnu. People with Greek names and in the service of Greek kings have become the followers of Hindu Gods. Many of the Rajput clans owed their descent to the upper ranks of the invading hordes of Hunas, Gurjaras, and Maitrakas. It has also to be borne in mind that the Moghul emperors of Delhi were permitted the luxury of taking Hindu wives from the most blue-blooded families. The re-conversion from Islam back to Hinduism is another instructive feature. In the early part of the 8th century, Caliph Umar compelled many Hindus in Sindh to embrace Mahommedanism. But they were re-admitted into the Hindu fold. In 1398 A. D. the Bahmini Sultan Firoz Shah carried away 2,000 Hindu girls from Vijayanagar. But Dev Roy ransomed them and caused them to be restored to their former faith. This was possible notwithstanding, that re-conversion from Islam was, under Mohammedan law, a crime punishable with death. In the

February number of the Calcutta Review there is an article contributed by Sri Rama Sharma of Lahore who observes that "from Sindh to Madura, from Gujerat to Kashmir, and from Benares to Thatta" re-conversions were effected and the re-converted admitted to Hindu Society. According to the law of Karma it is only individuals who can work their way to a higher caste by re-birth. But we find whole communities were taken in not with standing the theory.

The reasons for prohibition in early times are not far to seek. The lowest castes were then leading lives of poverty and squalor. The description of Chandalas' houses in the Mahabharatha is instructive, though perhaps overdrawn. Their food was unwholesome. The very utensils were filthy, and the people were ill-clad and unclean. But throughout the whole of India during the last hundred years, thanks to the policy of social reform encouraged by the British Government, their condition has improved in many directions.

Advance in Travancore.

In Travancore Pulayas and Parayas long remained in the position of slaves. They were bought and sold along with the land. They had no land of their own. Their economic weakness made it impossible for them to maintain any standard of cleanliness. The result was that their untouchability and unapproachability continued. A hundred years of paternal Government by the illustrious rulers of Travancore have improved the position of these holots. Sir P. Rajagopalachari, when he was Dewan, nominated a Pulaya and a Paraya as members of the Sree Moolam Popular Assembly. And the proud Nayar and the prouder Nambudiri were ready to rub shoulders with them. A large majority of schools were thrown open to Avarnas, and qualified representatives of the depressed classes were entertained in many departments of the public service. Thirty-five years ago, the Elavas, the most numerous and the best educated of the Avarna castes, were denied admission to the higher grades of Government service. But all that has changed. The change has leavened their self-respect. Elavas and Niars of position have shaken off the terrors of dining together though many are

still unwilling to do so. I have several times seen convivialities in which Brahmins also participated.

Unapproachability has become a thing of the past while untouchability has heard its death-knell. The history of the Vaikom Satyagraha shows that people in general have not ceased to believe in the sanctity of that famous temple though the Avarnas who were excluded from some of the approach roads till 1923 are now permitted to use them. Among the witnesses examined by the Committee, there were but a few who said that sanctity has suffered. The Indanthuruthi Nambiatiri, one of them, who has actually abandoned worship in that temple, definitely stated that the sanctity of the God has suffered on account of the approach of the Avarna castes. Perhaps the Vaikom Satyagraha would have been more successful if those who conceived and guided the movement were persons who valued religion. On the other hand, most of the leaders and almost all the followers who bore the brunt of the struggle, were men who looked askace at it. The matter was further complicated by the fact that soi-disant leaders from outside Travancore were out here to condemn the authority of His Highness the Maharaja. Orthodoxy was attempted to be suppressed by the maxims of politics and rationalism. The movement therefore met with partial success only.

A reasonable demand.

There is another aspect of the question which I am here constrained to notice. It is asserted that in the interests of Hinduism itself the temples should be opened to all castes. The Avarna witnesses—the majority of them—say that worship offered from inside the temple is more efficacious than that which is offered from out side. The desire to enter temples is therefore a legitimate one. Unfortunately, however, some of the leading caste-Hindu supporters of the movement happen to be those who have been voicing their contempt for the temples and advising even the Savarna communities to keep out of them. The excesses of the advocates, however, should not prejudice the cause. The vast majority of the Avarna witnesses do not want the rituals to be modified, nor the Nivedyams (offerings of cooked rice)

abolished. They are not demanding that the Brahmin priests should be driven away. They do not ask for a share in the management of temples. They do not claim that the worshippers should be allowed to touch the image of the deity. They only want that they should be allowed to enter the temples and offer worship along with the Savarnas in the usual manner.

I am not unaware of attitude of the some leaders of the Ezhava community in favour of Buddhism or of certain others against temple worship itself which, according to them, is an evil from which the community requires protection. Still others there are who want to become Christians. If religious convictions persuade an individual to seek the shelter of the church it is not proper to raise any obstacle in his path. But if it is a mere pretext or threat the caste-Hindus must be alive to it.

Idolatry.

The condemnation of temple-worship stands on a different footing. Forms and ceremonies are essential to religion. The Christian Church which is against idolatry respects the cross and the figure of the Virgin Mary. The Mahommedan venerates the Crescent. Gautama Buddha, who rebelled against forms, ceremonies, and sacrifices was deified and the whole of India was strewn with his images. Thus idolatry in some form or other appears to be necessary for the generation and consolidation of religious faith among the generality of human beings. The bulk of Avarna witnesses knew their interests and advocated temple entry without attributing to the deities and the temples the evils suggested by the so-called rationalists. They base their demand on faith. It is true that the removal of the badge of social inferiority is one of their objects. But that does not prejudice the demand. It only strengthens the claim to a considerable extent; for, a legitimate ambition should be encouraged so long as it does not affect the rights and interests of others. It is a well known historical fact that religious reform and social progress have always gone on hand-in-hand. I am therefore of the emphatic opinion that the Avarnas should be permitted to enter temples for worship.

Certain safeguards necessary.

At the same time the ways of life of certain castes are far from being such as would, if admitted within temples, conduce to the popularity of temples or the maintenance of the faith of the Savarnas and even the Avarnas of the higher castes. There may be many Savarnas who are unclean in their habits. But the majority of them are clean. The presumption is that the latter are fit for entry, and, by allowing them to enter, the authorities are only continuing the prevailing practice. Not so with the Avarnas. In the case of certain Avarna communities the presumption has to be rebutted. If the question of entry was confined to Avarnas like the Elavas or the Nadars the solution would have been easier; for they have the means and the aptitude for cleanliness and they are educationally forward. But there are several other communities in an admittedly inferior position. Washing in the temple tank is a common preliminary to worship within. The tanks attached to most of the temples are very small, sometimes so small as to cover only about four or five hundred square feet in area and two or three feet in depth in summer. We are familiar with Miss Mayo's condemnation of the filth and squlor on the banks of the mighty Ganges at Benares. What then about our tanks? They are even now dirty. The caste Hindus in Travancore number only eleven lakhs while the non-caste Hindus are 20 lakhs of whom a very high percentage belong to the depressed classes. Promiscuous bathing in tanks is therefore likely to cause great inconvenience and irritation to those who have been exercising the right. Our object should be to elevate the depressed classes and not to depress the elevated classes. All the earth and the trees and the rocks in the Himalayas will not be sufficient to fill up the ocean. The lowering of ideals is bound to have a disastrous effect on all classes of the people. The safe-guards provided in the report are bound to diminish the difficulties. I would suggest, in addition, that public charity and the resources of Government should be requisitioned to provide, for some time to come, clean clothes to such members of the depressed classes as desire to enter temples. The ideas of hygiene should be spread among them as well as the ideas of religion and self-respect. If the advocates of

temple-entry are sincere in their feelings and genuine in their opinions the funds and energy required for the purpose will be forthcoming. The present condition of the depressed classes is not therefore an insurmountable obstacle to their being permitted to enter temples for worship. Unless, however, a goodly attempt is made to reclaim them from their ignorance and poverty the solution of the temple-entry question will not benefit them or the other classes.

A warning.

What Sir George Newman, Chief Medical Officer of the English Ministry of Health, observed with regard to physical conditions is applicable to moral and spiritual environments. There it was the slum. Here it is the hut. That is all the difference.

" The slum is beyond all question body-destroying and soul-deadening. I breeds disease and it encourages vice and it is peculiarly mischievous and dysgenic in child-life. Infectious and mortal disease has, in the slum, its supreme vocation, and there it both sows and reaps. Until we can abolish the slum-dwelling and slum-dweller we cannot hope to establish securely the national credit of good health. Let me add that the slum has a virulent progeny of evil in man's body and though we abolish the slum and rehouse its inhabitants we must not expect immediate release. For, the slum-dweller will carry with him to the new house the physical disabilities and social habits in which we have bred him. Even re-housed he may soon die, not of the new house but of the old slum and the old habits and the weakened stamina and disease thus engendered. To live and flourish in the new house he must become acclimated to his altered environment." What the Pulayas, Parayas and others want, and what the others want to give them, is not merely temple-entry in theoretic perfection but temple-entry as an item in the larger programme of material and moral improvement. Sympathy towards them should proceed from the pockets and not merely from the lips or even from the heart. There is little use in keeping orchards near the crater when the lava has begun to flow upwards. The drum-and-trumpet methods of Harijan

uplift must therefore be vindicated by hygeienic and economic endeavours, by sustained ventures. It is unfortunate that the depressed classes are depressed classes whether in the Hindu temple or the Christian church. Islam is perhaps the most democratic of religions. But high birth is still a factor in Mahomedan society. To draw a distinction between the higher Avarnas and inferior Avarnas will spoil the cause of temple-entry altogether.

Entry a concession.

As at present advocated, temple-entry is not supported by the theory of ownership. The Avarnas demand only the right of entry; not a legal right but only a moral right, as it is has been called, which every member of the "Hindu community" should possess. Nor is it to be confined to the Hindus in Travancore. Every Hindu, whatever his caste nationality, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, or from any country in the world, man, woman, or child, must be permitted to enter temples for worship. The Bengalee or the Punjabi may have contributed nothing towards the endowment. He may not have been even in the contemplation of the founder. But a hospitable treatment is accorded to those who hail from distant parts of the country. There is no inquisitorial proceedings resorted to in order to discover their caste. Hundreds of people not entitled to enter must have utilised their *incognito* to break the rule of custom. So also must many Avarnas from Travancore have broken the rule when they visited the centres of religious life on the other side of the Ghats. The sanctity of the temples has not suffered for that reason. At any rate the faith of the orthodox has not suffered. Cataclysmal changes may lead to danger. But gradual modifications have frequently taken place. In fact they are being encouraged even by people belonging to the orthodox sections of the community. But the change must be effected with the approval of the caste Hindus in general. The change in custom must come after a change of heart. Ideas of reform should be disseminated among the people concerned. The Avarnas, the depressed classes particularly, should be educated in the methods of a better life and a higher faith.

Funds wherefrom?

This would mean money, and it may be doubted in certain quarters whether sufficient funds will be available for the purpose. There is no difficulty to secure the necessary amount of money. Travancore must take the lead. The assumption for management of numerous temples by Col. Munro, a hundred and twenty years ago, along with their extensive properties, brought enormous sums of money to the coffers of the state. At that time, and for nearly a century afterwards, the Government asserted their right to devote Sirkar money to the maintenance of Devaswoms in virtue of their position as a Hindu Government. The income of the temple properties was allowed to merge in the general revenues of the state. The lands belonging to the temples were assigned to the people, non-Hindus as well as Hindus, and assessed to public revenue. The Maharaja was the defender and Protector of the Hindu faith and the Vicegerent of Sree Padmanabha. But as time went on, the non-Hindus and non-caste Hindus evinced an unfavourable attitude towards spending what they called public funds on caste Hindu temples. The Christians and the Mahomedans along with the no-caste Hindus agitated the question of their entertainment as officers in the Land Revenue Department of the Government. The management of temples till that time was in the hands of the revenue officers. In order to meet the political demand the Government resolved to take away the management of Devaswoms from the Revenue Department. The intermingling of Devaswom properties and their incomes with the revenues of Government was going on for a hundred years. This could not be done any longer. Efforts were made to find out the amount. A calculation was attempted to be made of the yearly income from the lands of the assumed Devaswoms. Many of the old records had then ceased to exist But from a few which were available it was found that 15 lakhs of rupees from the general reuenues would be a reasonable compensation to the Hindu Religious Institutions. The fact was definitely mentioned in the Communique which was issued by Government along with the Royal Proclamation of 1097. Year after year there is a balance of accounts in favour of the Devaswom Fund constiiuted under that Proclamation. A portion of that surplus may with

advantage be devoted to the strengthening of the Hindu religion not to speak of the huge sums appropriated from the Devaswoms and their lands to meet the demands of the general administration in previous years. It is the barest justice.

Government and Religion.

I would put it on another ground as well. The preservation of the Established Church of England is an essential term in the Act of Union (6 Anne C VIII). That Church has been placed on an episcopalian footing in all the Colonies and Dependencies of Great Britain. In British India the Eccleciastical Department is maintained with the help of public funds. The Government of India Act also provides for the expenditure of public money in payments to sects, persuasions or community of Christians not being of the Church of England or the Kirk of Scotland, for purposes of instruction, or the maintenance of places of worship. His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad is privileged to expend considerable sums of money for the spiritual benefit of the Mohamedans though the vast bulk of His Highness's subjects are Hindus by religion. His Highness the Maha raja of Mysore makes liberal grants to Hindu religious institutions. There is another fact connected with Mysore which is of great importance as explaining the attitude of a former ruler who is generally believed to have been a bigoted Moslem. Tippu Sultan, it is recorded in the Mysore Muzra Manual, issued a circular to his officers in the year 1790-1791 in these terms.

"The temples are under your management. You are therefore to see that the offerings to the gods and the temple illuminations are duly regulated, as directed, out of the Government grants."

The Government and Hinduism.

The case of the Hindu temples in Travancore is stronger than all these. The Christian Missions are, several of them, spreading a knowledge of the gospel with the income among other sums from the lands assigned to them by former Maha Rajas and Maha Ranees. Have not the Hindus the right to repayment of

at least a portion of the income from the lands and other property of the temples which were assumed by Government with the professed object of better management ? A time has come in the history of the Hindu religion when the ordinary and occasional rituals in temples should not be the sole objects of our care. If eighteen lakhs of Hindus are left as they are without the right of temple-entry and the means of spiritual advancement, and ten lakhs of caste-Hindus are to continue without a proper knowledge of the Hindu creed, the days of Hinduism cannot be long. There is no other State or province in India where the amelioration of the depressed communities was begun earlier than in Travancore. The prohibition of the teaching of the Vedas to persons not belonging to the 'twice-born' castes was changed by His Highness the late Maharaja years ago. To-day we find portions of the Veda taught, though not as religion, to non-caste Hindus by Brahmin teachers in the Government Sanskrit College. Gayatri is now chanted by non-Dwijas. There can therefore be no manner of objection to convey to the masses of the Hindu population, especially those in a state of transition, a minimum knowledge of the great truths which are the foundations of Hindu faith. The Mantras pronounced by the priests possess a magical power and the elaborate rituals prescribed by the Tantras appeal to the eye and the heart. But an occasional discourse on religious topics even of a Puranic character and a reminder administered as to the necessity of adhering to moral principles which were observed by spiritual heroes, are bound to strengthen religious conviction and prevent transgression. Katha Kalakshepoms, Patakoms, Ottamthullals, Kathakalis, and similar demonstrations will be useful. These institutions have considerably deteriorated but not been completely effaced though a section of educated people are seen to discourage them as being antiquated, unnecessary, and absurd. If secular lectures, moral harangues, aud cinema shows have an educative value the great lessons of the Puranas based on the actions and experiences of national heroes, whether incarnations or ordinary human beings, are bound to be useful in inculcating the ideas of religion into the rank and file. Temple-entry without these preliminaries is bound to be barren of results favourable to the non-caste Hindus.

Savarna Opinion.

The opposition of the caste Hindus may now be examined. It has been suggested by some of the witnesses whom we have examined before us that the Brahmins have an interest in maintaining the temples as close preserves of orthodoxy as they stand to benefit. Some of them earn small fees for performing religious ceremonies, while in most of the important temples in Travancore the feeding of Brahmins on a grand luxurious style during Utsavoms is a time-honoured institution. It is suggested that self-interest is the cause of Brahmin opposition. This view cannot be supported. The number of Brahmins who appeared before the Committee was 73. Of these 24 were in favour of temple entry being allowed while 49 were against it. Some of the most ardent advocates of the movement in British India are Brahmins, and there are not a few in Travancore who support it. The number of Nair witnesses examined was 203. Of these 163 are in favour of entry being allowed. Most of them are influenced by fairness and a desire to strengthen the Hindu religion. But some resent the differential treatment accorded to themselves within the temples. They are influenced by the fact that Brahmins are a privileged class and the admission of the Avarnas will, according to them, strike at the citadel of that privilege. This, however, is not a correct prognostication. The bulk of Avarna witnesses do not want to strike at the Brahmins. It is well-known that even in Jain temples the priests are generally Brahmins." I think that the opposition to temple-entry on the part of the Brahmins is the result of habit, perhaps of superstition, but not of mere self-interest. The Nanjinad Vellalas are, like the Nairs, in favour of entry being permitted. I have instanced the case of the Nairs and Nanjinad Vellalas as they together form the bulk of the cast-Hindu communities in Travancore.

There is another set of figures which is instructive. The Committee's questionnaire was addressed to a very large number of people by name. Of these, 468 Savarnas are for entry being given while 525 are against it. The questionnaire was also published in the Government Gazette and the public requested to send in their answers. In pursuance to this invitation 1874

persons have forwarded their answers. Of these, 636 are in favour and 1,238 are opposed to change. The questionnaire was addressed to 483 Ezhavas, 132 Nadars, 167 Pulayas and 261 persons of other castes. Answers were received only from 92 Ezhavas, 15 Nadars, 7 Pulayas and 15 other castes. This is a poor percentage of response. Of these, 4 Ezhavas and one Pulaya are for a middle course. The others are for full entry, *i. e.*, up to the Sopanum. The witnesses examined by the Committee show, as stated above, a different result. Even this would show that, at any rate, opinion is divided. Of the 325 Savarnas examined, 238 favour entry and only 87 oppose it. The Avarna witnesses advocate entry. But that only means that they would fain have the right granted to them. In the present state of the law and custom governing worship in caste-Hindu temples it is the opinion of caste-Hindus that should count. The witnesses were cross examined in considerable detail, but most of them have adhered to the principles expounded. There are a few with fantastic notions. Some are against ritualism of all kinds while a few express a severe disapproval of all forms of what they call idolatry. A small number of them again are for diverting the temple funds to education and other secular purposes. It is only the view of those who believe in the efficacy of temple-worship which should be considered. The majority of them are for permitting the Avarnas to enter temples for worship. It has to be acknowledged that the opinion is entitled to great weight.

The angle of vision.

But the opinion of the other school cannot be disregarded. Several witnesses have come forward to say that their main motive is to prevent proselytization of the depressed communities to other religions. These other religions encourage faith in their teachings. A phalanx well drilled and well-organised is sure to make its way through any array of undisciplined soldiers, however deep. Other religions invite the unwilling by hopes promises, and sometimes by blandishments. Orthodox Hinduism raises barriers between caste-Hindus and non-caste Hindus and sets a premium on the latter to desert the faith.

The census figures of Travancore make this clear.

Year.	*Percentage of Hindus.*	*Percentage of Christians.*	*Percentage of Mahomedans.*
1816	83	12	4·6
1881	73	20	6·1
1901	69·9	23·6	6·5
1931	61·6	31·5	6·9

In other words, during the period of a little more than fifty years, the Hindus increased 5·6 times, the Christians 14·3 and Mohamedans 8·4 times.

The difficulties are accentuated by the attitude of certain educated sections of the Hiudu community. The present state of Hindu society affords ample scope for free thinking and irreverence. This is said to be a scientific age. But science is not really opposed to religion. The best days of indigenous Indian science were those of profound religious faith and rigorous discipline. There was no scientific work on any subject written in those days which did not begin with an invocation to the Almighty. The majority of western scientists are men of deep piety. But the interposition of western science has caused such an attitude of mind among many Hindus that Hindu theology is looked upon as a kind of Arabian nights with weird stories and absurd practices. The Hindu fold is something akin to that in Macaulay's narrative of the Persian fable of Zohak, "cursed with one principle of sensation and two of volition, self-loathing and self-torturing, made up of parts which are driven by a frantic impulse to inflict mutual pain, doomed to feel whatever they inflict, divided by irreconcileable hatred, yet blended into an indissoluble harmony." The mischievous elements can be removed and harmony restored only by the inculcation of true faith into the minds of all persons, male and female, young and old. The admission into temples should be regarded not as a civic or political right but a spiritual privilege, perhaps a fundamental spiritual right.

Politics and religion.

A few witnesses have admitted that the desire for temple-entry on the part of Avarnas and the encouragement given to them by the Savarnas are but the off-shoots of a general political

movement. That argument would only push the matter very much further than it would otherwise go. The activities of mankind can never be confined within water-tight compartments. The upheavals in history ought to help us. The age of Pericles was an age of all-round progress. The Shunga usurpation in Magadha was supported by the forces of Hindu reaction against Buddhism. Under the Guptas of Ujjain and Malwa flourished, poets and astronomers, like Kalidasa and Aryabhatta, whose work supplemented the military conquests of Samudragupta. In the "spacious times" of Queen Elizabeth, the defeat of the Spanish Armada was the defeat of Roman Catholicism. The success of Martin Luther in the cause of the Reformation was mainly due to the development of a political consciousness in Germany against the pretensions of the Papacy in temporal as well as in religious concerns, while the desire for the unification of the cantons of Switzerland pushed up Zwingli as a religious reformer. The same may be said of Calvin. Politics and religion were blended in the programme of the great Shivaji.

The removal of social evils is a legitimate part of Politics; and it is worthy of note that the greatest religious reformers in all parts of the world came from the lower or the lowest ranks of the people. Even prophets and incarnations appear to have followed the same rule. The tending of cows, sheep, or camels is intimately associated with the names of Sri Krishna, Jesus Christ and Mahommed. Satyakama Jabala of the Chandogya Upanishad and Kavasha of the Taitiriya Brahmana were born in the lowest strata of society. Vyasa was the son of a Kaivartha woman, Parasara of a Chandala out-caste, and Vasishta of a fallen woman. But the world has accepted their doctrines and assimilated their teachings. It is a rule of natural law that the best emotions are the result of personal experience of suffering. The non-caste Hindus are therefore justified in attempting to advance their position. And it will be too much to expect that they would not take advantage of political conditions which are favourable. The attitude of the caste-Hindus is equally justifiable as they evince a genuine desire to create a religious and perhaps a national solidarity by removing the barriers between castes which obstruct ordered progress,

Politics may go hand in hand with religion. But the demands of politics divorced from religious faith should not be satisfied at the expense of spiritual interests.

Sentiment

The rules of exclusion have come into being for the protection of human interests, feelings, and perhaps superstitions, and not for the preservation of the puissance and glory of God. The Almighty, who is power and bliss, absolute and indivisible, cannot be contaminated by approach or by touch. The sacred literature of the Hindus does not say that in the life to come, whether in heaven or in hell, rewards and punishments merely follow the rules of caste. It is not suggested that caste follows a person to the next world. There is a sanctity attached to temples belonging to the Avarnas as to those of the Savarnas. The same Jesus Christ is worshipped in the churches established for the use of the depressed class Christians as in those used by the members of the higher orders with better means and greater cleanliness. The differential treatment is only for the sake of convenience and comfort, and perhaps a feeling of vanity. In the consideration of this question, therefore, the most important aspects centre round the feelings and sentiments of those who have been enjoying rights and privileges as permitted by law and custom. Change by conciliation is the great principle of state-craft and social reform. If public opinion and the power of the state are zealous in respecting the religious susceptibilities of sects and persuasions which are numerically small, is it not equally the duty of the State and of public opinion to prevent the tyranny of numbers and secular logic over those who happen to entertain views and practices which are conservative or orthodox? It is all the more so when opinions are sharply divided. Persuasion, reasoning, appeal, and ceaseless persistence must be employed to change the angle of vision.

An instance in point

If any form of coercion is employed, the result will be that an appreciable section of caste-Hindus will keep out of temples rather than suffer an affront, an injury to their religious conscience, in violation of the laws of the land. What occurred in

the Aroor temple in the Taluk of Shertallai is significant. A few members of the weaving community of Pattaryas, entered the temple against custom. The High Court of Travancore pronounced its verdict that the entry was not unlawful. Thereafter the caste Hindus have ceased to worship there. The non-caste people are also keeping out. The fact has been made clear by some of the witnesses and there is no rebutting evidence on the other side. There are many among the witnesses examined who state that, if free and unrestricted entry is allowed to all castes, they would abandon the temples altogether. One may not appreciate their logic but one must respect the sentiments which have been nurtured by immemorial custom and protected by law. Others, and a good many of them, maintain that, if the orthodox section is so unreasonable and unable to appreciate the forces at work, they may be allowed the luxury of keeping out. This means that, in order to give temple-entry to Avarnas, a large, at any rate, a considerable number of those who have been accustomed to worship in temples should be goaded to secede. This certainly is not the way of bringing about harmony between the various divisions of the Hindu society.

Why not worship God at home

It is possible that an argument may be advanced by the advanced school that the abandoning of temples will not prejudice their religious practices as they can have temples or places of worship in their own homes. This is mere theory and must ever remain such. In the first place, there is the financial obstacle. Except in the houses of princes and lords the accommodation is poor. The making and consecration of the image are costly, the ceremonies prescribed being elaborate and expensive. In an age of co-operative effort and common production and distribution, when, in every civilised country, the citizens are advised to pool their resources in their own interests and those of the State, the idea of encouraging the construction, dedication, and consecration of temples in every home cannot fail to provoke a smile. The argument is ingenious, perhaps plausible, but not at all correct. Many are the witnesses who assert that the sanctitiy of a temple is in direct proportion to the number of worshippers. The importance of the temples of Benares, Jagannath, Guruvayur,

Vaikom and Anantha Sayanam is mainly due to the ever-increasing number of devotees who throng to those sacred centres of religious inspiration and spiritual satisfaction. If every man is to have a temple in his own house, the spirit of fraternity will be lost by the deterioration of impressive rituals and the sordid selfishness of scattered proprietors.

The Christian or Mohammadan does not construct a church or a mosque in his own home. Public worship has its own advantages in cultivating brotherliness in addition to the intensification of religious faith. The Jains and the Buddhists who attach the greatest importance to moral values believe in conjoint prayer. The Avarnas themselves demand temple-entry mainly with a view to cardicate the evils of untouchability and unapproachability, and to establish social equality with the Savarnas in the right of common worship along with them. That object will be clean frustrated if the orthodox desert the temples. The gay hope of the former, fed by fancied privileges, will soon change into listless apathy. Thus, to drive the caste-Hindus or a considerable section of them away from the temples is to proceed in a vicious circle. It is therefore to the advantage of all parties concerned to conciliate the orthodox, teach them the evils of the existing system, and enlist their co-operation by persuasion and appeal. Otherwise the results will be different from the anticipations.

The Avarnas also will be prejudiced

The secession of caste-Hindus will be to the prejudice of the Avarnas themselves. It is the ways of life and the ways of worship, the feeling of equality generated in the depressed classes of the Avarnas which should weld the castes into a homogeneous whole. The religious conceptions themselves will have to be leavened by the caste-Hindus. Certain castes at the bottom of the social organisation cannot afford to give up their gods, their memories, and their associations all at once. If people who are accustomed to worship Bhairavan, Chathan, Karuman and Chudalamadan and other manifestations of terror-inspiring divinity were suddenly weaned from their habitual exercises and advised to worship Vishnu or Subramonia, substituting love for fear, the result would be disastrous. Even tbe soft music in our temples

would be considered inferior to the rough, primitive strains which are their own. It follows that, if temple-entry is allowed to all classes of non-caste Hindus, they must be taught habits of cleanliness and a gradual change effected in their religious conceptions in order to bring them into conformity with those of the caste-Hindus. Nor should their further education be neglected.

Faith, Discipline and Sanctity.

As matters stand at present, the temples are the only solace of millions of Hindus. If anything is done which will directly or indirectly affect their sanctity in the estimation of the votaries the cause of the Hindu religion is bound to fail. Chaitanya, for example, broke down caste restrictions and denied the sanctity of temples. This led to gross evils. "Fallen women and Parayas swelled the ranks of his religion with the result that the allegory of Radha and Krishna was made an excuse for the practice of immorality. Many of the sects adopted the practices of the Tantriks or Shaktas and fell into those very sins which moved the teacher's wrath." Some of the Kabir Panthis became so degraded that in 1862, the Bombay High Court found that their religious teachers claimed to receive from devotees the *Jus prima noctae*. There are instances in the contemporary annals of Hinduism which would strengthen this view. But the above examples are sufficient. In order to guard against the deterioration of faith, a religious convention becomes absolutely necessary. There is no room for the cry of Travancore for the Travancoreans in this matter. The whole of India must derive spiritual light from their interpretation of the texts of the Srutis, the Smrithis, and the Agamas.

The suggestion of an ambitious convention like this should not have the effect of delaying the solution. Travancore may co-operate with others. It may even take the leading part. But a Parishat should be called even if others do not co-operate. Manu has recommended such a course. Yagnavalkya has laid down the wise rule that rules of conduct may be modified if they are found to be prejudicial to the interests of the world or hateful to mankind. But the change of law is a different thing from the egislative machinery.

Constitutional law and practice.

I cannot omit to mention in this connection that the enunciation by certain persons of the principle that the Sovereign should straight away issue a Proclamation permitting the entry of non-caste Hindu into the temples exclusively used by the caste Hindus is wrong in law. In one sense the Sovereign is the highest legislative, judicial and religious authority. In secular legislation, His Highness the Maharaja is assisted by two Chambers of the people's representatives. Proclamations are issued only in certain subjects and in exceptional circumstances. In cases decided by a Full Bench of the High Court, the decree is passed by His Highness the Maha Raja and the Judges only advise the Sovereign. But the Sovereign does not call for the records and decide the cases himself. The Prerogative of the Sovereign to pass laws independent of the Legislative Council is a principle which was upheld by the High Court many years ago but religion is a more difficult subject than law.

An invitation to the king to reform religion *suo moto* is improper both under eastern and western constitutional law. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in his book on Hindu Polity has collected a number of texts which prove that the Abhisheka and the Coronation Oath is a covenant between the king and his people. By the formulae recited on that occasion, he is endowed with royal authority. Manu says that the king should be true to his coronation oath and follow the Sastras. "Even Asoka's family who had accepted heterodox philosophies could not interfere with the orthodox and sacred coronation laws." The king was above everybody else but not above the law. In religious matters he had the benefit of the talents of the Purohit who was learned in the Vedas and its Angas, in astrology and in politics. We learn from the Puranas that no Hindu king, Janaka, Dasaradha, or Udhishtira ever questioned the wisdom of his spiritual preceptors, Vasishta, Shadananda, and other Maharshis. The mightiest rulers respected their advice. The Puranas may be consigned to oblivion by the ill-educated exponents of modern popular science. But the greatest men of learning and distinction in countries which are the nurseries of science have yielded their

respect to the spiritual superiority of the men of religion, the ordained bishops. Speaking of sacraments in the Christian church and of the special knowledge and fitness of ministers, Gladstone says: "First because of the high and mysterious nature of the connection between their outward form and of their substance and of the blessings they convey, we should expect to find them in the hands of those whose function in life it is especially to know and guard the treasures of Christianity. Secondly because they are not to be imparted to all men irrespectively of their spiritual qualifications: but their right reception is to be connected with a sound faith and a holly life." A monarch may be a marvel of piety but the demands of secular Government are bound to make frequent inroads on his *tapas* and even on his religious studies. These are not the days of theocracy. It will be unfair to kings and to the world to invite them to solve the knotty problems of faith and ceremonial. Nor is the general public competent to decide them. "The administration of civil laws by which social order and the commonwealth subsist, is not laid open to the society at large, but is entrusted and confined to those who are presumably most competent; and in like manner, but with reasons greatly enhanced in force, we never could expect that in the right use of the sacraments upon which the admission and continuance of membership in the church depend would be free alike to the vicious and the faithful, to the ignorant and the instructed."

Special knowledge and fitness.

The temples are institutions which had been constructed and consecrated in conformity with the rules of the Agamas. The earlier temples continue to exist and are regarded as sacred because of their ratification by the Agamas express or implied. By the 4th century after Christ, their authority became general throughout India. The Savarnas and Avarnas believe that there is sanctity in the temples. Hence it is that the latter desire to secure entry therein. To neglect the rules of the Agamas, to travel over other books and discover weapons to strike at them is not the proper course to be adopted in an attempt to reform the customs of the Hindus and improve their religion.

Religious problems cannot be solved and practices cannot be modified by persons who look into the question under the authority of a limited power-of-attorney and withouti adequate training. The Government cannot delegate to the Temple Entry Committee more authority than it possesses. I maintain that the Government of Travancore has no authority to reform religion, its principles or its practice, though His Highness the Maha Raja possesses large powers as a Hindu Sovereign. The Proceedings appointing the Committee was published under the hand of Mr. K. George, who was then Chief Secretary to Government. And Mr. T. Austin was the Dewan. This shows that it was in the ordinary course of official business the appointment was made and not in the exercise of the extraordinary powers which His Highness might exercise in the interests of the Hindu faith. The matter is not one of arbitration. If it was, the jurisdiction would have been different. It was political expediency rather than religious motives which prompted the Government to refer the question to the Committee. We were asked to consider, among other subjects, the bearing of the principles and practices of the Hindu religion on the question of temple-entry. This means the Committee has had no authority given to it to modify the rules of the Smritis and the Agamas. We cannot, therefore, arrogate to ourselves that authority. The Committee found that there is a large volume of opinion in favour of the change, But if the Agamas contain rules preventing it, the Committee may only bring both facts to the notice of Government; and the Sovereign may, if pleased, convene a competent body.

Precedents.

Those who are in favour of the Sovereign promulgating at once a law permitting temple-entry to the Avarnas cite a number of 'precedents'. They are :—

1. The abolition of Sati.
2. The stopping of the Devadasi system.
3. The prohibition of Poorapattu.
4. The prohibition of animal sacrifice in temples.
5. The passing of laws like the Namboodiri, the Kshatriya the Nair and the Ezhava Regulations.

The argument is that, following what was done before, the present question may be decided and the inequalities removed by His Highness the Maha Raja. I shall first examine the alleged precedents.

Sati.

Sati has no sanction in the Vedas. Manu does not mention it. It is not mentioned in Kautilya or Vatsyayana. Yajnavlkya (4th century A. D.) talks of chaste women as being firmly united with their husbands in love and in performing good deeds. She should conquer emotion by good conduct. Such a wife becomes happy after death (1. 87). The word used is Pretya, *i. e.*, after death, not death by Sati or by suicide. Methathithi, the earliest known commentator of Manu, condemns Sati in strong terms. Paitinasi prohibits it to Brahmin widows. So do many other texts to Brahmin women, those who are pregnant, mothers with young children, and widows whose husbands died at distant places. Vignanesvara definitely prohibits Brahmin women performing Sati. Anächäranirnaya (V. 26) prohibits Sati in Malabar. Some of the later Smritis *e. g.*, Hareeta and Vyasa, however, praise Sati, but make it purely optional. Vishnu (5th century A. D.) leaves it as optional (XXV. 14). As against these, the later Parasara Smriti eulogises Sati and the still later Angiras makes it obligatory. A text of Brihaspati, whose Smriti work is lost, has been relied on as an authority for Sati. Sati is suicide. Any form of suicide is against the Hindu religion and comes within the denunciation in the Mahabharata. The practice was never adopted by Brahmins and it appears to have been grafted on Hindu society by warlike foreign races like the Scythians, the Sakas, the Pahlavas and the Huns. The Harshacharita of Bana and the Rajatharangini of Kalhana make references to Sati. From that and other facts, Dr. Jolly concludes that the practice was confined to royal dynasties. The widows of the Rajas of Vijianagar were constrained to throw themselves on the funeral pyre of their husbands. In Moghul times the murder of brothers and their dependents became a common device to save the reigning emperor from rivalry. Nor was the practice uncommon in the court of Ava till king Thebaw's time. But there are instances on the other side of the line. Ahalya Bai not only survived her husband, Mulhar Rao Holkar but guided the administration of

the country. She was considered an Avatar. She could not have been so honoured if Sati had a compulsory basis in the Sastras.

Narada recognised the mother as the guardian of children whose father was dead. Thus Sati had no foundation in the older sacred books. No penalty was prescribed for the omission to perform it. On the other hand, the general opinion was that it was an inhuman practice.

The British Government interested themselves in its abolition. And how did that Government do it? They collected information from their executive officers. They consulted Pandits and made themselves sure that Sati had no binding authority in the religious literature of the Hindus. They then referred the matter to the judiciary for their opinion. It was found that the practice was not general, that it was discountenanced among the upper and educated classes and that it was never permitted by the foreign governments in India. And yet Lord Amherst wrote:

"I am not prepared to recommend an enactment prohibiting Suttee altogether. I must strongly confess, though at the risk of being considered insensible to the enormity of the evil, that I am inclined to recommend our trusting to the progress now making in the diffusion of knowledge among the natives for the gradual suppression of this detestable superstition."

When, however, Lord William Bentinck pushed the long-wished-for reform ahead he was only applying the well-ascertained principles of the Dharmasastras. In the very preamble of the Act it was stated that the practice of Sati was not only revolting to the feelings of human nature but also that it was *nowhere enjoined* by the religion of the Hindus *as an imperative duty*. The abolition of Sati is thus no useful precedent.

The Devadasi system, Pooarppu and Animal Sacrifices

The abolition of the Devadasi system, and the prohibition of Poorappattu and animal sacrifices in certain temples, do not take the matter any further. The scope of those changes was different. The Devadasi system was the result of a polcy pursued by Indian rulers in order to secure the best music and the best dancing in

temples. The Devadasis repaired to temples to pursue their legitimate vocation and not to ply any nefarious trade in the sight of the image or within the temple walls. All those who follow the profession of singing and dancing are not necessarily of depraved character. I have perused the proceedings of Government on the subject. There is no mention therein as to the vices of the Devadasis. The abolition of the system was due to its deterioration. It might have been necessitated by finanical or other considerations. It might have been the result of a deterioration in aesthetic sense. If men and women of doubtful private character are respected in public life in the ebullition of patriotic sentiments, and if the younger generation is encouraged to shape their ideals according to their advice, one does not see any reason why the chances of serving God and satisfying the aesthetic cravings of the worshippers should be denied to the Devadasis on the strength of a vague presumption or a fashionable idea.

The policy which underlay the stopping of Poorapattu in the temple at Sherthala does not help the argument for direct State-intervention in the matter under reference. The songs were obscene and they caused annoyance to many. The ribald songs were not sung within the temple. But the occasion was availed of by some persons to lampoon respectable men and women, to use the worst billingsgate, and insult the spectators. Drinking and obscene language acted and reacted on each other. There is no authority in the Agamas or in the Tantrasamuchaya authorising or approving of the practice. The practice therefore came within the forbidden ground of the Penal Code. The inhabitants of the locality made repeated efforts to stop it. Representations were made in the Sree Mulam Popular Assembly. Memorials were submitted to the Government. These facts show that the reasons which weighed with the Government in abolishing Poorappattu do not exist in the case of the right of caste Hindus to worship God in their own temples to the exclusion of others. *There is no gross immorality in such exclusion, nothing obscene in it.* The Avarnas themselves want to retain their temples as their own property. They permit Savarnas to worship therein. That indulgence or concession is of little value in the present case; for, the Savarnas are not lower to them in caste, and their admission

enhances the prestige of the temples. But the lower Avarnas were not being treated with any generosity. The incident in the Ezhava temple at Moothakunnam, spoken to by several witnesses, shows that even to-day the prejudice exists. There is no greater name in the history of religious movements in Kerala during the last hundred years than that of Sri Narayana Guruswami. But he did not lend his support to temple-entry in any appreciable manner. The exclusisn of Avarnas from caste-Hindu temples cannot therefore be considered to be a grossly immoral or indecent practice nor does the abolition of Poorappattu afford a parallel or a precedent.

The question of animal sacrifices had been dealt with supra in some of its aspects. How far the Government was justified in prohibiting it is a matter of opinion. The question is whether the directions in the Sastras should be followed. If mistakes had been committed on previous occasions, it does not follow that the list should be added to.

Sea-Voyage.

The withdrawal of the restrictions on England-returned men and women is cited as another precedent which would justify change in matters connected with worship in temples. It was much debated in Committee. A few observations are necessary on this point. The so-called rule of prohibition in Travancore must have arisen in the following manner. In the old days there was no instance of a high-caste Hindu from Travancore going to foreign countries in ships. Some thirty-five years ago an England-returned Cochinite was prohibited from entering the temples in that State. In view of that, perhaps, the Travancoreans in a similar position did not venture to assert or demand the right of entry. It was apprehended that those who mooted the question would come in for displeasure on the part of the orthodox authorities. England-returned men did not interest themselves in the matter. They could worship God in their own independent way with or without visible symbols. Their wives and children were not under any disability. The position was illogical but things went on like that.

I shall now consider the ancient texts bearing on the point. There are no texts in the earlier Smrities or in the Agamas which make sea-voyage a cause of permanent pollution or an inexpiable offence preventing entry into temples. The only passage in Manu (III. 158) is that which prohibits the voyagers to take part in Sraddhas. They are classed along with teachers, priests, officers of the king, money-lenders, physicians, shop-keepers and a host of others. None of these classes is prohibited from entering temples. The offence, if it was one, was but venial and could be expiated by ordinary *prayaschithams*. Those persons did not lose their caste. In Sraddhas, however, the idea is that what remains of the food, the Pithirshishtam, is to be participated in by the members of the family. Hence the privilege was hedged round by stringent rules. It is interesting to note that persons with black teeth or deformed nails were also excluded.

Manu's work of collection and compilation of the laws was done before the 2nd century after Christ. But people did go to sea after that. In the third century Hindu culture in Cambodia and other places in the Malaya Archipelago reached its high-water mark. The largest Vishnu temple now in existence is in Angkhor in Cambodia while the Siva temple in Java is one of the largest. In Champa and Combodia, Sanskrit was the official language. The Indians who went out to those regions did not do so on account of religious persecution like the Pilgrim Fathers who procceded to America. They must have gone there to make money as people now proceed to South Africa and elsewhere. But the intercourse and the relationship with those who remained in India were kept up. This was some time after Manu. Thus the text of Manu and subsequent practice negative the theory of exclusion.

The sea was not a taboo. On the other hand it was held sacred as it is done even now by most Hindus, not merely the orthodox Hindus. Women in their periods do not touch the sea, much less bathe in it. And the males themselves perform sea-bath as a religious ablution. The discouragemet of sea-voyage must have been due to a desire to prevent defilement of the sacred waters. The sea was a Theertha. Filth of any kind was not to be passed into it. There were other

reasons besides. In the course of a long voyage baths would be difficult and forbidden food might have to be taken in violation of the rules of caste. But these difficulties might be removed by special arrangement as may be seen from the course followed by certain Indian Princes and Chiefs and other orthodox men of wealth and position when they proceed to Europe. This is not a recent innovation. It may be argued that even though some books may be cited to show that long and habitual sea-voyage causes forfeiture of certain special rights, it has nothing to do with the admission into temples.

This view is supported by historical facts. Rajendra Chola (12th century) led his naval forces to Pegu beyond the sea. Veera Kerala Varma Raja of the Cochin royal family proceeded to Colombo along with another prince and the Paliath Atchan, The great and good Karthigai Thirunal Maha Raja of Travancore visited Rameswarom. So did His Highness Vishakhom Thirunal Maha Raja. The crossing was effected by means of boats. There is no doubt a text which says that a voyage will entail evil consequence only if one remains in a ship for more than three nights. One of the passengers might with impunity do some forbidden act of a serious nature on the first day while another might keep his orthodoxy but remain in ship for more than three nights. It would be unreasonable to punish the latter and absolve the former. Sea-voyage may therefore be taken to be a legitimate act. All the rules in all the Smrithies should not be imported into the Agamas and availed of in discovering some authority prohibiting sea-voyage. There is a continuous custom in favour of the view that such voyages did not entail any loss of status so far as temple-worship was concerned. There is strong evidence of that custom from time immemorial and in compartively modern times ranging from the 12th century to the present day. The wives and children of England-returned men were being admitted within the temples even before the restriction, which was supposed to have existed, was withdrawn. Thus the change in custom which was openly acknowledged was only an affirmation of an old practice and cannot be viewed as a precedent.

New Laws.

The passing of the Nambudiri Regulation, the Kshatriya Regulation, the Nayar Regulation and the Ezhava Regulation are not legislative precedents justifying a Royal Proclamation declaring the temples open to all classes as contended by some of my colleagues. The Bills which become Regulations were passed by the Legislative Council before they were submitted to the Sovereign for his approval. His Highness the Maha Raja had therefore the benefit of a careful discussion of the subject by the members of a duly constituted Representative Assembly. The legislation referred to above does not establish the position that the Agamas and customs might be modified by the Sovereign without the advantage of a consultation with a competent body of the men of religion. On the other hand, if the Regulations are relevant as instances, the machinery adopted in passing them is equally relevant. Thus the advice of a religious body is indispensable.

Social reform.

The gradual amelioration of the social condition of the depressed classes was emphasised in the discussions in Committee and special reference was made to the abolition of slavery, the grant of free passage to the Avarnas through the public highroads, and the liberty of wearing such clothes and ornaments as they liked. All this was done more than a hundred years ago. These instances only attest the readiness of Government to respect the fundamental civic rights of the people whatever be their caste. They are not religious questions. They are not more germane to the present subject than the opening of new roads for wheeled traffic, the admission of Avarna boys and girls into the schools maintained with public funds, the invitation of promnient non-caste Hindus to public Governmental functions, the supply of water and electricity at the usual rates to caste-Hindus, non-caste Hindus and non-Hindus alike, and the admission of Savarnas and Avarnas, both men and women, to work in the Pallivasal Electric Scheme.

It is maintained that any body of persons who are able to understand the relevant facts and come to a reasonable conclusion is competent to decide the question of temple-entry.

I cannot subscribe to that proposition. Hobbes said that people see their own intelligence very near but the intelligence of others only at a distance. The standards to be applied in the discussion of religious or quasi-religious questions are not those of logic or physical science. Rationalism cannot function for faith which latter alone can accomplish success in the realms of religious and spiritual knowledge and realisation. The treasures of Hindu religious thought were acquired by our ancient sages not in laboratories but in the open realms of intelligence, imagination, intuition, and love of God. "Knowledge is proud that it knows so much; Wisdom is humble that it knows no more." Any attempt to reduce religious doctrines and simplify religious practices to the standard and measure of the ordinary understanding is foredoomed to failure. There are certain axioms and postulates in religion as in mathematics and other human sciences. But the very jurisdictions are different. The rules of the billiard table cannot be applied in the tennis court. Much less can the limited power of the human eye and the human ear, or the militant over-confidence of ordinary human reasoning be applied to the solution of the riddle of the Universe.

The kings of ancient India endowed temples, as acts of thanks giving for success in war, in expiation of their sins, and for the encouragement of devotion. The Cholas, the Pandiyas and the Cheras vied with one another in constructing temples and in offering worship. The dedication of Travancore to Sri Padmanabha by Maharaja Martanda Varma was due in no small measure to a similar object. In the attempt to support the opinion that temples were not essential to the Hindu faith, reference was made in committee to a statement in Kautalya that ancient kings built temples to make money by encouraging superstition. Kautalya was, no doubt, a Brahmin, but he was a man of the world absolutely. His master Chandragupta was an usurper. Perhaps the minister desired to show off his worldly wisdom, and it is well-known that his state-craft was not hampered by moral scruples. Or it might be that Kautalya was a staunch Hindu and gave this kind of sop to his king and to other kings at a time when Buddhism was spreading in the country. Either way, the word of Kautalya is no authority in matters of Hindu faith.

His views may be respected by those who see only secular ends in religious institutions. But it is not only the half-clad denizens of the forest, the thinkers of ancient India alone, who relied on faith. Sayana, who knew the laws of logic and the principles of material science as then understood and had great opportunities of knowing the world and shaping the adminsitration of the country as the minister to the Emperor of Vijayanagar, did not follow the conclusions of secular logic in writing his commentaries on the Vedas.

I may mention one westerner among many who would not follow the conclusions of the physical sciences in the discussion of spiritual questions. W. E. Gladstone lived in an age of great scientific progress and he knew the power of steam and electricity which worked wonders. He had the singular good luck of administering the affairs of the great British Empire for many years. His opinion is therefore not that of an ignoramus or an enthusiast. This is what Gladstone says: "To rely upon those ideas of religion which are sanctioned by man's natural understanding would be as absurd as if Euclid should argue a proposition upon a wrong axiom, observing at the same time, in every step, an accurate adherence to that axiom. All our reasoning may be resolved into syllogisms; and our syllogisms into propositions; all our propositions into terms with their connecting verb which affirms or denies. Our terms may, again, be complex and involve the use of propositions in order to their being duly explained; but these, in turn, may again be resolved into their constituent parts. At length we arrive at terms which refuse all further analysis and with respect to it, therefore, the understanding can afford us no effectual aid. Now, the scripture sets forth to us the fulfilment of the will of God as the best and permanent object of desire."

Cornewall Lewis has shown that even political terms like aristocracy and democracy are often grossly misunderstood. The terminology of religion is more difficult; and still more difficult are its ideas. To apply common sense to religion and believe only such doctrines as the man of common sense approves by his own judgments is like applying the decisions of

the Travancore High Court or even those of the Privy Council to the motions of the planets and the changes in atmospheric conditions which refuse to obey judicial injunctions. In the course of the examination of witnesses I found a spirit of irreverence in a few who thought that they are more omniscient than God, if I may say so without violence to language. But I also found a few who would not import into their religious faith the conclusions of material science, notably a Professor of Chemistry, an Examiner to the University of Madras, who unambiguously stated that he would follow the doctrines which were taught him by his *Guru*. If the Professor devoted a sufficiently long time to learn religion and practice it, and if, even after the light dawned on him in full measure, he maintained that he would blindly follow what his *Guru* said, a different view may perhaps be taken of his self-reliance. No patient learns medicine and comes to definite conclusions regarding the properties of drugs before he swallows mixtures administered by his doctor. There is a proverb that a man who is his own lawyer has a fool for his client. There is no use in semi-belief. I would therefore commend the mental discipline of the Professor of Science. He is in good company. If prayers are offered in St. Paul's and St. Peter's for success in war in the full daylight of twentieth-century civilisation, and if *Varunajapom* is performed in Travancore under the sanction of His Highness the Maha Raja, it is not gross ignorance or want of reason in a Professor of Chemistry to believe that reward and punishment are within the legitimate jurisdiction of the Almighty.

Religion and Sociology are subjects which are no less technical than Currency or Federal Government. And, if the Indian National Congress and the Round Table Conference are necessary for the solution of questions of Indian politics, the fittest persons being selected as members, one fails to see the wisdom of opening the flood-gates of scepticism and uneducated democracy in the decision of religious doctrines and observances. t cannot be that while all subjects in the world require knowledge and experience for their proper decision religion alone should be the sport of every passing opinion.

The object of a Parishat ; Its safeguards.

In the foregoing paragraphs I have raised issues which cover a larger ground than the simple one concerning the admission of non-caste Hindus within the temples. But they relate to consequential questions which, if not tackled, would make the unrestricted admission of all classes of Avarnas the high-road to the ruin of the Hindu faith. I am in favour of admitting all Hindus, the lowest castes included, into the temples for worship. But in order to conciliate the opposing section of caste-Hindus of orthodox views, and to satisfy them that sanctity will not suffer, I am of the opinion that a pronouncement from a competent body of religious men should be a condition precedent.

Historical Precedents.

Theological controversies have in successive stages in the history of the world, been settled by the men of religion and not by secular functionaries. The Buddhist Councils convened by Asoka and later on by Kanishka are well-known. The collection of Mahavira Jaina's teachings was made by a Council held at Pataliputra two hundred years after the teacher's death. The Svetambara canon was revised by a Council at Valabhi long after the formation of that sect. Nor was the practice different in Europe. It was the Council of Nicaea which disapproved of the views of Arius (325 A. D.) and established the vigour of the Athanasian creed that the person of the Christ was of the same substance as that of the Father and not of similar substance as maintained by Arius. In the 16th century the Emperor Charles V, the Defender of the Catholic faith, the victor of Muhlberg, felt constrained to call a Diet at Augsburg to decide such questions as the necessity of clergymen being forced to divorce their wives and the details regarding the taking of communion. The Council of Trent 1545 A. D. was a great Parishat of learned men which was convened as a result of the opinion that the church, alone had the right to expound scripture. Henry VIII of England, with all his power and passion, did not effect a divorce from his wife except under the religious imprimatur of the Archbishop of Canterbury, though his own nominee In India religious and quasi-religious reforms are associated with

the names of those well-versed in the doctrines and observances of Hinduism. So it was in the west. It is true that in Travancore customs were modified at the instance of the Government as in the case of slavery and the forfeiture of caste on the touch of Mannans. But they were matters secular. Per contra the Government did consult Vaidiks where the customs and practices in temples had to be interfered with. For instance in 1039 M. E. when the ordeal by boiling ghee was abolished a conference of holy men such as the Swamiyar of Naduvilay Matom, five of the six Vaidikars in Kerala, the Tarananallur Numburipad, and above all, the Alwanchery Thamprakkal, was convened at Trivandrum in the temple of Sri Padmanabhaswami. The spiritual chiefs then passed upon the various texts bearing on the subject. 26A Parishat convened under the authority of the Sovereign is the only body which is competent to decide the question of temple-entry for the Avarnas in a manner suited to the times. Such a course is necessary in the interests of all.

The word Parishat seems to have created some amount of misunderstanding. But that will soon clear itself. A Parishat is not a body of selfish old-fashioned and unsympathetic men who are held together by a hide-bound orthodoxy of an irrational kind. Because the ancient law-givers speak of Parishats it does not mean that they should be useless and retrograde. Otherwise similar words such as Sabha, Samithi will have to be abandoned with the ideas which they denote or connote. What are the actual provisions in the Smrithis? Some of them are given below.

"Families rich in the knowledge of the Vedas though possessing little wealth are numbered among the great and acquires great fame. (Manu III. 66.)

With respect to points of the law which have not been specially mentioned the answer is that which Brahmins who are Shishtas propound shall doubtless have legal force. (Manu XII. 108.)

"Those Brahmins must be considered to be Shishtas who, in accordance with the sacred law, have studied the Veda together with its appendages and are able to adduce proofs, *perceptible by the senses*, from the revealed texts. (Manu XII. 109.)

"Three persons who each knows one of the principal Vedas' a logician, a mimamsaka, one who knows Nirukti, one who recites the sacred law, and three men *belonging to the first three orders* shall constitute a legal assembly, consisting of at least ten members." (Manu XII. 161)

Thus heredity, knowledge, experience and a religious life are essential qualities for membership in the Parishat. They must be able to adduce *proofs perceptible to the senses* though they are to base their conclusions on revealed texts. There should be representatives of non-Brahmin orders two in number. It is further stated in Manu that the "sin of him whom dunces, incarnations of darkness, and unacquainted with the law, instruct in his duty, falls, increased a hundred-fold, on those who propose it. The Brahmin is declared to be the root of the sacred law and the Kshatriya its top. The duty of the Kshatriya, the king who is on the top, has been emphasised in Manu. This duty is prescribed and maintained by thrilling sanctions. The Parishat (call it convention, conference or committee) must consider, the whole question. If the Agamas are to be changed that must be done. The object of all laws, religious as well as secular, is social welfare. There is the hard incontestable fact that customs which were once considered immutable have changed with the efflux of time and the advance of civilisation. The Swamiyars and Pandara Sannadhis and Jagat Gurus themselves have taken care to acclimatise themselves to the conditions of modern society. Percolation of water will throw the strongest wall down if weep-holes are not provided. A compromise of orthodoxy with the sense of reasonable reform is necessary, but deliberate insincere heterodoxy may be ignored. The examples of Sankara, Ramanuja, and Madhwa, the three celebrated Acharyas, give the sanction of precedents to change without prejudice to the principles of Hinduism as accepted by its followers through the

centuries. The members of the Parishat cannot hide their heads ostrick-like in the sand-duns of thousands of books, good, bad, and indifferent, forgeries as well as genuine documents. Sensible canons of interpretation will have to be adopted. They will have to adhere to the rule in the Smrithis themselves that what is *hateful to the world* and *prejudicial to mankind* should be eschewed. The Sovereign will and must have a weighty voice in the final decision. In dealing with this question certain considerations have to be kept in view :

(1) The high and cosmopolitan character of the Hindu religion.

(2) The historical fact that foreign peoples have, from time to time, been brought within the pale of Hinduism in blocks,

(3) The present condition of Hindus which is divided and sub-divided in itself.

(4) The fact that Hinduism is being trenched upon by proselytising religions.

(5) The approval by important communities of the principle of interdining and other social intercourse.

(6) The improvement in the habits of life and the manners and customs of the Avarna classes.

(7) The inter-relation of politics and social reform.

(8) The liberal policy which is being pursued by Government for the advancement of the depressed communities.

(9) The desire of the Avarnas to enter temples for worship.

(10) The articulate demand on the part of large numbers of Savarnas to permit the Avarnas to enter temples for worship.

Law and religion exist for the good of mankind, the common weal of the world. The Almighty manifests Himself in many ways. The idea of the holy is essential to all forms of faith. Faith transcends ordinary reason. The rationalists profess that there has been no tangible reliable proof of the existence of God as Cause, Designer, or Ruler of the Universe. They assert that belief in God is a superstition "which should be outlawed from the territory of legitimate knowledge." But the Savarnas who oppose temple entry and the Avarnas and Savarnas who demand the grant of the right to all Hindus should believe in religion and in the sanctity of temples. If they cease to be holy there is no good in opening them to any. A favourable opinion expressed by a Parishat of competent men will disarm the opposition of a considerable section of caste Hindus and maintain the sanctity of religious practice.

Trivandrum,
27-6-09.

T. K. Velu Pillai.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

TEMPLE ENTRY ENQUIRY COMMITTEE.

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I. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

POINTS OF REFERENCE

The points on which the Temple Entry Enquiry Committee has been asked to report are specifically the following: —

1. Whether the caste Hindus have an exclusive right of worship or recognised civil rights in the matter of such worship in all or any of the temples within the State.

2. Whether in any particular caste Hindu temple there is any local practice with regard to the entry of non-caste Hindus into such temple.

3. What is the general feeling among non-caste Hindus about the efficacy of religious worship or rites within the temple itself, or within its precincts in the case of temples now open to caste Hindus alone.

3 b. The general feeling among caste Hindus about the efficacy of religious worship or rites if temple entry is allowed to non-caste Hindus.

4. The extent of any feeling among (1) caste Hindus and (2) non-caste Hindus in regard to the creation of social and religious equality by allowing temple entry and whether the movement for temple entry is a separable or integral part of such a programme.

5. The probable results (*a*) temporary, (*b*) permanent, of allowing temple entry.

6. The possibility of a compromise being arrived at between the orthodox Hindu community and other Hindus with regard to the question of Temple Entry or any aspect of it. And if there is a possibility, the best methods of effecting a compromise.

7. The bearing, on the question of Temple Entry, of the principles, rules and practice regulating religious worship and rites in caste Hindu temples.

8. The extent to which Government can interfere or has interfered in temples whether or not under Government management.

9. The commitments, if any, made by Government.

II. PROXIMATE NEED FOR AN ENQUIRY COMMITTEE.

On the failure of Mr. Gandhi to effect Hindu-Muslim unity and dissatisfied with the Prime Minister's award on the communal issue at the Round Table Conference, Mr. Gandhi, as Congress leader, among other activities, Civil Disobedience Movement, Boycott of Foreign Goods, Khadar Movement, etc., turned his attention to the consolidation of the disunited ranks of Hindus with a view to effect a solid block to compete with Muslims. The method chosen to effect consolidation was to do away with pollution or untouchability separating caste and non-Hindus and to remove the disabilities of the latter on account of pollution which prevented them from entering caste Hindu temples.

Temple Entry Movement was thus started as a political stunt. He began his propaganda that the stain of untouchability was a great blot on Hinduism, that the depressed class Hindus excluded from entering caste Hindu temples were Harijanas, or men of God, and that the Brahmins and Ecclesiastical heads of Hinduism were sinners who needed expiation for their age long sin. The orthodox Hindus were made out to be dissenters and the rights of his Harijanas for worship in equality with caste Hindus, just and religious, to be recognised by the Legislature. He found support for this movement from the public and from the several social, political and religious associations. Temple Entry Bill was introduced first in the Madras Legislative Council, then in the Imperial Legislative Assembly. Jatha campaigns under Congress auspices proceeded to different parts of India including Native States. There was a test attempt of Sathyagraha at the Guruvayoor Temple lasting for some months. The Zamorin met it with equal resistence. There was then an apprehension of this Jatha visiting Trivandrum. About this time, this committee was appointed to understand the significance and strength of this movement.

III. TEMPLE ENTRY—ALL-INDIA QUESTION CONNECTED WITH TEMPLE ENTRY BILL AND ANTI UNTOUCHABILITY BILL IN THE IMPERIAL ASSEMBLY.

The several points of reference which are the subject matter of enquiry, though confined to temples in this State, have some common factors, applicable to the temples in Kerala and the adjoining British Districts, all being more or less governed by the same Agama Sastras.

Similar to the scope of this enquiry is the scope of the Temple Entry Bill in the Imperial Assembly which has been introduced with the conditional sanction of the Government of India, conditional in the sense, that if the Government found it later that the passing of the Bill could not be allowed, the Government reserved to themselves the right to refuse sanction to the passing of the Bill. The Bill has since been circulated for obtaining public opinion.

This Bill had been incidently a point of reference in the evidence of the Sanatanist delegates before the joint Parliamentary Committee, London, when a controversial discussion took place about the jurisdiction of the Government and the Legislatures, in India, to interfere in matters of religious beliefs and usages.

In the course of examination of the Secretary of State on the White Paper, the Archbishop of Canterbury, on the absence of express provision in the White Paper regarding safeguards for non-interference in religious matters, questioned him whether he (the Archbishop) could take it that the very last thing intended under the new constitution for India was interference on the part of the Governor-General into the internal affairs of any religious community in India. The Secretary of State replied that the Government had already had sufficient problems to make it certain that they did not want to add to their number.

In the Simon Commission Report non-interference with religious usages of any community had been included in conformity with the existing policy as one of the fundamental rights to be safeguarded for the benefit of the people under the new constitution.

In the enquiry by the Committee, several witnesses including Messrs. Subba Ayyar, former Deputy President, and K. G. Sesha Ayyar, Retired Judge of the High Court, have questioned the competency of Government or the Legislature to interfere in religious matters on the ground of want of jurisdiction, as non-interference has been the policy of the State, recognised all along since its constitution. The Government also have taken up this position in their replies to the Sree Mulam Popular Assembly representatives.

Thus on the merits of the case and on the point of jurisdiction, this question is of All-India importance.

The appointment of this committee, further, being synchronous with the introduction of the Temple Entry Bill in the Imperial Assembly, and the report of this committee being likely to be available to the public from whom opinion has been called for in respect of the Temple Entry Bill, the public outside Travancore have evinced a desire to offer their views unsolicited, because of their intererest and faith in the importance of the Travancore temples, and of their fear that any commitments by this committee on imperfect enquiry may prejudice the discussion of the Bill in the Assembly.

IV. MOVEMENT—CONGRESS GAME.

The movement originally started as a political stunt to compete with Muslim unity is being exploited for other purposes, *viz.*—

1. To create social and religious equality between caste and non-caste Hindus by allowing temple entry.
2. To purify Hinduism by abolishing untouchability and relaxing the rigor of the caste system.
3. To promote national solidarity by combining caste and non-caste Hindus.
4. To elevate the condition of depressed classes.
5. As a platform stunt for middle class polticians and social and religious reformers.

The movement has thus been a shuttle-cock of diplomatic game and also miconceived from the point of reason and policy as will be seen from below :—

In politics, the distinction between caste and non-caste Hindu has been recognised for purposes of special representation in administrative and legislative spheres, and in representative institutions. How can such distinction in religious usages and beliefs which have been in force from time immemorial, be abolished, the reformists have not considered.

The several denominations of non-caste Hindus, about 25 in number, according to census returns, have their own temples for worship. Each class has its own favourite deities, its own mode of worship, and offerings. One belonging to a particular denomination does not and most frequently is not allowed to visit and worship in the temple of other castes. A few of one or two denominations of non-caste Hindus like the Ezhavas, have outgrown their enviroments by education, training and clean habits of life and occupation, but the class to which they belong pursue the hereditary occupations of their brethren with uncleanly hahits and are satisfied with their accustomed mode of worship. Whether and why the several denominations have become dissatisfied with worship in their own temples, whether worship in them is now being continued, the reformers have not cared to ascertain.

The collection of statistics of non-caste Hindu temples will show whether this campaign was inspired by a genuine desire for worship or for other sectarian considerations. In a Privy Council decision, on a point of dispute about the right of worship of a non-caste Hindu in a caste Hindu temple, the proximity of a temple for the former community to the caste Hindu temple was considered a relevant point for the settlement of that dispute. As it is, there is no means of knowing whether it is love of worship or anything else that has prompted this movement.

In matters not connected with religion, the caste aad non-caste Hindus have been moving for ages of centuries in mutual good-will and co-operation. The advance of depressed classes has, since the constitution of the Sree Moolam Popular Assembly

for the past 30 years, been remarkably rapid. This has been achieved with the co-operation of the caste Hindu public, official and non-official. According to Hinduism, caste and non-caste Hindus are brethern and cannot be unfriendly to each other. The same attitude prevails even now. The saste Hindus are ready and willing to help the non-caste Hindus in any scheme of socio-religious uplift, provided it does not tamper with the former's religious susceptibilities. How under such circumstances, this agitation has been launched is not understandable. This can only be explained on the assumption that they have allowed themselves to be exploited by politicians and that they have no mentality of their own to discriminate between their real and apparent well-wishers.

This movement has been started at an unpropitious time. Already there are enough communal wranglings tearing the body politic. This agitation is another drive in that direction.

Thus with no considerations of reason, equity or consequences has this movement been launched. It is only a phase of Civil Disobedience Movement in religious sphere.

V.—MOVEMENT—ESSENTIALLY RELIGIOUS.

In the detailed consideration of the several points of reference specified in the Government Communique, the following questions are relevant :—

1. What is image worship? What is the significance of the several occult rites and rituals in the consecration of the Bimbom, performance of Pooja, regulation of worship? What kinds of pollution should be guarded against and what kinds of purificatory ceremonies performed? How is sanctity in temples preserved or diminished by observance or violation of the principles and rules laid down in the Agama Sastras?

2. How caste and non-caste Hindu temples have separately come into existence from ages long back, and how and why Agama Sastras have laid down separate provisions for observances and rites in the respective classes of temples?

3. What is the significance of pollution attached to the non-caste Hindu communities excluded from temple entry? Whether

it is merely a social convention, or an occult phenomenon based on scriptural principles? Whether it is in any way connected with Hindu creeds of Karma, Re-incarnation, Caste System, Continuity of Ego, etc.

4. Is this pollution of the same rank as other kinds of pollution; such as, death or birth of animals or human beings in temples, mutilation of images, burning of temple flagstaff, etc.? Do the same or different rules apply for observance of purificatory ceremonies? If one kind of pollution is dispensed with on secular consideration, should the other kinds of pollution be maintained?

5. Whether this committee or a Parishat, of experts in Vedas and Meemasa, Nyaya and Niruktha is competent to investigate these points?

The sense of the majority opinion of the committee is that the questions involved are essentially religious which only a Parishat can solve, to secure popular approval and the uplift of the depressed class communities can be effected by an independant programme without reference to the temple entry question.

The following is extracted from an address presented to His Excellency the Viceroy by Shri Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, Benares, opposing the introduction of the temple entry bill on religious grounds.

"The basic principles of the creed of Sanatanists who form the bulk of the population of India and the eternal creed which has so successfully stood the hardest tests of both the ancient and modern history are among others:—

(a) faith in the existence of the mighty occult world,

(b) faith in the King as a responsible representative of the Devas—the Higher Governors of the occult world and therefore Protector of the people and Defender of their religion,

(c) faith in the Divine universal Law of Karma, that is, of actions and reactions of individuals and of nations which guide their destinies,

(*d*) faith in hereditary caste system and stages of life established on the principle of birth-right and purity of physical and superphysical bodies through finer forces of nature derived from Sudha-Asudha Viveka, the so-called touchability and untouchability,

(*e*) faith in the transmigration of souls and cycles of births, re-births working under the Divine Law of Karma,

(*f*) tolerance and catholicity in respecting beliefs of other religions and creeds of the world as so many different paths to reach the same one goal, the Omnipresent, Almighty God, and never to interfere with their observances."

His Excellency observed that the questions involving controversial religious points, the sponsors of the bill would do better to achieve their object, viz., uplift of Harijans, by resort to more peaceful measures.

Similarly when a resolution was moved in the Bombay Legislative Council for throwing open caste Hindu temples to non-caste Hindus, the Home Member, on behalf of Government replied that the resolution was in respect of an essentially religious matter unlike 'Sarda Act' which was essentially social, and that, pending the discussion of an All-India Bill for the same purpose, the resolution be not pressed. The resolution was accordingly withdrawn.

At the Guruvayoor Conference at the time of sathyagraha, presided by H. H. Goswami Gokulananda Maharaja and attended by religious heads of Mutts, social and religious reformers and political leaders from many parts of India, it was decided that the question of temple entry was religious and was entirely within the competence of temple authorities to decide the question of admission of non-caste Hindus in accordance with Agama Sastras and existing usages.

When similar movements were planned and started in the States of Mysore and Cochin, they were not countenanced by

the Government on the ground that no State or Legislative interference was called for in matters affecting religion or religious usages in temples.

It is clear on all accounts that the questions involved in this movement are essentially religious.

VI. SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY OF IMAGE WORSHIP.

According to the scriptures, there are in all 16 kinds of objects of the 'Peetas' or 'Mystic Circle' serving as media or connecting link between the mortal world and occult world. Of these 16 kinds, such as Fire, Water, Agni, Soorya, etc., images form a class; worship of images constitutes one of the 'Visesha Dharmas' of Hindu religion.

According to the occult science of Vedic Karma, there are several rites and ceremonies of occult significance, to be gone through for induction of the Devatha into the image, and performance of pooja, etc. The qualifications of Thanthries or Acharyas who are to perform the rites are according to Agama Sastras the following:—Brahmins descended from a noble family who have undergone all the sacraments; properly studied and realised the inwardness of the Vedas, Agamas; who are rigorous followers of the observances laid down for all castes and Asramams; devoted, skilful and practised in self-restraint; and who are believers.

Image worship is regulated with every consideration of the science of Sparsa-Asparsa and Sudha-Asudha Viveka and higher spiritualism. Images form a holy media instinct with Divine energy of the Omnipresent.

According to the Vedic philosophy 'Atma' though omnipresent, in all beings, super-human beings, and lower animals, etc., remains enveloped under five different kinds of Koshas. i. Annamayakosha, ii. Pranamayakosha, iii. Manomayakosha, iv. Vignanamayakosha, and v. Anandamayakosha. The bad effects on them respectively are Mala, Vikara, Vikshepa, Avarna, and Asmitha. The good and bad effects on these five sheaths are based on the finer forces of Sparsa-Asparsa, and Sudha-Asudha, Sath-Asath Viveka. To free the sheaths from bad

effects and to prepare them for receiving divine power for one's spiritual advancement, the principles of purity and impurity, touchability and untouchability, Sath and Asath, have been dealt with in the Dharma Sastras; for instance, the pollution or untouchability regarding the impure earthly objects directly affects the Annamayakosha. As regards pollution or untouchability in connection with temples or image-worship, the question of purity or impurity; touchability or untouchability, Sath or Asath, is decided according to the merit of the 'Holy Peeta' or 'Mystic Circle' and of the consecreation of the Devatha, which has direct bearing on the Pranamayakosha. The Pranamayakosha which is all-prevading, establishes a link between the occult world of Devathas and mortal world of human beings, on the analogy of 'catalytic principle' in chemistry, where contact between two metals under certain conditions produces powerful electric currents.

The point to be noted in Vedic Karma and Philosophy is, that, like the antiseptic precautions in surgery, every kind of pollution or Asath pertaining to each of the five different sheaths, as enjoined in the Agama Sastras, is strictly prohibited; and every kind of 'purity' or 'Sath' element characteristic of each sheath, is invoked to promote and ensure sanctity of the deity installed in the temple.

According to the occult law, pollution in any part of the temple is pollution to the deity installed therein. This is why the entry of 'degraded men' who have the taint of pollution by birth is prohibited into caste Hindu temples.

This pollution is of the same rank, as the other kinds of pollution, such as, births and deaths of man and animals; entry of women in their periods or who have recently delivered; entry of Bhoudhas or Pulkasas, etc. There are other kinds of pollution like these detracting sanctity in the temple for which also purificatory ceremonies are enjoined, namely, (1) cases of the idol being found to sweat, laugh or weep, (2) cases of poojas being offered with manthras appropriate to different Devathas or with those prescribed for black-magic, (3) cases of contact with Pathithas (degraded men), Pashandas, (4) daubing the image

with poison, blood, excreta, and (5) omission to perform the appointed poojas for more than one year, etc. These are mentioned in the late Mr. Ramachandra Row's report on 'pollution and purificatory ceremonies.'

In the several Thanthric texts considered authoritative in Kerala and elsewhere, distances have been specified which the 'untouchable class' should observe to avoid pollution to temples. They are permitted to worship the deity, only from outside the temple Prakarams.

Usages based on such criteria have been in vogue from time immemorial. The sanctity of usages is described thus in the institutes of Manu.

'Immemorial custom is transcendental law approved in the sacred scriptures and in the code of Divine Legislators. Let every man, therefore, of the three powerful classes who has a due reverence for the supreme spirit which dwells in him, diligently and constantly observe immemorial custom.

A man of the priestly, military or commercial class who deviates from immemorial usage, tastes not the fruit of Veda, but by an exact observance of it, he gathers the fruit in perfection.

Thus have holy sages well knowing that law is grounded on immemorial custom enhanced as the root of all piety good usages long established'.

The object of the Temple Entry Movement is to remove the disabilities imposed by custom on non-caste Hindus which prevent them from entry into caste Hindu temples. The movement is in fact a direct attack on the caste system more strictly observed in temples.

VII. TEMPLE ENTRY MOVEMENT AND CASTE SYSTEM.

What importance caste system occupies can be understood only if the teachings of Hinduism are rightly understood as compared with the teachings of other religions.

Hinduism is a system devised by the occultists Rishis—to whom the invisible world was a matter of knowledge. It is

based on the occult knowledge of nature, not the knowledge that science obtained by studying phenomena, that is, the outer appearances, but the knowledge that springs from studying the inner life, that is, the mind of which the outer phenomena are expressions.

Based then on the facts of the invisible world, its teachings are intended to bring man into harmony with his visible and invisible environments; to use rites, ceremonies etc., every one of which is designed to produce definite results in the invisible world.

The occult facts of the invisible world are chiefly the creeds of Karma, Re-incarnation, Continuity of Ego, Heirarchy of Gods, Immortality of the Souli Varnasrama design, etc., and they are dealt with in the Vedas, Upanishads, and Dharma Sastras.

The mortal world is only one-fourth of the fourteen Lokas habitable by human beings, the remaining Lokas being inhabited by Superhuman Beings, Devayonis etc. Man by his Samskarams and observances of the rites and rituals of his Varnashramam order according to his birth-right, makes himself fit to perform "Pinda-Dan" to the "Nithya Pithris", a class of occult High Agents, and "Nimithika Pithris",—departed ancestors—and enables himself to give support in his own way to the whole world system, and the Devas, Rishis and Pithris in co-operation with the occult agents of High Rank. He thereby ensures the preservation of the spiritual race of humanity through the most scientific social order, Varna Ashrama Dharma. This truth is based on the occult knowledge of nature-known to Rishis.

Another characteristic feature of Hinduism is: —freedom of opinion and orthodoxy in life. Varieties of opinion about the Supreme Being are freely permissible, the only limitation to this freedom being the Vedas which give a full presentment of the spiritual truths to be realised, to reach the goal. Because of this freedom, three pairs of philosophy have grown up, each giving a full account of cosmogeny from its respective stand-point with logical exactness and sequence. As regards orthodoxy in life, a man's conduct covers his external nature, visible and invisible,

and according to his conduct, harmony, or discord accrues. Harmony is imposed by authority, the people not being capable of assimilating the knowledge on which it is based. Authority consists in the observances of Agama Sastras relating to Varna and Ashrama Dharma and other creeds of Hinduism. That is why it is insisted that he should perform Swadharma of his Caste and Ashramam and not travel at large as he pleases. That is the cause of the restriction why he should not intermarry in another man's caste or eat polluted food.

Orthodoxy in life is an essential feature of Saguna or image worship in temples. The worshippers are bound by the injunctions of Agama Sastras; and caste restrictions, rites, ceremonies, rituals, pollution, etc. are to be necessarily observed. From Saguna worship, the worshipper climbs upward to 'Nirguna Upasana', where such restrictions need not be observed, that is to say, when people in their later evolutions have acquired spiritual knowledge and capacity to See God in 'Nirguna' conception they need no authority for observance of rituals, pollution, etc., and imposition of authority wears away.

These teachings and creeds are the basis of Hinduism and Sanathana Dharma. The other religions do not recognize these distinctions. Hence the out-cry of Sanatanists against the Temple Entry Movement and such other matters as affect their religious sentiments is not readily understood by the other religionists, nor by the dissenters of Hinduism who have no faith in the scriptures or the creeds of Hinduism. It is often forgotten that in other religions also, differences of religious usages and tenets exist.

Non-Caste Hindus and Hinduism.

Non-caste Hindus have all along been in the solicitude of the founders of Hinduism like the caste-Hindus; their evolution rules of life, difference among them, residence, occupations, worship, food, expiatory ceremonies, pollution rites, etc., haee been prescribed in the Agama Sastras. The distinction between them and their caste-Hindu brethren is that a status of religious inequality has been assigned to the former by virtue of birth. This is an occult phenomenon according to the

based on the occult knowledge of nature, not the knowledge that science obtained by studying phenomena, that is, the outer appearances, but the knowledge that springs from studying the inner life, that is, the mind of which the outer phenomena are expressions.

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founders of the religion. The fact that this discrimination by Rishis has stood the test of more than 5,000 years in the past is a main piece of evidence as to the stable foundation of this occult phenomenon. Even now, in rural parts, the distinctive characteristics of residence, occupation, modes of life, worship, dress, food, prescribed in the Agama Sastras are markedly noticeable.

If the Prime Ministers's award on the communal problem, can be conceived as having passed the stage of controversy and become unalterable, a man-made arrangement, how can the discrimination, into caste and non-caste Hindus, based on an occult phenomenon from remotest antiquity, the usefulness and strength of which have been fully tested all along, be so easily scrapped to suit the whims of social reformers. The other religionists have not adopted the basic creeds of Hinduism and do not appreciate the difference.

If the Law of Heredity has any meaning and if an upward course of life for the realisation of higher ideals of morality and religion is infinitely more difficult than the downward precipitation, there is bound to be distinction of Sparsa-Asparsa and Sudha-Asudha between caste and non caste Hindus, as there are such distinctions in varied forms in the other religions. No secular legislation can cleanse the untouchables of the impurities of their birth, profession or habits. No external badge of purity can absolve any man from his karmic bonds.

Caste system including non-caste Hindus is the only force which has kept the Hindu Religion not only alive but vigorous, active and strong enough to withstand the impact of alien culture and civilisation. It is this that has enabled the various communities of Hindus varying in rank, culture and racial qualifications live side by side amicably for centuries together. But for the caste system, the non-caste Hindus—called depressed class Hindus—would have been crushed by this time, for it reserved to them an occupation which they are fitted to perform and enabled them to live contentedly for centuries and to multiply and perform a necessary function of the combined Aryan Society and be gradually incorporated with it.

The caste-system in its essential form, thougtful men have said, is the most marvellous discovery which through ages has protected Hindu society from anarchy and from the worst evils of industrial and competitive life. It is an automatic Poor Law to begin with and the strongest form known of trade union. No doubt with the progress of democratic ideas, the rigour of the caste system has been gradually slackening, but it can never be destroyed, for it is so deep-rooted that its absolute destruction is impossible. This is not a matter which the Government or the legislature should intervene in, to make alterations according to reformed civilised ideas It is essentially religious and should be left alone for mutual adjustment with the growth of democratic sentiment. If Government were to intervene at all, it must be in the direction of purifying the abuses of the caste system by enforcing observances ot Agamic injunctions and not in the direction of lowering the standards by mingling caste and non-caste Hindus in temples, where some sort of caste descipline is in existence.

Politics and religion should not be mixed up and each must be encouraged to grow in its own groove ; then only there is healthy progress in society : otherwise confusion, disorder and anarchy.

VIII. POLLUTION OBSERVANCE—ESSENTIAL ACCORDING TO AGAMA SASTRAS.

For the creation and maintenance of religious and spiritual atmosphere in temples, it is essential that all forms of pollutions ; ceremonial, religious, physical and material, should be rigidly excluded. Pollution in any form in temples is repugnant to one's feelings and is not conducive to sanctity or worship. What kinds of pollution are to be observed and what kinds of purificatory ceremonies to be performed are matters clearly defined in Dharma Sastras.

The avoidance of any kind of disturbance or pollution is insisted on in the performance of religious rites of Hindus, Yajna, Dhana, and Thapas ; then only the performer finds consolation and peace.

Brahmins who understand the significance of 'Dhigbhantha' in 'Gayathri' and 'Sandhyavandhanam' will find no difficulty to realise this.

The six schools of philosophy according to Hindu religion :—

1. Nyaya of Gouthama
2. Vaisheshika of Kanada,
3. Sankhya of Kapila,
4. Yoga of Pathanjili or theistic Sankhya.
5. Jaimini Poorva Meemamsa.
6. Uthara Meemamsa or Vedanta sub-divided into
    (*a*) Advaita,
    (*b*) Dwaita.
    (*c*) Visishta Advaita,

owe their greatness, stability and purity to the absolute exclusion of pollution of all forms, in the foundation of the creeds of each school.

Perfect purity is also the essence of zoroastranic creed.

In spiritualistic services also, the observance of pollution is insisted on for successful manifestation of phenomena.

Pollution in some form or other is as old as creation itself. Pollution to a non-caste Hindu, a Panchama outside the pale of caste, is an incident of birth. This is an occult phenomena according to Agama Sastras. Occupations and habits of life are but indices of his birth, to our mortal understanding. This occult phenomena is unquestionably connected with other occult truths of Karma and Reincarnation.

Birth in the Panchama community is determined by one's actions in the previous birth, as his future birth is determined by actions in this birth. In human beings there are differences in constitution, which is determined according to the Dharma of previous life. The constitution referred to is not the physical constitution as ordinarily understood, but is a combination of both the physical and mental constitutions. The sastras have divided the constitution into Sathvic, Rajasic and Thamasic. In the constitution of Panchamas, Thamasic atoms outnumber the other two. It is impossible according to occult science for a soul in

Thamasic body, except those who have outgrown their environments and outlook by yogic practice, to perform Sathvic acts. This is due to pollution to Thamasic soul.

To ensure oneself of higher evolution in the next birth, he is ordained to do samskarams according to his birth-right, though the Dharma Sastras do not prohibit him from making further exertions for progress consistent with the powers and aptitudes he is born with. His disobedience to the Sastric injunctions entails on him re-births in sinful wombs. This certainty of re-birth in a future state is the teaching of occult science.

The pollution of a Panchama is viewed by occultists to be equivalent to the pollution of other kinds specified in Agama Sastras, to be observed in temples. It is, therefore, a substantive part of temple worship in caste Hindu temples.

Alterations in Agamas—how to be effected.

If any alterations in scriptural authority and usages are necessary to be made, only a Parishad can determine in what form this can be done. It is said, in the Institutes of Manu, that well-instructed Brahmins can propound such alterations, who can adduce occular proof from the scripture itself, having studied, as the law ordains, the Vedas and their extended branches of Vedangas, Meemamsa, Nyaya Dharma Sastras, Puranas.

In the opinion of Theosophists also, alike the late Dr. Annie Besant, who had made a comparative study of different religions, whether pollution and the existing usages based therein could be altered, and if so how are to be determined by the tests mentioned below :—

Is the usage ancient to be found in the ancient scriptures? Has it the authority of the founder of the religion or of the usages to whom the formation of the particular religion is due? Is it universally found in some form or other in all religions?

As to smaller matters of rites, ceremonies, observances and customs, the use or disuse of any particular practice, the test is: Is it laid down or recommended in the ancient scriptures by the

founder or his immediate disciples? Can its usefulness be explained or verified by those in whom occult training has developed the inner faculties which make the invisible world a region they know by their own experience?

It is clear then that only a Parishad of scholars who have developed occult training can solve such questions.

IX. LEGAL POSITION.

The highest court here, in British India and the Privy Council have uniformly held that it is on the usages of a temple the solution of the question of temple entry by the prohibited classes depends, that it is immaterial if such usages are not in accord with the advanced modern notions, and that even if a plesbiscite be taken and a large majority be found to be in favour of allowing the prohibited classes to enter the temple, the majority who conform to the recognised usages may seek the aid of the courts against innovation and prevent their duty. (35 T. L. R. 69; 18 T. L. R. 222; 14 T. L. R. 83; 23 T. L. R. 171 and Madras H. C. page 236, Vol. 31). The Judicial basis for the sanctity of usages is based not only on the highest principles of jurisprudence, but also on the principle that the allegiance of the subjects to the crown depends substantially on the protection to them by the crown in the enjoyment of their right in accordance with usages. The Temple Entry agitation really seeks to make a tremendous departure from the established custom and the existing law. Such a departure as is now sought to give entry to non-caste Hindus in caste Hindu temples, causes defilement of the temples according to Hindu belief in Sastras and Acharams, and is repugnant to the worshippers of a particular religious persuasion concerned. Whether such a defilement occurs or not is a religious question competent to be dealt with only by religious authorities and is not capable of determination by a secular court or legislature. It has been also decided further that the Devaswom properties are trust endowments, and they are not Government properties; 15 T. L. R. 185. The Royal Proclamation allotting 16 lakhs of rupees out of the Land Revenue, for the maintenance of Devaswoms has endorsed this fact,

Some judicial excerpts are given below : —

Temple.

1. Justice Scott quoted the dictum of Lord Hardwick in I. L. R. 8 Bombay 432.

   The Charter of the Crown cannot make a charity more or less public but only more permanent than if would otherwise be.

2. Justice Muthuswamy Aiyar. A Hindu temple is not a public place in the sense in which a public road is a public place. It is only open to the persons belonging to the religious community for whose use and benefit it was dedicated.

The only joint basis on which the relations of temples to religious or caste institutions can rest is that of viewing them as voluntary associations founded or formed for caste or religious purposes as evidenced by immemorial usage, I. L. R. 13 Madras 293.

Temples and State Interference.

1. The Privy Council observed "The interests of Sovereigns as well as their duties will ever incline them to secure as far as lies in their power the happiness of those who live under their Government, and no person can be happy where religious feelings are not respected. Knapp's Report—247.

2. It is the policy of the State to protect all religions but to interfere with none. I. L. R. 5 Bombay 80.

Temples as trusts.

1. Justice Beaman observes :— " Any extension or limitation of the scope of a trust so as to be excluded or to include those who were intended to be included is really a breach—and a very serious breach of trust. I. L. R. 33 Bombay 509.

2. Their Lordships of the Privy Council said :— " The objects of the trust must have all the benefits they require. If it were a question of caste and worshippers of a higher caste would

be defiled by the presence of a lower caste, this would be a serious disturbance......... .....It is the wounding of religious feeling and the discretion of worship that are to be determined.

3. No amount of consent on the part of the public will justify a breach of trust by the manager. I. L. R. 20, Madras 398.

Referendum—Illegal and impossible.

In cases relating to charity, a majority cannot control the minority. Tudor on Charitable Trusts :

Where a court in the exercise of religious or charitable jurisdiction is called upon to adjudicate between conflicting claims of dissident parties in a community distinguished by some religious profession, the rights of the parties would be regulated by a reference to what upon an enquiry might turn out to have been the religious tenets held by the community in its origin or foundation and that a minority, however small, holding fast by the tenet would be entitled to prevail against the majority, however numerically large which could be shown to have receded from or renounced them. 1866-12 B. H. C. R. 323

Law on religious rites and usage.

1. The right of worship is a joint right to be exercised in a religious institution conformably to the caste usage to the extent recognised by it so as not to contravene the equal rights of other members of the caste who are similarly interested in the institution. Any other view as to the basis of the appellant's rights would be inconsistent with the doctrine of neutrality which forms part of the British Judicial system as administered in India and lead into the introduction into Hindu temples of Muhomadans, out-castes and others who were outside their scope and for whose benefits they were neither founded nor kept up. I. L. R. 13 Madras 293.

2. No doubt many of the Shanars have abandoned their caste occupation (of climbing of palmyra and cocoanut trees and manufacturing intoxicating liquor) and have won for themselves by education, industry and frugality respectable partisans as

merchants and traders and as officers and it is natural to feel sympathy for their efforts to obtain social recognition and rise to what is regarded as a higher form of religious worship. But such sympathy will not be increased by unreasonable pretentions, and in their efforts to rise, the Shanars must not invade the established rights of the other castes. They should rise along their own lines and without appropriating the institutions or infringing the rights of others ; and in so doing they will have the sympathy of all right-minded men, and, if necessary the protection of the courts I. L. R. 31. Mad. 236-238.

3. Guruvayoor Case :—Remarks of Justice Ramesam, in that judgement. 'The elevation of the respondents in their several status which is really the object they and their sympathisers have in view is not to be achieved by trespassing on isolated rights here and there, or by trying to encroach forcibly on such rights. If they do not like submission to these restrictions, they can ignore them in other ways which are not illegal. The lower castes need not attach any importance to the entry into the temple or roads at all, or abstain from going there altogether. They need not make any offering to the temple, they can have a temple of their own. But one cannot both eat a cake and have it. If they attach any sanctity to the temple and want all the privileges connected with it, they must submit to the restrictions incidental to the religious system of which the temple is a creature.'

X. CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION.

The Government policy has all along, since the Thirupadi Dhanam of 925 M. E., been the maintenance of the age long mamools and acharams in the temples, without interference in matters of religious beliefs and usages. This has also been the policy of the Government of India, since the time of Queen Victoria, according to the interpretation of the Government of India Act and the decrees based on it, and also according to the Charter of the British Indian High Courts. In I. L. R. Madras 154, their Lordships have observed, Hindus and Mahomadans have had their personal laws preserved to them by the Charters of the High Courts and by the Regulations. The personal law of the Hindus is intimately connected with religion.

It was in conformity with this policy and practice, that, in the Simon Commission Report, there had been a recommendation made to include in the proposed new constitution a safeguard against interference by the Federal Government or Legislature with the religious beliefs and usages of the subjects of Federated India.

Under the White Paper Scheme, however, there was no specific provision for non-interference by the Government or Legislature with religion, or religious beliefs and usages. Though in the Joint Parliamentary Committee there were safeguards demanded for Paramountcy rights, Treaty rights, etc., Religion was not pressed as demanding safeguards. Fortunately, the importance of safeguard for religious beliefs and usages was recognised and impressed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The agitation of orthodox Hindus throughout India for such safeguards also contributed to a change of out-look in the India Government. This is distinguishable from the discrimination they have since made between the Temple Entry Bill, and Sarada Act. The Former is viewed as *essentially* religious and the latter *essentially* social.

In Nazi-Germany also, in spite of the persecution of Jews which is defended on national grounds, in the Concordat between the Holy See and Nazi Germany, the latter has guaranteed freedom of conscience, protection of Catholic organisations and associations which are exclusively religious and purelyt cultural or charitable. The Church on its part is also forebidden to take part in any political activity.

In all civilised Governments, GOD and Religion are above the jurisdiction of Government and Legislature.

2. It is said in the report that Government have in the past made certain changes in the usages in some temples; namely; abolition of animal sacrifices in Mandakkad temple; prohibition of singing of obscene songs in Shertallai Bhagavathy temple; abolition of Deva Dasi system in some temples; and permitting access to non-caste Hindus within Sanketham limits in Vycome temple. These are too small and immaterial to be compared with the issues in the Temple Entry question.

An extract from a memorial addressed to His Excellency the Viceroy, from the Varnashrama Sangam Association, Benarese, opposing the Temple Entry Bill and Anti-Untouchability Bill, is annexed below, containing as it does, all the reasons relied on by the Sanatanist Hindus in respect of this question.

The Bills are opposed to Parliamentary Statutes, to the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, and to several other earlier Proclamations.

They are further opposed to the general administrative policy of the India Government in matters of religion as laid down at the time of special Marriage Act. of 1872, and of Basu's Special Marriage Bill in March 1911.

3. Sections 40 and 79 of the Madras Hindu Religious Endowment Act II of 1927 were specially provided for avoiding such interference with the Hindu religion, religious rites, customs and usages of temples on account of the limitations and restrictions on the powers of the Indian Government and the Legislatures, and the Government of India and the Indian Legislatures have no power or authority to alter the wholesome provisions which have guaranteed the fundamental rights of the temples.

4. The methods, form and arrangements connected with worship are matters essentially of religion. No Sovereign or Government can introduce any alteration, according to the principles and policy of all Governments in the world.

5. The Simon Commission has recommended on considerations of all these, that non-interference with religious usages should be a fundamental right in the constitution embodied in the White Paper, for the protection of the public.

6. The methods of worship, rituals, and regulation of places of worshipping and such and similar internal matters vary according to the nature of the deities installed and to the principles and rules of the Vedas, Agamas, and Sastras and according to immemorial custom and usages.

7. The Agamas and Sastras have made suitable provisions for securing the benefit of the temples to Panchamas. The proposed Bills change the wholesome and non-conflicting religious provisions in the Vedas, Agamas and Sastras.

The constitutional position has thus all along been that the Government or the Legislature have had or exercised no power of interference with the religious usages or beliefs of any community.

XI. REFORMERS' CONTENTION FOR TEMPLE ENTRY AND REPLY THERETO.

Their statement of this case is successively the positions stated below :—

1. Sastras nowhere sanction pollution or untouchability for non-caste Hindus.

2. If this exists in Sastras they are confined to individuals—Pathithas—who have committed sinful actions in this birth. Class pollution and class prohibition are unknown to Sastras.

3. If class prohibition and class pollution exist in the Sastras, they relate only to the class of 'Chandalas' and not to the communities of non-caste Hindus now denied temple entry.

4. If, however, they are inside the 'Chandalas' or untouchable class, Sastras contain provisions for removal of pollution by purificatory ceremonies, if the majority opinion is in favour of temple entry to these communities.

5. If this cannot be removed, Sastras cease to have binding force. The executive or the legislature should intervene to effect such removal, failing that, civil disobedience will follow :—

Answer to points 1, 2, 3 and 4.

A number of scriptural texts there are to show that pollution and prohibition of temple-entry to non-caste Hindus have scriptural sanction. They are discussed critically in the report of the Sastri Member Punnaseri Mr. Neelacanta Sarma, representative of Tharunanallur Nambooripad.

There are two classes of persons, one class called 'Chandalas' disqualified on account of pollution by birth, and the other called Pathithas disqualified on account of some temporal cause such as the commission of sinful acts in this birth. The latter class comprises only persons of the 4 castes, while the former comprises communities, who are outside the pale of caste.

The ascription of pollution to the latter is an occult phenomenon not readily understandable except by men who have faith in the scripture and who have developed an occult faculty. The ascription of pollution on account of moral degradation arising from the commission of sinful acts by members within the caste-fold is an easily understandable fact. Pollution by birth, though expiable by purificatory ceremonies to secure higher evolution in future births, is recognised in institutions where pollution as a matter of principle has to be recognised; for instance, in temples where religious and spiritual sentiments prevail largely. Pollution by a caste-Hindu Pathitha if expiated by purificatory ceremonies, ceases to be such in temples. This difference between the two classes is recognised in Dharma Sastras and accordingly the communities comprised in the degraded classes have been, in their respect for scriptural authority, and for age long usages, voluntarily treating themselves as outside the four Varnas and have been treated by the rest of the world. They have never claimed temple entry and had never entered caste-Hindu temples during the past 4,000 years.

As to the contention that the degraded Hindu communities excluded from temple entry, were not the persons intended by 'Chandalas' in the scriptures, the question arises from whom else the modern Panchamas have descended, who imposed on them pollution and why; why have the ancient Rishis, laid down such stern rules for their observance of pollution and prohibition of temple entry? Only one answer is possible, they have been treated as the descendants of Panchama classes from time immemorial.

As to the contention for the removal of pollution, by purificatory ceremonies there have been no instance of the use of ceremonies or Deeksha for making the whole class of Panchamas eligible for temple entry. The ceremonies for restoring fallen or degraded men to their original status found in the Sastras relate only to persons known as Pathithas. They merely restore status to a man which he had forfeited by his sinful actions in this birth, but do not create a new status for a man who has come by birth within an inferior status.

Point 5. About the intervention of Government or the Legislature.

Religious and social matters are distinct; the Government or the Legislature do not interfere and have not interfered in religious matters. A distinction is observed by the Government of India, between matters *essentially* religious and *essentially* social; this is seen from the replies already adverted to, by H.E. the Viceroy and Government member, Bombay Legislative Council. The policy of this Government has also been to the same effect. The temple entry question being essentially religious, the Government or the Legislature cannot and should not intervene.

Point 6. Threat of Civil disobedience.

This is a from of Bolshevism which no Government can tolerate. This is nothing but majority tyranny over minority right.

XII—GENERAL FEELING AMONG CASTE AND NON-CASTE HINDUS RE TEMPLE ENTRY.

The evidence of the enquiry stands thus:

Savarna population is 12 lakhs.

Avarna population is 19 lakhs.

A. SAVARNAS.—(1) Written evidence.

Copies of questionnaire were issued to 4765; answers were received from 978; in favour of temple entry, 458, and against, 520.

As per notice in the gazette, 1640 answers were received 430 for and 1210 against temple entry.

Under the organisations of 'Savarna Kshetra Udamastha Samithi' in North Travancore to mobilise public opinion since the starting of this enquiry, about 1500 answers were received, all against temple entry.

There are thus 3230 answers against temple entry; and 888 for; there is thus a majority of 2342.

(2) Oral evidence.

Notices were isssued to 1294 persons to appear before the committee to give oral evidence, including some persons who had sent written answers.

197 appeared, 160 deposing for and 37 against.

Thus so far as Savarnas are concerned under both written and oral evidence, there is a majoity of 2219 against temple entry out of 5412 persons under the two heads.

B. AVARNAS—(1) Written evidence.

Out of 1009 copies of questionnaire issued, 140 sent replies, all for the temple entry.

115 persons sent replies in response to notice in the gazette, all for entry.

(2) Oral evidence.

122 appeared and all in favour of temple entry. There is thus a total of 377 both under written and oral evidence.

Net total.

Including Savarnas and Avarnas there is a majority of 2219 against temple entry, on a total of 5789 from whom evidence has been received.

The impressionable features of this statistical evidence are the following :—

1. Of the Avarna population of 19 lakhs, only 377 persons have responded to the enquiry. This response is very poor, considering the fact that the movement has been started for their interest. The inference is that a very large majority of them about 98 per cent. whose professions are mainly, agriculture, trade and cooly labour and who constitute the body politic in a much more lasting sense than their protagonists, are quite unconcered in this movement. This is in consistence with what their accredited representatives like Dr. Ambedkar and others have been long openly voicing, viz., that what the depressed class Hindus want primarly and mainly, is not temple entry in Savarna temples, but material social and economic uplift. Mr. Ghandiji's waning influence is largely a tributed to his policy of linking temple entry question with the social and economic uplift of the Avarnas.

At any rate this poor response of Avarnas cannot be considered sufficient to support the opinion of the Committee "that the trend of opinion among non-caste Hindus is that religious worship will be more efficacious if performed from within the temple in sight of the image" or "that there is strong feeling among Avarnas in favour of temple entry."

2. Of the Savarna Hindus, Nairs who constitute nearly 9 lakhs are by a large majority aginst temple entry, 263 for and 876 against. The general impression that the Nairs are a community for temple entry is not found to be correct.

3. Vellalas who constitute 70,000 have shown their enthusiasm for Avarnas to secure 'Darsanam' in Savarna temples, 687 for and 18 against; they constitute chiefly the Non-Brahman party which passed some months ago at Nagercoil the 'Self respect Resolution' to break down the caste-system.

4. Malayali and Tamil Brahmins who make about 1½ lakhs are by a large majority against temple entry 137 for and 2342 against. This, as said above, was the result of the activity of associations in North Travancore under "Savarna Kshethra Udamastha Samithi" functioning even now, to oppose the two bills introduced in the Imperial Assembly, Temple Eentry Bill and Anti-untouchability Bill.

Another point to be noted about this evidence is that 16 persons have suggested a middle course, that is, to give temple entry to Avarnas up to Balivuttam in Savarna Temples. This is mentioned in the report as an alternative practicable proposal for consideration by a Parishad. This is too flimsy an index of public feeling, numerically at any rate, to be thought of seriously for consideration.

It is stated further in the report, in respect of the said statistical evidence, that mere numerical majority should not be relied on as index of the general feeling, but that it should be ascertained from the general impressions gathered during tours and examinations; from the opinions of educated and modernised Hindu Public; from the opinions of representatives of Savarna and Avarna communal associations, such as Samoohams, Karayogams,

Sabha etc. ; from the opinion of the educated woman class ; and also from oral evidence, thereby implying that oral evidence is to be preferred to written evidence. This opinion cannot be readily subscribed. Having collected evidence at so much trouble and expense in a form approved of or at any rate unobjected to, by the committee, it is inexpedient and unfair to discount its value. It smacks of mental preoccupation. In my view, the majority opinion gathered as the result of enquiry is a more correct and reliable index of the general feeling among Savarnas and Avarnas in this matter. '

It was to avoid such confusion or misreading of popular opinion, that Mr. Ramakrishna Jha had at first tabled an amendment *re* : the " Temple Entry Bill, for its circulation for opinion specially to the Heads of religious institutions ; secular heads and trustees or administrators of village temples, in consultation with Hindu villagers ; and Collectors of Districts for ascertaining the opinion of the lay public likely to be affected by the bill ; and not to the Arya Samagists, Brahmo Samagists and Hindu Mahasabhaites who are dissenters from Hinduism and have no faith in the temple worship. Though this was rejected and a comprehensive amendment accepted, the bill has since been circulated so as not to antagonise the spirit of the first amendment. It has been referred not only for the opinions of persons and institutions who have real interest and stake in this movement, but also for the opinions of High Court Judges, District Collectors, Select District Judges, the Heads of religious Mutts, the religious endowment Board ; and to men of repute and eminence whose opinion on such matters will count with the public and Government. It is certainly a more selective and responsible body than what this enquiry committee had traversed to get evidence from. Under such a selective method of ascertaining public feeling, it is probable that the weakness of the temple entry movement would be even more manifest than what has been disclosed by the statistics.

XIII. MAJORITY OPINION—NO GUIDE.

Granting for arguments sake that there is a majority opinion for temple entry, this is not a matter to be decided by such test. Questions of religious dogmas and usages cannot be decided by this process. As observed by judicial decisions, in cases of conflicting claims of dissident parties in a community distinguished by some religious profession, the rights of parties would be regulated by a reference to what upon enquiry might turn out to have been the religious tenets held by the community in its origin or foundation. The teaching of Bible Koran, and Vedas and Upanishads, are all even now venerated. We have not become democratic enough to detract their utility or value because we have majority to our side.

Under the White Paper scheme also, Ecclesiastical Department is an Imperial subject and Federal government and Legislatures are not allowed to interfere with it. In our Government also, the Devaswom Department had been strictly outside the pale of legislative interference. But in the recent reform of the Legislature this taboo has been slightly relaxed by conferring qualified right to the council by allowing discussion of Devaswom matter with Government sanction. Because of this departure, probably, in the Statham committee report, there was a proposal for the utilisation of Devaswom fund for educational needs of all communities without difference of religion or caste. There is a move in another direction also by a new Association called 'Devaswom League' for conserving Devaswom Fund as 'Trust fund' solely for the benefit of caste and non-caste Hindus. Thus, the Devaswom Fund provides a wide and convenient resource to indent upon for all classes of peoples. What fate awaits Devaswoms under such conflicting claims for participation of funds thereof, remains to be seen.

Year after year, to the representations of Avarna representatives at the Sree Moolam Popular Assembly, referred to in the committee's report, the Government had given considerate replies that the question of temple entry being religious, the Government could not interfere.

The same reply may, now also, be repeated, satisfying the aspirations of Avarnas for their social and religious uplift, without breaking the traditional policy of Government and without wounding the religious susceptibilities of Savarna Hindus.

XIV. PROPOSITIONS FOR SOLUTION.

As an outcome of the enquiry, 3 propositions were taken up for consideration.

First Proposition.

Caste-Hindu temples may be thrown open to non-caste Hindus without any distinction. To secure this, legislation, may be introduced to remove the disabilities imposed by customs on non-caste Hindus which prevent them from entering caste-Hindu temples.

The contentions are :—

Usages may be altered, to suit changed times and conditions; any religious dogma which does not satisfy the majority may be ignored as unessential; the pollution observance is not a religious injunction but socioreligious, of the same nature as the child marriage system in force removed by the Sarada Act; if everything is brought under religion there is no progress possible. In the States of Baroda, Kashmere, Kolaphore and Sandoor, caste Hindu temples have been thrown open since the temple entry movement began; and a caste tyranny Abolition Bill has been passed in the Baroda State.

Sanctity to the Bhimbam cannot decrease with the pollution alleged to reside in a non-caste Hindu by his entry into the temple; pollution is not generally observed outside the temples; the perpetuation of such differences only in temples is meaningless. It serves the purpose of only being exploited by the Government and the other religionists for political purposes, to grant separate electorate, separate rights and privileges to non-caste Hindus which tell against Hindu Solidarity.

On account of the inferior status assigned to non-caste Hindus by birth they become converts to other religions and thereby Hindu solidarity has been dwindling compared to the other religionists.

In this view of the reformers, there is sympathy in some legislatures based as they are on communal or other sectarian considerations. The dissenters from Hindu religion—Arya Samagists, Brahma Samagists &c., who have no faith in the temples are helping this movement. Women's movements which are gaining strength as years advance also attack social and religious distinctions based on caste or usage.

There is thus a growing volume of feeling in the state to support this change.

Reduced to concrete proposals the proposition amounts to this :—Parayas, Pallans, Pulayas, Vedans, Kuravas, Velans, Kanians, Arayans, Ezhavas, Marakans, Mukkuvans, Nulayans, Chakilians, Chemmans, Kammalans, Paravans, Sambavars, Thandans and the like should all be admitted into temples without any distinction. The restrictions on certain other classes who have now access to particular Prakarams in the temple such as carpenters, moosaries, blacksmiths, masons, washermen, barber, weaver, chetties vanians, mooppans, etc., should be removed.

Second Proposition.

No radical changes should be introduced suddenly; the rigidity of the caste usages in temples should be relaxed for the present to meet changed outlook of the people by giving admission to non-caste Hindus up to certain limits in the temples, to be determined by a Parishad. As a preliminary, to this, pollution or untouchability which is viewed as a stain by the non-caste Hindus may be abolished outside temples, without reference to the temple entry question to be decided by Parishad.

This preliminary step, it may be noted, is virtually compliance with or acceptance of the principle of anti-untouchability bill in the Imperial Assembly. The chief obstacle why the non-caste Hindus are denied entry to caste Hindu temples is pollution, which has christalised itself into age long usages. If the basis is removed the usages have no force. The legal sanction prohibiting temple entry ceases to be operative. This is exactly what the reformers aim to achieve, by the anti-untouchability bill.

3rd Proposition.

This is the view of the conservative or Sanatanist Hindus. According to them, religious and political matters should not be mixed up. There has been no interference by Government with the religious tenets or usages of Muhammadanism or Christianity. No doubt the march of events and the progress of democratic ideas, have led to the relaxation of caste restrictions in civic and social matters. No doubt, the caste system has according to western ideals of education and culture; the demerit of clogging national progress and economy, of creating the incubus of untouchables, of raising stunted issues by early marriage; of robbing Purdah women of God's life, light and air. No doubt the teachings of Hiduism doctrines of Karma, Re—Incarnation—caste system &c., have become anachronisms in the materialistic world. With all these drawbacks and demerits, caste system still maintains the field and its inevitable disintegration due to changing conditions should not be accelerated by any action on the part of the Government or the Legislature. If they intervene at all, real Dharma lies in bringing about order out of chaos by devising some means to meet the altered circumstances without losing sight of the fundamentals of religion. The whole movement, according to the view of the sanatanists, is an irreligious one calculated to destroy the whole fabric of the caste system and the institution of temples, which will eventually be reduced to mere museums of antiques. The admission of non-caste Hindus as against existing usages would virutally mean the denial of right of worship to the caste Hindus in the old conservative ways, eventually leading to the desertion of temples by them.

The sanatanist Hindus therefore suggest two alternatives to satisfy the feelings of non-caste Hindus. If they are not really satisfied with worship in their own temples, of which there are many, new temples can be built for them from the funds of the Devaswom allotment of 16 lakhs, in 2 or 3 important centres to which the caste Hindus cannot raise any objection, at which the non-caste Hindus and caste Hindus who are reformed in their ways,

In this view of the reformers, there is sympathy in some legislatures based as they are on communal or other sectarian considerations. The dissenters from Hindu religion—Arya Samagists, Brahma Samagists &c., who have no faith in the temples are helping this movement. Women's movements which are gaining strength as years advance also attack social and religious distinctions based on caste or usage.

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can go and worship side by side. This simple expedient which has also the approval of Mr. Ghandi will have the effect of raising gradually non-caste Hindus and will at the same time avoid wounding the Sanatanist feelings. And in course of time when the temples acquire the reputation for sanctity which the old temples have, the outlook of conservatives will be widened. Force cannot purify hearts. It only embitters. The reformers should have little patience and charity for the feelings of the conservatives.

If they are not willing to participate in this conciliatory move, a more effective and useful proposal is to divert half a lakh of rupees annually from Devaswom allotment to be used in any scheme of socio-religious character for the benefit of non-caste Hindus in accordance with a programme approved by the Government, in consultation with the Protector of Depressed Classes. This Officer has made a proposal similar to this in his report to the Committee. There can be no objection to this diversion. The Government have been receiving Vazhivadoos from the non-caste Hindus and giving grants to some unaided Devaswoms, including some temples maintained by non-caste Hindus. Also, the Government have been reducing Devaswom allotment by one or two lakhs according to the exigencies of finance. There is thus no rigid rule relating to allotment, expenditure, or diversion. Within the limits of powers of trustees, the Government can make such adjustment according to their discretion. The possible objection that Government as trustees, cannot sanction such appropriation is more technical, in view of the fact that even material reductions have been made by Government in the past. For the federation of 12 lakhs of Savarnas and 19 lakhs of Avarnas as one community, such a diversion can by no means be called as beyond the powers of trustees. To bring about federation in India under the Whitepaper Scheme, 10½ crores of rupees of additional expenditure for creating a new Province from the income of other Provinces has been considered an expedient and politic step in view of the importance of the subject. The appropriation proposed furnishes a stable basis for achieving a permanent settlement and will cement the alliance of Savarnas

and Avaranas to the benefit of both, without embarrassing Government. This can be effected either by a Government communique or by amending the Royal Proclamation, if necessary. This will be a permanent reform for the uplift of the depressed class Hindus.

XV. Pros and cons of the three propositions.

1. The first two propositions combining caste and non-caste Hindus by allowing temple entry are the violations of age-long usages ; against Sastric injunctions ; against judicial decisions and against constitutional policy of Government and against majority opinion.

2. The caste Hindus have exclusive right of worship as sole beneficiaries while the non-caste Hindus can only worship from outside the temple prakaram.

3. The existing temples have been put up according to the Regulation contained in the Sastras by Hindus having faith in such Regulations for the benefit of caste Hindus.

4. The Government are only the trustees and they have no power to alter the usages.

5. The Government in Sovereign capacity are pledged to a policy of strict neutrality in religious matters and have no jurisdiction to introduce any changes in the religious usages and beliefs of any community.

6. The implications of this temple entry movement are so wide as to effect the religious usages in regard to charitable institutions and burning ghats reserved for the various caste Hindu Communities in different parts of the country and various other communal institutions so far governed by rights and obligations strictly based on custom.

7. Pollution observed in temples is an Article of Faith based on the occult knowledge of Sastras and the sanctity of temples rests on this foundation. Pollution in some form or other exists also in other religions and is not peculiar to Hindu temples.

8. The rites, ceremonies etc., in temples regarding consecration, pooja worship etc., have occult significance which only men who have faith in Agama sastras can appreciate

9. If pollution is viewed merely as a social convention and if it is dispensed with according to the opinion of the majority, other pollutions which are founded on the same religious basis will cease to have any significance. This will lead to loss of faith in temples.

10. Matters connected with religious usages and beliefs do not depend upon the opinion or will of any majority. This will be tantamount to majority tyranny over minority right.

11. The admission of non-caste Hindus may eventually result in the desertion of temples both by caste and non-caste Hindus after some time, when the novelty has worn away.

12. The non-caste Hindus who come under 25 denominations have their own temples, own Gods, modes of worship, &c. They will not become united by the Caste Hindu temples being thrown open to them all. They will continue as distinct denominations as heretofore.

13. The throwing open of Caste Hindu temples to non-caste Hindus will not create any social or religious equality to the latter with the caste Hindus.

14. The programme for the uplift of the non-caste Hindus can be worked out separately and independently of the temple entry question.

Viewed from these stand points, the proposition 1 and 2 allowing temple entry to non-caste Hindus will prove a revolutionary change undermining Hindusim and Hindu Society and causing a permanent estrangement of feeling between caste and non-caste Hindus.

On the other hand the solution, by diversion of half a lakh of rupees from the Devaswom allotment for the uplift of the depressed class Hindus is a definite, practical, and permanent

arrangement cementing caste and non-caste Hindus as one community, the question of abolition of untouchability and of prohibition of temple entry interconnected with each other being left for decision of Parishad of Vedic and Sastraic scholars.

This is a satisfactory method of ensuring mutual good feeling among the disaffected denominations of Hindus under existing conditions.

This solution will not disrupt the homogeniety between Travancore and the rest of Kerala, the temples in which are governed by the same Agama Sastras in respect of rituals, rites, worship pollution, etc.

This solution is in deference to the policy ;of the Government of India which had allowed facilities to Mr. Ghandi while in prison to work for Harijan uplift.

In the opinion of the Government of India, a distinction is observed in the legislature between" matters "essentially religious' and 'essentially social' or political". His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Sanatanist deputation 'against the temple entry Bill and 'the Bombay Government Member's reply on the resolution for throwing open the caste Hindu temples to non-caste Hindus support this inference. To this discriminative policy, the suggested solution subserves.

This solution is in accordance with the pronouncement of our Gracious Highness in the State Banquet speech in connection with the Viceregal visit. "May I reiterate my determination to follow my predecessor's example bearing in mind on the one hand the monorchical principle which has its undoubted value in the changing and shifting conditions of the modern world and on the other my obligation to treat equally and equitably all classes and communities committed to my care."

With the inauguration of the new Constitution for India under the White Paper Scheme with autonomous powers to the Federal units, Government and Legislature—it is very likely that religious beliefs and usages of a community will be too

often dragged by composite legislatures when the present discrimination into '*essentially* religious' and '*essentially* social' will be further attenuated owing to pressure of democratic sentiments. It is better therefore to be forearmed by setting this perplexing question of temple entry at rest for the time being by a declaration of policy that religion and social questions should not be allowed to be mixed up.

XVI. Closing remarks.

Spiritual truths enshrined in the Vedas and Upanishads are the glory and pride of Aryan civilisation and are the subject matter of research work in Continental countries. In America, experiment is carried on in the form of an institute for Vedic and allied research. In Germany, various experiments are being conducted for the attainment of truth on certain lines parallel to Sanatanism. In England, psychic research and other forms of work are being carried on by various institutes and guilds. According to a press report, in the remodelled University of Turkey, stress is being laid on the teaching of Hindu Philosophy and Sanskrit. Four European scholars have been appointed to translate the Vedas and other philosophical works from Sanskrit to the Turkish language. Is it not a suicidal step that Hindus should flout the doctrines and creeds of Hindu scriptures which have stood the attacks of several invasions of alien culture for the past five thousand years simply because, modern democracy wants changes to be made? It is the Dharma of Hindu Sovereigns who rule over one-third of this sub-continent with three-fifth of the population thereof, to maintain unimpaired the solidarity and sanctity of the Hindu Religion, by standing as a bulwark against the inroads of social and political reformers into the tenets and creeds thereof, at the same time satisfying the aspirations of Avarnas with due provision for their elevation—social and religious—on their own lines of development.

The solution suggested, by providing an item in the Devaswom Budget of about half a lakh of rupees for the socio-religious uplift of depressed class Hindus, out of the allotment of sixteen

lakhs, has all the advantage of combining caste and non-caste Hindus as one community while at the same time religious susceptabilities of the two classes will be undisturbed. This is a golden mean between the extreme view of reformers and the conservative view of orthodox Hindus. It is as it were, a small Ottava Pact between caste and non-caste Hindus in Socio-religious field.

S. K. MAHADEVA IYER,
Member,
Temple Entry Enquiry Committee.

Trivandrum,
29-5-1109.

Supplementary Note.

The caste-system of the Hindus is a very ancient social institution. It had its days of utility and advantage to the community as a whole. It unified in a way the several races which inhabited India at the time of its evolution. It helped the intellectual, moral and material progress of the nation. It maintained and developed the arts and industries of the country. It kept prices and wages at a normal level. While all this may be conceded in favour of the system before it attained its present rigidity, although there is another side to the picture from the view-point of the depressed classes, it seems to me that, even according to our sacred literature, it has no Divine sanction behind it, rendering it immutable and incapable of adjustment to suit the needs of a different age.

2. There are numerous epic and puranic texts in support of the natural and more reasonable view that this compartmental division of mankind into classes on the basis of caste was not in existence at the beginning of creation. In the Uttarakanda of the Ramayana, Brahma informs Indra that there was only one *Varna* at that time

അമരേന്ദ്ര! മയാ ബഹ്വ്യഃ
പ്രജാസ്സൃഷ്ടാസ്തദാ പ്രഭോ!
ഏകവർണ്ണാസ്സമാ ഭാഷാ
ഏകരൂപാശ്ച സർവ്വശഃ
താസാം നാസ്തി വിശേഷോ ഹി
ദർശനേ ലക്ഷണേപി വാ.

"अमरेन्द्र! मया बह्व्यः
प्रजास्सृष्टास्तदा प्रभो!।
एकवर्णास्समा भाषा
एकरूपाश्च सर्वशः॥
तासां नास्ति विशेषो हि
दर्शने लक्षणेपि वा।"

(Ramayana, VII, Chap. 30.)

In the Santiparva of the Mahabharatha, Bhrgu tells Bharadvaja that only the Brahmins were created at the begining and that the other Varnas came into existance as a result of lapses in their conduct.

"ന വിശേഷോസ്തി വർണ്ണാനാം
സർവ്വം ബ്രാഹ്മമിദം ജഗൽ;
ബ്രഹ്മണാ പൂർവ്വസൃഷ്ടം ഹി
കർമ്മഭിർവ്വർണ്ണതാം ഗതം
കാമഭോഗപ്രിയാസ്തീക്ഷ്ണാ
ക്രോധനാഃ പ്രിയസാഹസാഃ
ത്യക്തസ്വധർമ്മാ രക്താംഗാ-
സ്തേ ദ്വിജാ രക്തതാം ഗതാഃ ;
ഗോഭ്യോ വൃത്തിം സമാസ്ഥായ
പീതാഃ കൃഷ്യനുജീവിനഃ
സ്വധർമ്മാൻ നാനുതിഷ്ഠന്തി
തേ ദ്വിജാ വൈശ്യതാം ഗതാഃ
ഹിംസാനൃതപ്രിയാ ലുബ്ധാ-
സ്സർവ്വകർമ്മോപജീവിനഃ
കൃഷ്ണാശ്ശൌചപരിഭ്രഷ്ടാ-
സ്തേ ദ്വിജാശ്ശൂദ്രതാം ഗതാഃ;
ഇത്യേതൈഃ കർമ്മഭിർവ്വ്യസ്താ
ദ്വിജാ വർണ്ണാന്തരം ഗതാഃ".

"न विशेषोऽस्ति वर्णानां
सर्वं ब्राह्ममिदं जगत् ;
ब्रह्मणा पूर्वसृष्टं हि
कर्मभिर्वर्णतां गतम् ॥
कामभोगप्रियास्तीक्ष्णाः
क्रोधनाः प्रियसाहसाः ।
त्यक्तस्वधर्मा रक्ताङ्गा-
स्ते द्विजा रक्ततां गताः ॥
गोभ्यो वृत्तिं समास्थाय
पीताः कृष्यनुजीविनः ।
स्वधर्मान् नानुतिष्ठन्ति
ते द्विजा वैश्यतां गताः ॥
हिंसानृतप्रिया लुब्धा-
स्सर्वकर्मोपजीविनः ।
कृष्णाश्शौचपरिभ्रष्टा-
स्ते द्विजाश्शूद्रतां गताः ।
इत्येतैः कर्मभिर्व्यस्ता
द्विजा वर्णान्तरं गताः ।"

(Mahabharata, Santiparva, Chapter 188).

These verses are found repeated in an analogous connection in the Narada-Mandhatr-samvada of Padmapurana. In the Vayupurana we come across the statement that in the Krtayuga there was no caste system nor any distinction of high and low among men.

"വർണ്ണാശ്രമവ്യവസ്ഥാശ്ച
ന തദാസൻ ന സങ്കരഃ
അനിച്ഛാദ്വേഷയുക്താസ്തേ
വർത്തയന്തി പരസ്പരം.
തുല്യരൂപായുഷസ്സർവ്വാ
അധമോത്തമവർജ്ജിതാഃ".

"वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थाश्च
न तदासन् न सङ्करः ।
अनिच्छाद्वेषयुक्तास्ते
वर्तयन्ति परस्परम् ॥
तुल्यरूपायुषस्सर्वा
अधमोत्तमवर्जिताः ।"

(Vayupurana, I, Chapter V.)

It is stated in the Bhagavatapurana also that there was only one Varna at the commencement.

"ഏക ഏവ പുരാ വേദഃ
പ്രണവസ്സർവ്വവാങ്മയഃ
ദേവോ നാരായണോ നാന്യ-
ഏകോഗ്നിർവ്വർണ്ണ ഏവ ച."

"एक एव पुरा वेदः
प्रणवस्सर्ववाङ्मयः ।
देवो नारायणो नान्य
एकोग्निर्वर्ण एव च ॥"

(Srimadbhagavata, IX, 14).

The Mahabharata mentions that the several Varnas were created by Manu, while the Matsyapurana attributes that act to Mahabali and the Harivamsa to Daksha.

3. In the light of the facts disclosed by the above references it need hardly be added that the statement occuring in the Purushasukta hymn of the tenth Mandala of the Rigveda "ബ്രാഹ്മണോസ്യ മുഖമാസീൽ, ബാഹൂ രാജന്യഃ കൃതഃ, ഊരൂ തദസ്യ യദ്വൈശ്യഃ പത്ഭ്യാം ശൂദ്രോ അജായത."

"ब्राह्मणोऽस्य मुखमासीत्; बाहू राजन्यः कृतः; ऊरू तदस्य यद्वैश्यः; पद्भ्यां शूद्रो अजायत"

is only a metaphorical representation of the viratpurusha, concieved as a Yagnapasu or sacrificial animal in that passage. The description in the Bhagavadgita that the several varnas are evolved on account of the diversity of their mental qualities and occupation 'ചാതുർവർണ്യം മയാ സൃഷ്ടം ഗുണകർമ്മവിഭാഗശഃ'.

'चातुर्वर्ण्यं मया सृष्टं गुणकर्मविभागशः ।

is correct. No undue emphasis need be laid upon the words 'by me'(മയാ मया) in the above passage to show that Chaturvarnya is a Devine institution, in view of the fact, that in the Vishnupurana, time, which is the producer of such changes in society, is itself described as part and parcel of Mahavishnu.

"തതഃ കാലാത്മകോ യോസൗ
സ ചാംശഃ കഥിതോ ഹരേഃ
സ പാതയത്യഘം ഘോര-
മല്പമല്പാല്പസാരവത്"

"ततः कालात्मको योसौ
स चांशः कथितो हरेः
स पातयत्यघं घोर-
मल्पमल्पाल्पसारवत् ॥"

4. Historical researches have proved conclusively that the Aryan community was originally composed of only a single Varna, known by the name Aryas, as opposed to the Dasas and Dasyus who were the earlier occupants. if not the aborgines, of India. When ritual and sacrifice claimed closer attention at the hands of the community, a separate class had to look after them and they become the Brahmins. Another class had to be set apart for fighting and conquest and they become the Rajanyas, while the common people engaged in agriculture, commerce and other peaceful, non-religious occupations, became the Vaisyas. Those Members of the community already engaged in menial service together with those subjugated, domestigated and more or less Aryanised, became the Sudras, while those remaining outside the Aryan fold on account of their intractable nature and uncleanly habits or other circumstances of a like characte1, were treated as Nishadas or Panchamas. The four-fold division of the Aryan commnnity was established during the Yajurvedic period. The Vishnupurana confirms this view and states that the differentation of Varnas was brought into existence in connection with the performance of Yagas.

"യജ്ഞനിഷ്പത്തയേ സർവ്വ-
മേതദ് ബ്രഹ്മാ ചകാര വൈ
ചാതുർവ്വർണ്ണ്യം മഹാഭാഗ!
യജ്ഞസാധനമുത്തമം."

"यज्ञनिष्पत्तये सर्व-
मेतद् ब्रह्मा चकार वै ।
चातुर्वर्ण्यं महाभाग !
यज्ञसाधनमुत्तमम् ॥"

The Puranas trace the origin of the Nishadas to Vena, a king of the lunar dynasty, who is also said to have been responsible for Varnasankara. The Vedic characteristics of caste are heredity, the pursuit of a common occupation and restriction on intermarriage. Anuloma marriages were looked upon with favour until the time of the great Smritikara, Yagnavalkya (3rd century A. D.) who objected to it on the ground that it was oneself that was being born as ones' son.

"യദുച്യതേ ദ്വിജാതീനാം
ശൂദ്രാദ്ദാരപരിഗ്രഹം
നൈതന്മമ മതം യസ്മാ-
ത്തത്രായം ജായതേ സ്വയം"

"यदुच्यते द्विजातीनां
शूद्राद्दारपरिग्रहम् ।
नैतन्मम मतं यस्मा-
त्तत्रायं जायते स्वयम् ॥"

The later theory of the origin of Sankarajatis or mixed castes as a result of intermarriage; elaborated with almost scientific precision by Manu and other Smrithi writers, does not find any place in vedic literature,

5. Once there arose diversity of castes and rigidity of occupation, there were occasional inter-caste strifes, and rules had accordingly to be framed to prevent mutual encroachment. The Vishnupurana says:—

"സംസിദ്ധായാന്തു വാർത്തായാം
പ്രജാസ്സൃഷ്ട്വാ പ്രജാപതിഃ
മര്യാദാം സ്ഥാപയാമാസ
യഥാസ്ഥാനം യഥാഗുണം
വർണ്ണാനാമാശ്രമാണാഞ്ച
ധർമ്മാൻ ധർമ്മഭൃതാം വര!

ലോകാംശ്ച സർവ്വവർണ്ണാനാം
സമ്യക് ധർമ്മാനുപാലനം."

'संसिद्धायान्तु वार्तायां
प्रजास्सृष्ट्वा प्रजापतिः ।
मर्यादां स्थापयामास
यथास्थानं यथागुणम् ॥
वर्णानामाश्रमाणाञ्च
धर्मान् धर्मभृतां वर !।
लोकांश्च सर्ववर्णानां
सम्यक् धर्मानुपालनम् ॥"

Several kings in the puranas are described as the establishers of the fourfold system of caste ചാതുർവ്വർണ്ണ്യപ്രതിഷ്ഠാപക 'चातुर्वर्ण्यप्रतिष्ठापक') It was laid down that, if Svadharma or a persons' duty as ordained in respect of his caste, was performed, it would procure the highest merit for him, and kings took upon themselves the responsibility of maintaining unimpaired the arrangements for the preservation of society in that order. To quote rhe Vishnupurana again:

"സംസ്ഥിതൌ പ്രകൃതായാന്തു
ചാതുർവ്വർണ്ണ്യസ്യ സർവ്വശഃ
പുനഃ പ്രജാഃ കൃതാ മോഹാൽ
താൻ ധർമ്മാൻ നാന്വപാലയൻ.
വർണ്ണധർമ്മൈരജീവന്തോ
വ്യരുദ്ധ്യന്ത പരസ്പരം.
ബ്രഹ്മാ തമർത്ഥം ബുദ്ധ്വാ തു
യാഥാതഥ്യേന വൈ പ്രഭുഃ
ക്ഷത്രിയാണാം ബലം ദണ്ഡം
യുദ്ധമാജീവമാദിശൽ."

"संस्थितौ प्रकृतायान्तु
चातुर्वर्ण्यस्य सर्वशः ।
पुनः प्रजाः कृता मोहात्
तान् धर्मान् नान्वपालयन् ॥"
वर्णधर्मैरजीवन्तो
व्यरुद्ध्यन्त परस्परम् ।
ब्रह्मा तमर्थं बुध्वा तु
याथातथ्येन वै प्रभुः ।
क्षत्रियाणां बलं दण्डं
युद्धमाजीवमादिशत् ॥"

6. The institution of caste was little more than a political and economic arrangement at the commencement. That arrangement, however, could not unfortunately help becoming a vertical one and those down in the ladder. particularly the Chandalas, suffered in consequence. The theory of Karma, which is one of the special gifts of Hinduism to humanity and which, rightly understood, is a wholesome incentive to self-improvement, now became intertwind with Varnadharma. According to the karma theory, to quote professor Das-gupta, " Whatever action is done by an individual leaves behind it some sort of potency which has the force to ordain for him joy or sorrow in the future according as it is good or bad. When the fruits of the actions are such that they cannot be enjoyed in the present or in a human life, the individual has to take another birth as a man or any other being in order to suffer them". The Chandogyopanishat declared that birth as a Chandala is a result of bad karma in previous lives and the Dharmasutra writers faithfully adhered to that teaching. Gautama, the earliest of the Sutrakaras, whose age may be ascribed to the 6th century B. C, lays down that the lowest class is sinful 'അന്ത്യഃ പാപിഷ്ഠഃ', 'अन्त्यः पापिष्ठः' that birth in a particular caste is a necessary consequence of his past karma ('വിത്തബന്ധുകർമ്മജാതിവിദ്യാവയാംസി മാന്യാനി പരബലീയാംസി' 'वित्तबन्धुकर्मजातिविद्यावयांसि मान्यानि परबलीयांसि') and that it is only by the members of each varna adhering to the darma prescribed for them that they can secure birth in a higher caste in after-life 'വർണ്ണാശ്രമാഃ സ്വസ്വധർമ്മനിഷ്ഠാഃ പ്രേത്യ കർമ്മഫലമനുഭൂയ തതശ്ശേഷേണ വിശിഷ്ടദേശജാതികുലരൂപായുശ്ശ്രുതചിത്തവിത്തസുഖമേധസോ പ്രതിപദ്യന്തേ വर्णाश्रमाः स्वस्वधर्मनिष्ठाः प्रेत्य कर्मफलमनुभूय ततश्शेषेण विशिष्टदेशजातिकुलरूपायुःश्रुतचित्तवित्तसुखमेधसो प्रतिपद्यन्ते.'

Apastamba, whose lowest age is the 4th century B. C, repeats the same observations in other words when he says:— "തതഃ പരിവൃത്തൗ കർമ്മഫലശേഷേണ ജാതിം, രൂപം, വർണ്ണം, ബലം, മേധാം, പ്രജ്ഞാം, ദ്രവ്യാണി, ധർമ്മാനുഷ്ഠാനമിതി പ്രതിപദ്യന്തേ" and "ധർമ്മചര്യയാ ജഘന്യോ വർണ്ണഃ പൂർവ്വം വർണ്ണമാപദ്യതേ ജാതിപരിവൃത്തൗ; അധർമ്മചര്യയാ പൂർവ്വോ വർണ്ണോ ജഘന്യം വർണ്ണമാപദ്യതേ ജാതിപരിവൃത്തൗ." "ततः परिवृत्तौ र्मफलशेषेण जातिं, रूपं, वर्णं, बलं, मेधां, प्रज्ञां, द्रव्याणि, धर्मानुष्ठानमिति प्रतिपद्यन्ते." "धर्मचर्यया जघन्यो वर्णः पूर्वं वर्णमापद्यते जातिपरिवृत्तौ; अधर्मचर्यया पूर्वो वर्णो जघन्यं वर्णमापद्यते जातिपरिवृत्तौ."

7. Manu's classification of castes was an ideal one. He found certain classes outside the Chaturvarnya pursuing certain occupations, and forthwith proceeded to prepare an elaborate list of those classes, tracing their origin in every case to the mixed union of members of the four original varnas. One result of such classification was that every community in India at that time was treated as Aryan. Another result was that the embargo on pratiloma marriages became more rigorous since the castes occupying the lowest position in society were declared to be the off-spring of such marriages. Yamasmriti speaks of three classes of Chandalas, viz., those born of Arudhapatitas, those born of Brahmin women by union with Sudras and those born of Sagotra alliances.

"ആരൂഢപതിതാജാതോ
ബ്രാഹ്മണ്യാം ശൂദ്രജസ്തു യഃ
ചണ്ഡാലൗ താവുഭൗ പ്രോക്തൗ
സഗോത്രാച്ച ജായതേ."

"आरूढपतिताजातो
ब्राह्मण्यां शूद्रजस्तु यः ।
चण्डालौ तावुभौ प्रोक्तौ
सगोत्राद्यश्च जायते ॥"

The quota that could have been contributed by these sources must indeed have been very little, especially in view of the fact that the severest punishment was prescribed in the event of a Sudra contracting sexual union with a Brahmin woman. Vasishta says: "ശൂദ്രശ്ചേദ് ബ്രാഹ്മണീമുപഗച്ഛേദ്വീരണൈർവേഷ്ട-
യിത്വാ ശൂദ്രമഗ്നൗ പ്രാസ്യേത്; ബ്രാഹ്മണ്യാഃശിരസി വപനം കാരയിത്വാ
സർപ്പിഷാഭ്യജ്യ നഗ്നാം കൃഷ്ണഖരമാരോപ്യ മഹാപഥമനുസംവ്രാജയേത്".

"शूद्रश्चेद् ब्राह्मणीमुपगच्छेद्वीरणैर्वेष्टयित्वा शूद्रमग्नौ प्रास्येत्; ब्राह्मण्याश्शिरसि वपनं कारयित्वा सर्पिषाभ्यज्य नग्नां कृष्णखरमारोप्य महापथमनुसंव्राजयेत्."

The bulk of Chandalas came from non-Aryan communities, kept outside the Aryan pale for political and other reasons, as explained already.

8. In the Yagas, Devas were believed to partake the sacrificial offeringr, and hence the ceremonies in connection with them had to be performed in an atmosphere of obsolute physical and mental

purity. The Sruti lays special emphasis on such purity :"ശുചി മധുരം ദേവാ ജുഷന്തി; ശുചികാമാ ഹി ദേവാശ്ശുചയശ്ച; തദേഷാഭി പതതി; ശുചീവോഹവ്യാ മരുതശ്ശുചീനാം; ഋതേന സത്യമൃതസാപ ആയൻ ശുചിജന്മാനഃ ശുചയഃ പാവകാഃ". "शुचिमधुरं देवा जुषन्ति; शुचिकामा हि देवाश्शुचयश्च; तदेषाभिपतति; शुचीवोहव्या मरुतश्शुचीनां ऋतेन सत्यमृतसाप आयन्; शुचिजन्मानः शुचयः पावकाः." sacrificial fire 'Vitanagni' had to be maintained in an unpolluted condition, and the Brahmin who had to perform the Yaga was obliged to keep himself in a state of similar purity. This accounts for the origin of distance pollution, the first distinct pronouncement in respect of which we find in Brihaspati's Smriti.

9. The term 'Chandalas' at this time denoted only one of the lowest classes of society, the members of which were employed as executioners and scavengers. The word is derived from the natural proneness of that savage community to be angry or from their wearing gruesome ornaments. Their appearance, occupation etc., are described in chapter X of Manusmriti. That passage has been extracted in our report. Itsing, a Chinese traveller, writing in the 4th century of the Christian era, describes: "Those who clear away filth have to strike sticks while going about in token of their approach. When one by mistake touches them, he washes himself and his garments thoroughly." There are also references to distance population in the Buddhist Jataka stories which are of an earlier date.

10. When the institution of temples came into existence in the 4th century B. C., it was declared that they were only Yagnasalas for public worship. The earlist Agamas now existent cannot be ascribed to any period earlier than the 4th century of the Christian era. They describe the worship offered in the temples as 'പരാർത്ഥയജനം' sacrifice for others, as opposed to 'സ്വാർത്ഥയജനം' sacrifice on behalf of oneself in one's home, which was the pre-Budhistic form of Aryan worship. In the Suprabhedagama it is stated:

"തദേവ ദിവ്യം പ്രോക്ത-
മാത്മാർത്ഥഞ്ച പരാർത്ഥകം,
ക്ഷണികേ ചലചിത്തേ ച
സമസ്തേഷാം ശ്രേയസേ ച,

കൌതുകേ ഭക്തിചിത്രേ വാ
ആത്മാർത്ഥേനമാരഭേൽ.
ഗ്രാമേ ദൃഷ്ട്വാഥവാന്യേഷു
ശിവധാമനി നിർമ്മിതേ
തേഷു സ്ഥാവരലിംഗേഷു
പരാർത്ഥം യജനം സ്മൃതം."

"तदपि द्विविधं प्रोक्त-
मात्मार्थञ्च परार्थकम् ।
क्षणिके चललिङ्गे च
स्थण्डिले मण्डलेपि च ॥
कौतुके भक्तिचित्रे वा
आत्मार्थेनेनमारभेत् ।
ग्रामे दृष्ट्वाथवान्येषु
शिवधामनि निर्मिते ॥
तेषु स्थावरलिङ्गेषु
परार्थं यजनं स्मृतम् ।"

(Suprabhedagama, Sivarchanavidhipatala.)

The chief priest is termed Acharya and the other priests Ritviks. Purushottama-samhita says that the flag-staff in a temple represents the Yupa in a Yagasala.

"വൈഷ്ണവേ ച മഹായജ്ഞേ
സ്ഥാപയേൽ ധ്വജമുത്തമം
യഥൈവ വൈദികേ യൂപേ
ശ്രുതിദൃഷ്ടം വിചക്ഷണഃ
യാജ്ഞികൈശ്ച മഹാവൃക്ഷൈഃ
കാരയേൽ ധ്വജമുത്തമം."

"वैष्णवे च महायज्ञे
स्थापयेद् ध्वजमुत्तमम् ।
यथैव वैदिके यूपे
श्रुतिदृष्टं विचक्षणः ।
याज्ञिकैश्च महावृक्षैः
कारयेद् ध्वजमुत्तमम् ॥"

In this connection it is necessary to remember that a Hindu temple is not intended for congregational worship, that it is a building where the image of the Diety is enshrined, and that that Deity has to be propitiated by rites performed and offerings made, not by the votaries themselves, but by the ordained priests

acting on their behalf. Hence all the rules of sanctity applying to the sacrificial fire came to be extended to the images consecrated in temples, and the entry into a temple of any member of a community kept out of the sacrificial fire constituted a *Nimitta* or an occasion for the performance of a purificatory ceremony. In the words of the Vishnusamhita :

"വിതാനാഗ്നിനിഭം വിഷ്ണോ-
ർബിംബമുൽപാതദൂഷിതം;
അകൃതായാം തു നിഷ്കൃത്യാ
മപൂജ്യം സർവഥാ ബുധൈഃ;
വിലംബനേ തു നിഷ്കൃത്യാ-
വിനശ്യേദ്ദേവസാന്നിധിഃ."

"वितानाग्निनिभं विष्णो-
र्बिम्बमुत्पातदूषितम् ।
अकृतायां तु निष्कृत्या-
मपूज्यं सर्वथा बुधैः ॥
विलम्बने तु निष्कृत्या
विनश्येद्देवसान्निधिः ।"

(Vishnusamhita, 25th patala.)

11. In the course of our enquiry, there were interesting discussions as to whether the Deity in a temple is worshipped as a Brahmana or a Kshatriya. As far as my acquaintance with the Agamic literature goes, the Deity is worshipped neither as a Brahmana nor as a Kshatriya, but as Isvara, the lord of the Universe. The Vishnusamhita says :

"ലോകാനുഗ്രഹഹേത്വർത്ഥം
സ്ഥിരീഭവ സുഖായ നഃ
സാന്നിധ്യം ച സദാ ദേവ!
പ്രത്യഹം പരിവർത്തയ."

"लोकानुग्रहहेत्वर्थं
स्थिरीभव सुखाय नः ।
सान्निध्यं च सदा देव!
प्रत्यहं परिवर्तय ॥

ധ്യാതാ തു നിഷ്കളം വിഷ്ണും
സകലം ഭാവയേത്തതഃ
ആകാശം തസ്യ മൂർത്തിസ്സ്യാത്
പൃഥിവീ തസ്യ പീഠികാ.

വിഗ്രഹം കല്പയേത്തസ്യ
തേജസഃ പരമാണുഭിഃ."

ध्यात्वा तु निष्कलं विष्णुं
सकलं भावयेत्ततः ।
आकाशं तस्य मूर्तिः स्यात्
पृथिवी तस्य पीठिका ॥
विग्रहं कल्पयेत्तस्य
तेजसः परमाणुभिः ।" etc.

(Vishnusamhita, 18th patala.)

Similar descriptions are to be found in other Agamas also.

12. No record has come to light to show that the classes which are denied entry into temples at present were allowed such entry at any time in the past. Even in the days of the Mahabharata, the Svapachas had their own temples, as will be seen from the passage

"ഉലൂകപക്ഷിധ്വനിഭി-
ർദ്ദേവതായതനൈർവൃതം."

"उलूकपक्षिध्वनिभि-
र्दैवतायतनैर्वृतम् ।"

in chapter 141 of the Santiparva. The Hindu temples were meant for the benefit of every community, including the lowest in the social scale. In the Sutrasamhita of the Skandapurana it is stated:

"അന്യേഷാമപി സർവ്വേഷാം
നരാണാം മുനിപുംഗവാഃ
പൂജാ ദേവാലയം ദൃഷ്ട്വാ
പ്രണാമസ്തത്ര കീർത്തിതഃ."

"अन्येषामपि सर्वेषां
नराणां मुनिपुङ्गवाः ।
पजा देवालयं दृष्ट्वा
प्रणामस्तत्र कीर्तितः ॥"

in his gloss 'Tatparyadipika' on this Samhita Madhava explains the term 'അന്യേഷാം' 'अन्येषां' or others as Sankarajatis, in which category even Chandalas are included by Smriti writers. Of course, only those who followed the occupation of executioners

and scavengers were chandalas according to the Smritis. When in the 16th century of the Christian era, the Smartas of Kerala, such as Nilakantha Yogiyar and Mahishamangalam Namputiri, found that only the Chandalas and Svapachas came within the ambit of the prohibition to temple entry as enumerated in works like the Vishnusamhita which furnished the main basis for the Tantrasamuchchaya,

"ചണ്ഡാലശ്വപചൈഃ സ്പൃഷ്ടേ
പ്രാസാദേ ബിംബ ഏവ വാ
അർച്ചാദ്രവ്യേ ച സംസ്പൃഷ്ടേ
ജലസംപ്രോക്ഷണാദികം
പഞ്ചഷട്സപ്തവാരാണി
മഹാസ്നാനം ദ്വിജാർച്ചനം"

"चण्डालश्वपचैः स्पृष्टे
प्रासादे बिम्ब एव वा ।
अर्चाद्रव्ये च संस्पृष्टे
जलसम्प्रोक्षणादिकम् ॥"
पञ्चषट्सप्तवाऽहानि
महास्नानं द्विजार्चनम् ।"

(Vishnusamhita, 28th patala).

and that the Vimarsini, a commentary on Tantrasamuchchaya, referred only to Chandalas and others ("ചണ്ഡാലാദീനാം ഗോപുരാന്തഃ പ്രവേശഃ", "चण्डालादीनां गोपुरादन्तः प्रवेशः" they evolved an elaborate definition for that word, so as to embrace every class which was treated as unapproachable in their time, in spite of the fact that even the communities which were described as Chandalas in the Smritis had left off their traditional occupation by that time and betaken themselves to other callings. I need hardly add that there are no Chandalas anywhere in Kerala at present answering to the description given in chapter X of the Manusmriti.

13. In the olden days, Chandalas could easily be distinguished by their behaviour in addition to their dress and ornaments. The Srimadbhagavata says :

"അശൗചമനൃതം സ്തേയം
നാസ്തിക്യം ശുഷ്കവിഗ്രഹഃ
കാമഃ ക്രോധശ്ച തർഷശ്ച
സ്വഭാവോऽന്തേവസായിനാം."

"अशौचमनृतं स्तेयं
नास्तिक्यं शुष्कविग्रहः ।
कामः क्रोधश्च तर्षश्च
स्वभावोऽन्तेवसायिनाम् ॥"

(Srimadbhagavata, XI,—17).

Manu points out

"അനാര്യതാ നിഷ്ഠുരതാ
ക്രൂരതാ നിഷ്ക്രിയാത്മതാ
പുരുഷം വ്യഞ്ജയന്തീഹ
ലോകേ കലുഷയോനിജം."

"अनार्यता निष्ठुरता
क्रूरता निष्क्रियात्मता ।
परुषं व्यञ्जयन्तीह
लोके कलुषयोनिजम् ॥"

(Manu, Chapter X.)

Although this was true in a general way, Varnasankara had set in even in the days of the Mahabharata. Yudhishthira says to Nahusha in the Vanaparva:

"ജാതിരത്ര മഹാസർപ്പ!
മനുഷ്യത്വേ മഹാമതേ!
സങ്കരാത് സർവ്വവർണ്ണാനാം
ദുഷ്പരീക്ഷ്യേതി മേ മതിഃ."

"जातिरत्र महासर्प !
मनुष्यत्वे महामते ! ।
सङ्करात् सर्ववर्णानां
दुष्परीक्ष्येति मे मतिः ॥"

(Vanaparva, chapter 182.)

Mandhata asks Narada in Padmapurana:

"ചാതുർവർണ്ണ്യസ്യ വർണ്ണേന
യദി വർണ്ണോ വിഭജ്യതേ
സർവ്വേഷാം ഖലു വർണ്ണാനാം
ദൃശ്യതേ വർണ്ണസങ്കരഃ"

കാമഃ ക്രോധോ ഭയം ലോഭ-
ശ്ശോകശ്ചിന്താ ക്ഷുധാശ്രമഃ
സർവ്വേഷാഞ്ച പ്രഭവതി
കസ്മാദ്വർണ്ണോ വിഭജ്യതേ?"

"चातुर्वर्ण्यस्य वर्णेन
यदि वर्णो विभज्यते ।
सर्वेषां खलु वर्णानां
दृश्यते वर्णसकरः ॥
कामः क्रोधो भयं लोभ-
श्शोकश्चिन्ता क्षुधाश्रमः ।
सर्वेषाञ्च प्रभवति
कस्माद्वर्णो विभज्यते ? ॥"

In the Asvamedhaparva of the Mahabharata, Srikrishna says :

"ന ജാത്യാ പൂജ്യതേ രാജൻ!
ഗുണാഃ കല്യാണകാരണാഃ;
ചണ്ഡാലമപി വൃത്തസ്ഥം
തം ദേവാ ബ്രാഹ്മണം വിദുഃ
മനശ്ശൌചം കർമ്മശൌചം
കുലശൌചഞ്ച ഭാരത!
ശരീരശൌചം വാക്ശൌചം
ശൌചം പഞ്ചവിധം സ്മൃതം.
പഞ്ചസ്വേതേഷു ശൌചേഷു
ഹൃദി ശൌചം വിശിഷ്യതേ."

"न जात्या पूज्यते राजन्!
गुणाः कल्याणकारणाः ।
चण्डालमपि वृत्तस्थं
तं देवा ब्राह्मणं विदुः ॥
मनश्शौचं कर्मशौचं
कुलशौचञ्च भारत!
शारीरशौचं वाक्शौचं
शौचं पञ्चविधं स्मृतं ।
पञ्चस्वेतेषु शौचेषु
हृदि शौचं विशिष्येत ॥"

(Asvamedhaparva, chapter 116.)

In the Bhagavatapurana it is stated :

"യസ്യ യല്ലക്ഷണം പ്രോക്തം
പുംസോ വർണ്ണാഭിവ്യഞ്ജകം
യദന്യത്രാപി ദൃശ്യേത
തത്തേനൈവ വിനിർദ്ദിശേൽ."

"यस्य यल्लक्षणं प्रोक्तं
  पुंसो वर्णाभिव्यञ्जकम् ।
यदन्यत्रापि दृश्येत
  तत्तेनैव विनिर्दिशेत् ॥"

The episode of the Dharmavyadha in the Vanaparva of the Mahabharata is a further illustration. The Dharmavyadha therein tells Kausika :

"ശൂദ്രയോനൗ ഹി ജാതസ്യ
സദ്ഗുണാനുപതിഷ്ഠതഃ
വൈശ്യത്വം ഭവതി ബ്രഹ്മൻ!
ക്ഷത്രിയത്വം തഥൈവ ച;
ആർജ്ജവേ വർത്തമാനസ്യ
ബ്രാഹ്മണ്യമഭിജായതേ."

"शूद्रयोनौ हि जातस्य
  सद्गुणानुपतिष्ठतः ।
वैश्यत्वं भवति ब्रह्मन्!
  क्षत्रियत्वं तथैव च ॥
आर्जवे वर्तमानस्य
  ब्राह्मण्यमभिजायते ।"

(Vanaparva, chapter 216.)

In the Manusmriti, therefore, it is clearly stated that there were in Manu's time Aryans who were non-Aryans and Non-Ariyans who were Aryans, as judged from the point of view of conduct :

"അനാര്യമാര്യകർമ്മാണ-
മാര്യഞ്ചാനാര്യകർമ്മിണം
സമ്പ്രധാര്യാബ്രവീദ്ധാതാ
ന സമൌ നാസമാവിതി."

"अनार्यमार्यकर्माण-
  मार्यं चानार्यकर्मिणम् ।
सम्प्रधार्याब्रवीद्धाता
  न समौ नासमाविति ॥"

(Manu, chapter X.)

Elsewhere, in chapter II, Manu refers to the possibility of great men being born among Chandalas also and approves the advisability of their being also accepted as teachers of Brahmavidya :

"ശ്രദ്ദധാനഃ ശുഭാം വിദ്യാ-
മാദദീതാവരാദപി
അന്ത്യാദപി പരം ധർമ്മം
സ്ത്രീരത്നം ദുഷ്കുലാദപി."

"श्रद्दधानः शुभां विद्या-
मादददीतावरादपि ।
अन्त्यादपि परं धर्मं
स्त्रीरत्नं दुष्कुलादपि ॥"

(Manu, chapter II.)

Kullukabhatta, commenting on this verse, says:

"അന്ത്യശ്ചണ്ഡാലസ്തസ്മാദപി ജാതിസ്മരാദേർവ്വിഹിതയോഗപ്രകർഷാൽ ദുഷ്കൃതശേഷോപഭോഗാർത്ഥമവാപ്തചണ്ഡാലജന്മനഃ പരം ധർമ്മം മോക്ഷോപായമാത്മജ്ഞാനമാദദീത."

"अन्त्यश्चण्डालस्तस्मादपि जातिस्मरादेर्विहितयोगप्रकर्षात् दुष्कृतशेषोपभोगार्थमवाप्तचण्डालजन्मनः परं धर्मं मोक्षोपायमात्मज्ञानमाददीत."

From all these extracts it will be seen that it was *vritta* or character and not *janma* or birth that constituted the true Brahmanya, as emphasised by Yudhishthira himself in his reply to Nahusha :—

"സത്യം ദാനം ക്ഷമാശീല-
മാനൃശംസ്യം തപോ ഘൃണാ
ദൃശ്യന്തേ യത്ര നാഗേന്ദ്ര!
സ ബ്രാഹ്മണ ഇതി സ്മൃതഃ."

"सत्यं दानं क्षमाशील-
मानृशंस्यं तपो घृणा ।
दृश्यन्ते यत्र नागेन्द्र !
स ब्राह्मण इति स्मृतः ॥"

and

"യത്രേദാനീം മഹാസർപ്പ!
സംസ്കൃതം വൃത്തമിഷ്യതേ
തം ബ്രാഹ്മണമഹം പൂർവ്വ-
മുക്തവാൻ ഭുജഗോത്തമ!"

"यत्रेदानीं महासर्प !
संस्कृतं वृत्तमिष्यते ।
तं ब्राह्मणमहं पूर्व-
मुक्तवान् भुजगोत्तम ! ॥"

(Vanaparva, chapter 182.)

14. There is no doubt that the Acharas among the several castes have changed from time to time. I have already pointed out that there are no Chandalas at present. As early as the 11th century A. D., we find from an inscription in the Parthivasekharapuram temple in South Travancore that the Pulayas were then engaged in agriculture labour. In the Aditya purana, a list of as many as forty-one ancient practices is given, which were once in vogue in society, but had to be given up for one reason or another. Among them are such practices as Niyoga, the remarriage of virgin widows, the marriage of Brahmins with women of the Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra castes, the Mahaprasthana, the Vanaprasthasrama, the offering of meat during Sraddhas and on the occasion of the visit of distinguished guests, the recognition of other sons than the aurasa and the datta, and suicide by falling from a hill or into fire. It is said that these practices were discontinued at the beginning of the Kaliyuga for the protection of humanity (ലോകഗുപ്ത്യൈ) ( ). It is easy to see that all the prohibitions did not take effect on one and the same day, and that each of the above practices came to be interdicted as and when it was found to produce a deleterious effect on society. Vignanesvara, who lived in the 11th century of the Christian era, in a purely vegetarian age, while commenting on the text of Yagnavalkya enjoining the offering of an ox or a goat when a Srotriya guest arrives.

"മഹോക്ഷം വാ മഹാജം വാ
ശ്രോത്രിയായോപകല്പയേൽ
സൽക്രിയാന്വാസനം സ്വാദു
ഭോജനം സൂനൃതം വചഃ."

"महोक्षं वा महाजं वा
श्रोत्रियायोपकल्पयेत् ।
सत्क्रियान्वासनं स्वादुः
भोजनं सूनृतं वचः ॥"

says that the animal referred to should be simply shown to the guest, and that it should be neither parted with nor butchered, since if the latter were the meaning of the text, there would be no animal for disposal at the time of the arrival of each and every guest, over and above the circumstance that the killing of animals being an adharma should not be indulged in :

തൽപ്രീത്യർത്ഥം ന തു ദാനായ വ്യാപാദനായ വാ; പ്രതി ശ്രോത്രിയമുക്ഷാസംഭവാൽ "അസ്വർഗ്ഗ്യം ലോകവിക്രുഷ്ടം ധർമ്മമപ്യാചരേന്നതു" ഇതി നിഷേധാച്ച.

"तत्प्रीत्यर्थं न तु दानाय व्यापादनाय वा; प्रतिश्रोत्रियमुक्षासम्भवात्
"अस्वर्ग्यं लोकविक्रुष्टं
धर्ममप्याचरेन्नतु"
इति निषेधाच्च ।"

Visvarupa, an earlier commentator of Yagnavalkya in the 8th century A. D., says that the animal should be killed if the guest requires it:

"ഉപകല്പനവചനാൽ തദനുജ്ഞാപേക്ഷോ മഹോക്ഷാദിവധഃ

"उपकल्पनवचनात् तदनुज्ञापेक्षो महोक्षादिवधः"

while a third commentator, Apararka, who lived later than Vignanesvara, at the beginning of the 12th century, says that the interpretation of the latter is opposed to the Vedas :

"യഃ കശ്ചിദാഹ ശ്രോത്രിയായോപകല്പയേദ്വാചാ പ്രതിപാദയേന്നതു ഹിംസ്യാദിതി തച്ഛ്രുതിവിരുദ്ധം."

"यः कश्चिदाह श्रोत्रियायोपकल्पयेद्वाचा प्रतिपादयेन्न तु हिंस्यादिति तच्छ्रुतिविरुद्धम्."

No doubt, it was a vedic practice; but it had wholly fallen into desuitude in Vignanesvara's time, and hence he gave a reasonable interpretation to the old text. Such instances may be easily multiplied. Yama says that once upon a time women had to undergo the Upanayana ceremony :

"പുരാകല്പേ കുമാരീണാം
മൌഞ്ജീബന്ധനമിഷ്യതേ
അദ്ധ്യാപനഞ്ച വേദാനാം
സാവിത്രീവചനം തഥാ."

പിതാ പിതൃവ്യോ ഭ്രാതാ വാ
നൈനാമദ്ധ്യാപയേൽ പരഃ;
സ്വഗൃഹേ ചൈവ കന്യായാ
ഭൈക്ഷചര്യാ വിധീയതേ.

വർജ്ജയേദജിനം ചീരം
ജടാധാരണമേവ ച."

"पुराकल्पे कुमारीणां
मौञ्जीबन्धनमिष्यते ।
अध्यापनञ्च वेदानां
सावित्रीवचनं तथा ॥
पिता पितृव्यो भ्राता वा
नैनामध्यापयेत् परः;
स्वगृहे चैव कन्याया-
भैक्षचर्या विधीयते ;
वर्जयेदजिनं चीरं
जटाधारणमेव च ॥"

Harita states that there were two classes of women, Brahmavadinis and Sadyovadhus, and that it was only in the case of the former that adhyayana was essential വിവാഹഃ കാര്യഃ

"ദ്വിവിധാഃ സ്ത്രിയോ ബ്രഹ്മവാദിന്യസ്സദ്യോവധ്വശ്ച; തത്ര ബ്രഹ്മവാദിനീനാമുപനയനമഗ്നീന്ധനം വേദാധ്യയനം സ്വഗൃഹേ ഭിക്ഷാചര്യാ; വധൂനാന്തൂപസ്ഥിതേ വിവാഹേ കഥഞ്ചിദുപനയനമാത്രം കൃത്വാ വിവാഹഃ കാര്യഃ.

"द्विविधाः स्त्रियो ब्रह्मवादिन्यस्सद्योवध्वश्च; तत्र ब्रह्मवादिनीनामुपनयनमग्नीन्धनं वेदाध्ययनं स्वगृहे भिक्षाचर्या; वधूनान्तूपस्थिते विवाहे कथञ्चिदुपनयनमात्रं कृत्वा विवाहः कार्यः"

The whole practice of Brahmacharya for women was put a stop to in the post-Budhistic age and the institution of compulsory early marriage established, since it was found that it was from the rank of Brahmavadinis that the Bhudhist Bhikshunis were largely recruited. The Smriti of Parasara, which cannot be ascribed to a later date than the 6th century A. D., is a modification, in several important respects, of the Smritis of Manu and Yagnavalkya, and it is definitely stated that it was composed to meet the altered requirements of Kaliyuga. Madhavacharya, in the introduction to his great commentary on this Smriti, Prasaramadhaviya, says that Parasara simplified acharas, prayaschittas and vratas to suit the needs of a degraded age :

"കലൗ ഹി പാരാശരാഃ ധർമ്മ്യം
ഉക്തോ സ്മൃതൌ ച
തേഷു പ്രായശ്ചിത്താദ്യം
ശ്രുതാചാരാശ്ച ദുഷ്കരാഃ,

സമകോചയദാചാരം
പ്രായശ്ചിത്തം വ്രതാനി ച.

"कलौ हि पापबाहुल्यं
दृश्यते स्मर्यतेऽपि च ।
नराः प्रायोल्पसामर्थ्या-
स्तेषामनुजिघृक्षया ॥
समकोचयदाचारं
प्रायश्चित्तं व्रतानि च ।"

and as an explanation for this, he quotes the following verse from the Mahabharata to point out that everything under the sun is liable to change:

"ഭൂമിർനദ്യോ നഗാശ്ശൈല
സിദ്ധാ ദേവർഷയസ്തഥാ
കാലം സമനുവർത്തന്തേ
തഥാ ഭാവാ യുഗേ യുഗേ."

"भूमिर्नद्यो नगाश्शैले
सिद्धा देवर्षयस्तथा ।
कालं समनुवर्तन्ते
तथा भावा युगे युगे ॥"

15. It is a truism to state that time has wrought momentous changes in the fabric of Hindu society. The Chaturvarnya of today is not the Chaturvarnya described by Manu. So early as the 14th century of the Christian era we find Madhavacharya saying that the study of the Vedas was far from satisfactory in his time:

അദ്ധ്യയനവിധിസ്താവദർത്ഥജ്ഞാനപര്യന്തം സാംഗവേദ
പാഠമാചഷ്ടേ............................... യദാദ്ധ്യയനസ്യൈവ ഈദൃശീ ഗതിഃ,
തദാ കൈവ കഥാ സാംഗകൃത്സ്നവേദാർത്ഥാനുഷ്ഠാനസ്യ ?

* "अध्ययनविधिस्तावदर्थज्ञानपर्यन्तं साङ्गवेदपाठमाचष्टे .... यदध्ययनस्यैव ईदृशी गतिः, तदा कैव कथा साङ्गकृत्स्नवेदार्थानुष्ठानस्य ?"

The only three ways in which the Brahmin could eke out a livelihood in olden times were teaching the Vedas, performing Yagas and receiving gifts. When there were none to study the Vedas or to get Yagas performed, the first two avenues to employment became closed, and as for the third, receipt of Pratigraha was hedged round with so many restrictions that it was

impossible to earn money by that means, not to speack of the fact that the number of persons inclined to make gifts progressively decreased as days advanced. The Parasarasmriti saved him from unemployment and starvation by allowing certain new occupations for him. In the course of our enquiry, some witnesses appear to have thought that money-lending was prohibited for the Brahmin. The following text of Brihaspati shows that it is unobjectionable when got done by others in normal times and even by oneself in times of distress :

"കുസീദം കൃഷിവാണിജ്യം
പ്രകുർവീതാസ്വയംകൃതം
ആപൽക്കാലെ സ്വയം കുർവ്വാ-
ണൈനസാ ലിപ്യതെ ദ്വിജഃ.

"कुसीदं कृषिवाणिज्यं
प्रकुर्वीतास्वयंकृतम् ।
आपत्काले स्वयं कुर्वा-
णैनसा लिप्यते द्विजः ॥"

Asvalayana states that a man with a family to support may pursue any occupation, provided that he doesnot cease to observe the caste duties ordained for him.

"യയാ കയാപി വാ വൃത്ത്യാ
നിജകർമ്മത്യജൻ സദാ
പിതരൌ ബിഭൃയാൽ സമ്യക്
സാധ്വീം ഭാര്യാം ശിശൂനപി
ഭോഗാദ്യാ വൃത്തിഹീനതാഃ
യശ്ചൈതാൻ പോഷയേച്ച വശ
പിതരൌ ത്യജതോ വൃദ്ധൌ
ഗതിരൂർദ്ധ്വാ ന വിദ്യതേ.
അസംഭവേ പിതരൌ വൃദ്ധൌ
സാധ്വീം ഭാര്യാം തഥാത്മജാൻ
അഭൃത്യാ ത്യജതോ ദേഹാദ്
ഗതിരൂർദ്ധ്വം ന വിദ്യതേ"

"यया कयापि वा वृत्या
निजकर्मात्यजन् सदा
पितरौ विभृयाद् सम्यक्
साध्वीं भार्यां शिशूनपि ॥"

"मोहाद्वा वृत्तिहेतोर्वा
धर्मलोभाच्छठाच्च वा ।
पितरौ त्यजतो वृद्धौ
गतिरूर्ध्वा न विद्यते ॥
अनाथौ पितरौ वृद्धौ
साध्वीं भार्यां तथात्मजान् ।
शक्तस्य त्यजतो मोहाद्
गतिरूर्ध्वा न विद्यते ॥"

I advert to this subject merely to show that the traditional occupation of every caste has gone, and that it is now open to a member of every caste to maintain himself in any way he chooses. Svadharmanushthana, as that term is understood in the Smritis and the Puranas, has thus more or less disappeared, though, of course, there are, here and there, a few persons who rigidly observe their Svadharma. Even they do not attach any value to such texts in the Smritis as :

"സൌരാഷ്ട്രം സിന്ധുസൌവീര-
മാവന്ത്യം ദക്ഷിണാപഥം
ഗത്വൈതാൻ കാമതോ ദേശാൻ
കലിങ്ഗാംശ്ചാപതേദ്ദ്വിജഃ,
അങ്ഗവങ്ഗകലിങ്ഗാന്ധ്രാൻ
പാർവ്വതീയാൻ ഖഷാംസ്തഥാ
സിന്ധുസൌവീരസൌരാഷ്ട്രാൻ
പാരദാനാന്ധ്രമാളവാൻ
നിവാസായ ദ്വിജോ നിത്യ-
മനാപദി വിസർജ്ജയേത്.

"सौराष्ट्रं सिन्धुसौवीर-
मावन्त्यं दक्षिणापथम् ।
गत्वैतान् कामतो देशान्
कलिङ्गांश्चापतेद्द्विजः ॥
अङ्गवङ्गकलिङ्गान्ध्रान्
पार्वतीयान् खषांस्तथा ।
सिन्धुसौवीरसौराष्ट्रान्
पारदानान्ध्रमालवान् ।
निवासाय द्विजो नित्य-
मनापदि विसर्जयेत् ॥"

Such texts had force only as long as the Aryans lived in Aryavarta. Vyasa said that the country in which there was no Chaturvarnya-vyavastha should be looked upon as a Mlechhadesa. Subsequently, when Chaturvarnyavyavastha was extended to the Dekhan, it ceased to be a Mlechhadesa and acquired the status of Aryavarta. It would be absured, to assert on the basis of such exploded texts as those quoted above, the sages like Sankara,* Ramanuja, Madhava, Vidyaranya, Vedantadesika and Appayyadikshita, who lived and died in South India, were not true Brahmins. The texts of every Sruti have to be interpreted with due reference to the age in which it was written; it is only then that the value of those texts could be seen in their proper perspective. If acharas did not change with time and place, there was hardly any necessity for so many Smritis. Vriddha Yagnavalkya says that not only were there many Smriti writers in the past, but that there would be many in the future also.

" ഭൂയാംസോ ധർമ്മവക്താരഃ
ഉൽപന്നാ ഭാവിനസ്തഥാ "

"भूयांसो धर्मवक्तार
उत्पन्ना भाविनस्तथा ।"

16. Christianity and Mahomedanism are essentially proselytising religions, and when they become established in India, large numbers of the depressed classes naturally become converts to them. Those religions in any event preached enquality by brith, whatever the value of that equality might be in actual practice in certain respects. They attended to the educational and economic needs of the depressed classes in a manner and to an extent never before contemplated in this country, although the higher teaching of Hinduism insists on no difference whatever being made between man and man. When education came to be imparted throuhg the English language after the establishment of the British Government in India, and when the great democratic teachings of Bentham and Mill permeated the upper classes of Hindu society, a feeling of revulsion against the old order manifested itself, and social reform movements took concrete shape.

Tho tradition iu Kerala is that Saukara dicd in Trichur Cochin State.

The Governments of both British and Indian India have been from time to time helping such movements, consistently with their policy of non-intervention, on occasions when they have felt that a custom, however hoa ry, has outlived its usefulness and become detrimental to the progress of society. The principle followed in all these cases is the old, old dictum enunciated by Manu that when a Dharma becomes obnoxious to society it should be scrapped :

പരിത്യജേൽ .... ധർമ്മംചാപ്യസുഖോദർക്കം
ലോകവിക്രുഷ്ടമേവ ച.........

"परित्यजेत् ... . धर्मञ्चाप्यशुभोदर्कं लोकविक्रुष्टमेव च."

The penalisation of Sati, the Sarda act, etc., in British India have to be traced to this source. In Travancore, the prohibition to certain communiti es wearing ornaments of gold and silver without payment of Adiyara (fee to Government) was removed in 1818 A. D. Slavery was abolished in 1855. In 1865, women of all classes were allowed to cover their breasts. Freedom in the matter of admission of all classes to public offices was emphasised in 1870. Most of the schools and Satrams in the State were thrown open to all classes at a later date. Recent years have witnessed the abolition of animal sacrifices in Sirkar temples, the discontinuance of the Dvadasi system therein, the prohibition of the singing of obscene songs in the Shertala temple and the grant of permission to persons who have returned from sea voyage to enter temples. These are not small changes, in my judgment.

17. Viewed from the standpoint of the depresseed classes, their exclusion from temples tantamounts to the perpetuation of their inferior status in the Hindu society, and until this open sore is healed, they feel that they cannot rise to their full stature. It is sometimes stated that the caste system in India has its counterpart in other countries also. But is the position identical? Farquhar has stated the bitter truth in the following words: "There is no country in the world that is without its submerged class : under every human civilisation, there is at least a remnant

who fall behind, who fail to grip the necessary conditions of the times, who tend to become human wreckage. But, where, outside India, is a policy devised with the determinate purpose of creating a huge submerged class, of crushing one section of the whole people down in dirt and inhuman degradation?" To this observation it would be no argument to reply that, while the conquering nations in Europe and America extirpated the conquered races, the Aryans at least kept the classes whom they subjugated in a submerged condition and provided them with means of living. The submersion is there; it is not in keeping with the spirit of the age in which we live and has to be wholly removed, if it is necessary for India to hold up her head and secure her rightful place among modern States. It would not satisfy either the submerged classes on the one hand or the civilised world on the other to say that Hinduism contemplates not a single birth, but a regulated succession of them, that a man is born in a polluting caste on account of his bad karma in a past life, and that it is only by the performance of the dharma that is ordained for him in the ancient Smritis that he can hope to secure birth in a non-polluting caste in some future life. Such old-world ideas will not and cannot appeal to them. The theory of Karma, even after the elimination of birth-impurity, will safely stand the test of reason, since there are other gifts of life such as health, wealth and intelligence, which are not equally distributed among all. The one thing that is needed more than any other at this stage of the history of Hinduism is to make every member of the community feel that he is potentially the equal of every other, and that it is open to him by strenuous exertion in the present life itself, to rise to any position which other members may attain. As for the birth-pollution itself, how does it work in practice? If the present pace of conversion to other religions is allowed to continue unchecked, a day must necessarily dawn, sooner or later—sooner rather than later—when no more men can be born in communities causing distance pollution according to the Smriti writers, on account of their wholesale defection from the Hindu fold. Where then lies the objection to treat them as equals at least now, and make such reparation as may still be possible while yet there is time? It is

sometimes stated that the motive behind the present movement is political. What if it is? These classes were once kept out mainly for political reasons, and there is nothing wrong if the barrier is removed for the very same reasons at present, when both the victor and the vanquished of ancient days are alike down-trodden and when their common mother—India—has to hide her head in shame when questioned as to her right for further political rights, with this blot in her scutcheon. As a matter of fact, the problem of the depressed classes among the Hindus does not concern the Hindus alone; it concerns every Indian, to whatever persuasion he may belong, and the question, while it is domestic up to a certain extent, is even more paramount and pressing in its international aspect.

18. Here I must deprecate the attitude assumed by some Sanatanist Hindus towards Mahatma Gandhi and some of Gandhiji's followers towards the Sanatianists. It is essential to recogrise that, while there may be some with ulterior motives both among conservatives and reformers, the majority of them are actuated by *bona fides* in the present struggle. It is most uncharitable to question the sincerity of Gandhiji; it is equally uncharitable to say that the Sanatanist, and particularly the Brahmin, is swayed by self-interest. It is both untrue and unfair to insinuate that the benefit of the expenditure now incurred on temples is monopolised by him. In most cases what pittance he gets from these institutions is remuneration for the performance of religious services, a profession which it has cost enormous time and labour for him to practise, and which is not even half as attractive, from the monetary point of view, as even petty shop-keeping or sporadic cultivation. Both parties will have to remember that anger is no argument and vituperation no solution. The temple is needed for all classes, the caste Hindus and the non-caste Hindus alike, except those who can worship the Deity in the Nirguna form. The Bhagavathapurana says:

"[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

"निर्विशेषं परं ब्रह्म
साक्षात्कर्तुमनीश्वराः ।
ये मन्दास्तेनुकम्प्यन्ते
सविशेषनिरूपणैः ॥"

The Sutasamhita observes:

തന്ത്രോക്തേന പ്രകാരേണ
ദേവതാ യാ പ്രതിഷ്ഠിതാ
സാപി വന്ദ്യാ സുസേവ്യാ ച
പൂജനീയാ ച വൈദികൈഃ'

"तन्त्रोक्तेन प्रकारेण
देवता या प्रतिष्ठिता ।
सापि वन्द्या सुसेव्या च
पूजनीया च वैदिकैः ॥"

The മന്ദ (मन्द) or അല്പബുദ്ധി (अल्पबुद्धि) of the texts has to be judged from the view-point of spiritual development and not of birth. It is necessary for the conservative and the reformer to compose their differences and arrive at an amicable settlement. Possession and civil law are with the conservative; numerical strength, time-spirit and public opinion are with the reformer. It is an unedifying spectacle to see them fight when approchement is the crying need of the hour.

19. The constitution of a *Parishat* has been suggested in the report to bring about a compromise between these two wings. In view of the observation in the Vishnusamhita to the effect that it is the Prasada, Garbhagraha, Pitha, and Pratima that have to be protected from nimittas,

"പ്രാസാദഗർഭപീഠാർച്ചാ-
ശ്ശരീരത്വേന ശാർങ്ഗിണഃ
കല്പിതാസ്സർവ്വദാ രക്ഷ്യാ
വിപ്രൈരുത്പാതശങ്കയാ.

"प्रासादगर्भपीठार्चा-
श्शरीरत्वेन शार्ङ्गिणः ।
कल्पितास्सर्वदा रक्ष्या
विप्रैरुत्पातशङ्कया ॥"

(Vishnusamhita, 25th patalam.)

of the grammatical order of the words used in the Tantrasamuchchaya verses,

"ക്ഷേത്രേ മൃതിർജ്ജനനമങ്കണമണ്ഡപാദൌ
മൂത്രാസൃഗാദിപതനം പതിതാദിവേശഃ
സോലൂകഗൃദ്ധ്രകരടശ്വഖരോഷ്ട്രകോല-
ക്രോഷ്ട്രൃക്ഷഡുണ്ഡുഭപുരസ്സരഗർഭവേശഃ
ബിംബസ്യ പാതചലനാദിരഥ പ്രദാഹ-
സ്വേദപ്രരോദഹസിതാനി തഥാൽഭുതാനി
ഛത്രാകനാകുമധുകാദിസമുദ്ഗമാശ്ച
പൂജാവിലുപ്തിരപി ചാസതി ദിഷ്ടദോഷേ."

"क्षेत्रे मृतिर्जननमङ्कणमण्डपादौ
मूत्रासृगादिपतनं पतितादिवेशः ।
सोलूकगृद्ध्रकरटश्वखरोष्ट्रकोल-
क्रोष्टृक्षडुण्डुभपुरस्सरगर्भवेशः ॥
"बिम्बस्य पातचलनादिरथ प्रदाह-
स्वेदप्ररोदहसितानि तथाद्भुतानि ।
छत्राकनाकुमधुकादिसमुद्गमाश्च
पूजाविलुप्तिरपि चासति दिष्टदोषे ॥"

and of the gloss known as Vivarana on the Samuchchaya

"പതിതാദിവേശഃ, പതിതാദീനാമങ്കണമണ്ഡപാദാവാവേശഃ".

"पतितादिवेशः, पतितादीनामङ्कणमण्डपादावावेशः." it seems to me that, on the basis of the texts even as they are, there should be no objection to Avarnas being allowed entry up to the Pradakshinavazhi, though the custom is otherwise. The *Parishat* need not be a formal one for gathering evidence and deliberating in public; nor need it be composed exactly in the form contemplated in the Smritis. What is needed is the formation of a Committee of learned men in which Vaidikas should also be represented, to arrive at a resolution of those who are conversant with traditional Dharma, Dharmajnasamaya ([illegible]) which, according to Apastamba, is as much authority as the Vedas themselves. Several witnesses deposed before us that they were prepared to accept such a resolution, and that is our justification for a recommendation accordingly. There is nothing to be gained by ignoring the orthodox wing, especially in a matter of faith such as temple-entry essentially is, and there is a great deal to be lost by pouring redicule upon them. Every reasonable facility should, on the other hand, be afforded, in my opinion, to that wing, to come into line with the forward one, so that real

harmony and abiding peace may be secured. The *Parishat* contemplated does not and cannot oust the jurisdiction of the sovereign and those who accuse the committee of such an ulterior motive behind this recommendation are wholly ignorant of its real significance. There is no power that the sovereign does not possess apart from any *parishat* that may be constituted by him. Yagnavalkya's dictum in the Prayachittadhyaya that a king may purify any one he chooses

"മഹീപതീനാം നാശൗചം
ഹതാനാം വിദ്യുതാ തഥാ
ഗോബ്രാഹ്മണാർത്ഥേ സംഗ്രാമേ
യസ്യ ചേച്ഛതി ഭൂമിപഃ."

"महीपतीनां नाशौचं
हतानां विद्युता तथा ।
गोब्राह्मणार्थे सङ्ग्रामे
यस्य चेच्छति भूमिपः ॥"

is of wider application than what is ordinarily conceded to it by commentators like Visvarupa. The *parishat*, if constituted, will be no more than a supplementary body to complete the work of this committee, which, after all, is no more than a lay one. It would be too much for anybody to assert that the advice of religious dignitaries should not be sought by the sovereign before passing final orders in this important matter, particularly in review of the fact that it is such a body that will have to work out the details of the consequential changes when the existing arrangements are interfered with

• 20. According to the Sruti, every Jiva is a holy spark, emanating from the Divinity and harking back thereto "സന്മൂലാഃ സോമ്യേമാഃ സർവാഃ പ്രജാഃ സദായതനാഃ സത്പ്രതിഷ്ഠാഃ" "सन्मूलाः सोम्य इमास्सर्वाः प्रजाः सदायतनाः सत्प्रतिष्ठाः" is the description given in the Chhandogyopanishat. Yagnavalkya says that the Lord himself is born as man in every case:

"സ്ത്രീപുംസയോസ്തു സംയോഗേ
വിശുദ്ധേ ശുക്ലശോണിതേ
പഞ്ചധാതൂൻ സ്വയം ഷഷ്ഠ-
മാദത്തേ യുഗപത് പ്രഭുഃ"

"स्त्रीपुंसयोस्तु संयोगे
विशुद्धे शुक्रशोणिते ।
पञ्चधातून् स्वयं षष्ठ-
मादत्ते युगपत् प्रभुः ॥"

Visvarupa explains "ശുക്ലശോണിതവിശുദ്ധിഃ" as ഭിഷക്ച്ഛാസ്ത്രാൽ പൂതിഗന്ധാദിഭ്യുദാസേനാവസേയാ." "शुक्लशोणितविशुद्धिः भिषक्छास्त्रात् पूतिगन्धादिभ्युदासेनावसेया." The word has no reference to caste. It may also be remembered that, according to sacred literature, a man however low-born he may be, is higher than an animal. As Indra tells Matanga in the Mahabharata

തിര്യഗ്യോനിഗതസ്സർവ്വോ
മാനുഷ്യം യദി ഗച്ഛതി
സ ജായതേ പുല്ക്കസോ വാ
ചണ്ഡാലോ വാ ന സംശയഃ.

"तिर्यग्योनिगतस्सर्वो
मानुष्यं यदि गच्छति ।
स जायते पुल्कसो वा
चण्डालो वा न संशयः ॥"

(Anusasanaparva, chapter IV.)

and hence even a pulkasa is entitled to distinctly better treatment than animals. Let every Hindu by all means be kind to animals, but equally kind to men, his own brethren. Let every Hindu be animated by the spirit of the old song in the Veda :

"Together walk ye, together speak ye,
together know ye your minds ;
Let your resolve be one, let your hearts
be of one accord ;
Let your minds be united that your assembly
may be happy."

Trivandrum,
27th Makaram, 1109.

(Sd.) S. Paramesvara Aiyar.

Supplementary Note

We must, at the very outset, say that we have signed the report to show our concurrence with the view that the time has come for some advance being made in the direction of temple-entry. We are, however, in disagreement with many of the findings of the Committee and especially with the recommendation for the appointment of a *Parishat* for determining the extent, if any, to which temple-entry may be allowed to the Avarnas. The committee says that any change in the matter of temple-entry can be made only with the advice and concurrence of the *Parishat* of Vaidiks, Vadhyans, Tantries and Azhavancherry Tamprakal. This is placing a limitation upon the prerogative of the Sovereign, and in our opinion, this is wholly unjustified because His Highness the Maharaja is not only the Political head of the State, but is also its religious and social head. His Highness is therefore quite competent, without the *concurrence* of any *Parishat* to make any changes in the social or religious customs of Hindus. Of course, His Highness always takes advice before he takes action in any matter and he has the right to choose his own advisers. In this matter he has chosen to appoint this Committee to advise him and this recommendation of the Committee for the constitution of a different body with whose advice and concurrence alone he is to act, is therefore unwarranted and *ultra vires*.

The Committee has been appointed to "enquire about and report on the question of temple-entry" with specific reference to certain points mentioned in the order. On the question of temple-entry itself, the majority report is meagre and contains no definite recommendations. In chapter VI which deals with the extent of feeling in the country the only recommendation with regard to temple-entry is that "in important centres temples may be built and consecrated where Savarnas and Avarnas may worship together, such Savarnas retaining their full right of worship, etc., in temples where Avarnas are not now admitted."

In the first place, this does not touch the real point at issue because the question referred to the Committee is not how facilities may be provided for Avarnas for temple worship, but to report on the question of temple-entry which means in our opinion entry into the existing temples. Further, this recommendation is open to two grave objections. One is that the creation of new temples will tend to perpetuate the already existing differences between the Savarnas and Avarnas, and create a split among the Savarnas themselves. The second objection is that it will needlessly cast an additional burden on the already overburdened tax payer. As there is no scarcity of temples in Travancore, there is no necessity to add to the already numerous temples in the State. Quite apart from this as we have already stated, this recommendation does not solve the problem.

The only other part of the report where the actual question of temple-entry is dealt with is in the chapter dealing with the specific subject of compromise and chapter VII. In para 136, after stating that some advance should be made, the Committee proceeds "In the opinion of the Committee, the two *possible* forms of compromise in the matter are:

(1) Entry being allowed as far as Balivattam, and

(2) Throwing open some of the existing temples in the several taluks for all Hindus, the others being reserved for the exclusive worship of the Savarnas. But even here the Committee does not commit itself to any opinion unless we take it that the expression "*possible*" is indicative of the opinion of the Committee being in favour of adopting the courses stated. Then the Committee goes on to say that these two methods may *also* be referred to the *Parishat* mentioned in para 99. In para 99 it is said that "the Committee are of opinion that there is such a change from the past in the circumstances of the present day as to make it desirable that whatever steps are possible should be taken to give the Avarnas greater facilities for worship in Savarna temples and thus to help them to get over the feeling that they are treated by the Savarnas as outside the pale of Hinduism......... We think any step in that direction should be taken under the

advice and with the *concurrence* of a *Parishat'*.........."The *Parishat* may consist of Vadhyans, Vaidikans and Azhavancherry Thmparakkals and of men learned in the Sastras and conversant with present-day world movement."

Reading the above passages together, we are led to conclude that the Committee has shirked its responsibility and left the question to be determined by a *Parishat.* From the constitution of the Parishat outlined in the report, one can see that with its concurrence no advance in the direction of temple-entry can be expected. The Committee has stultified itself by its recommendation of a reference to a *Parishat* and made even the advance which it desires impossible of materialisation

With these preliminary remarks we shall next proceed to consider the issue before us, namely, temple-entry of the Avarnas.

The question arises in this way. There are certain classes of Hindus who are now prohibited from entering within the outer walls of the temples in which the so called caste Hindus or Savarnas now usually enter and worship. Their number, according to the census, is 1,797,380 out of a total Hindu population of 3,134,837. That is to say, they from 57 per cent. of the total Hindus or 35 per cent. of the aggregate population of the State. The issue before the Committee is whether these people may be given temple entry like other Savarnas, for the purpose of worship. A large section of the Savarnas are in favour of allowing the Avarnas to exercise this common right of worship, but a small section of Savarnas belonging mostly to the Brahmin community and other temple dependants oppose it. The chief ground on which objection taken is that the Hindu religious Sastras prohibit the Avarnas from temple entry and that according to these Sastras, the entry of an Avarna will cause pollution to the image with the result that the sanctity of the image will be diminished and eventually destroyed. It is necessary to examine the objection based on religious grounds at some length in order to show its hollowness. But before doing so we have to establish they are Hindus.

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After the temple entry question was raised recently in British India, some conservative diehards (Sanatanists), apparently foiled in their endeavour to find suitable texts in the Hindu Sastras to exclude any particular class of Hindus from the benefit of temple worship, have sought refuge also in a denial that the Avarnas were Hindus and based their exclussion from temples on that ground.

Had the Sanatanists been right in their contention that the Avarnas were not Hindus, the question would have rested there as no non-Hindu can claim the right of entering a Hindu temple. But, unfortunately, there is little to support this view and the present Committee itself has in the report definitely found that, these communities excluded from entry and who demand that right, are Hindus in every sense of the word. They worship the Hindu God, they are returned as Hindus in the Census Report and are treated in every way as Hindus by their caste-Hindu brothren. It is therefore not necessary to pursue this question further.

The Avarnas, having thus been found to be Hindus, the question is whether there is anything in the Vedas and the Dharmasastras to justify their exclusion from the temple and worshipping the image. It is conceded in the majority report that all Hindu temples have been founded for the benefit of the whole Hindu population whatever caste or sub-caste they may belong to. Unlike the Christian churches, each of which belongs to a particular congregation, a Hindu temple is a cosmopolitan institution in the sense that every Hindu, wherever he may reside and whatever sect he may belong to, has a rightt worship in the temple. In legal language, therefore, every Hindu is a beneficiary in every Hindu temple. The right to worship is inherent in every Hindu whatever caste he may belong to. But according to custom and practice prevailing at the present time, there is a certain order of precedence in the matter of worship in temples. This order of precedence consists in each caste being compelled to worship the image from a particular place or position in or outside the temples. The Pujari alone can enter the inner shrine or the sanctum sanctorum. All the other Brahmins can worship from the Sopanams. Similarly, Kshatriyas, Nairs and other so-called

Savarnas can also worship form the same place. Certain other communities cannot enter the *Nalambalams.* There are certain other castes of Hindus who can worship from within the outer walls but cannot go beyond the *Balivattam.* Lastly, there are the Avarnas who worship from outside the temble walls and are totally prohibited from entering the temple. And even among the Avarnas, there are grades of differences. This, in our opinion, is a mere matter of procedure and does not form part of the principles of Hindu religion. That this is so is clearly proved by the fact that the practice varies in different temples. In the Benares Viswanatha temple, the most sacred temple of the Hindus, there is no such order of precedence. Every Hindu can approach the idol and perform *Abhishekam.* The rules as to temple entry are less stringent in Northern India than in South India and even among South Indian Temples there is greater latitude allowed outside Kerala than in Kerala itself. Certäin castes and communities who are allowed admission in the Tamil District in the Madras Presidency are not admitted into the Kerala temples. Take for instance, the Kammalas, the Mahomedans and the Christians. They have admission in all the temples in the Tamil Districts but they are excluded from the temples here. In South India again, the Nadars are allowed entry into certain temples while in others they are not. Had this practice of different communities worshipping from different places and positions been a fundamental principle of temple worship, the rule would have been uniform in all temples and there would have been no variation in different temples and in different places.

We have not been able to discover any authorities for this rule or practice in Hindu Sastras. The report says that there is no text in the Vedas either to support untouchability or unapproachability. There is no greater authority in the Hindu literature that the Geetha in regard to the fundamental principles of Hindu religion. It is the quintessence of the Hindu scripture and Sastras. It says:—

വിദ്യാവിനയസംപന്നേ
ബ്രാഹ്മണേ ഗവി ഹസ്തിനി
ശുനി ചൈവ ശ്വപാകേ ച
പണ്ഡിതാഃ സമദർശിനഃ.

विद्याविनयसम्पन्ने
ब्राह्मणे गवि हस्तिनि ।
शुनि चैव श्वपाके च
पण्डितास्समदर्शिनः ॥

which means learned men look equally on a Brahmana adorned with learning and humility, a cow, an elephant and even a dog and an outcaste. Niralambopanishat says :

1. ന ചർമ്മണോ ന രക്തസ്യ
ന മാംസസ്യ ന ചാസ്ഥിനഃ
ന ജാതിരാത്മനോ ജാതിർ-
വ്യവഹാരപ്രകല്പിതഃ.

1 न चर्मणो न रक्तस्य
न मांसस्य न चास्थिनः ।
न जातिरात्मनो जाति-
र्व्यवहारप्रकल्पितः ॥

According to orthodox Hindu view, caste is not based on birth, but on qualities. There cannot therefore be superiority or inferiority between castes. Caste is not of the skin or the blood or of the flesh or of the bones, or of the soul, it is only a practice.

I may also refer to the traditional controversy between the great Vedantic teacher Sree Sankara and the Chandala who is said to have been asked by the former to keep his pollution distance, when he was going to the temple after his bath in the Ganges. The Chandala in the following well-known verse asked Sankara whether he was requiring his body made of food or his atman to make way

അന്നമയാദന്നമയം
അഥവാ ചൈതന്യമേവ ചൈതന്യാത്
ദ്വിജവര! ദൂരീകർത്തും
വാഞ്ഛസി കിം തത്ര മേ ബ്രൂഹി.

अन्नमयादन्नमयं
अथवा चैतन्यमेव चैतन्यात् ।
द्विजवर ! दूरीकर्तुं
वाञ्छसि किं तत्र मे ब्रूहि ॥

Sankarachariar, unable to answer, prostrated before the Chandala in token of acknowledging his mistake,

Vajra Suchi Upanishat, discussing the question as to who was a Brahmin, came to the conclusion that a Brahmin was neither the Atman, nor the body, nor the caste, nor knowledge, nor conduct, nor charity, but one who realises the inimitable, non-active Paramatma.

യഃ കശ്ചിദാത്മാനം അദ്വിതീയം ജാതിഗുണക്രിയാഹീനം ഷഡൂർമ്മി-ഷഡ്ഭാവേത്യാദി സർവ്വദോഷരഹിതം അപരോക്ഷീകൃത്യ വർത്തത ഏവ മുക്തലക്ഷണോ യഃ സ ഏവ ബ്രാഹ്മണ ഇതി ശ്രുതിസ്മൃതിപുരാണേതിഹാസാനാമഭിപ്രായഃ.

यः कश्चिदात्मानं अद्वितीयं जातिगुणक्रियाहीनं षडूर्मिषड्भावेत्यादि सर्वदोषरहितं अपरोक्षीकृत्य वर्तत एव मुक्तलक्षणो यः स एव ब्राह्मण इति श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणेतिहासानामभिप्रायः ।

If the above represents the views of the authorities according to the Vedas and the Upanishats, then anything to the countrary stated in any other work has no binding force, as according to Hindu Sastras, the Vedas are the final authority on all questions relating to Dharma and, what is contrary to Vedic injunctions, is Adharma: —

ശ്രുതിഃ സ്മൃതിസ്സദാചാരഃ
സ്വസ്യ ച പ്രിയമാത്മനഃ
സമ്യക് സങ്കല്പജഃ കാമോ
ധർമ്മമൂലമിദം സ്മൃതം.

श्रुतिः स्मृतिस्सदाचारः
स्वस्य च प्रियमात्मनः ।
सम्यक्सङ्कल्पजः कामो
धर्ममूलमिदं स्मृतम् ॥

The Vedas as we have already said do not give any support for untouchability or unapproachability between several castes and nowhere is it said in the Geetha that there is any inferiority or superiority between the several Varnas or castes or that any community is untouchable or unapproachable to another.

But the contention of the Sanatanists is that temple worship is not governed by the Sruthis or Smritis but by the Agama Sastras which provide for the construction of temples, the dedication of images and the conduct of poojas and worship in temples. They say that a temple is not like a church or a mosque

where people assemble for the purpose of offering prayers to the deity or God, but it is a place where a *Bimbom* or image is installed upon which the Sannidhyam or presence of God is obtained by Tantrams and Mantrams chanted at the time of the *Pratishta* and the Sannidhyam is developed by the performance of Poojas by holy and learned Poojaris. This Sannidhyam or presence of God will be reduced or destroyed by certain *nimithams* or occurrences, one of such *nimithams* being the entry of the prohibited classes into the temples. The authority for this position that Sannidhyam will be destroyed by nimithams such as the entry of Avarnas is the following sloka in Vishnu-samhita, 25th Patalam.

വിളംബനേ തു നിഷ്കൃത്യാം
വിനശ്യേദ്ദൈവസന്നിധിഃ.

विलम्बने तु निष्कृत्यां
विनश्येद्दैवसन्निधिः ।

which means that if purificatory ceremonies are delayed after the image is polluted, the Sannidhyam will be destroyed.

Let us now see whether there is any authority in the Hindu Sastras in support of this theory of Sannidhyam or as it is known in present day newspaper controversy as the "power house theory."

There is no direct authority for the position that images are worshipped because there is the Sannidhyam of God in them. In the first place, the origin of temple worship does not lend support to the contention that idols are (worshipped because the Divine power which in a diffused form manifests itself in all objects animate and inanimate, exists in a concentrated form on the image. This form of worship is prescribed for the ignorant classess and not for the intelligent or the spiritually advanced.

ഉത്തമാ സഹജാവസ്ഥാ
മദ്ധ്യമാ ധ്യാനധാരണാ
ജപസ്തുതിസ്യാദധമാ
ഹോമപൂജാധമാധമാ.

(കുളാർണ്ണവം)

അപ്സ്വഗ്നൗ ഹൃദയേ സൂര്യേ സ്ഥണ്ഡിലേ പ്രതിമാസു ച
ഷട്സ്വേതേഷു ഹരേ സമ്യഗ് മനനം മുനിഭിഃ സ്മൃതം.

അഗ്നൗ ക്രിയാവതാം ദേവോ രവൗ ദേവോ മനീഷിണാം

പ്രതിമാസ്വല്പബുദ്ധീനാം
യോഗിനാം ഹൃദയേ ഹരിഃ
തസ്യ സർവഗതത്വാച്ച
സ്ഥണ്ഡിലേ ഭാവിതാത്മനാം.

उत्तमा सहजावस्था
मध्यमा ध्यानधारणा ।
जपस्तु स्यादधमः
होमपूजाधमाधमः ॥ (कुलार्णवधर्म)

अप्स्वग्नौ हृदये सूर्ये
स्थण्डिले प्रतिमासु च ।
षट्स्वेतेषु हरे सम्यग्
मननं मुनिभिः स्मृतम् ॥
अग्नौ क्रियावतां देवो
रवौ देवो मनीषिणाम् ।
प्रतिमास्वल्पबुद्धीनाम्
योगिनां हृदये हरिः ।
तस्य सर्वगतत्वाच्च
स्थण्डिले भावितात्मनाम् ॥

From these it would appear that idol worship is the lowest *of the lowest forms of worship* of God, and it is meant only for the ignorant or Alpabudhi. If, by the process of *Pratishta* and other Tantric karmas, the all-pervading essence is concentrated on the image, we do not see how image worship can be characterised as the lowest form of worship or why it should be meant for the ignorant alone. Image worship is prescribed for the ignorant classes because they are incapable of any abstract conception of God as a formless being and they want a concrete object to be presented to them for concentrating their minds on. Therefore, an image is presented to them as God, and they worship God through that concrete form :

[illegible] രൂപം വിനാ [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible].

(Vishnusamhita.)

न च रूपं विना देवो
ध्यातुं केनापि शक्यते ।
सर्वरूपनिवृत्ता हि
बुद्धिः कुत्रास्य तिष्ठति ॥

(Vishnusamhita.)

Which means, that for man it is impossible to conceive of God without a form and so image worship was prescribed for him.

See also principles of Tantra by Avalon part II, page 212 where he discourses on the comparative merits of mental worship and outer worship. "Outer worship is worse than the worst, so that its performance is degrading or that the most degraded persons only perform it." He says further that outer worship is merely the elementary preparation for training a man in meditation and concentration which is the form of worship prescribed, for the spiritually advanced just as the study of *Ka, Kha* in a primary school to begin with is essential for higher education. The learned author continues that "when *Ka, Kha*, has become firmly and indelibly impressed in their minds for all life, it is then that the boys enter the boundless sea of Sastra on the craft of the same *Ka, Kha*. Similarly when in course of the Sadhana of the lotus feet of the supreme Devatha in external worship in the primary school of the supreme Guru, meditation and concentration become *external* to a Sadhaka. It is then that he enters the sea of eternal knowledge and crosses to the other side of existence with the help of the craft of those fear dispelling feet. The relation between the Sadhana of Maha Vidya (Supreme spiritual knowledge) and the worship of the Devatha, whose substance is the Mantra given by the Guru is similar to that which exists between the cultivation of Vidya (knowledge) and the writing of *Ka, Kha* under Guru Mahasaya." Thus we find that idol worship is not an end in itself but forms only a preparation for the acquisition of the snpreme knowledge which is the object of Sadhana. The origin of image worship is given in Srimath Bhagavath a 7th Grantha, 14th Chapter, which is rendered in the following words by Justice Sadasiva Aiyar in 1914 M. W. N. 822. "The origin of image worship was in the Thretha Yuga. In

the Kritha Yuga, God was worshipped as immanent in the heart of everything and worship consisted solely in service to one's fellow creatures. As the spirit of the Universal brotherhood decayed in the second age and notions of inferiority and superiority among men were indulged in, the inferior man was asked to worship God's higher manifestations in the superior man. Then disputes naturally arose about the relative superiority and inferiority and the sages considered it expedient to introduce image worship in order to prevent quarrels about superiorities and in order that all men (who had now become devided into four distinct castes) without unseemly squabbles about their relative excellences might worship God in a common image."

Again, Chanakya, the father of Indian diplomacy and political science, says in his Arthasastra that idols were set up by kings for filling exchequers by exploiting the superstitious fears of their subjects. He says: "The superintendent of religious institutions may collect in one place the various kinds of properties of the Gods of the fortified cities and country parts and carry away the property to the kings' treasury." Many temples may have also come into existence with the object of supplementing the State Revenues.

Whatever theory we may accept, whether image worship was prescribed for the ignorant for concentrating their minds on a concrete object and thus training the mind in contemplation and concentration, or whether it was a substitute for human worship, or it was set up by kings for explointing the credulous fears of the superstitious, there is no foundation in the Agamas and Puranas in support of the contention that image worship is prescribed because there is Divine power in a concentrated form in the image; nay, the contention is directly opposed to the origin and object of image worship discussed above.

Assuming however there is Sannidhyam and that it is produced by Tantric rituals and developed by pooja, there is no warrant for the contention that the entry of Avarnas in temples will destroy of diminish the Sannidhyam. The reformers on the other hand contend that by increasing the number of worshippers which will be the result of allowing temple entry, Sannidhyam

will only be increased and not diminished. This stands to reason because what the Poojari himself does is merely to worship the image and to pray to God to manifest himself in the Bimbom and the being supposed to be a man of great spiritual merit and Thapas, the Sannidhyam is said to be induced on the image If that is so, the conjoint prayers of numerous Bhaktas cannot fail to enhance the Sannidhyam.

Now that apart, let us examine the argument of the Sanatanists on its own merits. They say, as we have already observed, that Sannidhyam will be diminished by the entry of the prohibited classes. The several *nimithams* which pollute the temples are given in the Tantrasamuchayam, which is the binding Agamic authority in Kerala, in the following words:

ക്ഷേത്രേ സൂതിർജ്ജനനസങ്കണമണ്ഡപാദൌ
മൂത്രാസൃഗാദിപതനം പതിതാദിവേശഃ
സോലൂകഗൃധ്രകരടശ്വഖരോഷ്ട്രകോല-
ക്രോഷ്ടൃക്ഷഡുണ്ഡുഭപുരസ്സരഗർഭവേശഃ

क्षेत्रे सूतिर्जननसङ्कणमण्डपादौ
मूत्रासृगादिपतनं पतितादिवेशः ।
सोलूकगृध्रकरटश्वखरोष्ट्रकोल-
क्रोष्टृक्षडुंडुभपुरस्सरगर्भवेशः ॥

This sloka enumerate the *nimithams* or occurences which pollute a temple or the image. The occurrence of births and deaths within the temple which includes the whole area within the outer walls, the spilling of urine and blood and the entry of pathithas and others within the Ankanam or Mandapam and the entry of certain animals such as *olukas* (owls) within the Garbha griha or inner sanctorum, are events which pollute the image. This raises two issues: (1) whether Chandalas are included within the prohibition and (2) and if they are, whether the prohibition relates to whole temple or only to the Ankana Mandapam. On the second point, Dr. Ravi Varma, a well known Sanskrit scholar says, in a letter addressed to the Zamorin in regard to the Guruvayoor Satyagraha," the construction of the stanza clearly points out that it is viewing the temple in a concentric order from without inwards. First, it is said that acts of birth and death in temples pollute them, thereby meaning that these events, if they happen anywhere within the precincts, would pollute them. Then it goes on to say that contamination with

urine blood and the like, as well as entry of pathithas and similar people, would entail pollution if they happen in the inner yard (yard within Nalampalam) Mandapa, etc. And lastly it mentions animals whose entry into the Sanctum sanctorum pollutes the temple. The term "Ankanamandapam" could mean only the inner yard, Mandapa and Girbhagriha, as we are directing our attention in a concentric manner from without inwards. This evidently means that any human being can go up to the inner yard without polluting the temple."

If this interpretation is accepted, there is no prohibition against the entry of any person of whatever caste within the outer walls and up to the Ankanam and Mandapam. Any other interpretation would be unnatural aud far fetched. The majority report says that as according to custom the Avarnas are prohibited from entering the outer walls of the temple, the prohibition in the Tantrasamuchaya in regard to Pathitadi vesa must apply to the whole temple and not to the Ankanam and Mandapam alone. This is begging the question.

The next question is whether the prohibition mentioned in the sloka applies to the Avarnas with whom we are now concerned. The text does not specially refer to them, but it is contended that the expression "Adi' in "Pathithadi" is intended to cover Chandalas and that all the prohibited classes are comprehended by this expression. The expression "Adi" has been construed to include Chandalas by the author of Vimarsini, a commentary on Tantrasamuchayam written by the son of the author. But, in our opinion, the expression "Adi" must be interpreted *ejusdem generis* with Pathitha and it can import only disabilities arising out of misconduct and other occurrences in one's life time and not to those arising from birth. Among persons affected with such disabilities may be included women in menses or under confinement and people affected by death or birth pollution. Women in their monthly periods and men in death and birth pollution are put on the same level with Pathithas by Smriti writers also. In Parasara Smriti, for instance, speaking about the pollution to *Vitanagni, Pathithas, Soothikas* (women in menses), *Udakya* (a woman in confinement)

are all mentioned as persons the approach of whom pollutes *Vithanagni.* The text is quoted below:

യുഗഞ്ച ദ്വിയുഗഞ്ചൈവ
ത്രിയുഗഞ്ച ചതുർയുഗം.
ചണ്ഡാലസൂതികോദക്യ-
പതിതാനാമധഃ ക്രമാൽ,

युगञ्च द्वियुगञ्चैव
त्रियुगञ्च चतुर्युगम् ।
चण्डालसूतिकोदक्य-
पतितानामधः क्रमात् ॥

Soothika and *Udakya,* who become impure not by birth but by certain occurrences in their life are treated as persons whose approach will pollute the *Vithanagni.* Applying the rule *ejusdem generis,* these persons alone can be intended to be covered by the expression "Adi". But it is contended that, as Chandalas are also mentioned as one of the set of persons whose approach will pollute *Vithanagni,* the expression "Adi" must be taken to be intended to include all the three, namely, Chandala, *Soothika* and *Udakya.* The answer to this contention is, in the first place, that such a construction would offend against the rules of *ejusdem generis.* Secondly, if Chandalas were also intended to be covered by this text, there was nothing to prevent the author from expressly mentioning them in the sloka. It is worthy of note, that while the Pathithas who have the least amount of pollution are expressly mentioned, the Chandalas are excluded and left to be inferred from the use of the expression 'Adi.' We are of opinion that the Chandalas were deliberately omitted because it was not intended to excluded them from worshipping in the temples which were really intended for their benefit. We are also supported in this view by the opinion of the majority of the members of the Committee. This is the view adopted by Mr. Nilakanta Aiyar (special officer for purificatory ceremonies) in his work on purificatory ceremonies which is a Government publication. He has translated 'Adi' in the above passage into 'and the like' and has refused to accept the Tantrasamuchaya as an authority for excluding the Avarnas from temples. In our opinion the prohibition against Chandalas relates only to touching the image and not to entry in temples. Vishnusamhita provides

for the purification of the image and the Girbhagriha when polluted by the touch of a Chandala. It says :

ചണ്ഡാലശ്വപചൈഃ സ്പൃഷ്ടേ
 പ്രാസാദേ ബിംബ ഏവ വാ
അശ്മാദ്രവ്യേ ച സംസ്പൃഷ്ടേ
 ജലസംപ്രോക്ഷണാദികം.

चण्डालश्वपचैः स्पृष्टे
 प्रासादे बिम्ब एव वा ।
अश्माद्रव्ये च संस्पृष्टे
 जलसम्प्रोक्षणादिकम् ॥

It is contended by some that the absence of express prohibition against the entry of Chandalas in temples is due to the fact that the possibility of their entering the temples is so remote that it was not left necessary to make any provision for it. If the entry of Chandalas into a temple is such a remote possibility as to be almost impossible, his touching the Girbhagriha or the image is a still further remote possibility and yet it was found necessary to anticipate the latter contingency and to provide against it. It is ridiculous therefore to suppose that the former contingency could not have been anticipated and provided for. The contention the Chandalas were left out because nobody could have anticipated the possibility of their entering the temples cannot stand a moment's scrutiny. The two texts, ക്ഷേത്രേ സൂതിജനന......, etc. in Tantrasamuchayam and ചണ്ഡാലശ്വപചൈഃ...... in Vishnusamhita-read together, lead to the irrefutable conclusion that the prohibition in regard to Chandalas applied only to touching the Girbhagriha or the image and not to his entering the temple and worshipping there. Therefore, the author of Tantrasamuchayam deliberately omitted mentioning the Chandalas in ക്ഷേത്രേ സൂതിജനനം क्षेत्र सूतिजननं etc.

Now, assuming for the sake of argument, that Chandalas were also intended to be included among the prohibited classes, the question arises who the Chandalas are and can be present-day Avarnas be designated as Chandalas ? We are unhesitatingly of opinion that they cannot be. Manusmriti says :

ശൂദ്രാദായോഗവഃ ക്ഷത്താ
 ചണ്ഡാലശ്ചാധമോ നൃണാം
വൈശ്യരാജന്യവിപ്രാസു
 ജായന്തേ വർണ്ണസങ്കരാഃ.

शूद्रादयो गव: क्षत्ता
चण्डालश्चाधमो नृणाम् ।
वैश्यराजन्यविप्रासु
जायन्ते वर्णसङ्करा: ॥

Amarakosa gives the following definition:

സ്യാച്ചണ്ഡാലസ്തു ജനിതോ
ബ്രാഹ്മണ്യാം വൃഷലേന യഃ

स्याश्चण्डालस्तु जनितो
ब्राह्मण्यां वृषलेन य: ।

A Chandala is thus the offspring of a Brahmin woman by a Sudra male. This is the view held uniformly by all the Srtmi writers and lexicographers without exception. Now, can by any stretch of imagination be it held that the 17 lakhs of Avarnas are the descendents of the fellen women of the Brahmin community whose population today is only 14,000? In this calculation we have not taken into account the Tamil Brahmins the vast majority of whom are recent immigrants into Travancore. Even including the latter, the present total Brahmin population of Travancore is only less than 70,000. We do not think that any reasonable man will seriously contend that the present Avarnas are Chandalas in the sense in which the expression is used in Hindu religious books.

Now let us examine the duties and functions assigned to Chandalas and their habits of life as stated in the Dharma Sastras. Manusmriti says thus :

ചണ്ഡാലശ്വപചാനാന്തു ബഹിർഗ്രാമാൽ പ്രതിശ്രയഃ
അപപാത്രാശ്ച കർത്തവ്യാ ധനമേഷാം ശ്വഗർദ്ദഭം
വാസാംസി മൃതചേലാനി ഭിന്നഭാണ്ഡേഷു ഭോജനം
കാർഷ്ണായസമലങ്കാരഃ പരിവ്രജ്യാ ച നിത്യശഃ
ന തൈസ്സമയമന്വിച്ഛേൽ പുരുഷോ ധർമ്മമാചരൻ
വ്യവഹാരോ മിഥസ്തേഷാം വിവാഹസ്സദൃശൈസ്സഹ
അന്നമേഷാം പരാധീനം ദേയം സ്യാൽ ഭിന്നഭാജനേ
രാത്രൗ ന വിചരേയുസ്തേ ഗ്രാമേഷു നഗരേഷു ച
ദിവാചരേയുഃ കാര്യാർത്ഥം ചിഹ്നിതാ രാജശാസനൈഃ
അബാന്ധവം ശവഞ്ചൈവ നിർഹരേയുരിതി സ്ഥിതിഃ
വധ്യാംശ്ച ഹന്യുസ്സതതം യഥാശാസ്ത്രം നൃപാജ്ഞയാ
വധ്യവാസാംസി ഗൃഹ്ണീയുഃ ശയ്യാശ്ചാഭരണാനി ച
വർണ്ണാപേതമവിജ്ഞാതം നരം കലുഷയോനിജം
ആര്യരൂപമിവാനാര്യം കർമ്മഭിസ്സ്വൈർവിഭാവയേൽ

चण्डालश्वपचानान्तु बहिर्ग्रामात्प्रतिश्रयः ।
अपपात्राश्च कर्तव्या धनमेषां श्वगर्दभम् ॥
वासांसि मृतचेलानि भिन्नभाण्डेषु भोजनम् ।
कार्ष्णायसमलङ्कारः परिव्रज्या च नित्यशः ॥
न तैस्समयमन्विच्छेत् पुरुषो धर्ममाचरन् ।
व्यवहारो मिथस्तेषां विवाहस्सदृशैस्सह ॥
अन्नमेषां पराधीनं देयं स्यात् भिन्नभाजने ।
रात्रौ न विचरेयुस्ते ग्रामेषु नगरेषु च ॥
दिवा चरेयुः कार्यार्थं चिह्निता राजशासनैः ।
अबान्धवं शवञ्चैव निर्हरेयुरिति स्थितिः ॥
वध्यांश्च हन्युस्सततं यथाशास्त्रं नृपाज्ञया ।
वध्यवासांसि गृह्णीयुः शय्याश्चाभरणानि च ॥
वर्णापेतमविज्ञातं नरं कलुषयोनिजम् ।
आर्यरूपमिवानार्यं कर्मभिः स्वैर्विभावयेत् ॥

Slokas 51 to 57 Chap. X.

നീലവസ്ത്രധരോ നീലപരുഷോ ധ്വസ്തമൂർദ്ധജഃ
ചിത്യമാല്യാനുലേപശ്ച ആയസാഭരണോ ഭവേൽ.

नीलवस्त्रधरो नीलपरुषो ध्वस्तमूर्द्धजः ।
चित्यमाल्यानुलेपश्च आयसाभरणो भवेत् ॥

(Ramayanam Balakanda).

വിഭിന്നകലശാകീർണ്ണം ശ്വചർമ്മച്ഛേദനായുതം
വരാഹഖരഭഗ്നാസ്ഥികപാലഘടസങ്കുലം
മൃതചേലപരിസ്തീർണ്ണം നിർമ്മാല്യകൃതഭൂഷണം
സർപ്പനിർമ്മോകമാലാഭിഃ കൃതചിഹ്നം കുടീമുഖം
കുക്കുടാരാവബഹുലം ഗർദ്ദഭധ്വനിനാദിതം
ഉദ്ഘോഷന്തീഭിർവ്വാക്യൈഃ കലഹദ്ഭിഃ പരസ്പരം
ഉലൂകപക്ഷിധ്വനിഭിർദ്ദേവതായതനൈർവൃതം
ലോഹഘണ്ടാപരിഷ്കാരം ശ്വയൂഥപരിവാരിതം

(മഹാഭാരതം ശാന്തിപർവ്വം)
൧൪൧-ാം അദ്ധ്യായം
(വിശ്വാമിത്രശ്വപചസംവാദം)

विभिन्नकलशाकीर्णं श्वचर्मच्छेदनायुतम् ।
वराहखरभग्नास्थिकपालघटसङ्कुलम् ॥
मृतचेलपरिस्तीर्णं निर्माल्यकृतभूषणम् ।
सर्पनिर्मोकमालाभिः कृतचिह्नं कुटीमुखम् ॥

कुक्कुटारावबहुलं गर्दभध्वनिनादितम् ।
उद्घोषद्भिः खरैर्वाक्यैः कलहद्भिः परस्परम् ॥
उलूकपक्षिध्वनिभिः देवतायतनैर्वृतम् ।
लोहघण्टापरिष्कारं श्वयूथपरिवारितम् ॥

(महाभारतं शान्तिपर्वं
१४१ अध्यायम् ।
विश्वामित्रश्वपचसंवादम् ।)

The Slokas from Manu quoted above are thus translated by Sir William Jones:

'The abode of a Chandala and a *Swapaka* must be out of the town; they must not have the use of entire vessels; their sole wealth must be dogs and asses:

'Their clothes must be the mantles of the deceased; their dishes for food, broken, pots; their ornaments, rusty iron; continually must they roam from place to place:

'Let no man, who regards his duty religious and civil, hold any intercourse with them; let their transactions be confined to themselves, and their marriages only between equals:

'Let food be given to them in potshreds, but not by the hands of the giver; and let them not walk by night in cities or towns:

'By day, they may walk about for the purpose of work, distinguished by the King's badges; and they shall carry the corpse of every one, who dies without kindred:

Such is the fixed rule.

'They shall always kill those, who are to be slain by the sentence of the law, and by the royal warrant; and let them take the clothes of the slain their beds, and their ornaments.

'Him, who was born of a sinful mother, and consequently in a low class, but is not openly known who, though worthless in truth, bears the semblance of a worthy man, let people discover by his acts.

Practically the same descriptions is given of them in the Ramayana and the Bharata. Now what we ask is, is there any caste which answers this description among the numerous castes treated by the report as Avarnas. Take the Kammalas for instance. They are artisans by profession and they claim to be Viswabrahma Brahmins. Their habits are cleanly and they have none of the attributes of Chandalas. Or again, take the Ezhavas. Their profession is agriculture and industry. A large number of them are weavers. There are also a few toddy drawers and toddy vendors among them, but toddy drawing and vending are not professions assigned to Chandalas by the Dharmasastras as will be evident from the quotations above. They are not the only classes who now follow the profession. There are among them Sanskrit scholars, astrologers, Ayurvedic physicians and very learned men generally. Kaniars again are, by profession, astrologers and physicians. The Pulayas have been agriculturists from time immemorial and they too are not addicted to any of the untidy habits attributed to Chandalas in the above citations. It is needless to examine this question further, as there is no evidence whatever to prove that any of the Avarna castes come under the description of Chandala in the Dharmasastras. The report says in para 17 "the Chandala or the *Anthyaja* is described, as regards his appearance, his habitation, his dress, his ornaments and his profession. That description, though it has by lapse of time become inapt in some respects, is still in a general way sufficient to include certain Avarna classes going by varying names in different localities within the scope of the general class name in the text." This is an *ipse dixit* which cannot be accepted for a moment. If, as the report assumes, the description of Chandalas given in the Smritis and Puranas was sufficient to include the several classes of Avarnas within the generic term Chandala, we should have had no hesitation to treat these Avarna classes as Chandalas. But we have purposely extracted the above portions of Manusmriti, Ramayanam and Bharatam regarding the origin, appearance, habitation, dress, ornaments and profession of the Chandalas to show that they apply to none of the Avarna communities and we challenge the authors of the report to show how that description applied to Kammalas, Ezhavas, Kanians or

any other class of Avarnas. We regret that on such a general and fundamental point the authors of the report should have satisfied themselves by a mere assertion instead of stating the particulars in detail and showing how those particulars applied to these Avarna classes. The fact is that it was an impossible feat, and instead of acknowledging it, the learned authors consoled themselves with a bare assertion.

On this point, the report relies on two very recent unpublished works called Yogiar Prayaschitha and Prayaschitha vimarsini, the first by Neelakanta Yogiar and the second by Mahisha mangalam Namboori. In the first place, these works were not produced before the Committee for their scrutiny. It is not improbable that these are recent forgeries. Secondly it is not clear how the classes mentioned in these works come under the classification of Chandalas in the Smrithis having regard to the description of their habits of life and profession. The authors are not men of any great repute and their opinions cannot prevail against the spirit of the provisions of the well-known Smritis and Purnas. They do not give any reason for the fresh classification of Chandalas into three classes and bringing the Avarna communities under that classification. They merely base the classification on distance pollution as the authors found it. But the Smritis do not mention this as the distinguishing feature of a Chandala. We have therefore no hesitation in discarding the authority of these texts for identifying the Avarnas as the Chandalas of the Smritis.

The report continues "An even more important test of identity is the long unbroken usage on the one hand treating them as so in clude, and on the other, accepting such inclusion." This is again begging the question. What has to be proved is that the present-day Avarnas are the Chandalas of the Smritis and Agamas. That has to be decided by their definition and the description of their habits, dress, profession, etc. If these unmistakeably show that they are not Chandals, how does the fact that they are excluded from entry into temples, prove that they are the Chandalas of the Smritis and Agamas. Our contention is that when they do not answer either the definition or the description of the Chandalas in the Smritis, it is wrong to call them Chandalas and to apply to them the restriction imposed on Chandalas.

Now let us examine what this "unbroken usage and treating them as Chandalas" stated by the report, is. We deny that the Kammalas, Kaniyans and Ezhavas are treated as Chandalas any more than the Nair or Brahmin is treated as such. It is adding insult to enjury to say that by usage they have been treated as Chandalas in any sense of the term. There is no doubt a usage by which these people are treated as unapproachables and are not admitted to temples. Does it mean therefore they are the Chandalas mentioned in the Smritis ? It may be a usage which developed subsequent to the Smritis and Agamas and against their provision and based upon other reasons. The Prayaschitha vimarsini of Mahishamangalam referred to by the report does not anywhere say that the present-day Avarnas are the Chandalas of the Smritis and Agamas. Even if it said so we should have no hesitation to reject it, as it is contrary to the Smritis and Agamas. The conclusion, therefore, is that the present-day Avarnas have not been proved to be the Chandalas of the Smritis and the report has been making a confusion between *theendal* classes and Chandalas.

We have already seen that the sloka in Brahspathi quoted in Parasara Madhaviyam which is the foundation upon which the whole superstructure of the existing practices of varying grades of pollution is raised, refers only to the pollution to the *Vithanagni* or the fragment of the *Yagna* fire retained in a Brahmin's house. It has no reference whatever to human beings. But the report says it applies to the Brahmins also. There is no authority in the Smritis and Agamas for this, but assuming it is so, how can it apply to the image of God which is, as Mr. S. T. Veeraraghavachari says, eternally pure. It is assumed that God in the image is conceived of as a Brahmin and as a Brahmin is made impure by the approach of a Chandala, so is the image which is conceived of as a Brahmin. Here we join issue with those who hold this opinion and contend that the conception of the Hindu is not that God is a Brahmin but a Kshatriya or king. God is conceived as the ruler of the Universe. The Brahmin is not the ruler of the world. The whole routine of service in a Hindu temple corresponds exactly to what happens in a royal palace and not in an ascetic Brahmin's Asramam. Early in the

morning, the God is awakened by music and the noise of Shank. He is every day bathed and most sumptuously fed with luxurious food. He is taken out in procession with musical accompaniments like a prince. The Agamas enjoin that after the image is served with food, there should be music and dancing by dancing girls. Is this practice one which obtains in a royal Palace or Brahmin's Graham? Again, during Utsavom, on the 9th day, the God is supposed to go out hunting or *Pallivetta*. Is it consistent with a Brahmin's Varna Dharma to go a-hunting? Again, on the Arat day, the image is taken out in procession with all parapharnalia of a royal procession such as flags, umbrellas, *thazha, alavattom,* war drums, etc., etc. Again, He supervises the training of His army and inspects His guard of honour every day during the Utsavom. This is called *Velakali*.

The Brahmin has no more to do with a war or the disposition of the army then with trade or any other profession. Now all these and many other similar observances lead to the incontrovertible conclusion that God in the Agama is conceived as a king, a Kshatriya and not as a Brahmin. If our contention is well founded, then the whole foundation of the pollution of a temple falls to the ground because there is absolutely no warrant in the Smritis or Agamas for the observance of pollution by the non-Brahmin castes, such as Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras on account of the proximity of Avarnas.

The Bimbom is like *Vithanagni* (വിതാനാഗ്നിതുല്യം ബിംബം) Therefore it is urged that whatever pollutes the *Vithanagani* will pollute the Bimbom also. In the first place, the texts do not say that the Bimbom will be polluted by the same occurrences as *Vithanagni.* Secondly, it is opposed to the contention that the Bimbom contains the Divine element in a concentrated form because the Divine element is incapable of conception except as നിത്യശുദ്ധം or eternally pure. Further, the Bimbom representing the deity is conceived as a human being with human attributes, (Saguna), and it is as such that pollution is sought to be attached to it. But we have already shown that as a human being, it is as a Kshatriya and not as a Brahmin for whom alone there is pollution, that God is conceived.

We may observe in this connection that the authorities quoted for identifying the Chandalas as Avarnas, *viz.*, Yogiar, Mahishamangalam, Karuthapara, etc., are all unpublished works. They were not produced before the Committee for scrutiny. Their genuineness is open to doubt. Even if they are genuine, they are comparatively recent works and can have no more weight attached to them than to the evidence of orthodox witnesses who appeared before us. Their opinion is opposed to the Dharmasastras and for that teason alone, they deserve to be rejected.

Another authority quoted is from Vaikhanasagama. The substance of that quotation in the report is as follows:— "Brahmins who are Vaikhanasas may worship in th the *Girbha-griha*. Brahmins able to recite Vedas in the *ardhāmandapa* devotees of Vishnu in the *Mahamandapa*, Kshatriyas and women of the Kshatriya classes in the *Nrithamandapam*, Vaisyas, Sudras and Anuloma castes in the *Bahyamandapa*, others who are devotees of Vishnu in the *Gopuram* and *Pratilomas* and *Anthyajas* by a sight of the *Stoopi*." This Agama is not a binding authority in Travancore. The restrictions therein imposed are not observed in Kerala. According to Tantrasamuchayam, no restriction is imposed on any classes against temple entry except *Pathithas* and the like and in practice, Brahmins, both men and women, Kshatriyas of both sexes, Vaisyas, Sudras and Anuloma castes are all allowed to go up to the *Sopanam* and worship from there. The *Poojari* alone is allowed inside the *Girbha-griha*. No other Brahmin is allowed that privilege. So, neither in practice, nor in theory is the *Vikhanasagama* quoted above acceptable as an authority in Kerala temples.

Again, if the contention that the *Sannidhyam* in the image would be diminished by the approach of unapproachables is well founded, then there could be no *Sannidhyam* in the temples belonging to the Ezhavas or other unapproachables. But none of the conservative witnesses have denied the existence of *Sannidhyam* in those temples. If there is no *Sannidhyam* in those temples, the remedy suggested by some witnesses for the present trouble that separate temples may be built for the Avarnas cannot

be of any avail. If, on the other hand, in the new temples proposed to be erected and in the existing temples belonging to unapproachables, the existence of *Sannidhyam* is granted, then the argument that the entry of Avarnas in Savarna temples will reduce or destroy *Sannidhyam*, cannot be sustained for a moment.

We may also say that on this point, namely, the destruction of *Sannidhyam* by the admission of Avarnas, the opinion is not uniform among the conservative section of the Savarnas themselves. Mr. S. T. Veeraraghavachari, a retired Judge of the High Court and a gentleman of great learning in the Hindu scriptures and Sastras says :—[illegible]. Again in answer to the president's question he continues "[illegible] is only a pessimistic view of the thing. The obtimistie view of philosophy [illegible]. From this it is clear that this erudite Hindu scholar does not support the view that the image will be polluted or its *Sannidhyam* destroyed by the presence in the temple of Avarnas. There are other conservative witnesses also who hold this view. According to Mr. K. R. Krishna Aiyar M.A., (witness No. 134) a diehard conservative, the result of the entry of Avarnas is not the destruction or diminution of *Sannidhyam* but the rousing of God's anger and in consequence the spread of famine and epidemics such as Cholera, Smallpox, etc. He says :—[illegible]. He says he has not read the Sastras himself but his Guru told him so and he accept his Guru's opinion. As far as we know, no text has been cited by anybody as the basis for this crude belief. This is the faith of the ignorant and the illiterate. This witness is an Asst. Professor of Chemistry and we are not a little surprised that he should without any examination accept the authority of his spiritual Guru on such an important matter, concerning the cause of diseases. He was asked whether he believed in the Government of nature by laws and the

physical causes of diseases. He said he believed in them and yet he hugs the belief that an angry God maliciously spreads diseases among people for polluting his image by the presence of His children in his neighbourhood. God is according to the Hindu concept അഖണ്ഡ പരിപൂർണ്ണ സച്ചിദാനന്ദ that is, God is indivisible, perfect and eternal bliss. Does this learned Professor consider that such a Being is capable of such revengeful malice? It is profitless to pursue this point further. Suffice it to say that the cantention that the entry of the Avarnas will pollute the temple or that the *Sannidhyam* in the image will be diminished or destroyed thereby, is not supported by the Hindu scriptures or Dharmasastras, nor is it supported by reason and common sense.

We think we have now sufficiently proved that there is no foundation in the Hindu religion for the contention of the Savarnas that a temple or image will be polluted by the approach of untouchables. This untouchability or unapproachability has not got the support of the Vedas and when they have not got that authority behind them, they need not be observed. Manu says: —

"ഉത്പദ്യന്തേ ച്യവന്തേ ച യാന്യതോന്യാനി കാനിചിത്
താന്യർവ്വാക്കാലികതയാ നിഷ്ഫലാന്യനൃതാനി ച".

"उत्पद्यन्ते च्यवन्ते च यान्यतोन्यानि कानिचित् ।
तान्यर्वाक्कालिकतया निष्फलान्यनृतानि च ॥"

But there is no doubt as a matter of daily practice and observance, unapproachability and untouchability existed among the Hindus from time immemorial. The trouble arises, when those practices, some social and some individual, are sought to be given the sanction of religion and religious texts are quoted in their support. These are mere social customs which arose independent of religion or the Dharmasastras and in some cases quite contrary to the spirit of the Sastras. Unapproachability and untouchability are social customs which came into vogue independent of religion. The question of temple entry is merely a question of unapproachability extended to the temple. When unapproachability has ceased to be observed outside the temple,

there is no reason for the continuance of its observance inside the temple.

Even assuming that there is any authority for untouchability in the Dharmasastras—which in our opinion there is not—it cannot be treated as a religious observance but is merely a social custom which is not permanent in character and but liable to change according to time, place ond circumstances.

The Hindu Dharmasastras are a curious jumble of rules relating to religion, law and social and individual observances. It is the duty of the cultured man to use his intelligence and reason to distinguish what is purely religious from what is not religious. The Hindu religion is called *Sanatana Dharma, i. e.*, eternal and unchangeable Dharma and it is only those principles that are eternal and unchangeable that can be called religious. Customs and manners change according to time, place and circumstances. They are not *Sanatana* and have no religious sanction. Everything contained in the Dharmasastras has no connection with religion. Take for instance, evacuation of the bowels and the bladder. No reasonable man will contend that these calls of nature have any religious significance and yet Dharmasastras provide for the practices to be observed in the matter of these natural functions of the body. See what Manusmriti says :—

നാന്നമദ്യാദേകവാസാ ന നഗ്നഃ സ്നാനമാചരേത്
ന മൂത്രം പഥി കുർവീത ന ഭസ്മനി ന ഗോവ്രജേ,
ന ഫാലകൃഷ്ടേ ന ജലേ ന ചിത്യാം ന ച പർവതേ
ന ജീർണ്ണദേവായതനേ ന വല്മീകേ കദാചന
ന സസത്വേഷു ഗർത്തേഷു ന ഗച്ഛന്നപി ച സ്ഥിതഃ
ന നദീതീരമാസാദ്യ ന ച പർവതമസ്തകേ
വായ്വഗ്നിവിപ്രമാദിത്യമപഃ പശ്യംസ്തഥൈവ ഗാഃ
ന കദാചന കുർവീത വിൺമൂത്രസ്യ വിസർജ്ജനം
തിരസ്കൃത്യോച്ചരേത് കാഷ്ഠലോഷ്ഠപത്രതൃണാദിനാ
നിയമ്യ പ്രയതോ വാചം സംവീതാംഗോഽവഗുണ്ഠിതഃ
മൂത്രോച്ചാരസമുത്സർഗ്ഗം ദിവാ കുര്യാദുദങ്മുഖഃ
ദക്ഷിണാഭിമുഖോ രാത്രൗ സന്ധ്യയോശ്ച യഥാ ദിവാ
ഛായായാമന്ധകാരേ വാ രാത്രാവഹനി വാ ദ്വിജഃ
യഥാസുഖമുഖഃ കുര്യാൽ പ്രാണബാധഭയേഷു ച

പ്രത്യഗ്നിം പ്രതിസൂര്യം ച പ്രതി സോമോദകദ്വിജാൻ
പ്രതി ഗാം പ്രതിവാതം ച പ്രജ്ഞാ നശ്യതി മേഹതഃ.

नान्नमद्यादेकवासा न नग्नः स्नानमाचरेत् ।
न मूत्रं पथि कुर्वीत न भस्मनि न गोव्रजे ॥
न हालकृष्टे न जले न चित्यान्न च पर्वते ।
न जीर्णदेवायतने न वल्मीके कदाचन ॥
न स सत्वेषु गर्तेषु न गच्छन्नापि च स्थितः ।
न नदीतीरमासाद्य नच पर्वतमस्तके ॥
वाय्वग्निविप्रानादित्यमपःपश्यंस्तथैव गाः ।
न कदाचन कुर्वीत विण्मूत्रस्य विसर्जनम् ॥
तिरस्कृत्योच्चरेत्काष्ठलोष्टपत्रतृणादिना ।
नियम्य प्रयतो वाचं संवीतांगोऽवगुह्नितः ॥
मूत्रोच्चारसमुत्सर्गं दिवा कुर्यदुदङ्मुखः ।
दक्षिणाभिमुखो रात्रौ सन्ध्ययोश्च यथा दिवा ॥
छायायामन्धकारे वा रात्रावहनि वा द्विजः ।
यथासुखमुखः कुर्यात् प्राणाबाधभयेषु च ॥
प्रत्यग्निं प्रतिसूर्यं च प्रतिसोमोदकद्विजान् ।
प्रति गां प्रतिवातं च प्रज्ञा नश्यति मेहतः ॥

(Sloka 45 to 52, Chap. IV.)

The following is from Sankarasmriti and it describes the method of purification after answering the calls of nature.

പരിമൃജ്യ ഗുദം സമ്യക് ഗൃഹീത്വാ ശിശ്നമന്തിതഃ
ഹസ്തേനോദ്ധൃത്യ കുർവീത ശൗചമംഭോ ജലാശയാൽ
അഗന്ധലേപയോന്താന്നിർല്ലേപം തദിഷ്യതെ
സർവ്വേഷാമപി വർണ്ണാനാം വിപ്രാദീനാം പുനസ്ത്വിയം.

പരിപാടീഷ്യതേ തത്ര സംഖ്യാവധിവാസിതാ
മൃദേകൈകാദശാവൃത്തിസ്ത്യാൽ ശൗചാനി തൈവ ഗുദേ.
സപ്താവൃത്തിനി സപ്താഷ്ഠളിംഗേ മൃത്തികയാ സഹഃ
വിപ്രസ്യ പാദഹീനാന്യത്രാദ്യേ ക്ഷത്രിയവൈശ്യയോഃ.

പഞ്ചാവൃത്തിനി പഞ്ചാഷ്ഠമ്പിതീയ പാപദേ പുനഃ
സ്മൃതിന്നസ്ഥാനി കൃഷ്ണേ പഞ്ചാവൃത്തിനി പഞ്ച വാ.
സപ്താവൃത്തിനി വാ സപ്ത പ്രഥമേ ത്രിണ്യനന്തരേ
ത്ര്യാവൃത്തിനി ച ... വേപി ക്ഷാളയേദ്ധസ്തമേകശഃ.

ഏതച്ഛൗചം കാന്തശൈവ ഹസ്ഥാവശേഷഃ സംഖ്യാവധിതഃ
ശൗചം ത്രൈ ന കുർവീത ശാസ്ത്രമാവനാത്മഃ.
പാത്രസ്ഥനാംബുനാ ശൗചം നാചരേദ്വാ ജലേപി വാ
ഏതച്ഛൗചം ഗൃഹസ്ഥാനാമേഷ ച ബ്രഹ്മചാരിണാം

വനസ്ഥാനാം ച ഭിക്ഷൂണാം
തത്തു ദ്വിഗുണമിഷ്യതേ
മൂത്രേ വിസൃഷ്ടേ ഗണ്ഡൂഷൈഃ
സപ്തഭിർമ്മുഖശോധനം.

കുർവ്വീത ധൃതകൗപീനോ
വർച്ചസ്യേതൈർദ്ദശാധികൈഃ
അനിസ്സൃതപുരീഷോപി
നിത്യസ്നാനേ സമാചരേൽ.

ശൗചം നിസ്സൃതവർച്ചോവൽ
ഗണ്ഡൂഷാംശ്ച ദ്വിജോത്തമഃ
നൈഷ്ഠികോദീക്ഷിതശ്ചാഗ്നി-
ഹോത്രി സർവ്വത്ര ചാപ്ലവേ.

परिमृज्य गुदं सम्यग्गृहीत्वा शिश्नमस्थितः ।
हस्तेनोद्धृत्य कुर्वीत शौचमम्भो जलाशयात् ॥
अगन्धलेपयोर्नाशान्निर्विशेषं तदिष्यते ।
सर्वेषामपि वर्णानां विप्रादीनां पुनस्त्वियम् ॥
परिपाटीष्यते तत्र भार्गवावनिवासिनाम् ।
द्वादश द्वादशावृत्तीन्याहुः शौचानि वै गुदे ॥
सप्तावृत्तीनि सप्ताहुर्लिङ्गे मृत्तिकया सह ।
विप्रस्य पादहीनान्यत्राद्ये क्षत्रियवैश्ययोः ॥
पञ्चावृत्तीनि पञ्चाहुर्द्वितीये चापरे पुनः ।
सूत्रिणस्तानि कुर्युश्च पञ्चावृत्तीनि पञ्च वा ॥
सप्तावृत्तीनि वा सप्त प्रथमे त्रीण्यनन्तरे ।
त्र्यावृत्तीनि च सर्वेपि क्षालयेयुर्मृदम्भसा ॥
एकैकान्तरुभौ हस्तावेष भार्गवदर्शितः ।
शौचक्रमो न कुर्वीत रामभूमावनातुरः ॥
पात्रस्थेनाम्बुना शौचं नावगम्य जलेपि वा ।
एतच्छौचं गृहस्थानामथ च ब्रह्मचारिणाम् ॥
वनस्थानं च भिक्षूणां तत्तु द्विगुणमिष्यते ।
मूत्रे विसृष्टे गण्डूषैः सप्तभिर्मुखशोधनम् ॥
कुर्वीत धृतकौपीनो वर्चस्येतैर्दशाधिकैः ।
अनिःसृतपुरीषोपि नित्यस्नाने समाचरेत् ॥
शौचं निःसृतवर्चोवत् गण्डूषांश्च द्विजोत्तमः ।
नैष्ठिकोदीक्षितश्चाग्निहोत्रि सर्वत्र चाप्लवे ॥

(Sankarasmriti Chap. IV, 6 to 16 Slokas.)

The substance of this is that after evacuating the bowels one must rub the part with leaves and rise up holding the end of the .... The Brahmin must then clean the part 12 times with earth and the Kshatriya, 9 times. After that both hands must be cleaned by rubbing them with earth and washing with water. For washing, the water pot must not be used. After this he must gargle 17 times with water.

Though the Dharmasastras are such an incongruous medley of rules regulating human conduct in all spheres of life such as religion, morals, law, sanitation and hygene, marriage, sonship and every other conceivable thing affecting individual human life and society, the Hindus and their sages of old always drew a distinction between the fundmental sanatanā doctrine and faith of Hinduism, and social, moral and sanitary regulations; and while insisting upon the eternal and permanent nature of the former, admitted that the latter are liable to change according to time and circumstances and the conditions of life and environment. The authorities in support of this are quoted in the report itself and it is unnecessary to repeat them here. We are therefore giving below only the most important of them to illustrate my argument.

യുഗേ യുഗേ ച യേ ധർമ്മാഃ
തത്ര തത്ര ച യേ ദ്വിജാഃ
തേഷാം നിന്ദാ ന കർത്തവ്യാ
യുഗരൂപാ ഹി തേ ദ്വിജാഃ"

അന്യേ കൃതയുഗേ ധർമ്മാഃ
ത്രേതായാം ദ്വാപരേ യുഗേ
അന്യേ കലിയുഗേ നൃണാം
യുഗരൂപാനുസാരതഃ"

പരിത്യജേദർത്ഥകാമൗ
യൗ സ്യാതാം ധർമ്മവർജ്ജിതൗ
ധർമ്മം ചാപ്യസുഖോദർക്കം
ലോകവിക്രുഷ്ടമേവ ച.

അസ്വർഗ്ഗ്യം ലോകവിദ്വിഷ്ടം
ധർമ്മമപ്യാചരേന്നതു.
പരിത്യജേദർത്ഥകാമൗ
ധർമ്മപീഡാകരൗ നൃപഃ.

ധർമ്മമപ്യസുഖോദർക്കം
ലോകവിദ്വിഷ്ടമേവ ച
ന കുര്യാത് ലോകവിദ്വിഷ്ടം
ധർമ്മമപ്യുദിതം ക്വചിത്.

युगे युगे च ये धर्मा:
तत्र तत्र च ये द्विजाः ।
तेषां निन्दा न कर्तव्या
युगरूपा हि ते द्विजाः ॥
अन्ये कृतयुगे धर्मा-
स्त्रेतायां द्वापरे युगे ।
अन्ये कलियुगे नृणां
युगरूपानुसारतः ॥
परित्यजेदर्थकामौ
यौ स्यातां धर्मवर्जितौ ।
धर्मञ्चाप्यसुखोदर्कं
लोकविक्रुष्टमेव च ॥
अस्वर्ग्यं लोकविद्विष्टं
धर्ममप्याचरेन्न तु ।
परित्यजेदर्थकामौ
धर्मपीडाकरौ नृपः ।
धर्ममप्यसुखोदर्कं
धर्मविद्विष्टमेव च ॥
न कुर्यात् लोकविद्विष्टं
धर्ममप्युदितं क्वचित् ।

(Sankarasmriti, Chap XII, 19.)

പ്രതികാലം പ്രമാണാനി
ഭിദ്യന്തേ കാലവൈഭവാൽ
പ്രതിദേശഞ്ച ഭിദ്യന്തേ
തൽ പശ്യേത് ബഹുസമ്മതിം.

प्रतिकालं प्रमाणानि
भिद्यन्ते कालवैभवात् ।
प्रतिदेशञ्च भिद्यन्ते
तत् पश्येत् बहुसम्मतिम् ॥

(Sankarasmriti Chapter II, 22.)

Thus untouchability is treated as a matter purely of convenience and wherever it is impossible to observe it, the Sastras make an exception. The following texts from Devalasmriti illustrate the point:—

ദേവയാത്രാവിവാഹേഷു
യജ്ഞപ്രകരണേഷു ച
ഉത്സവേഷു ച സർവേഷു
സ്പൃഷ്ടാസ്പൃഷ്ടിർന്ന വിദ്യതേ"

ദേവാലയസമീപസ്ഥാൻ
ദേവസേവാർത്ഥമാഗതാൻ
ചണ്ഡാലാൻ പതിതാൻ വാപി
സ്പൃഷ്ട്വാ ന സ്നാനമാചരേൽ"

देवयात्राविवाहेषु
यज्ञप्रकरणेषु च ।
उत्सवेषु च सर्वेषु
स्पृष्टास्पृष्टिर्न विद्यते ॥
देवालयसमीपस्थान्
देवसेवार्थमागतान् ।
चण्डालान् पतितान्वापि
स्पृष्ट्वा न स्नानमाचरेत् ॥

(Sankarasmriti Chapter II, 22.)

These show that *acharams* change from time to time according to the altered environments of the people·

"Old order changeth yielding place to new
And God fulfils himself in many ways."

The test for determining whether the time for change has come is whether it has become repugnant to public opinion. (ലോകവിദ്വിഷ്ടം). When a particular Dharma or acharam has become repugnant to publis opinion, it need not be observed. This is in accordance with the principles of Dharma as communicated by Manu and other Smriti writers.

വേദസ്മൃതിസമാചാര-
സ്സ്വസ്യ ച പ്രിയമാത്മനഃ
തസ്മാച്ചതുർവിധം പ്രാഹു-
സ്സാക്ഷാദ്ധർമ്മസ്യ ലക്ഷണം

वेदस्मृतिसमाचार-
स्स्वस्य च प्रियमात्मनः ।
तस्माच्चतुर्विधं प्राहु-
स्साक्षाद्धर्मस्य लक्षणम् ॥

(Manu Chapter II, verse 12.)

Vedam, Smriti, approved practice and self-satisfaction are the four tests of *Dharma*. All these must combine to make a particular rule of conduct a *Dharma*. Now, one of the important tests is "സ്വസ്യ ച പ്രിയമാത്മനഃ" *i. e.*, that it conserves one's happiness. Therefore, when it ceases to do that, it ceases to be a *Dharma*· It then becomes ലോകവിദ്വിഷ്ടം or ലോകവിരുദ്ധം.

Then that *Acharam* need not be followed. Is there any doubt that this *Acharam* of excluding a large section of the population has become ലോകവിദ്വിഷ്ടം?

The question of untouchability and unapproachability has long since passed the stage of being a purely domestic question for the Indians. It has become an international question like slavery. The practice stands now condemned by the whole world. In India itself, except a few self interested Sanatanists, every Indian has begun to denounce the institution as cruel, inhuman and unjust and one that destroys the solidarity of the Hindus.

According to the report, the demand for temple entry is universal among the Avarnas. They consider it inhuman and unjust to deprive them of their natural right. It is conceded that all Hindus including the Avarnas are beneficiaries of these religious institutions. If that is granted, every one of them should have the same right of entry into temples as any other.

There is an idea among some Savarnas that the Avarnas have no such right and if it is granted, it will be not as a matter of right but merely as a concession by the Savarnas. There is no greater misconception than this. It may be that the Avarnas' right of temple entry may not be enforcible in the Municipal courts of the country as they were kept out of that right for long. But there is what is known as a moral or natural right. It is the natural right of every Hindu to enter a temple and to worship the image. If the law will not permit him to do it, legislation will have to be resorted to, for the purpose of establishing the right. Avarnas have been kept out hitherto by force. The Avarnas are no longer willing to submit to this treatment and feel the insult very keenly and the time has come for the recognition of their just and natural rights. It is the natural right of every person in a community to enjoy on equal terms of all property of the community. It is on this principle that schools, Cutcherries and other public institutions were thrown open to all classes. The temple is only one such institution.

Now, coming to public opinion among the Savarnas themselves, the evidence of witnesses examined before the Committee leaves no room for doubt about the trend of public opinion on the

matter. Of the 325 Savarna witnesses examined orally, 238 or 73 per cent. were in favour of temple entry. Of the 87 who objected to temple entry, 59 belonged to the minor communities such as Ambalavasis, Elayathu, Moothathu, Malayala Brahmin and Tamil Brahmin. All these communities are interested in the preservation of the existing order of things, not on account of any religious scruples but because they are more or less dependent upon the temples for their bread and they seriously fear that such innovations, if permitted, would ultimately result in changes which might prejudicially affect the benefits and prequisites, they derive from temples. Take the case of the Tantris as a concrete instance. They now gain large incomes out of purificatory ceremonies called *Sudhikalasam*. If the Avarnas are also permitted temple entry, the occasion for Sudhikalasam will diminish largely. These costly ceremonies are performed for purifying the image when polluted by the *nimithams* or occurrences referred to in Tantrasamuchayam. When people become enlightened and progressive ideas prevail, they will resort to scientific methods of purification in preference to ceremonial purification. Two chakrams worth of some disinfecting lotion will be more effective in removing the impurity caused by the spilling of urine, blood, etc., than a Sudhikalasam performed at a cost a few hundred rupees. That means a permanent loss of income to Tantris. They would, therefore, naturatly like to maintain the prevalent superstitious beliefs and not countenance inroads into existing order of things.

Another point that has been ignored in dealing with the statistics is that the total number of all these minority communities objecting to temple entry is only 70,000, where as the Savarnas number nearly 12 lakhs so that even if all the Ambalavasis, Elayathus, Moothathus, Malayala Brahmins and Tamil Brahmins gave evidence against temple entry, that will constitute only the opinion of 5·8 per cent. of the whole Savarna population.

In assessing the value of the evidence before the Committee with a view to determine the extent of feeling among the caste Hindus consisting of different communities, the respective numerical strength of the communities from which the witnesses are drawn is a material factor. As Hindu society is constituted

at present, the witnesses from one community can only reflect the opinion of that community. If 75 per cent. of the witnesses belonging to one community are in favour of a change, we may assume 75 per cent. of the members of that community hold that view. If we examine the evidence adopting this criterion, we find that there is an overwhelming majority in favour of temple entry. Any other method would lead to a fallacious result. Suppose we examine 10 witnesses consisting of 5 Brahmins and 5 Nairs and the former deposed against and the latter for temple entry. If the criterion that we have adopted is not followed, it may be said that opinion is equally divided among the Savarnas. But it is obviously misleading because the total Brahmin population is only 70,000 while the Nairs are 8 lakhs and odd or 12 times the number of Brahmins. If the two classes of witnesses are treated as representing the views of their communities, the result follows that while 8 lakhs and odd Nairs are in favour of temple entry, 70,000 Brahmins are against it. Even amongst the Brahmins and Ambalavais 35 per cent. favour temple entry and 65 per cent. alone oppose it. The rest of the Savarna population is made up mainly of Nairs and Vellalas. Among them, 197 out of 224 or 88 per cent. are in favour of temple entry. Now, taking the respective numerical strength of these communities we find that 45,500 Brahmins including Ambalavasis and one lakh and 32 thousandother Savarnas are against, while 10 lakhs and odd of Savarnas are in favour of temple entry, *i. e.*, about 14·8 per cent. of Savarnas are against and 85·2 per cent are in favour.

We must also take into account the fact that the representatives of 12 out of 14 karayogams and 8 other representative institutions including the Namboodiri Yogakshema Sabha and the Nair Service Society have given evidence in support of the demand for temple entry. These witnesses represent the opinion of the caste Hindu associations to which they belong and their evidence has a special statistical value.

A proper analysis of the written answers will also lead to the same result. Out of 451 Brahmin and Ambalavasi witnesses, 418 or 92 per cent. have replied against temple entry *i. e.*, in terms of actual numbers, 64,400 Brahmins, etc., are against and 15,600 in favour. Among the other Savarnas 407 persons out

of 502 or 81 per cent. roughly have given replies in favour of temple entry. When we reduce the percentage to actual numbers, we have 915,300 non-Brahmin Savarnas in favour of temple entry. Thus we have 915,300 non-Brahmins and 15,600 Brahmins and Ambalavasis in favour, *i. e.*, 930,900 out of a total population of 12 lakhs of Savarnas in favour of temple entry, *i. e.*, 77 per cent. of the Savarna population of the State. There is, therefore no doubt regarding the trend of public opinion on this matter. We may concede that among Brahmins especially the Tamil Brahmins, who have very little to do with our temples except reaping the benefits, the percentage in favour is comparatively small. But the younger generation of Nambooris is strongly in favour of the change.

From the discussion of the evidence we find that the opposition to temple entry comes from the Brahmins, and chiefly Tamil Brahmins. We have already pointed out that the opposition in many cases arises out of self interest. They place reliance upon the Dharmasastras and Agamas in support of their position. It will therefore be interesting in this connection to examine how far the Brahmins themselves respect the Sastraic rules and injunctions upon which they rely.

Manu says:

സരസ്വതീദൃഷദ്വത്യോർദ്ദേവനദ്യോർയ്യദന്തരം
തന്ദേവനിർമ്മിതം ദേശം ബ്രഹ്മാവർത്തം പ്രചക്ഷതേ
തസ്മിൻ ദേശേ യ ആചാരഃ പാരമ്പര്യക്രമാഗതഃ
വർണ്ണാനാം സാന്തരാളാനാം സ സദാചാര ഉച്യതേ.
കുരുക്ഷേത്രം ച മത്സ്യാശ്ച പാഞ്ചാലാശ്ശൂരസേനകാഃ
ഏഷ ബ്രഹ്മർഷിദേശോ വൈ ബ്രഹ്മാവർത്താദനന്തരഃ
ഏതദ്ദേശ പ്രസൂതസ്യ സകാശാദഗ്രജന്മനഃ
സ്വം സ്വം ചരിത്രം ശിക്ഷേരൻപൃഥിവ്യാം സർവ്വമാനവാഃ
ഹിമവദ്വിന്ധ്യയോർമ്മദ്ധ്യം യത് പ്രാഗ്വിനശനാദപി
പ്രത്യഗേവ പ്രയാഗാച്ച മദ്ധ്യദേശഃ പ്രകീർത്തിതഃ
ആസമുദ്രാത്തു വൈ പൂർവ്വാദാസമുദ്രാത്തു പശ്ചിമാൽ
തയോരേവാന്തരം ഗിര്യോരാർയ്യാവർത്തം വിദുർബ്ബുധാഃ
കൃഷ്ണസാരസ്തു ചരതി മൃഗോ യത്ര സ്വഭാവതഃ
സ ജ്ഞേയോ യജ്ഞിയോ ദേശോ മ്ലേച്ഛദേശസ്ത്വതഃ പരഃ
ഏതാൻ ദ്വിജാതയോ ദേശാൻ സംശ്രയേരൻ പ്രയത്നതഃ
ശൂദ്രസ്തു യസ്മിൻ കസ്മിൻ വാ നിവസേദ്വൃത്തികർശിതഃ

सरस्वतीदृषद्वत्योर्देवनद्योर्यदन्तरम् ।
तन्देवनिर्मितं देशं ब्रह्मावर्त्तं प्रचक्षते ॥

तस्मिन् देशे य आचारः पारम्पर्यक्रमागतः ।
वर्णानां सान्तरालानां स सदाचार उच्यते ॥
कुरुक्षेत्रं च मत्स्याश्च पाञ्चालाश्शूरसेनकः ।
एष ब्रह्मर्षिदेशो वै ब्रह्मावर्तादनन्तरम् ॥
एतद्देशप्रसूतस्य सकाशादग्रजन्मनः ।
स्वं स्वं चरित्रं शिक्षेरन्पृथिव्यां सर्वमानवाः ॥
हिमवद्विन्ध्ययोर्मध्यं यत्प्राग्विनशनादपि ।
प्रत्यगेव प्रयागाच्च मध्यदेशः प्रकीर्तितः ॥
आसमुद्रात्तु वै पूर्वादासमुद्रात्तु पश्चिमात् ।
तयोरेवान्तरं गिर्योरार्यावर्तं विदुर्बुधाः ॥
कृष्णसारस्तु चरति मृगो यत्र स्वभावतः ।
स ज्ञेयो यज्ञियो देशो म्लेच्छदेशस्त्वतःपरम् ॥
एतान् द्विजातयो देशान् संश्रयेरन् प्रयत्नतः ।
शूद्रस्तु यस्मिन् कस्मिन् वा निवसेद्वृत्तिकर्शितः ॥

If they are following this, they cannot live south of the Vindhya mountains and they have not to prescribe Dharmas for the guidance of the *Mlechhas* who alone live south of the Vindhya range. If we strictly construe the above passages, we will have to conclude that there are no Brahmins in South India and if there are any, they have become *Patithas* by associating with the *Mlechhas* and violating the Dharmasastras.

Brahmins' duties.—According to Manusmriti, a Brahmin's duties are to study and teach Vedas, to perform and officiate at the performance of *Yagna*, to give and receive charity:

അദ്ധ്യാപനമദ്ധ്യയനം യജനം യാജനം തഥാ
ദാനം പ്രതിഗ്രഹശ്ചൈവ ഷട്കർമ്മാണ്യഗ്രജന്മനഃ.

अध्यापनमध्ययनं यजनं याजनं तथा ।
दानं प्रतिग्रहश्चैव षट्कर्माण्यग्रजन्मनः ॥

In studying Vedas, it is not enough to commit to memory a few verses but he must study its meaning and connotations. According to the Smritis, a Brahmin has to devote his whole life to the study of the Vedas and Sastras and he must maintain himself in one of the modes mentioned in the Dharmasastras:—

യഥാ കാഷ്ഠമയോ ഹസ്തീ യഥാ ചർമ്മമയോ മൃഗഃ
യശ്ച വിപ്രോ ന ധീയാനഃ ത്രയസ്തേ നാമബിഭ്രതി.

यथा काष्ठमयो हस्ती यथा चर्ममयो मृगः ।
यश्च विप्रो न धीयानः त्रयस्ते नाम बिभ्रति ॥

As an elephant made of wood as an antilope made of leather, such is an unlearned Brahmin.

> യഥാ ഷണ്ഡോഫലഃ സ്ത്രീഷു യഥാ ഗൗർഗ്ഗവി ചാഫലൌ
> യഥാ ചാജ്ഞേ ഫലം ദാനം തഥാ വിപ്രോ നൃചോ ഫലഃ.
>
> यथा षण्डोफलः स्त्रीषु यथा गौर्गवि चाफलौ ।
> यथा चाज्ञे फलन्दानं तथा विप्रो नृपोफलः ॥

As an eunuch is unproduttive with women, a cow with a cow is unprolific, as liberality with a fool is fruitless, so is a Brahmin useless, if he read not the holy texts.

> യോനധീത്യ ദ്വിജോ വേദമന്യത്ര കുരുതേ ശ്രമം
> സജീവന്നേവ ശൂദ്രത്വമാശു ഗച്ഛതി സാന്വയഃ
>
> योऽनधीत्य द्विजो वेदमन्यत्र कुरुते श्रमम् ।
> सजीवन्नेव शुद्रत्वमाशु गच्छति सान्वयः ॥

A Brahmin who, instead of Devoting his life to the study of the Vedas, diverts his efforts to other pursuits, becomes during his life time. a Sudra with his family and descendants.

The five ways in which alone a Brahmin may make his living are stated below :—

> ഋതാമൃതാഭ്യാം ജീവേത്തു മൃതേന പ്രമൃതേന വാ
> സത്യാനൃതാഭ്യാമപി വാ ന ശ്വവൃത്ത്യാ കദാചന.
>
> ऋतामृताभ्यां जीवेत्तु मृतेन प्रमृतेन वा ।
> सत्यानृताभ्यामपि वा न श्ववृत्या कदाचन ॥

The first is more meritorious than the 2nd, the 2nd than the 3sd, and so on. But even if the resorted to trade which is known as(സത്യാനൃതം)they must not adopt ('*Swavrithi*') (ശ്വവൃത്തി)*i. e.,* service for hire. What is *Swavrithi* is given in the next verse.

That is, they must not live by *seva* or service which is the Sudra Dharma. Again, service for remuneration is *Swavrithi*. He may live by gleaning and gifts or if necessary by mendicancy or by agriculture or even by trade but never let him subsist by becoming the servant of another. Even when, as an *Apadharma*, a Brahmin has to resort to the Vaisya's profession, he cannot trade in cloth, milk, cooked food, salt, cattle, slaves, etc. By selling milk for three days, he becomes a Sundra :

> സദ്യഃ പതതി മാംസേന ലാക്ഷയാ ലവണേന ച
> ത്ര്യഹേണ ശൂദ്രീഭവതി ബ്രാഹ്മണഃ ക്ഷീരവിക്രയാത്

സർവ്വഞ്ച താന്തവം രക്തം ശാണക്ഷൌമാവികാനി ച
അപി ചേത്സ്യുരരക്താനി ഫലമൂലേ തഥൌഷധീഃ.
അപശ്ശസ്ത്രം വിഷം മാംസം സോമം ഗന്ധാംശ്ച സർവ്വശഃ
ക്ഷീരം ക്ഷൌദ്രം ദധി ഘൃതം തൈലം മധു ഗുഡകുശാൻ
സദ്യഃ പതതി മാംസേന ലാക്ഷയാ ലവണേന ച
ത്ര്യഹേണ ശൂദ്രീഭവതി ബ്രാഹ്മണഃ ക്ഷീരവിക്രയാൽ.

सर्वान् रसानपोहेत कृतान्नञ्च तिलैस्सह ।
अश्मनो लवणं चैव पशवो ये च मानुषाः ॥
सर्वञ्च तान्तवं रक्तं शाणक्षौमाविकानि च ।
अपिचेत्स्युररक्तानि फलमूले तथौषधीः ॥
आप शस्त्रं विषं मांसं सोमं गन्धांश्च सर्वशः ।
क्षीरं क्षौद्रं दधि घृतं तैलं मधुगुडकुशान् ॥
सद्यः पतति मांसेन लाक्षया लवणेन च ।
त्र्यहेण शूद्रीभवति ब्राह्मणः क्षीरविक्रयात् ॥

Manu, verses 86, 87, 88 and 92, Chapter X

A Brahmin cannot earn money by singing or dancing (verse 15, Chapter IV, Manu). Manu further says that, if a Brahmin follows the profession of any other Varna, he becomes a *Pathitha* forthwith.

പരം സ്വധർമ്മോപി ഗുണോ ന പാരക്യഃ സ്വനുഷ്ഠിതഃ
പരധർമ്മേണ ജീവൻ ഹി സദ്യഃ പതതി ജാതിതഃ.

परं स्वधर्मोपि गुणो न पारक्यः स्वनुष्ठितः ।
परधर्मेण जीवन् हि सद्यः पतति जातितः ॥

Now let us come to marriage. A Brahmin is prohibited from marrying below his caste, and if he marries a Sudra, he becomes a *Pathita.*

(Manu Chapter III 16 and 17).

ഹീനജാതിസ്ത്രിയം മോഹാദുദ്വഹന്തോ ദ്വിജാതയഃ
കുലാന്യേവ നയന്ത്യാശു സസന്താനാനി ശൂദ്രതാം
ശൂദ്രാവേദീ പതത്യത്രേരുതത്ഥ്യതനയസ്യ ച
ശൌനകസ്യ സുതോൽപത്ത്യാ തദപത്യതയാ ഭൃഗോഃ.

हीनजातिस्त्रियम्मोहादुद्वहन्तो द्विजातयः ।
कुलान्येव नयन्त्याशु ससन्तानानि शूद्रताम् ॥
शूद्रावेदीपतत्यत्रेरुतथ्यतनयस्य च ।
शौनकस्य सुतोत्पत्त्या तदपत्यतया भृगोः ॥

That is not all. A Brahmin who shares the bed of a Sudra woman or procreates children in her goes to hell. (verse 19).

"വൃഷലീഫേനപീതസ്യ നിശ്വാസോപഹതസ്യ ച
തസ്യാം ചൈവപ്രസൂതസ്യ നിഷ്കൃതിന്ന വിധീയതേ"

"वृषलीफेनपीतस्य निश्वासोपहतस्य च ।
तस्यां चैव प्रसूतस्य निष्कृतिर्न विधीयते ॥"

For the crime of him who thus illegally drinks the moisture of a Sudra's lips, who is tainted by her breath, and who even begets a child on her body, the law declares no expiation.

The Malayalam Brahmins say that Bhargavan has permitted them to take wives from Sudras. This is not true, Hear what Sankarasmriti says in regard to this matter.

ശൂദ്രാം ന ഗച്ഛേദ്വിപ്രോ വാ രാജാ വാ വൈശ്യ ഏവ ച
വൃഷല്യാം രമമാണോ യദേകരാത്രേണ സാധയേൽ
തൽഭൈക്ഷ്യഭുഗ്ജപന്നിത്യം ത്രിഭിർവർഷൈഃ പരാണുദേൽ
കേരളേഷ്വഭിമന്യന്തേ വൃഷലീഗമനം പ്രതി

....

ഭാർഗ്ഗവസ്യാഭ്യനുജ്ഞാനം സ്നാതകാ അപി ഭൂസുരാഃ
ദൃശ്യതേ ന ച തത്ര്വാപി
യുജ്യതേ ന ച സർവ്വഥാ
നാരീഗമനസാമാന്യം സ്നാതകഃ പരിവർജ്ജയേൽ

शूद्रां न गच्छेद्विप्रो वा राजा वा वैश्य एव च ।
वृषल्यां रममाणो यदेकरात्रेण साधयेत् ॥
तत्भक्षभुग्जपन्नित्यं त्रिभिरब्दैः परानुदेत् ।
केरलेष्वभिमन्यन्ते वृषलीगमनं प्रति ।

....

भार्गवस्याभ्यनुज्ञानं स्नातका अपि भूसुराः ॥
दृश्यते न च तत्स्ववापि
युज्यते न च सर्वथा ॥
नारीगमनसामान्यं स्नातकः परीवर्जयेत् ।

This shows that the pretention that Bhargava has sanctioned Sudra marriage for Nambooris is unfounded. Again, a Brahmin is prohibited from travelling in the sea.

അഗാരദാഹീ ഗരദഃ കുണ്ഡാശീ സോമവിക്രയീ
സമുദ്രയായീ വന്ദീ ച തൈലികഃ കൂടകാരകഃ

अगारदाही गरदः कुण्डाशी सोमविक्रयी ।
समुद्रयायी वन्दी च तैलिकः कूटकारकः ॥

A houseburner, a giver of poisons, an eater of food offerred by the son of an adulterous, a seller of the soma plant, one who has crossed the ocean, a servant, an oil man and a perfurer are unfit to be associated in Sradhas. According to some conservatives the prohibition against sea voyage applies only to habitual sea voyage and not to a single voyage. This cannot be accepted, as according to Marichi quoted in Hemadri's prayaschitham, 3 days' travel in the sea causes fall from caste status.

മാസം കാരാഗൃഹേ വാസേ
നൌഭിര്യാത്രാ ദിനത്രയം
മ്ലേച്ഛാവാസേ തഥാ പക്ഷം
യോ വസേൻ സ തു പാതകീ.

मासं कारागृहे वासे
नौभिर्यात्रा दिनत्रयम् ।
म्लेच्छावासे तथा पक्षं
यो वसेत् स तु पातकी ॥

There are various other obligatory rules prescribed by the Smritis for the Brahmins. I have only extracted above a few of the most important of them. Now the present-day Brahmins honour these rules more in the breach than in the observance thereof. They freely reside in South India. They live in countries governed by *Melchhas*. They devote their lives not to the study and teaching of Vedas None of the witnesses who spoke against temple entry have read the Vedas understood their significane, much less do they devote their lives to the study and teaching of the Vedas. Their knowledge of the Vedas consist of memorising a few stanzas absolutely necessary for their daily prayers and they devote their entire lives to the pursuit of worldly ends. This, it will be conceded is the case of 99 out of 100 Brahmins. They cannot, therefore claim the status of Brahmins under the Dharmasastras. They have freely adopted the professions of Sudras and Vaisyas, such as trade, money lending, service for hire, etc. They follow professions such as teaching music and dancing, trade in cooked food, milk, cloth, salt and so on, which are prohibited even as *Apadhrma* (*i. e.*, Dharma in the case of danger to life.) Many Brahmins eke out their livelihood by performing domestic service even in Sudra houses. *i. e.*, श्ववृत्ति. They serve as peons and Aarikars. It follows

therefore that most of the Brahmins have abandoned the dharmas under the Sastras and have become Sudras and therefore, *Pathithas*.

An attempt has been made during the examination of some witnesses to show that these prohibited acts have been performed by Brahmins as *Apadharma* and therefore they are not violating the strict injunctions of the Smritis. In the first place, let us ask whether sea voyage, money lending and trade pursued for the purpose of making and hoarding wealth are adopted as *Apadharma*. A whole family follows the profession money lending for generations and accumulates immense fortunes. Even assuming that, to begin with, it was followed for the sake of obtaining a bare livelihood as an *Apadharma*, does the danger continue after sufficient competence has been acquired? Take for instance, witness No, 73, a well known money lender. During the last three generations, his family has been pursuing the business of money lending. Now he pays a land tax of Rs. 4,000, and an income tax of Rs. 2,000 every year. He admits he is even now continuing the Sowcar's and Chetty's professions. Thousands of Brahmins are today pursuing money making professions assigned to Vaisyas and Sudras and also professions specifically tabooed without any justification, except the common lure for money.

What is, after all, an *Apadharma*? Manu Chapter X, verse 81 says :

അജീവംസ്തു യഥോക്തേന ബ്രാഹ്മണസ്സ്വേന കർമ്മണാ
ജീവേൽ ക്ഷത്രിയധർമ്മേണ സഹ്യസ്യ പ്രത്യനന്തരഃ

अजीवंस्तु यथोक्तेन ब्राह्मणस्स्वेनकर्मणा ।
जीवेत्क्षत्रियधर्मेण सह्यस्य प्रत्यनन्तरः ॥

That is, when one cannot live by Brahmana Dharma, one may obtain a living by adopting Kshatriya Dharma. The next verse (82) allows the adoption of Vaisya Dharma in case one cannot live by even adopting Kshatriya Dharma. It is, therefore, only when a Brahmin is unable to obtain a bare maintenance or to sustain life by means of Brahmana Dharma, he is allowed to adopt Kshatriya or Vaisya Dharma for obtaining a livelihood. He is not allowed to do so for the purpose of acquiring wealth or for providing the needs of a luxurious life. The illustrations

in the Smritis will show the extreme cases in which such defection is permitted: —

"അജീഗർത്തസ്സുതം ഹന്തുമുപാസർപ്പദ് ബുഭുക്ഷിതഃ
ന ചാലിപ്യത പാപേന ക്ഷുൽപ്രതീകാരമാചരൻ"

"आजीगर्तसुतं हन्तुमुपासर्पद् बुभुक्षितः।
न चालिप्यत पापेन क्षुत्प्रतीकारमाचरन् ॥"

The Rishi named Agigarthan, dying with hunger, was going to destroy his own son by selling him for some cattle; ye he was guilty of no crime, since he only sought a remedy agains amishing.

ശ്വമാംസമിച്ഛന്നാർത്തോത്തും ധർമ്മാധർമ്മവിചക്ഷണഃ
പ്രാണാനാം പരിരക്ഷാർത്ഥം വാമദേവോ ന ലിപ്തവാൻ

श्वमांसमिच्छन्नार्तोत्तुं धर्माधर्मविचक्षणः।
प्राणानां परिरक्षार्थं वामदेवो न लिप्तवान् ॥

That is Vamadeva, who well new right and wrong, was by no means rendered impure, though desirous, when oppressed with hunger, to eat the haunch of a dog, which he had received from a Chandala.

ഭരദ്വാജഃ ക്ഷുധാർത്തസ്തു സപുത്രോ വിജനേ വനേ
ബഹ്വീർഗ്ഗാഃ പ്രതിജഗ്രാഹ വൃധോസ്തക്ഷ്ണോ മഹാതപാഃ

भरद्वाजः क्षुधार्तस्तु सपुत्रो विजने वने।
बह्वीर्गाः प्रतिजग्राह पृथोस्तक्ष्णो महातपाः ॥

That is, Bharadwaja, eminent in devotions, when he and his son almost starved in a dreary forest, accepted several cows from a carpenter Prithu.

ക്ഷുധാർത്തശ്ചാത്തുമഭ്യാഗാദ്വിശ്വാമിത്രഃ ശ്വജാഘനീം
ചണ്ഡാലഹസ്താദാദായ ധർമ്മാധർമ്മവിചക്ഷണഃ.

क्षुधार्तश्चात्तुमभ्यागाद्विश्वामित्रः श्वजाघनीम्।
चण्डालहस्तादादाय धर्माधर्मविचक्षणः ॥

That is, Viswamitra too, than whom none better knew the distinctions between virtue and vice, resolved when he was perishing with hunger, to eat the haunch of a dog, which he had received from a Chandala.

These examples conclusively prove that a Brahmin may resort to other professions only when he is unable to eke out a

bare subsistence by brahmana Dharma and when, if he did not do so, he would be starved to death. In the absence of such extreme exigencies, deviation from Dharma is not permitted. Would the Brahmin die of starvation if he did not engage himself in the pursuit of wealth by money lending, Sirkar service, practice at the Bar, management of hotels or the teaching of music? Would the Malayala Brahmin die of starvation if he did not marry Sudra girls or the Tamil Brahmins meet with a similar fate by not keeping 'dancing girls as concubines? Can it be said that those who cross the seas for pleasure, for qualifying for posts in Government service carrying fat salaries, do so to save themselves from starvation? No. It is useless to contend that it is *apath* or danger to life by starvation and not the pursuit of pleasure and wealth, that is at the root of this wholesale violation of the Dharmasastras and the abandonment of Varna Dharma. We do not blame the Brahmins for doing this. It is the natural instinct of man to seek pleasure and wealth, which is the means of obtaining it. But what amuses one is that these same people who have totally abandoned their dharma and violated every rule of the Dharmasastras should trot out Smritis and Agamas for the mere purpose of keeping out of the temple the poor, ignorant and down trodden Avarnas. It is mere self interest that prompts them to play this ignoble part. Let a ukase be issued abolishing feeding in the temples and the immense perquisites that the Brahmins derive from them, the opposition to temple entry will vanish like mist before the sun. To-day, nearly 25 lakhs of rupees taken from the hard worked tax-payers are spent upon these institutions by the Government alone. At least an equal amount is spent by the people in private temples. The major portion of this goes into the pockets of the Brahmins. There are 70,000 Brahmins in the whole State and nearly 40 lakhs of rupees are distributed to them through the temples. Therefore they get about Rs. 50 per head from the temples and charitable institutions. This is much more than the average income of a Travancorean. They legitimately fear that if superstitious customs and practices once begin to disappear, with them may disappear the priestly privileges and perquisites of the Brahmins. This is at the bottom of the Sanatanist opposition. We believe we have said enough and cited sufficient texts to prove that the Brahmins

have abandoned their own Dharma, that they have violated all the rules of the Dharmasastras, that they do not now adopt the Dharmasastras as a guide to their conduct, that they have thereby descended to the level of Sudras, that they are all *Pathithas* in that sense, and that, therefore, they have no right to demand obedience from the Avarnas of the rules of the Dharmasastras or Agamas. This is exactly the reason why one Brahmin witness at Karunagappalli said, that if viewed in that light, all the Brahmins are Pathithas. Mr. Subramonian Potti another Karunagappally witness said that it was unnecessary to examine the Srutis and Smritis for this purpose because they are not being followed to-day in practice and if they were, himself and the Brahmin members of the Committee ought not to have been found there but in the forest studying and teaching the Vedas.

Another aspect which we wish to draw attention to at this stage is, if all the Brahmins are Pathithas, they have no right of temple entry to-day.

Pathithans. There are also other specific acts which cause pathithwam.

ബ്രാഹ്മണസ്യ രുജഃ കൃത്യാഘ്രാതിരഘ്രേയമദ്യയോഃ
ജൈഹ്മ്യഞ്ച മൈഥുനം പുംസി ജാതിഭ്രംശകരം സ്മൃതം.

ब्राह्मणस्य रुजः कृत्याघ्रातिरघ्रेयमद्ययोः ।
जैह्म्यञ्च मैथुनं पुंसि जातिभ्रंशकरं स्मृतम् ॥

2. According to Kulluka, the following five great offenders are pathithas.

ബ്രഹ്മഹത്യാ സുരാപാനം സ്തേയം ഗുർവ്വംഗനാഗമഃ
മഹാന്തി പാതകാന്യാഹുഃ സംസർഗ്ഗശ്ചാപി തൈസ്സഹ.

ब्रह्महत्या सुरापानं स्तेयं गुर्वङ्गनागमः ।
महान्ति पातकान्याहुः संसर्गश्चापि तैस्सह ॥

3. According to Sankarasmriti, the following acts or omissions also cause a man Pathithwam.

The omission to grow a front tuft, *i. e.*, to have cropped head.

അവിധാനാൽ പരിത്യജ്യ സമ്പ്രദായഗതാം ശിഖാം
വിഹന്ത്യപ്യതഥാഭൂതാം ദ്വിജപാതിത്യമൃച്ഛതി.

अविधानात् परित्यज्य सम्प्रदायगतां शिखाम् ।
विहन्त्यप्यतथाभूतां द्विजपातित्यमृच्छति ॥

Again, a Brahmin who marries a woman above 12 years of age is a Pathithan (Parasara chapter VII, verses 7 to 9). The Malayala Brahmins do not observe this rule. They have all become therefore Sudras according to Parasara. Moothathus and Elayathus are known as Pathitha Brahmins.

Now all these Pathithas enter the temples. So even assuming that Pathithadi in തന്ത്രസമുച്ചയം (Thantrasamuchayam) covers Chandalas and that expression is intended to denote all Avarnas, even then there can be no harm in their entering temples, as Pathithas have now free admission to the temples. Otherwise, present-day നാമമാത്ര नाममात्र Brahmins, Moothathus, Elayathus, drunkards, cropped heads, husbands of Sudra women and those who have married girls above 12 years of age and those who consort with dancing girls should be excluded from the temple, but they are not. As the rule is not enforced in regard to them, the rule as regards Chandalas may also be relaxed. If there is any foundation for the contention of the Savarnas that the entry of *Pathithadi* would reduce or destroy the Sannidhyam, then that Sannidhyam must have disappeared long long ago by the present-day Brahmins or pathithas worshipping there. In that view also, the Avarnas may be admitted, in as-much as there is no more Sannidhyam in the image to be reduced or destroyed by their approach.

But Mr. Nilakanta Sarma would contend that a Pathitha does not become one until he is detected and convicted of the offence. That may be so, according to the Municipal laws of imperfect human beings. But nothing is hidden from God. He sees every human action and needs no external proof. Every criminal stands convicted before Him and so a Pathitha is before Him a Pathitha, whether he is convicted of it by a human tribunal or not, and so far as the destruction of Sannidhyam is concerned, it can make no difference whether a Pathitha who defiled the image by his approach was convicted of the offence by a human tribunal or not.

Even assuming that the Chandalas are prohibited by the Sastras from entering the temples, can they not be purified in this life and admitted to the privileges of the Savarnas? While the

Sanatanists unanimously admit and they are supported in this by the Dharmasastras that Pathithas may expiate their sins and become purified by prayaschithams, they contend that Chandalas who owe their impurity to their birth cannot be purified in this life. By their good conduct and clean living, they may obtain a higher status only in their next birth. But Hindu Sastras and Puranas abound in instances of persons born in low caste, who, by living clean lives, and education have been raised to the status of the highest Brahmins. We have only to examine the life history of the great Rishis from whom the present-day Brahmins claim to be discended, though there is no historical evidence to support this claim. Irishiasringan was born of a deer Kausikan of Kusa grass, Jambukan of a Jackal, Valmiki of an ant-hill, Vyasan of a fisherwoman, Goutaman of a rabbit Vasishtan of Urvasi and Agasthian of a pot. None of these great Rishis was born of a Brahmin woman. The great Vidurar was the son of a Sudra woman. The following passages show that, by good conduct and Bhakthi, a Chandala may become a Brahmin in this life.—

മാം ഹി പാർത്ഥ! വ്യപാശ്രിത്യ യേപി സ്യുഃ പാപയോനയഃ
ഭക്ത്യാഹമേകയാ ഗ്രാഹ്യഃ ശ്രദ്ധയാത്മാ പ്രിയസ്സതാം
ഭക്തിഃ പുനാതി മന്നിഷ്ഠാ ശ്വപാകാനപി സംഭവാൽ.
(ഭാഗവതം ഏകാദശം.)

നകുലേ ന ച ജാത്യാ വാ ക്രിയാഭിർബ്രാഹ്മണോ ഭവേൽ
ചണ്ഡാലോപി ഹി വൃത്തസ്ഥോ ബ്രാഹ്മണസ്സ യുധിഷ്ഠിരഃ
(ഭാരതം)

ജാതിരത്ര മഹാസർപ്പ മനുഷ്യത്വേ മഹാമതേ!
സങ്കരാൽ സർവ്വവർണ്ണാനാം ദുഷ്പരീക്ഷ്യേതി മേ മതിഃ
ശൂദ്രയോനൌ ഹി ജാതസ്യ സൽഗുണാനുപതിഷ്ഠതഃ
വൈശ്യത്വം ലഭതേ ബ്രഹ്മൻ ക്ഷത്രിയത്വം തഥൈവ ച
ആർജ്ജവേ വർത്തമാനസ്യ ബ്രാഹ്മണ്യമഭിജായതേ

मां हि पार्थ! व्यपाश्रित्य येऽपि स्युः पापयोनयः ।
भक्त्याहमेकया ग्राह्यः श्रद्धयात्मा प्रयासताम् ॥
भक्तिः पुनाति मन्निष्ठाश्वपाकानपि सम्भवात् ।
(भागवतम् एकादशम्)

नकुले न च जात्या वा क्रियाभिर्ब्राह्मणो भवेत् ।
चण्डालोऽपि हि वृत्तस्थो ब्राह्मणस्स युधिष्ठिरः ॥
(भारतम्)

जातिरत्र महासत्व मनुष्यत्वे महामते ।
सङ्करात् सर्ववर्णानां दुष्परीक्षति मे मतिः ॥
शूद्रयोनौ हि जातस्य सद्गुणानुपतिष्ठतः ।
वैश्यत्वं लभते ब्रह्मन्! क्षत्रियत्वं तथैव च ॥
आरमवै वर्तमानस्य ब्राह्मण्यमभिजायते ।

According to Vajrasuchi Upanishat, all are born Sudras, and it is only by subsequent culture and Samskara they attain a higher status :—

ജന്മനാ ജായതേ ശൂദ്രഃ
കർമ്മണാ ജായതേ ദ്വിജഃ
വേദപാഠേന വിപ്രഃ സ്യാത്
ബ്രഹ്മജ്ഞാനേന ബ്രാഹ്മണഃ

जन्मना जायते शूद्रः
कर्मणा जायते द्विजः ।
वेदपाठेन विप्रः स्यात्
ब्रह्मज्ञानेन ब्राह्मणः ॥

We shall content ourselves by quoting two instances of Chandalas having become Brahmins. We shall take it from Bhavishyatpurana itself, a work often quoted by Sanatanists in support of their contention :—

ത്രിപാഠിനോ ദ്വിജശ്രേഷ്ഠസ്യ ദാസ്യാം നാമ്നാ ഹി കാളിനീ
[illegible] ഗന്ധവതീ നിത്യം മഹാ[illegible]
ദ്വിജഃ സപ്തദശീപാഠം വൃത്യർത്ഥം കസ്മിംശ്ചിത് ഗതഃ
ഗ്രാമേ ദേവലകേ രമ്യേ ബഹു[illegible] നിഷേവിതേ
തത്ര മാസഗതഃ കാമലാ നായയൗ ച സ്വ[illegible]
തദാ തു കാമിനീ ദൃഷ്ട്വാ രൂപയൗവനസംയുതാ
ദൃഷ്ട്വാ നിഷാദം സബലം കാമബാണപ്രപീഡിതാ
[illegible] തോ [illegible] കാമപീഡിതാ
തദാ ഗർഭം ദധൗ സാ ച വ്യാസ[illegible]
പുത്ര[illegible] ജാതകർമ്മാദി[illegible]
ബാല[illegible] സ ധൃതാത്മാ [illegible]
വ്യാസകർത്താരം നിത്യം വ്യാസകർത്താ തതോ ഭവത്
നിശ്ശ്വാസിതേന ദ്വിജ[illegible] ദ്വിജ[illegible]
ത്രിപാഠീ ബ്രഹ്മചര്യം ച കൃതവാൻ [illegible]
നിഷാദസ്യ ഗൃഹേ [illegible] വനേ [illegible]
പ്രത്യഹം [illegible] ബ്രഹ്മ[illegible]
വ്യാസകർത്താ [illegible] പിതൃ[illegible]
[illegible] പ്രാപ്യ[illegible] ദ്വിജ[illegible]
ശ്രുതമാശ്ചര്യം ഹി [illegible]
പാരംപര്യ[illegible] ധർമ്മ[illegible]

ദത്വാ ചൌര്യം ധനം സർവ്വം തസ്മൈ വിപ്രായ പാഠിനേ
ശിഷ്യത്വമഗമത്തത്രാക്ഷരമേകം ജജാപ ഹ
ബീജമന്ത്രപ്രഭാവേണ തദംഗാൽ പാപമുൽബണം
നിസ്സൃതം കൃമിരൂപേണ ബഹുവർണ്ണേന താപിതഃ
ത്രിവർഷാന്തേ ച നിഷ്പാപോ ബഭൂവ ദ്വിജസത്തമഃ
പഠിതാക്ഷരമാലായാ ജപാൽപാതിചരിത്രകം
ദ്വാദശാബ്ദേ ഗതേ കാലേ പ്രാപ്യ താപസ ദ്വിജഃ
അന്നപൂർണ്ണാം മഹാദേവീം ഇഷ്ട്വാ പരയാ മുദാ
സാ പ്രത്യക്ഷാഭവത്തസ്യ ധ്യാനാസ്വാദിതയാ ച
സഷ്ടാപ തത്ര മുദിതാ സ്വപദേ പ്രാദുർഭൂച്ഛിവാ
ഭവാ തസ്യ ഉദയിഷ്യം തത്രൈവാന്തരധീയത
ഉത്ഥായ സ ദ്വിജോ ധീമാൻ ലബ്ധ്വാ വിദ്യാമനുത്തമാം
വിക്രമേ ദ്വിത്രിദേശേ യജ്ഞാചാര്യോ ബഭൂവ ഹ.

त्रिपाठिनो द्विजस्यैव भार्या नाम्ना हि कामिनी ।
मैथुनेच्छावती नित्यं महाघूर्णितलोचना ॥
द्विजस्सप्तशतीपाठे वृत्यर्थं कर्हिचिद् गतः ।
ग्रामे देवलके रम्ये बहुवैश्यनिषेविते ॥
तत्र मासगतः कालो नाययौ च स्वमन्दिरे ।
तदा तु कामिनी दुष्टा रूपयौवनसंयुता ॥
दृष्ट्वा निषादं सबलं काष्ठभारोपजीविनम् ।
तस्मै दत्वा पञ्चमुद्राः बुभुजे कामपीडिता ॥
तदा गर्भं दधौ सा च व्याधवीर्येण सेचितम् ।
पुत्रोऽभूद् दशमासान्ते जातकर्म पिताकरोत् ॥
द्वादशाब्दे गते काले स धूर्तो वेदवर्जितः ।
व्याधकर्मकरो नित्यं व्याधकर्मायते भवात् ॥
निष्कासितौ द्विजेनैव मातृपुत्रौ द्विजाधमौ ।
त्रिपाठी ब्रह्मचर्यन्तु कृतवान् धर्मतत्परः ॥
निषादस्य गृहे चोभौ वने गत्वोषतुर्मुदा ।
प्रत्यहं जारभावेन बहुद्रव्यमुपार्जितम् ॥
व्याधकर्मा तु चौर्येण पितृमातृप्रियङ्करः ।
कदाचित् ग्रामवांस्तत्र द्विजवक्त्रसमुद्गतः ॥
श्रुतमादिचरित्रं हि तेन शब्दप्रियेण वै ।
पाठपुण्यप्रभावेण धर्मबुद्धिस्ततोऽभवत् ॥
दत्वा चौर्यं धनं सर्वं तस्मै विप्राय पाठिने ।
शिष्यत्वमगमत्तत्राक्षरमेकं जजाप ह ॥
बीजमन्त्रप्रभावेण तदङ्गात् पापमुल्बणम् ।
निसृतं कृमिरूपेण बहुवर्णेन तापितम् ॥

त्रिवर्षान्ते च निष्पापो बभूव द्विजसत्तमः ।
पठित्वाक्षरमालाञ्च जजापार्तिचरित्रकम् ॥
द्वादशाब्दमितं काले प्राच्यां गत्वासदद्विजः ।
अन्नपूर्णां महादेवीं तुष्टाव परया मुदा ॥
सा इत्यष्टोत्तरे जप्ता ध्यानास्तिमितलोचना ।
सुष्वाप तत्र मुदिता स्वप्ने प्रादुरभूच्छिवा ॥
दत्वा तस्यै ऋग्विद्यां तत्रैवान्तरधीयत ।
उत्थाय स द्विजो धीमान् लब्ध्वा विद्यामनुत्तमाम् ॥
विक्रमादित्यभूपस्य यज्ञाचार्यो बभूव ह ।

The substance of the above passage is that during King Vikramaditya's time, a Brahmin named Tripati married a Brahmin girl named Kamini. During the absence of Tripati for a month from home, Kamini misconducted hereself with a Nishada on payment of Rs. 5 to him. She became pregnant by this illicit connection and a son was born to her, who was named Vyadhakarman. Tripati, learning of his wife's adultery, abandoned her and her son. Vyadhakarman for a long time followed the profession of his real father and earned money by theft, robbery and other heinous offences. He afterwards repented of his past conduct, gave up the wealth gained by him by illegal means to a Brahmin and became the latter's Sishya. In the course of three years, by good conduct and learning, he became a perfect Brahmin and ultimately he was appointed by Vikramaditya as his Acharyan and officiated at the Yagas performed by that great king.

The Chandogya Upanishat explains with beautiful simplicity how Satyakama tabala, son of a slave girl filled with a noble love of truth and learning, approached the sage Haridrumata Gautama for studying theology or Brahmavidya. The Rishi before giving him his initiation wanted to know his ancestry. The boy said with charming frankness :—

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

नाहमेतद्वेद भो यद् गोत्रोऽहमस्मि अपृच्छं मातरं सामाप्रत्यब्रवीत्-बह्वहं चरन्ती परिचारिणी यौवने त्वामलभे साहमेतन्नवेदयद्गोत्रस्त्वमसि जबाला तु नामाहमस्मि सत्यकामो नाम त्वमसीति सोऽहं सत्यकामो जाबालोऽस्मि भो इति ।

"I do not know Sir of what gotra I am. I asked my mother and she answered "In my youth I had to move about much as a servant, I conceived thee. I don't know of what family thou art. I am Jabala by name. Thou art Satyakama". I am, therefore, Satyakama Jabala, sir". The Rishi initiated him into the mysteries of Brahmavidya and subsequently Satyakama Jabala became himself a great Rishi and the author of many Riks.

The comparatively recent case of the Paraya saint Nandanar is so well known that it does not require recounting. Bereft of myths that have gathered round the story of this saint, the naked fact remain that he was born a Paraya and was subsequently elevated to the position of the holiest of Brahmins.

It is a matter of history that Ramanujachariar converted to Vaishnavism several low caste Hindus and raised them to the status of Brahmins. Mr. S. T. Veeraraghavachariar (witness No. 48) says, that of the twelve saints (Alwars), four were Sudras. A sect of Vaishnavas called Thathacharias convert people from all castes to their faith and all the converts are allowed entry into temples. Two of the greatest Acharyas who spread the cult of Ramanujachariar were Shatagopa Theerthan and Munivahanan. The first was a Sudra, the second a Chandala (This is from 'Marthanda' a journal published by Sanatanists in Shajahanpur). Athri says :

അംഗീകാരേണ ജ്ഞാതീനാം ബ്രാഹ്മണാനുഗ്രഹേണ ച
പൂയന്തേ തത്ര പാപിഷ്ഠാ മഹാപാതകിനോപി യേ.

अङ्गीकारेण ज्ञातीनां ब्राह्मणानुग्रहेण च ।
पूयन्ते तत्र पापिष्ठा महापातकिनोऽपि ये ॥

That is to say, by the acceptance by relations and by the blessing of the Brahmin, even the lowest sinner can be purified.

Now the present-day Avarnas have been self purified by their cleanliness and habits. None of them, except perhaps the lowest Parayas, is addicted to any of the habits of a Chandala. They follow clean professions, such as agriculture, weaving, industries, etc. There are several highly educated and intelligent men among them. Even Pulayas have produced Sastris and Upadhyayans. Among Ezhavas, for instance, we have very

learned Sanskrit scholars, Ayurvedic Vaidyans, Astrologers and so on, besides many modern University men. There are Judges and Departmental Heads in the service of the State from among them. Having regard to all these, we are forced to conclude that even granting all the contentions of the Sanatanists, these communities are entitled to all the privileges of the Savarnas, including temple entry.

We must say also as we already endeavoured to show, that the Dharmasastras were written two or three thousand years ago for the guidance of a very backward and primitive community who did not know even the elementary principles of sanitation or hygiene and who did not know how to clean their persons. Much water has flown under the bridge since they were written. The intelligent Brahmin, finding them unsuitable for present-day conditions, has cast them to the winds and adapted himself to modern conditions. But still he clings to the privileges and wants to maintain and perpetuate his superiority over the lower communities. This inconsistent and contradictory position cannot be allowed.

Even in the matter of pollution, great changes have taken place. Distance pollution is not now observed outside the temple. Public roads, schools satrams and other public institutions have been thrown open to all classes of Hindus. The Brahmin does not consider himself polluted by the approach of *theendal* classes. He takes his food in the Railway trains, steam boats and other conveyances in which *theendal* classes travel along with him. He goes to temples without bathing after being polluted by the approach of *theendal* classes. Students in school and colleges take their lunch in school tiffin rooms without bathing. The food itself is brought from distant places through the public road through which the *theendal* classes freely pass. These facts are admitted by many Brahmin witnesses. The Brahmins do not maintain in their houses the sacrificial fire which alone is pollutted by approach of Pathithadi and the pollution of the Brahmin and the temple is merely an extension of these rules. If then, theendal is not observed by the Brahmin now, we fail to see how it can be retained in the temple of God the eternally pure whom nothing can make impure,

As we have already observed, Dharmasastras were intended for a simple and primitive community who were ignorant even of the elementary rules of sanitation and personal hygeine, but incongruously enough addicted to wine and meat-eating, cow slaughter, excessive sexual indulgence and other vices. One of these vices was the tyrannising over the Sudras, the conquered aborginal tribes of India. While every attempt was made in the Dharmasastras to redeem the first three Varnas from their vices, they did not move their little finger to improve these classes. On the other hand they depressed them more and more. They knew only two methods of dealing with these communities, either to shoot them down or to seggregate and degrade them. They adopted the former policy in regard to the troublesome and resisting communities, while the latter policy was followed in regard to the tame and submissive. These latter may not even learn letters, wear silver and gold ornaments, use metal vessels, but only earthern vessels and even those must be unsound; they were not equal in the eye of law or even before God; they must live outside the village, and must not follow any other profession than scavenging and cleaning streets. They may not wear clean clothes; different punishments were inflicted for offences committed by them, and so on. It is this inhuman treatment for centuries that has brought them to their present deplorable condition and, as Mahatma Gandhi rightly says, the Savarnas must expiate the sin of this inhuman treatment by trying every means in their power to elevate them.

We now come to the Parishat, recommended by the report. We have already referred to this subject in the opening paragraph of this minute. We are returning to it again in order to bring to light the practical difficulties in the way and to draw attention to its needlessness. In order to clear the ground, we give below the provision for it in the Dharmasastras.

അനാമ്നാതേഷു ധർമ്മേഷു കഥം സ്യാദിതി ചേൽ ഭവേൽ
യം ശിഷ്ടാ ബ്രാഹ്മണാ ബ്രൂയുസ്സ ധർമ്മസ്സ്യാദശങ്കിതഃ
ധർമ്മേണാധിഗതോ യൈസ്തു വേദസ്സപരിബൃംഹണഃ
തേ ശിഷ്ടാ ബ്രാഹ്മണാ ജ്ഞേയാഃ ശ്രുതിപ്രത്യക്ഷഹേതവഃ
ദശാവരാ വാ പരിഷദ്യം ധർമ്മം പരികല്പയേൽ
ത്ര്യവരാ വാപി വൃത്തസ്ഥാ തം ധർമ്മം ന വിചാലയേൽ

ത്രൈവിദ്യോ ഹേതുകസ്തൎക്കീ നൈരുക്തോ ധൎമ്മപാഠകഃ
ത്രയശ്ചാശ്രമിണഃ പൂൎവ്വേ പരിഷത്സ്യാദ്ദശാവരാ,
ഋഗ്വേദവിദ്യജുൎവ്വിച്ച സാമവേദവിദേവ ച
ത്ര്യവരാ പരിഷത് ജ്ഞേയാ ധൎമ്മസംശയനിൎണ്ണയേ
ഏകോപി വേദവിദ്ധൎമ്മം യം വ്യവസ്യേദ്ദ്വിജോത്തമഃ
സവിജ്ഞേയഃ പരോധൎമ്മോ നാജ്ഞാനാമുദിതോയുതൈഃ

अनाम्ना तेषु धर्मेषु कथं स्यादिति चेत्भवेत् ।
तं शिष्टा ब्राह्मणा ब्रूयुस्सधर्मः स्यादशंकितः ॥
धर्मेणाधिगतो यैस्तु वेदस्सपरिबृंहणः ।
ते शिष्टा ब्राह्मणा ज्ञेयाः श्रुतिप्रत्यक्षहेतवः ॥
दशावरा वा परिषद्यं धर्मं परिकल्पयेत् ।
त्र्यवरा वापि वृत्तस्था तं धर्मं न विचालयेत् ॥
त्रैविद्यो हेतुकस्तर्कि नैरुक्तो धर्मपाठकः ।
त्रयश्चाश्रमिणः पूर्वे परिषत्स्याद्दशा वरा ॥
ऋग्वेदविद्यजुर्विच्च सामवेदविदेव च ।
त्र्यवरा परिषत् ज्ञेया धर्मसंशयनिर्णये ॥
एकोपि वेदविद्धर्मं यं व्यवस्येद्द्विजोत्तमः ।
स विज्ञेयः परो धर्मो नाज्ञानामुदितो युतैः ॥

From the foregoing verses, it is seen (1) that the function of a Parishat is to clear doubts regarding Dharma in respect of such Dharma as are not specifically mentioned in the Smriti (2) that the members of the Parishat must be persons who have learned all the Vedas, Smritis and Puranas and understood their meaning, (3) they must belong to the first three Asramas, *i. e.*, Brahmachari, Grahastha or Vanaprasta, (4) that the opinion of one person who has understood the full meaning and significance of the Vedas is more valued than that of thousand Brahmins without such knowledge. (5) The Brahmins who have not studied and understood the Vedas are Brahmins only in name and they are unqualified to be the members of a Parishat.

In the first place, our contention is that this is not a subject that should be referred to a Parishat for its opinion, because there is no doubt regarding it which has to be solved by such a body. Secondly the contention in regard to the institution of theendal or unapprochability is that it has become (ലോകവിദ്വിഷ്ടം लोकविद्विष्टं) *i. e.*, repugnant to public opinion and that those whom it affects consider it as appressive and hurtful to their

feeling of self respect. In such a case the Sastras do not provide any particular machinery for the amendment of the Dharma but positively enjoin on people not to observe it. "അസ്വർഗ്ഗ്യം ലോകവിക്രുഷ്ടം ധർമ്മമപ്യാചരേന്നതു" "अस्वर्ग्यं लोकविक्रुष्टं धर्ममप्याचरेन्नतु ।" In this case, therefore, the only questions for consideration are whether the particular rule is likely to hurt the feelings of any community and whether it has become contemptible in the opinion of the public. No where is it stated in the Dharmasastras that a Parishat of the kind contemplated in the Dharmasastras is needed to determine these questions. It is not learning in Smritis and Srutis alone that is required for this purpose but experience of life and knowledge of public opinion. It is to determine that opinion that this Committee has been appointed and it is such a body that is most competent to investigate the question and express an opinion upon it. The Parishat proposed, namely of Vadhyans, and Vaidikans is not the most suitable body for this purpose. They do not even satisfy the qualifications of a Parishat contemplated by the Dharmasastras. All these Vadhyans and Vaidikans were summoned to give evidence before the Committee. Not one of them showed their willingness to stand a cross examination by appearing before them. Had they appeared before the Committee, we venture to think that it would have been possible for us to show by suitable cross examination, as we presume we have been able to show in the case of the vast majority of the Brahmin witnesses who appeared before us, that they were only Brāhmins in name and therefore disqualified by the Sastras from being members of a Parishat. We challenge their qualification even now and have no doubt they deliberately avoided the committee as they could not stand cross examination on the point of being qualified by their knowledge of the Srutis and Smritis and their power of envisaging the future. We are therefore of opinion that the *Parishat* proposed by the Committee is quite incompetent to express any authoritative opinion on the subject. It is not representative of those affected by the rules. We are definitely of the view that under the circumstances the Government have appointed this Committee as the best body to advise them on the question. It contains men of learning in the Hindu

Sastras ; legal knowledge and experience of the world are well-represented on it ; and it also contains representatives of the Avarnas who are affected by the rules. A more competent body could not have been appointed by the Government for the purpose, even if these strict provisions as regards the Parishat were followed. During the last hundred years, the Government both British and Travancore, have made various inroads into the Dharmas. Whole chapters have been deleted and substituted by the modern legislative enactments and particular provisions which worked hardship upon particular classes have been abrogated. We refer to the Penal Code, the Civil and Criminal Procedure Codes, Evidence Act, abolition of Sathi, Widow Remarriage Act, the Saradha Act which abolish the child marriage, the Namboori and Nair Regulations, etc. All these have materially altered and amended the provisions of the Dharmasastras. Now we ask, was it a Parishat or the modern Legislative Council that advised the Sovereign in all these matters ? If the latter, why should a Parishat be required in this comparatively insignificant matter ? A feeble attempt was made to justify this extraordinary legislative procedure by drawing an imaginary distinction between matters strictly legal, and obligatory religious precepts as enjoined by the Dharmasastras. While the former may be amended by the Sovereign the latter can only be altered by a Parishat. While we concede the distinction between law and religion, the Dharmasastras made no such distinction. Everything in human life, birth, marriage, death, human relations, social and ethical are all connected with religion in the eyes of the Hindus. Even sanitation and hygiene had religious sanction in their minds. Further, the provision in regard to the *Parishat* occurs in the last part of the last chapter of Manu. According to the ordinary rules of interpretation, this provision governs all the previous provisions of the Code including law and legal procedure, hygiene, social institutions etc., and no other machinery is provided for clearing doubts and making amendments to any of these. It follows therefore that the provision for reference to *Parishat* would apply to all the provisions of the Code. We may again observe, if we made a distinction between law and religion and restricted the functions

of the Parishat to strictly religious observances, we must make similar distinctions in regard to social and sanitary matters. The present is one relating to a social custom based on hygienic principles and therefore would require no Parishat at all.

The Government have altered even strictly religious observances and rules without even resorting to the safe-guards of legislative enactments but merely by executive orders. We refer to (1) abolition of animal sacrifices, (2) the abolition of Poorapattu, (3) the abolition of the Devadasi system, (4) the admission of Chakkala Nairs into temples etc., (5) the throwing open of public roads, schools, and satrams, etc., to all castes (6) the admission of England-returned men in to temples etc. We do not at all agree with the report in saying that the changes noted as (1), (2) and (3) above are not rules or practices of religion or that, because some of them are not mentioned in the Agamas, they are the less sacred. It has been admitted that the Dharmasastras are not exhaustive. It may be contended with equal force that the Agamas are not exhaustive. Further, what about the Devadasi, service which is an essential part of religious worship according to the Agamas, and the admission of people who have undertaken sea voyage, which is forbidden by Dharmasastras. The report explains thus :—In the case of sea voyage the prohibition has become a dead letter, as caste Hindus who have made sea voyages freely enter temples for worship. We do not believe that the removal of the prohibition was effected automatically by mere lapse of time without the sanction of the Melkoima. As to the abolition of the Devadasi system the Committee admitting that Nritham or dancing is a necessary part of temple rituals according to Agamas simply states that Manthric and Manasik Nritha to the deity still continues. This is evading the point. If actual dance, is a necessary service enjoined by the Agamas its abolition is certainly an interference with their principles.

The Sanatanists admit that they had made many changes in their practices. In regard to distance pollution or theendal, it is not observed outside the temples. Savarnas who have been

polluted by theendal enter temples wtthout സചേലസ്നാനस चेलस्नानं which will alone purify them, when thus polluted. Was this change in observance brought about by the Verdict of a Parishat ? It is useless therefore to pretend that a Parishat is necessary to change a social observance which is more honoured in the breach than in its observance. The Sanatanists' position amounts to this that they will do what is best for themselves, even though it may involve violation of Dharmasastras, but a Parishat is required to change practices inimical to the interests of others, as the maintenance of such practices in necessary for the perpetuation of their authority, privileges and prestige.

When theendal or distance pollution was in full force, the theendal classes were denied admission to schools, kutcheris, satrams and other public institutions. The Government have removed this restriction by means of executive orders. The temple is only one of such institutions and we do not see any reason why if they can be admitted to all other public institutions, the Government should not by appropriate legislative action throw open the only remaining public institution also to all classes of His Highness's subjects.

What remains is merely the objection of a few orthodox Brahmins who really believe that the entry of the Avarnas will pollute the temple. We do not really believe that any of the educated men among them are sincere in this belief. Yet there may be a small number among the older generation of the Namboodiries and a stil smaller microscopic minority among the old generation of the Tamil Brahmin community who sincerely believe in this. But every legislative change has to reckon with an opposition minority. The Nair Regulation, the Namboodiri Regulation, etc., had also such opponents. But the ojection was brushed aside in the larger interests of the community. We can see no distinction between this and the other. Is the hurt caused to the superstitious feelings of a few persons more serious than the hurt to the feeling of self respect of 17 lakhs of the subjects of His Highness the Maharaja ?

We shall next deal with the legal aspect.

The Melkoima right in the exercise of which the Government has assumed the Devaswoms in 993 does not place them in the position of trustees as stated in the report. Government is Sovereign Proprietor of those Devaswoms, accountable to none. This has been the finding of the Devaswom Committee one member alone dissenting. The conduct of the Government subsequent to the assumption also indicates that they acted as Sovereign Proprietor. The mixing up of the Revenues derived from the Devaswoms with the General Revenues in the public accounts and the conversion of Devaswom tenure into Pandarappattom at the last land Revenue Settlement confirm this view. The wholesale conversion of the tenure of the remaining Devaswom lands into Pandarapattom by the Devaswom Proclamation has removed all doubts regarding the matter. The reason assigned in the Royal Proclamation for the conversion is that "it is beneficial to Our Subjects." We are therefore unable to agree with the view of the committee that the position of the Government is only that of trustees and not owners. As to customs and usages of temples it is provided in Section 3 of the Proclamation that the temples will be maintained according to "such customs and usages as are recognised by Us." This provision reserves to Government the right either to recognise or to refuse to recognise such customs and usages. The custom now under consideration being unreasonable and superstitious on the one hand and oppressive and unjust to the vast majority of the Hindu Population on the other does not deserve to be recognised by Government. In this view the question whether the Savarnas have a Civil right based on custom, of excluding Avarnas from worship within temples becomes unimportant. But as the matter has been referred to the committee and as they have expressed their views on it we proceed to discuss it with reference to the decided cases.

With regard to the civil right, the question specifically referred to the committee is whether in all or any of the temples within the State the caste Hindus have either an exclusive right of worship or recognisable civil rights in the matter of such worship, namely as being sole beneficiaries, owners etc.

The question may be split into 6 parts and each part separately considered for expressing our dissent from or concurrence with the conclusions of the committee.

1. Whether the Savarnas are sole owners of all or any of the temples in the State.
2. If so whether they have the right of excluding the Avarnas from such temples.
3. Whether the Savarnas are the sole beneficiaries of all or any of the temples in the State.
4. If the Savarnas are sole beneficiaries have they the right to keep the Avarnas out of the temples of which they are the sole beneficiaries.
5. Even if the Savarnas are not the sole beneficiaries are they the only beneficiaries entitled to worship within the temples and as such have they the right to keep the Avarnas out of such temples ?
6. Is the right of excluding the Avarnas, if any, a recognisable civil right ?

From the answers given in chapter X of the report, we gather that the committee's answers to the above questions are as follows:—

Parts 1 and 2—The Savarna community as a whole is not the owner of any temple, although certain persons among them as individuals may be the owners of certain temples. Such being the case, the Savarna community have not as owners the right of excluding the Avarnas from temples.

With this conclusion we agree.

Part 3 (a)—The Savarnas are not the sole beneficiaries entitled to worship.

(*b*) According to long standing usage and religious authority the Avarnas are entitled to worship at Savarna temples from the position outside the temples assigned to them by usage.

Part (*b*) of the above answer is alone expressly given in the report. We assume part (*a*) of the answer as it follows from

part (*b*). If this is right, we agree with part (*a*) unreservedly and with part (*b*) to the extent to which it goes. We would add that the Avarnas have the right of worship from inside also, although the courts have erroneously refused to give judicial recognition to their right.

The 4th part does not arise as the Savarnas are not the sole beneficiaries, and is not therefore answered in the report.

Parts 5 and 6—The committee's answers to these questions are that the Savarnas are the only beneficiaries entitled to worship inside the temples that as such they have the right to keep the Avarnas out of Savarna temples and that their right is a civil right capable of adjudication in a court of law.

We have no contention that even if the right exists it is not one capable of adjudication in a court of law nor do we contend that in the cases referred to in the report the right has not been upheld. But on a critical examination of those decisions we are distinctly of opinion that the absence of proper discussion of the validity of the custom alleged and the far fetched interpretation put on the plain meaning of statutory provisions detract from their value as authorities for our guidance.

We shall take up the decisions in the order in which they are dealt with in the report.

The first case referred to is in the one reported in—

1. Weirs' Criminal Rulings 253. That was a case in which the 1st accused, a goldsmith by caste, on the night of the Mahasivarathri, entered a Siva temple at Vizagapatam and performed "Abhishekam" by pouring cocoanut water over the idol. A Brahmin who was there expostulated with the 1st accused telling him that he a goldsmith had no right to perform Abhishekam himself upon which the 1st accused said it was he who made the idol. An outcry being raised some other Brahmins came up and objected to the 1st accused performing the Abhishekam and he was turned out and some 10 Rupees spent for the purification of the idol. These facts are taken from the judgment of Parker, J. in the same case. The second class Magistrate convicted the 1st accused under Section 295 of the Indian Penal

Code corresponding to Section 294 of the T. P. C. The District Magistrate on appeal reversed the conviction. The matter came up on revision before Their Lordships Muthuswami Iyer and Parker JJ. Both Their Lordships agreed in refusing to interfere on Revision. Although Muthuswami Iyer J, agreed to this conclusion His Lordship differed from Parker J. in his interpretation of the significance to be attached to the word "defile" occurring in the section. The section begins thus "Whoever destroys, damages or defiles any place of worship." Did the act of the 1st accused constitute "defilement" was the question. "The primary meaning of the word defile is to make unclean or dirty and the construction to make ceremonially or ritually impure is given only as a secondary meaning. Parker, J. gives the following reasons fcr accepting the primary meaning:

1. Judging by the context in Section 295 Indian Penal Code it seems to me that the Legislature only used the word in its primary significance.

2. Had the Legislature intended to make punishable "acts regarded as defilement by any class of persons it would certainly have said so in plain terms and nothing would be more dangerous than to strain the law so as to make criminally punishable perfectly innocent acts which fanatical persons might choose to regard as insulting to their religious persuasions."

This finding was necessary for the dismissal of the petition but the construction of Muthuswami Iyer J. that the world defile should be construed in the sense in which "such class of worshippers usually understand it when it is applied to a place or object of worship" was obviously not necessary to support His Lordship's conclusion, and in the nature of the reasons given above for the acceptance of the primary interpretation, less authoritative than the construction adopted by Parker, J.

The argument attempted to be drawn from the illustration of throwing a clean shoe at the idol serves only to introduce sentiment bound to cloud and obscure the issue rather than throw light on the meaning of the expression sought to be interpreted.

The next case referred to is the ruling in 33 T. L. R., page 69 where Muthuswami Iyer J's interpretation is accepted in preference to that of Parker J. The only arguments given are that it has been followed in certain other cases and that it is the clear intention of the legislature.

Mr. E. J. John who defended the accused petitioner appears to have argued that the scope of the section is confined to religious acceptibilities and does not extend to caste feelings. The opinion quoted in the report about "secular conventions and sacred precepts being too closely associated and intertwined among the Hindus to admit of clear and well defined demarcation and detachment" is hardly answer to the above argument. It may be that injunctions regarding caste usage and religious principles may be found in the same books but the topics are totally distinct and if any one confuses the one with the other, owing to ignorance, it is not such confusion that ought to have guided the court in arriving at a conclusion regarding the intention of the legislature.

We have heard it said by the revilers of the Hindu religion that observance of caste rules constitute the Hindu religion, but it will not be fair even to popular Hinduism to suggest that as it is practised religious precepts are inextricably mixed with caste rules. Rules as to caste precedence even in places of religious worship are but caste rules. They are quite distinct and separate although interested attempts are sometimes made to confound and identify them with religious tenets. We regret to note that Raman Tampi, J. who wrote the leading judgment in the 35 T. L. R. case has adopted the view of Muthuswami Iyer, J. in preference to what he himself calls the "high authority" of Parker J. without any proper discussion and without assigning adequate grounds for the preference.

If, as stated in the report, it was Muthuswami Iyer J's dictum that was followed in the ruling reported in 25 Criminal Law Journal page 155 in respect of a Mahar entering a temple and touching the idol, it was Parker J's interpretation that was accepted in the ruling in 1U. B. R. 199, 200, where Burges J held that the words "destroy" and "damage" have obviously a

material or physical signification and that on the usual principle of construction of *ejusdem generis* a similar meaning is to be assigned to the word "defile". Burges J goes on to observe "defile itself is a word of hybrid origin, but the main root file or foul is English and it may ordinarily be understood especially in collocation with such words as 'destroy' and 'damage', in the primary physical sense".

From the above discussion it is obvious that there are strong grounds for accepting natural and restricted significance of the world "defile" in preference to the strained and extended significance which commended itself to Muthuswami Iyer J.

We pass on next to the discussion of the decisions of Civil Courts of which there are 3 cited in the report. They are,

1. 31 Madras 236,
2. 13 Madras 293, and
3. 1914 Madras Weekly Notes 822.

Sankaralinga Nadar v. Rajeswara Dorai and other additional plaintiffs.

31 Madras 236 is a ruling of the Privy Council. There, the suit was for a declaration that Nadars were not entitled to enter a temple and to recover from them the cost incurred for purifying the temple, in the shape of damages. The plaintiffs succeeded in getting a decree. If in this case there was any discussion regarding the reasonableness and validity of the custom, the decision would have been useful in arriving at a conclusion on the question before us. The Nadars appear to have set up the contention that from time immemorial they were participating in the Pooja and worship in the temple. The appeal was disposed of on the short grounds that Nadars have a temple of their own and that they have completely failed to prove any resort by persons of their caste to the temple in dispute. The only sentence occurring in this appellate judgment regarding custom is this. "What the respondents have succeeded in proving is that by custom the appellants are not among the people for whose worship this particular temple exists." This cannot be said of the temples in Travancore even according to the majority report. This decision is therefore of no value.

The next ruling 13 Madras 1933 is again one by Muthuswami Iyer, J with whose views on the subject we are already familiar from the decision in the Criminal Revision petition discussed above. Plaintiff, a Smartha Brahmin who had married a widow claimed the right to enter the inner shrine of a temple. The suit was resisted on the grounds that the Plaintiff had lost his caste-status, that the suit was not one cognisable by Civil courts and that plaintiff was excommunicated. His Lordship found in fact that he was not excommunicated and that the suit related to a civil right which was cognisable by civil courts. But His Lordship however held that the question involved was one of caste-status in relation to a religious institution. and that usage was not intended to be affected by the Statutes, Caste Disabilities Removal Act XXI of 1850 and the Widow Remarriage Act XV of 1856. It was also held that the custom of exclusion was an index to the intention of those who founded the temples. Reading the provisions of the statutes, we cannot help observing that plaintiff was clearly entitled under their express provisions to succeed. But a discussion of those provisions need not detain us. We are concerned only with the general proposition laid down that usage in the matter of admission to temples serves as an index to the intentions of the founders.

Venkitachalapathi v. Subbarayadu and others.

Two important assumptions underlie this proposition so far as it affects temple entry.

1. That the founders of temples usally intend to fix the precedence of the various castes of Savarnas, Pathithas, Avarnas, etc. in the matter of worship.

2. That their succersors and the various castes concerned maintained such precedence unaltered.

In our view there is no foundation for either of these assumptions. It is understandable that the founders would have intended such matters as the deity to which the temple was to be dedicated the nature of the worship and even the section of the public who might worship there. But the relative precedence

between various sections of the Hindu population in worship, is a matter which in former times would require no arrangement or even advertance as Temple Entry or competition for precedence is altogether a comparatively new movement. Various sections would automatically take their places in worship without any direction from the founders in the conditions then obtaining.

The second assumption is equally unfounded. The relative positions of the various sections of the population would not have continued as fixed and unalterable quantities, but would undergo constant though unconscious change even in Hindu society which is comparatively static, so that the present positions cannot form a safe index of what had been, say, hundreds of years ago.

To say that custom in this matter is an index of the intention of the founders is to ignore hard facts.

The last case is Gopala Mooppanar and others *v.* Dharmakota Subramonia Iyer and others (1914 Madras Weekly notes page 822). The plaintiffs Ilavaniyar brought this suit for a declaration as against the defendants and their communities Brahmins, Vellalas and Mudaliars, of the right of the plaintiffs and their castemen residing at Panakudi to go as far as the Sabhapathi Sannidhi and as far as the part of the Pillayar in the Amman Sannidhi in Sri Ramalingaswami's temple at Panakudi and to worship the Swamis and Amman and receive Prasadams, etc. after performing Abhishekam. They also prayed for an injunction restraining the defendants and their communities from obstructing the plaintiffs in the exercise of their right. The plaintiffs' prayers were granted finding on the evidence that they were not low castes like Pallas, Chuklers and Pariahs and that they established by satisfactory evidence, their claim to temple entry. This finding was enough for the disposal of the case. But for certain *obiter dicta* in the judgment regarding the nature of the customs which are to be followed by courts, we should have been content with a passing reference. His Lordship observes "Speaking for myself if I were not bound by authority I should like to hold that a custom which prohibits one who belongs to a community which is not

lower than a Sudra caste from going beyond the Dwajastambam is an unreasonable custom and ought not to be recognised." But even such unreasonable customs provided that they are not grossly immoral have been held to override the law and Sastras if fully established by evidence. By qualifying the term immoral with the description "grossly" it would appear that His Lordship would accept an immoral custom if clearly established by evidence. This is an extent to which other decided cases on custom have not gone and the principle enunciated in the case of Sankaralinga Nadan *v.* Rajeswara Dorai referred to by His Lordship does not go so far. We have already seen that the Privy Council has disposed of the case on short grounds and has not discussed the reasonableness or validity of the custom in question.

It is noteworthy that none of the decisions discussed above is in a suit brought by the Savarnas as such for the exclusion of the Avarnas from any temple on the ground of their entry causing pollution to the Savarnas. The contention in the cases is based on pollution caused to the deity by the approach of certain castes beyond prescribed limits. We have shown that this contention has not the support of Sastras or reason. In Travancore the matter is *res integra* as there is no decision in any civil case in which the right of exclusion has been upheld.

There is an impression supported by certain stray observations in a few decided cases that in India even superstitions and immoral customs may be upheld. This impression is not supported by any thing in the Hindu Sastras. Manu says (Chapter II. 12)

ശ്രുതിഃ സ്മൃതിസ്സദാചാരഃ
സ്വസ്യ ച പ്രിയമാത്മനഃ
തസ്മാച്ചതുർവ്വിധം പ്രാഹു-
സ്സാക്ഷാദ്ധർമ്മസ്യ ലക്ഷണം.

"श्रुतिः स्मृतिस्सदाचारः
स्वस्य च प्रियमात्मनः ।
तस्माच्चतुर्विधं प्राहु-
स्साक्षाद्धर्मस्य लक्षणम् ॥"

This rule indicates that the law with regard to the incidents of a valid custom had reached a high stage of development even

during the time of Manu. Manu does not treat immoral or unreasonable custom as valid. സദാചാരം in the above passage shows that the custom of the good or enlightened alone can be given effect to. Similarly the second line [illegible] shows that he was not for enforcing custom productive of unhappiness. If a custom is unjust and inequitable it has to be rejected and the law as laid down in the Dharma Sastras would only support this view.

Sib Narain Mukherji v. *Bhatnuth Guchait.*

In Sib Narain Mukherji *v.* Bhatnath Guchait (28 C. L. J. page 148) that eminent Judge Sir Asutosh Mukherji held that "if the validity of a custom is challenged on the ground that it is against reason, the reason is not to be understood as meaning every unlearned man's reason but artificial reason warranted by authority of law. Consequently when it is said that a custom is void because it is unreasonable, what is meant is that the unreasonable character of the alleged custom conclusively proves that the usage even though it may have existed from time immemorial must have resulted from accident or indulgence and not from any right conferred from ancient times." Hence a custom which is prejudicial to a class was held to be repugnant to the law of reason. We would only refer to one other case in which also the same eminent Judge Sir Ashutosh Mukherji wrote the leading judgment namely Mahamaya Debi *v.* Haridas Haldar 42 Cal. 455, in which His Lordship held that a custom to be valid must have 4 essential attributes. It must be —

1. Immemorial
2. Reasonable
3. Uninterrupted and
4. Certain.

In the case of the exclusion of the Avarnas the custom lacks two of the essential qualities of a valid custom. It is neither reasonable nor certain.

I. *Reasonableness.* Let us examine the claim of the caste Hindu in the light of reason. His claim is not merely that he should have the right of worship in temples but that others should

not be allowed the right to enter temples although they are entitled to worship the same God. Non-entry of the Avarnas is one thing and their exclusion another. On the face of it the claim of the right of exclusion works hardship on the Avarnas who form the majority of the Hindus in this State.

If as is argued the entry of the Avarnas would cause the dissipation of the divine essence concentrated in the idol by Thanthram and Pooja, there is good ground for excluding the Avarnas. But we have shown elsewhere in this note that this argument is untenable, as there is neither authority nor reason to support it. An objective local concentration of the immutable and all prevading spirit is a contradiction in terms and the disappearance of the sannidhyam owing to the presence of God's own creatures is an impossible conception. On the other hand as we have shown the presence of large number of worshippers will only add to the Sannidhyam if one believes in the possibility of inducing Sannidhyam by the invocation of the deity. It is clear therefore that the custom of excluding the Avarnas from temples is unreasonable.

2. *Certainty*. Let us next see whether the custom has certainty and definiteness. The distances which the various Avarna castes have to keep are different according to the conservative view, but they all come up to the walls of the temples where there are walls. Into certain temples Ezhavas and other Avarna castes enter. Kumarkovil in Padmanabhapuram is one of the instances. We do not forget the fact that the Devaswom Officer wrote denying the custom. But we cannot accept this in preference to the evidence of leading caste Hindus of the locality like Messrs. R. Sivaramakrishna Aiyar (witness No. 128) P. Padmanabhan Tampi (Witness No. 129) T. Kumara Pillai (Witness No. 130) and C. Madhavan Pillai (No. 132) who appeared before us and deposed to the fact of their entry. This entry is not merely of stray individuals. In answer to Mr. Paramesvara Aiyer's question Mr. Sivaramakrishna Aiyar says " [illegible]." Ezhavas enter the temple in large numbers and barbers also. This evidence cannot be brushed aside, on the strength of a

mere interested official report. Similarly there is the instance of Mandakad, a temple to which large numbers of caste and non-caste Hindus annually resort. Here there is no wall and no objection to the approach of Avarnas Now the report explains this away by treating this as an Avarna temple. If because Avarnas enter a temple it becomes an Avarna temple the question referred to us namely " Whether in any caste Hindu temple there is any local practice with regard to the entry of non caste Hindus into such temple" becomes meaningless. The Poojari of the Mandakad temple is a Savarna and it is a temple under Government management. As already pointed out Savarna pilgrims resort in large numbers for worship in that temple. It is a Savarna temple. The Kottarakara temple where Savarnas go up to Balivattom, is another temple which has no outerwall. Ochira is another instance of such a temple. We mention the fact of absence of a wall to indicate that in the absence walls, there would have been temple entry long ago without any objection from the Savarnas. These instances are sufficient to show that the custom in this State is varying and lack the definiteness necessary for enforcement. Outside Travancore also, the custom varies as pointed out elsewhere in this note. Our conclusion is that the custom of Savarnas excluding the Avarnas from worship within the temples is not a valid custom in the eye of law, and is as such not enforceable by courts.

By the above conclusion we do not suggest that there is no need for legislation and that the right may be left to the courts to adjudicate upon. On the other hand the decided cases we have already discussed, show that there is urgent need for legislation, declaring the equal right of the Avarnas to worship inside all Hindu temples, as that enjoyed by the Savarnas, lest, left to themselves the courts with their tendency to follow precedents may grant the unreasonable claims of the Savarnas and deny the Avarnas their legitimate right as Hindus to worship inside Hindu temples.

Lastly we come to our answers to the specific questions raised in the order of reference to the Committee.

1st question. We do not share the opinion of the Committee that the Savarnas have as the only beneficiaries entitled to worship inside the temples the right to keep the Avarnas out of Savarnas temples. We agree with the Committee that the Avarnas have no such right as owners. No such right has been recognised by the Civil Courts in Travancore, nor do we think that it is a recognisable civil right.

2nd question. We do not agree with the majority report that there is no local practice allowing the entry of non-caste Hindus. In the Vettikkavala temple, Kuravas are admitted within the outer walls. Though it is stated that there is a special enclosure for their accommodation, the enclosure is itself within the area enclosed by the outer walls and therefore the existence of it does not affect the question. In Ochira and Kumarakovil Avarnas are allowed admission on equal terms with the Savarnas. In regard to Kumaracoil, witnesses Nos. 128, 129, 130 & 132 examined at Thuckala have deposed that Ezhavas freely enter and worship there. They are Vakils and respectable men in society. We are not prepared to accept the interested opinion of temple or other Devaswom servants in preference to the unambiguous statements of these disinterested and respectable witnesses. At Kottarakara, a public road, has been constructed running parallel to the Balivattom and touching it. All the Savarna witnesses examined there admitted that all communities including Pulayas and Parayas use the road freely. This indicates that they are admitted at present up the Balivattam in that temple. Again in the Ayiroorputhiacavoo temple on the Patayani day every year, Ezhavas enter the temple and worship. It matters little whether a purificatory ceremony is performed or not, for if that alone will be sufficient to remove the objection the Avarnas may be given temple entry, and a purificatory ceremony performed in every temple in the night after all the worshippers have withdrawn to preserve the sannidhyam.

3. (*a*) We agree with the opinion of the Committee that the general feeling among the non-caste Hindus is that the religious worship or rites performed within the temple will be more efficacious than such worship or rites performed outside its precincts.

3 (*b*). We have already discussed this question in dealing with the objection to temple entry based on religious grounds and have shown that the general feeling among the Savarnas is that the efficacy of religious worship or rites will not be affected if temple entry is allowed to non-caste Hindus though there is a small minority consisting mainly of orthodox Brahmins and temple servants who hold a contrary opinion.

4. We agree with the majority report that from the preponderence of evidence in favour of temple entry, it must be inferred that there is a strong feeling among Savarnas in favour of temple entry being allowed. We do not, however, agree there is considerable opposition from a large body of Savarnas on the other side. There is no doubt strong feeling against allowing temple entry to Avarnas among a body of Savarnas, but that body is neither large nor their opposition considerable. This latter feeling exists among a microscopically small body of Savarnas consisting mainly of the old generation of Brahmins and Ambalavasis. In all matters of social reform we must always expect opposition from a minority conservative section and such opposition exists in this case also and no more.

Temple entry is an integral part of a programme of social reform and it cannot be separated from it. The chief social disability of the Avarnas is the observance of untouchability and unapproachability. This disability cannot be remedied unless temple entry is allowed to the Avarnas. It is admitted on all hands that unapproachability and untouchability have now practically disappeared outside the walls of the temples and the only place where they exist is in the temples and therefore until they disappear from there also, the disability will continue. Temple entry cannot therefore be separated from the programme of social reform among Hindus. We cannot agree with the report that 'it is possible to work out a scheme for the social uplift of the Avarnas independently of the temple entry movement. No doubt it is possible to frame a programme for social upliftment of the Avarnas independently of the movement for temple entry, but the programme will be incomplete and imperfect to the extent that temple entry which in our opinion is an essential part of the

programme is omitted. We agree with the report that distance pollution or theendal should be removed by appropriate legislative measures, and that public tanks, wells and satrams should be thrown open to Avarnas, but we are unable to agree with the reservations and conditions imposed upon such action.

We are of opinion that distance pollution or theendal must be abolished by appropriate legislative measures without any reservation in regard to temples. We hold that all public wells, tanks and satrams should be thrown open to Avarnas and no condition precedent should be attached to such action. While we agree that from a sanitary point of view the safeguards provided may be beneficial and even necessary, we are unhesitatingly of opinion that as conditions precedent to the opening of these institutions to the Avarnas they are mischievous and calculated to obstruct and delay the execution of this programme of social reform. We are, however, very happy to know that our beneficent Government have already recognised the unwisdom of attaching any such conditon to an already overdue reform and have by their communique thrown open all institutions maintained from the general revenues to all classes of His Highness's subjects unconditionally and we fervently hope that the Government will see their way very soon to place the coping stone to their scheme of reform by including all institutions maintained out of the Devaswom fund also among the institutions to be thrown open to all classes.

We are in entire agreement with the majority report that "arrangements should be made for instituting religious lectures, opening schools for adult instruction, and having proper housing and sanitation and the adequate supply of wells and tanks for such Avarna communities as in the opinion of Government require such assistance." But we do not agree that separate Bhajanamatoms and temples should be built for Avarnas or even for common worship. We have already referred to the evils arising out of such separate institutions. They are unnecessary, superfluous, costly and mischievous, and calculated to perpetuate the existing caste exclusiveness and disabilities,

5th question. We do not agree that disturbance of peace will result from temple entry or that any large number of Savarnas will keep out of the temples. A few Savarnas may temporarily keep out but if they believe in temple worship they will soon cease their non-cooperation. We agree with the report that a large number of Savarnas will attend worship in temples. We do not believe that many of the Poojaris and Tantris will be unwilling to continue their services or that their substitutes will not command the same respect. With a very few exceptions all will continue their services as they are remunerative when they find that the decision is unalterable and their severence from the temple will not pay. Even if there should be any obstinate exceptions substitutes commanding the same or even greater respect might be found. It is a well known fact that many of the Poojaris at present are ignorant men and command little respect among the worshippers. Some of the present-day unpopularity of temple worship is not a little due to this cause. It will therefore be a blessing if these people would voluntarily cease to perform pooja and allow the Government an opportunity to substitute more competent hands in their places.

We agree that some of the temple servants may like to get cash in preference to cooked rice as remuneration for services. Payment in cash is preferable to payment in cooked rice and it may be allowed. We also agree that these results will only be temporary. We do not agree that the opinion of a Parishat is necessary in this matter.

6th question. —We agree with the Committee that no compromise is feasible as no orthodox witness has either suggested or agreed to any compromise. The middle course suggested by the Committee cannot be accepted as it will satisfy neither party. As the preponderence of opinion is in favour of temple entry and as we have endeavoured to show there is no sastraic injunctions against it, the fullest measure of temple entry must be allowed.

7th question.—This subject has been dealt with by us at great length in our memorandum and our conclusion is that the

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principles and rules of religious worship do not prohibit the ent of Avarnas in Hindu temples, but the practice does. Th practice has become repugnant to public opinion ([illegible] and it is oppressive and unjust and must be changed.

8th question.— We do not agree with the opinion of th Committee that the present position of Government in regard to temples under their management is that of a trustee. Whateve may have been their position when the temples were assumed their present position is governed by the Royal Proclamation Under this they have converted the tenure of all Devaswon lands into Pandarapattom and given the tenants freehold righl subject to payment of Government assessment. There are no properties belonging to the Devaswoms vesting in the Government as trustees. The temple buildings and premises alone remain and the obligation of Government extends only to the maintenance of these institutions in accordance with such customs as they may recognise. It is a misapplication of the term trustee to call the Government a trustee in regard to these temples now. They can under the proclamation refuse to recognise any custom which they may consider to be oppressive or unjust or contrary to public opinion. As the supreme legislative authority the Sovereign can interfere in the interests of the public in any religious institution whether under the management of Government or not and the Sovereign has interfered in such institutions and the Hindu Religious Endowments Regulation and the Devaswom Proclamation are examples of such interference. Even in their executive capacity, they have interfered in temples and the following are instances.

1. The abolition of animal sacrifices,

2. The abolition of the Devadasi system,

3. The abolition of Poorapattu,

4. The admission of Chakkala Nairs into temples,

5. The admission of England returned people, and

6. The assumption of the Devaswoms themselves during Munro's time.

We do not agree with the Committee in the explanation sought to be given by them to some of these. The nritham and githam by Devadasis are enjoined by Agama sastras and the prohibition against sea voyage is contained in the Dharmasastras. If these can be abolished by Government without even legislative help we do not see why temple entry should not be allowed by Government.

Question 9.—We agree with the Committee that no commitment has been made by Government which restricts their freedom of action in this matter.

Before concluding this note it will not be out of place to add a few observations on caste system to which untouchability is an incident. The caste system is the foundation of all these disabilities and injustices and destroys the solidarity of the Hindus. The evils of this system are manifold. The Hindus of to-day are split off into thousands of petty divisions which are separated from each other by impassable barriers. This is the cause of several social evils such as undue restrictions in eating and drinking, unsuitable matrimonial matches leading to physical degeneracy, the decline of mechanical arts and industries and the general degeneration of the community in economic position which has resulted in poverty and misery. The Hindus of the present day being disunited by castes and sub-castes, feel no sympathy with each other except in the narrow circles of their own castes. Its evil reaction upon economic condition was more pronounced than in any other sphere of life. Yagnavalkya (Ch. I slokas 160-165) condemns a large class of professions as impure and lays down that the food of the people of these professions cannot be touched. R. C. Dutt in his civilization in ancient India (660-81) observes "It is with pain that the historian of the Hindus finds in this passage (Yagnavalkya Ch. I slokas 160-165) all mechanical arts, trades and industries classed with prostitution, and crime. For the list includes misers, men in fetters, thieves, eunuchs, actors, workers in leather, men who are cursed, Vardhushis, diseased men, illtempered men, faithless women, drunkards, envious men, cruel and violent men, outcastes, Vratyas, conceited men, impure eaters, unprotected women, goldsmiths, henpecked husbands, indiscriminate priests, sellers of

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arms, blacksmiths, weavers, eaters of dogs, cruel men, king's officers, dyers, ungrateful men, men who kill animals, washermen, liquor vendors, cuckolds, backbiters, liars, oil manufactures, flatterers and vendors of the Soma wine. How many honest trades do we find in this list of despised professions " Manu also condemns many useful professions as impure (Manu Ch. III, 152, 155, 160, 162, 163, Ch. IV, 84, 210, 212, 215, 216 and 219 and X 84). Dutt continues "This is a pretty comprehensive list ! If we exclude physicians, shop-keepers, singers, actors trainers of animals, bird fanciers, instructors in arms, architects, oil manufacturers, carpenters, washermen, hunters, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, manufacturers of baskets and arms, all artisans all shepherds, all agriculturists, who then are left in the nation to receive honour? priests and kings !......How could mechanical arts and industries flourish in a land where sellers of arms, goldsmiths and blacksmiths, weavers and dyers, washermen and oil manufacturers were condemned as impure'... ......The results were disastrous, so far as arts were concerned" etc. p. 40.

Again this pernicious and blightening system has, by confining opportunities of intellectual and spiritual culture to the privileged few denied to the other castes opportunities of culture and education and the production of men of genius. This has been a great national loss and accounts for the dearth of men of genius in India. Smiles, in his self-help says "Great men of science, literature and art-apostles of great thoughts and lords of great hearts have belonged to no exclusive class or rank in life. They have come alike from colleges, workshops and farm houses; from huts of poor men and the mansions of the rich. Some of the Gods's great appostles have come from the ranks. The poorest have some times taken the highest places. Take for instance the remarkable fact from the barber's shop came Jeremy Taylor, the most poetical of the Divines, Sir Richard Arkwright, the inventor of the spinning jenny and founder of the cotton manufacture; Lord Tenderdon, one of the most distinguished of Lord Chief Justice; and Turner, the greatest among the landscape painters.

No one knows to a certainty what Shakespeare was; but it is unquestionable that he sprang from a humble rank. His father

was a butcher and grazier, and Shakespeare himself is supposed to have been in early life a wool comber." This was the same case in India when the caste system was not so rigourous and many men who could not boast of high birth obtained undying renown and distinction by their abilities and virtue as the life history of the great Rishis amply proves. But when the shackles of caste system became rigourous and inelastic the fate of a man who happened to be born in a low caste became sealed for ever. He cannot rise in society, no matter howsoever learned, virtuous, industrious or intelligent he might be. A learned writer commenting on this state of affairs asks "How many geniuses that under more favourable circumstances might have done immense good to their country and religion are thus forced to live an obscure life and die an obscure death for mere want of opportunities. What can be more unjust, more wicked and more unnatural than that a man should be prevented from developing those powers which God has given him? And what institution can be more monstrous and more pernicious in its effects that this one which puts hindrances in the progress of man instead of helping him on his onward march."

എന്നുള്ളതുമൊഴികളിൽ പാർക്കുന്ന
ഇന്നുകാണുന്നതാം സഹജരെല്ലാ
[illegible]
ഹന്ത നിർമ്മിച്ച പരമനേയും
ബാഹ്യവിത്തങ്ങളും ബുദ്ധിപ്രഭകളും
സ്നേഹമൊലിക്കുമുറവുകളും
ആഹാ! ഈ വിഫലമാക്കിത്തീർത്തു
നീ ഹിന്ദുധർമ്മമേ ജാതിമൂലം
എത്ര പേരുമാകാം ശങ്കരാചാര്യന്മാ-
രത്രയോ ബുദ്ധന്മാർ, കബീരന്മാരും
[illegible]
കേരളമാകവേ [illegible]
[illegible] കാന്തിയും മൂല്യവും
വാച്ചിടും കല്ലുകൾ [illegible]
[illegible] ചാണ.
[illegible]
[illegible]
എന്നു [illegible]
[illegible]
ചിന്തിതം സാധിച്ച [illegible]
[illegible]

ഉച്ഛ്രിയിൽപ്പെട്ടാലും മോക്ഷമുള്ളോർ
കെട്ടില്ലാത്തോർ തമ്മിലുന്നതോരിങ്ങനെ
ഒട്ടുംഹാ ജാതിക്കോമരങ്ങൾ
തേങ്ങളുറം പൊങ്ങളിനെ കടഹള-
മ്മി വാഴ്ത്തിടുന്ന ഭവമെന്നാലും
തൈവലിഖമാനികൾ മർത്ത്യരിൽപ്പേരും
ഭേദത്തിൽ ഭേദവും കല്പിക്കുന്നു.
ഹാ! ഹിന്ദുമതം ബ്രഹ്മവിദ്യ നിന്നി
ലെന്താണിക്കാണുന്ന വൈപരീത്യം
നിന്നയംനിന്നെപ്പോൽ പാരിലധോഗതി
വിണ്ണാർ ഗംഗക്കുമുണ്ടായില്ല.

In the memorable work of Kumaran Asas ദുരവസ്ഥ the poet apostrophises in the above lines after describing a Pulay's abode. "The dwellers of these huts, they are indeed (my) brothers. How are they different? Verily the hand that shaped the Brahmin shaped the Pulaya. Oh, Hindu Dharma by the instrumentality of caste how much of heroism and intellectual brilliance have become stifled and free flow of love thwarted. Oh, mother Kerala, how many Perumals, Sankaracharias, Thunchans and Kunchans must have aborted in thy womb due to cruel caste? Oh, mother Bharata, in thy bowels lie deep imbeded 7 crores of crude gems which have known no touchstone and which if rubbed and polished will turn bright and priceless. Why do'st thou cry with grief? Art thou poor? Rich in hidden diamonds, thy object is attained, if caste is exercised. Untouchables, unapproachables, unseeables those with whom marital relation or interdining is taboo, numberless are the meaningless distinctions. The four Vedas in unmistakeable tones acclaim with clarion call the Divine essence beyond all distinctions. But the followers of the identical vedas prate in endless strain about the divisions between men and subdivisions among the divisions. Oh, Hindu theology, what disfigurement and contradiction is this? Verily, even the celestial Ganges had no greater fall than thine in this Universe.

We commend these words to the Sanatanists for their serious consideration. Though modern education has done a great deal to soften the rigour of this pernicious and unjust system, a great deal more remains to be done. So long as more than half the Hindu population is branded as low born and kept

at a distance in places of religious worship, so long will the Hindu camp remain divided against itself as an incoherent body of warring units in perpetual conflict with one another. The feeling of superiority and inferiority in regard to the castes must go and every body must be made equal not only in the eye of law but also in social and religious matters. This can be achieved only by temple entry being given to all classes of Hindus on equal terms without distinction of caste or colour.

(Sd.) K. Paramesvaran Pillai.
M. Govindan.