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THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME CXVII.

July 1903.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contended with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world; and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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THE CITY PRESS, 12, BENTINCK STREET.

Messrs. THACKER, SPINK & CO., GOVERNMENT PLACE, N.

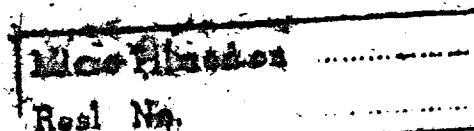
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. CCXXXIII.

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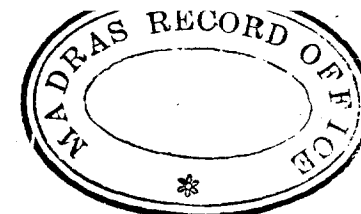
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THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 233—JULY 1903.

ART. I.—PAINTING IN ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL
INDIA.

PLACE OF PAINTING AMONG THE FINE ARTS.

OF the fine arts—five in number—it is the business of painting to imitate natural objects by representing them as they are represented on the retina of the eye itself, simply as an assemblage of lines and colours on a flat surface. It dispenses with the third dimension altogether. "The character and disposition of the lines and colours in painting are determined by two things, the local colours of the objects themselves, and their shapes and positions in space. Painting does not reproduce the third dimension of reality by any third dimension of its own whatever, but leaves the eye to infer the solidity, the recession and projection, the nearness and remoteness of objects, by the same perspective signs by which it also infers those facts in nature—namely, by the direction of their several boundary lines, the incidence and distribution of their lights and shadows, the strength or faintness of their tones of colour. Hence this art has an infinitely greater range and freedom than any form of sculpture."* Among the five arts painting stands above two—if not three. According to Auguste Comte architecture is the lowest—being lowest in complexity, because of the kinds of effects which it produces, and the material conditions and limitations under which it works. Sculpture comes next; painting third; then music and poetry highest as the most complex or comprehensive art of all, "both in its own special effects and in its resources for ideally calling up the effects of all the other arts, as well as all the phenomena of nature and experiences of life."

Hegel said in effect something like this—"In certain ages and among certain races, as in Egypt and Assyria, and again in the Gothic age of Europe mankind has only dim ideas for art to express, ideas insufficiently disengaged and realized, of

* Sidney Colvin in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.
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which the expression cannot be complete or lucid, but only adumbrated and imperfect; the characteristic art of those ages is a symbolic art, with its material element predominating over and keeping down its spiritual, and such symbolic art is architecture. In other ages, as in the Greek age, the ideas of men have come to be definite, disengaged and clear; the characteristic art of such an age will be one in which the spiritual and material elements are in equilibrium, and neither predominates over or keeps down the other, but a perfectly distinct idea is expressed in a perfectly adequate form; this is the mode of expression called classic, and the classic art is sculpture. In other ages, again, and such are the modern ages of Europe, the idea grows in power and becomes importunate; the spiritual and material elements are no longer in equilibrium, but the spiritual element predominates; the characteristic arts of such an age will be those in which thought, passion, sentiment, aspiration, emotion, emerge in freedom, dealing with material form as masters, or declining its shackles altogether; this is the romantic mode of expression and the romantic arts are painting, music and poetry.”*

According to Dr. Hermann Lotze—one of the acutest of recent critics of aesthetic systems—music will come first, because it has neither to imitate any natural facts nor to serve any practical end; architecture next, because though tied to useful ends and material conditions, it is free from the task of imitation, and pleases the eye in its degree, by pure form, light and shade and the rest; then as “arts tied to the task of imitation, sculpture, painting and poetry, taken in progressive order according to the progressing comprehensiveness of their several resources.”

PREVAILING OPINION.

Some people have gone the length of asserting dogmatically that because painting occupies this high place among the fine arts therefore ancient India had nothing to do with it. The people pre-suppose that the civilisation of ancient India can be called a civilisation only by courtesy. And their assertions only declare a deplorable degree of ignorance of the civilisation on which they sit in judgment. Even a sympathetic writer on *Indian Art*—who has, in the concluding paragraph of his paper, admitted that “the mediæval art of India, at least, is worthy of critical study,” and deplored that “the subject has hitherto been unfortunate in not securing more advocates” has been led away by popular prejudice to declare that “India has nothing to do with painting. A recognition of the demands of this highest development of

* The *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

creative art, will prevent the attempt to look for it in any country in Asia.”* The reasons of this ignorance and opinion are manifold. Very few of the critics know well the language in which the spirit of ancient Indian civilisation is embalmed. Only a few travellers can be expected to undergo the trials of a tedious and trying journey to the caves at Ajantâ and Bâgh where specimens of painting still attempt to resist the decay due to a destructive climate and the “wanton damage done by ignorant men.” And strange as it may seem, the copies of paintings in the Ajantâ caves—now yielding to the damage done by bees, bats and barbarians—made by the Government have been more than once destroyed.† But when one takes into consideration the deplorable paucity of materials one cannot be harsh on the critics who labour under the double disadvantage of being aliens and strangers to the customs, the creeds, the sentiments and the prejudices of the peoples. It is a disgrace for the Indians that these aliens have dived deeper into the dim recesses of a distant past in their search after ancient Indian civilisation than the Indians themselves. It is neither profitable nor proper to be unnecessarily hard on men to whom we owe what little knowledge we already possess of Indian archæology.

PAUCITY OF MATERIALS.

That Indian Society afforded but little encouragement to the genius of the artist must be admitted. A society in which position was fixed, and in which the position of the artist was fixed very low, cannot be said to be the society in which art could develop and flourish. In such a society, save in the case of a caste, art is likely to degenerate and become the pastime of a leisured class. And this was the fate which overtook painting in India during the sixth, the seventh and the eighth centuries, when painting became a pastime in the palace and in the *zenana*. If in spite of this social system,—the comparative degradation and contempt in which professional artists were held, we find instances of artists soaring beyond the fixed rules of their art, and giving indications of bold conceptions and great ideas—it is because nothing can restrain genius from expression when the man of genius is harassed by “the strong inward call, the cruel-sweet pangs of parturition.” Then the trying climate of India must be held responsible

* The *Calcutta Review*. Vol. LXXVIII - 1884.

† The copies of these paintings made by the late Major (then Captain) R. Gill of the Madras Army were destroyed by fire in the latter part of 1866. A second set of copies completed in 1885 at a cost of more than half a lakh of rupees was placed in the Indian Museum at South Kensington and was lost by fire and through carelessness.

for helping and hastening the work of natural decay. In this climate colours fade, canvas crumbles into ruin and paper and palm leaf decay rapidly.

Then, again, worship was paid to the images or likenesses of the gods and goddesses painted on white canvas.* And this worship with sandal-wood paste and perchance with vermilion mixed with oil must have disfigured the likeness of many a god.

If we add to these the fact that the iconoclastic zeal of some Mahomedan conquerors must be held responsible for perpetrating many acts of vandalism—for ruthlessly destroying religious buildings which the ruffian hand of war or the tyrant touch of time had spared, we shall be able to understand why we have so few relics of this art received from ancient India. For, in India, the genius of the artist displayed itself chiefly in temples and topes. "The art of ancient India has always been a purely religious one * * * was never and nowhere employed for secular purposes."†

"Stress must be laid on the fact that in comparison with the vast extent of the country, the monuments are far from numerous, that great numbers of them have been destroyed through the indolence or by the sheer vandalism of men of other faiths, so that considerable monumental groups, in good preservation, remain only where the districts subsequently became deserted and the monuments were consequently forgotten, and so saved from direct destruction at the hand of man; or where as happened in Ceylon, the old religion remained and protected the monuments of olden times."‡

PAINTING IN ANCIENT SANSKRIT LITERATURE.

We agree with Professor Weber in admitting that the last fifteen *Adhāyas* of the White Yajur Veda are a later addition. But we cannot agree with the learned Professor in assigning to the present redaction of the *Samhitā* of the White Yajur a date as late as the third century B. C.§

Of the date of the Vedas Professor Max Müller says:—"The work of collecting the prayers for the different classes of priests, and of adding new hymns and formulas for purely sacrificial purposes, belonged probably to the tenth century B.C. and three generations more would, at least, be required to account for the various readings adopted in the prayer-books by different sects, and invested with a kind of sacred authority, long before the composition of even the earliest among the *Brahmanas*. If, therefore, the years from about

* See *Kātyāyana*.

† Grunwedel—*Buddhist Art in India*.

‡ Grunwedel—*Buddhist Art in India*.

§ Weber—*History of Indian Literature*.

1000 to 800 B. C. are assigned to this collecting age, the time before 1000 B. C. must be set apart for the free and natural growth of what was then national and religious, but not yet sacred and sacrificial poetry. How far back this period extends it is impossible to tell.* In a later work the Professor allows 1500 B. C. as the date when the Vedas, such as we now have them, were composed.† Professor Whitney gives 2000 to 1500 B. C. for the *Rig Veda* hymns, and Dr. Marten Haug allows 2000 to 1400 B.C. for those hymns, while for the earliest of them he claims a still remoter date.‡ Pundit Umes Chandra Batabyāl—a profound Vedic scholar is of opinion that Madhu Chanda, the Vedic sage, flourished about 1500 B. C.§ When we consider these facts we cannot, even admitting that the last fifteen *Adhāyas* of the White Yajur Veda are a later addition, assign to them a date as late as the third century B. C. In the 30th chapter of the White Yajur Veda we meet with the names of various professions; and there we read of painters and engravers. Therefore at the time of the present redaction of the *Samhitā* of the White Yajur Veda, at least, the profession of the painter was recognised in society.

From the Yajur Veda we return to the voluminous and luminous pages of the *Mahabharata*. Here too the chief difficulty lies in fixing the date. "The great war which is the subject of this Epic is believed to have been fought in the thirteenth or fourteenth century before Christ. For generations and centuries after the war its main incidents must have been sung by bards and minstrels in the courts of Northern India. The war thus became the centre of a cycle of legends, songs, and poems in ancient India. * * * And then, probably under the direction of some enlightened king, the vast mass of legends and poetry, accumulated during centuries, was cast in a narrative form and formed the Epic of the Great Bharata nation.* * * The Epic became so popular that it went on growing with the growth of centuries. Every generation of poets had something to add; every distant nation in Northern India was anxious to interpolate some account of its deeds in the old record of the international war; every preacher of a new creed desired to have in the old Epic some sanction for the new truths he inculcated.* * * All the floating mass of tales, traditions, legends and myths, for which ancient India was famous, found a shelter under the expanding wings of this wonderful Epic."|| An attempt was made, a few

* Max Müller—*Lecture on the Vedas*.

† Max Müller—*India, what can it teach us?*

‡ R. C. Dutt—*Ancient India*.

§ The *Sāhitya*.

|| R. C. Dutt—*The Mahābhārata*.

centuries after Christ according to Dr. Bühler, to prevent further additions and alterations. The contents of the Epic were described in some prefatory verses, and the number of couplets in each book was stated. Hence it is impossible to determine the date of the *Mahābhārata* and its supplement the *Harivamsa*. But the antiquity of these works cannot be gainsaid. And here too we have evidence of a high development of the art in ancient India. Ushā the fair daughter of the *Asura* king Bana saw in her dream, and became enamoured of a handsome young man. Her love for this unknown young man, seen in a dream, grew and grew; and she became disconsolate. Her female attendants who bore their mistress a great love were at a loss to find out a device to know anything about the young man. At last they hit upon a plan. They resolved to utilise the skill of their friend Chitrakṣhā—the artist. She came, and from the love-lorn Ushā received a description of her beloved. She set to paint pictures of beautiful young men. Portrait after portrait was executed. And at last the figure of Aniruddha stood out from the panel in all the splendour of his divine beauty. Ushā was transported with joy at the sight of her lover's likeness. We have nothing to do with the sequel of the story. But we know from it that the art was highly developed in ancient India.

In the *Rāmāyana* there are repeated mentions of picture galleries. But unfortunately the difficulty of fixing the date of the epic is as insurmountable as the difficulty of fixing the date of the *Mahābhārata*. And in the case of the *Rāmāyana*, too, the work of interpolation must have gone on for generations and centuries.

PAINTING IN THE BUDDHIST PERIOD AND AFTER. EVIDENCE OF LITERATURE.

That in the Buddhist period painting reached a high pitch of excellence in India, we shall be able to prove from the paintings in the cave temples. Literature too bears ample evidence. Nagnajita, we learn, composed a work on architecture, sculpture, painting and kindred arts.

Fā-Hian (about 399 A.D.) relates, that certain kings sent artists to copy the likeness of Buddha which had been left in a cave. "South of the city of Nagarākāra there is a cavern, it is in a south-west side of a high mountain; Buddha left his shadow here. At a distance of ten paces or so, we see it, like the true form of Buddha, of a gold colour, with the marks and signs perfectly clear and shining. On going near to it, or far off, it becomes less and less like the reality. The kings

of the bordering countries have sent able artists to copy the likeness, but they have not been able to do so." *

Commenting on the above Mr. Griffiths says, "From this description I have no doubt that the 'shadow' was a veritable portrait painted in colour, on the wall of the cave, with such skill that the artists failed to copy it. The reference to gold colour—the light golden-brown tint of the Ajantā figures—and the point of view from which the picture should be seen, indicate that it was a painting.†

Fā-Hian further says that he remained at Tamralipti for two years, writing out copies of the sacred books (*sūtras*) and drawing image pictures.

Hiwen Tshang (about 630 A. D.) mentions that artists from Bactria were employed to paint the Buddhist *Vihāras* during the time of Kanishka Rājā of Gāndhāra, and that the convent of Sha-lo-kiā (Serika) was celebrated for its mural paintings.‡ We also read of a large painted figure of Buddha on the southern side of the stone steps of the great Stūpa built by King Kanishka.

Fergusson conjectured that, besides the Gāndhāra school of sculpture an early school of painting existed in Gāndhāra.§

Next we come to the work of Tāranātha the illustrious historiographer. His real name was Kun-sjing. He was born in 1575 and composed his work in 1608. He belonged to the Jonang school of monks. He cites authorities and shows a historical feeling, very alien to the Oriental world generally. The existence and importance of his work were first made known to Western students by Vassilieu, who used it freely in his work on Buddhism,|| and the book itself was translated by Schiefner from the Tibetan, and published at St. Petersburg in 1869. Tāranātha says: "In former days,

* Beal—*Buddhist Records*, vol. i.

† Griffiths—*The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajantā*.

‡ Beal—*Buddhist Records* vol. i.

§ Gāndhāra is Peshāwar. The description the Chinese pilgrims of the capital, which they call *Pulu-sha-pulo* or Parashapura "is an exact description of the position of Peshāwar, which down to the time of Akbar still bore its old name of *Parashāwar*, under which form it is mentioned by Abul Fazl and Baber, and still earlier by Abu Rikān and the Arab geographers of the tenth century."—*Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India*.

"The great city now called Peshāwar is first mentioned by Fā-Hian, in A.D. 400, under the name of *Fo-leu-sha*. It is next noticed by Sung-Yun in A.D. 502, at which time the King of Gāndhāra was at war with the King of Kipin, or Kophene, that is Kabul and Ghazni, and the surrounding districts. Sung Yun does not name the city, but he calls it the capital and his description of its great *stupa* of King *Kia-ni-sse-kiā* or Kanishka, is quite sufficient to establish its identity."—*Ibid*.

|| Published in Russia 1857; date of Schiefner's German translation, 1860.

human masters, who were endowed with miraculous powers, produced astonishing works of art. It is expressly stated in the *Vinaya-āgama* and other works that the wall-paintings, &c., of those masters were such as to deceive by their likeness to the actual things depicted.* * In the time of King Buddhapaksha, the sculpture and painting of the artist Bimbāsāra were specially wonderful, and resembled those early works of the gods; the number of his followers was exceedingly great, and as he was born in Magadha, the artists of his school were styled Madhyadesha artists. In the time of King Shīla lived an especially skilful delineator of the gods, born in Mārwār, named Sringadhara; he left behind him painting and other masterpieces like those produced by the Yakshas. Those who followed his lead were called the Old Western school. In the time of King Devapāla and Shrimant Dharmapāla, lived in Varendra (Northern Bengal) an especially skilful artist named Dhēman; whose son was Bitpālo; both of these produced many works in cast metal, as well as sculptures and paintings which resembled the works of the Nāgas. The father and son gave rise to distinct schools; as the son lived in Bengal the cast images of gods produced by their followers were called gods of the Eastern style, whatever might be the birth-place of their actual designers. In painting, the followers of the father were called the Eastern school; those of the son, as they were most numerous in Magadha, were called followers of the Madhyadesha school of painting. So in Nepal, the earlier schools of art resembled the Old West school; but in course of time a peculiar Nepālese school formed itself, which in painting and casting resembled rather the Eastern types; the latest artists have no special character. In Kashmir, too, there were in former times followers of the Old Western school of Madhyadesha; later on, a certain Hasurāja founded a new school of painting and sculpture, which is now called the Kashmir school.**

The accounts of the manner of origin of the production of likenesses at the close of Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism* expressly point to the time of Asoka and Nāgārjuna, as the most flourishing epoch of the Yaksha and Nāga artists.

When the Arab Muhammed Kasim was conquering Sindh (713 A. D.) a deputation of Hindus came to ask if they might take portraits of him, and of some of his officers, which shows that there were artists then in practice in India.†

* Translated by W. L. Heeley—*Indian Antiquary*, vol. iv.

† Reinaud—*Fragments, Arab and Persian*.

PRINTING IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE—PAURANIC PERIOD AND AFTER.

We have already referred to the fact that Kātyāna enjoins that worship should be paid to the likeness of gods painted on white canvas.

The *Mrichchhakatī* is ascribed to King Sudraka, and the time of its composition is not known. Professor Weber is of opinion that it must be referred to the brilliant literary period which produced Bhavabhūti and his contemporaries. But internal evidence leads us to think that the current tradition which places the date of the drama anterior to the date of Kālidāsa is not without foundation. In the drama we read of portrait painting. In the fourth act the heroine asks—

“But Madanikā, is this a good likeness of Chārudatta?”*

Next we come to Kālidāsa, whom the poet, the critic, the natural philosopher,—a Goethe, a Schlegel, a Humboldt, have agreed, on account of his tenderness of feeling and his rich creative imagination, to set very high among the glorious company of the Sons of Song.†

Lassen was of opinion that Kālidāsa flourished about the middle of the third century A.D. But later researches fix his time in the sixth century.

In Kālidāsa's works we have numerous references to painting. We give below a few instances.—

In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* we are told,—“The Rājā has seen the picture of Mālavikā, painted by order of the Queen for her *chitra-sālā* or picture gallery, notwithstanding her anxiety to keep the original from Agnimitra's knowledge. The sight of the picture has, of course, inspired the prince with an ardent desire to view the original, whom he has never yet beheld.‡

In the *Sakuntalā* one of the brightest—if not the brightest jewel in the poet's crown, we read of an excellent portrait of the lost Sakuntalā. Her position in the picture is described thus,—“Leaning, apparently a little tired, against the stem

* Wilson—*Theatre of the Hindus*.

† Goethe says—

“Wouldst thou the young year's blossoms and the
fruits of its decline,
And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured,
feasted, fed?

Wouldst thou the earth and heaven itself in one
sole name combine?

I name thee, O Sakuntalā! and all at once is said.”

E. B. Eastwick.

See also Schlegel's *Dramatic Literature*, Sec. ii, and Humboldt's *Kosmos*, vol. ii.

‡ Wilson—*Theatre of the Hindus*.

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of that mango-tree, the tender leaves of which glitter with the water she has poured upon them. Her arms are gracefully extended; her face is somewhat flushed with the heat; and a few flowers have escaped from her hair, which has become unfastened, and hangs in loose tresses about her neck."^{*}

With Māthavya we say, "the attitude of the figures is really charming." Referring to this portrait Sānumati says,— "A most artistic performance! I admire the king's skill, and could almost believe that Sakuntalā herself was before me."[†] We are further told that the figures "stand out in such bold relief that the eye is quite deceived."

Reference to "relief" we have in another place in Kālidāsa's *Kumdrasambhava* (Birth of the War-God)—where in speaking of Umā's beauty in the prime of youth the poet says,—

"Ne'er had the painter's skilful hand portrayed
A lovelier picture than that gentle maid;
Ne'er sun-kissed lily more divinely fair
Unclosed her beauty to the morning air."[‡]

In the original the reference is to relief.

From the *Meghaduta* (Cloud-Messenger) we know that pictures were used to adorn rooms. The Yaksha speaks of the city on the high Himālayas where clouds float about—

"There driven by the ever-moving gale,
The clouds, thy brethren, in an endless train
Around each palace of the city sail:
Now easy access to the halls they gain,
And mar the painter's art with dewy stain."[§]

The reference here is to moisture left on the pictures by the cloud driven inside the room by the "ever-moving gale."

In the *Raghu-Vamsa* we have repeated references to painting. For instance, we read of Rāma, returned from exile, entering the hall in which was kept his father's likeness.||

Then again we learn that Rāma and Sita spend their time in happiness in rooms adorned with pictures—the remembrance of hardships undergone in the wilderness during their exile serving (by contrast) to enhance their happiness.[¶]

We quote below another passage to show that in those days fresco paintings were not uncommon, and even sculptured

* Monier Williams—*Sakuntalā*.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Griffiths—*Birth of the War-God*.

§ Griffiths—*Meghaduta*.

|| 14th Canto.

¶ 14th Canto. It is not impossible that in this *sloka* is to be found the germ of Bhavabhūti's conception of the brilliant scene in the *Uttara-Rāma-Charita*—in which Lakshmana shows Sita a series of pictures in which are depicted the chief events in the career of Rāma—and to which we shall presently have occasion to refer.

decorations received the touch of the painter's brush. This is Kālidāsa's description of the deserted city Ajadhyā—forsaken by the King.* Cities which are maintained by the public establishments that attend and surround the courts of sovereign princes become deserted when sovereigns change their resting places. To the history of the rise and progress, decline and fall, of how many cities is this the key? Here is an extract from Kālidāsa's description,—

"Till now, as painted by the artist's hand,
The pictured elephants at pasture stand:
Each from his partner seems with love to take
The lotus, gathered by the silver lake:
So true to life, that lions, prowling round,
Spring at their foreheads with a furious bound,
And with their claws the painted temples tear,
As if the driver's steel had marked them there.
In those dear days, with tints of nature warm,
In marble statues lived fair woman's form.
Alas! those tints are faded now, and dim,
And gathering dust obscures each rounded limb;
While the cast skins of serpents form a vest
That hides the beauties of each statue's breast."[†]

These are palpable proofs of the existence of painting in those days.

From Kālidāsa we come to Bhavabhūti—whose date must be fixed not later than the eighth century. The second scene of the first act of the *Uttara-Rāma-Charita* opens with Lakshmana drawing Sita's attention to a series of pictures depicting important events in the earlier part of Rāma's career. Perhaps when Bhavabhūti wrote his *Uttara-Rāma-Charita* he had discarded his earlier production, the *Mahābhira-Charita*. And to make his readers acquainted with the chief events in the earlier part of his hero's career he adopted the clever device of introducing this series of pictorial representations of those events. Of this picture (for Lakshmana says, "Behold the picture") Wilson says—"A long scroll in compartments, apparently fixed against a wall. Such pictures being panoramic representations of holy places usually, are still not uncommon, whilst the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyana*, in illuminated and embellished portable scrolls, are very frequent. It is not uncommon, also in the Western Provinces, to meet with a kind of fresco painting upon the walls of gardens, or enclosures of tanks, representing mythological or historical subjects."[‡]

In the *Ratnāvatī*, too, we meet with reference to painting. Dr. Hall is of opinion that the *Ratnāvatī* was composed by

* 16th Canto.

† Griffiths—*Idylls from the Sanskrit*.

‡ *Theatre of the Hindus*.

Bana of the court of Siladitya II, called also Sri Harsa Deva—who reigned from 610 to 650 A. D.*

We quote the following from Wilson's rendering of the second act.†

Enter *Sāgarikā* with a picture.‡

• • No one approaches, I will try and finish the likeness I am here attempting to portray*— • •

Enter *Susamgata*.

• • How! the king's picture! • • • • •

Sus.—It is cleverly done, but there wants a figure to complete it, and I will give the god his bride (takes the paper and draws).

Sag.—(Angrily) Hey, *Susamgata*! what mean you! you have sketched my likeness.

In the *Nāgānanda* too, we have reference to painting:—

It seems strange that in spite of overwhelming evidence to the contrary Professor Weber has come to the following conclusion,—“Painting, in the first place, appears in a very rudimentary stage. Portrait painting, for which perspective is not required, seems to have succeeded best, as it is frequently alluded to in the dramas.”§ Of course portrait painting is frequently alluded to in the dramas. But could it be otherwise? It is only proper that it should be so in books in which the human element not only predominates, but is the only element which occupies the attention of the author. Still inanimate nature is not neglected in the *Sakuntalā*, where we read of the “garden in the background of the picture.” In Bhavabhūti's *Uttara-Rama-Charita* every tree, every stream, every spot to which clings some memory of the days spent by Rama and Sita in exile had been so painted, that Sita found no difficulty in recognising them on the canvas. Possessing an intimate knowledge of nature, in all her moods, Bhavabhūti put his knowledge to a distinctive use. His work is about man. And he does not make inanimate nature take the place of his subject. He does not draw the man and then draw the nature around him; but he enters into the man and sees nature through his eyes.

PAINTINGS.

Now we come to the old paintings and traces of paintings we still possess.

It is unfortunate that Moore in his *Hindu Pantheon*|| has not attempted to indicate the dates of the original paintings from which he got the copies he styles “graceful models of outline.”

* Introduction to *Vasavadatta*.

† *Theatre of the Hindus*.

‡ More correctly a leaf or sheet of a picture *chitraphalaka*.

§ *History of Indian Literature*.

|| Published 1810.

In ancient India—where a long-settled civilisation had ultimately produced fixed and slowly evolved beautiful types—a high general level of decorative excellence had obtained. And art in ancient and mediæval India had produced marvellous results in the department of decoration. “Like all people untrammelled by rules and gifted with a feeling for the beautiful, they (the Hindus) adorn whatever they require, and convert every object, however utilitarian in its purpose, into an object of beauty, knowing well that it is not temples and palaces alone that are capable of such display, but that every thing which man makes, may become beautiful, provided the hand of taste be guided by sound judgment and never forgets what the object is.”* In India even tools and objects of domestic utility were made beautiful. And painting, like sculpture, was made decorative.

We need not dwell at length on the pictorial decorations in the old palm-leaf manuscripts. Nor need we try to trace the gradual growth of painting from “rude drawings of men and animals”—such as can be found in the Ginja Hill near Allahabad.†

It is in the cave temples of India that we find ancient paintings in a tolerable state of preservation. And we turn our attention to these cave temples. “In Western India the older caves seem, as a rule, to have been decorated with painting, while sculpture was as generally employed in the East.”‡

The most interesting, as well as the most beautiful pictures are to be found in the Ajantā cave temples. But we shall take them up afterwards.

The caves at Bhājā were made after Asoka's time. Fergusson and Burgess assign to them the date—200 B. C., and they say “in doing so we may feel certain we do not err by many years, or in ascribing it to too ancient a date.”§ To the Bedsā caves, too, must be assigned a date not later than B. C. 150. At Bhājā and Bedsā the whole of the *chaitya* caves were coloured.

The caves of Kārtê must be slightly anterior to the Christian era (100 B. C.)||. And at Kārtê remains of painting are found on several of the columns and on the *dāgoba* in the great *chaitya* hall.

The Kānheri caves date from B. C. 100 to A. D. 150. “The *chaitya* cave at Kānheri shows colour on the columns and on the walls of the aisles and the figures have been coated with

* Fergusson—*Handbook of Architecture*.

† Cunningham—*Archæological Survey Report*, vol. xxi.

‡ Fergusson and Burgess—*The Cave Temples of India*.

§ *The Cave Temples of India*.

|| *Ibid.*

stucco and painted. In the ceilings and pilasters of Cave X, at the same place, are remains of grounds prepared to receive colour."*

Next we take up the little known and much neglected caves at Bâgh. "In the south of Malwa, about twenty-five miles south-west of Dhar and thirty miles west of Mându, is the village of Bâgh, three miles to the south of which is a group of *Vihâras*, now much ruined, from the rock in which they are cut being stratified and having given way in many places."† Here we have no inscriptions to help us to know the date. But "from the simplicity of their sculptures we may perhaps be justified in relegating them to about A. D. 450 to 500, and regarding the wall paintings as belonging to the sixth century."‡ Cave No. III is known as the 'painted cave'—"from its having been covered, with fresco painting apparently quite as good as any at Ajantâ, but somewhat different in the subjects and arrangements. The roof has been in compartments as at Ajantâ, and about 4 feet of the upper portion of the walls covered with intertwined vegetable patterns, while below were figures and scenes, Buddhist Jâtakas, &c., now very much injured by the fall of much of the roof, as well as from natives having scribbled their names over it, and from decay."§ There is a verandah 220 feet long, and "the back wall of this was adorned with a series of very beautiful frescoes, rivalling in excellence those at Ajantâ. Processions on elephants and horse-back, musical entertainments, and the like, from the principal subjects, and the number of women considerably exceeds that of the men."||

The date of the Elurâ caves must be fixed A. D. 450 to 700 or 750. "In the Baroda grant it is stated that Krishnarâja 'caused to be constructed a temple of a wonderful form on the mountain at Elâpura.' When the gods moving in their ærial cars saw it, they were struck with wonder and constantly thought much over the matter saying to themselves, 'this temple of Siva is self-existent; for such beauty is not to be found in a work of art.' Even the architect who constructed it was struck with wonder, saying when his heart misgave him as regards making another similar attempt, 'Wonderful! I do not know how it was that I could construct it.' King Krishna with his own hands again decorated Sambhu (Siva) placed in that temple, by means of gold, rubies and other precious jewels, though he had already been decorated

by the wonderful artificial ornaments of the stream of the Ganga, the moon, and the deadly poison.' The ending *pura* in the names of towns, when it undergoes a change at all, is invariably changed to *ur*, as in Sihur for Simhapura, Indur for Indrapura, Sirur for Sirahpura or Sripura, &c. The Elâpura of the inscription, therefore, is Eur, and the temple described in the grant in such terms must be one of those excavated on the hills at the place, perhaps the temple of Kailâsa itself. Thus it appears that it was Krishnarâja that caused the Kailâsa to be constructed, and the date assigned to it by Drs. Fergusson and Burgess simply on architectural grounds is verified. Krishnarâja must have reigned in the last quarter of the seventh century of the Saka era, i.e., between 753 and 775 A. D."* The important series of caves at Eura were nearly all coloured. The cave known as Kailâsa or Rangmahal is one of the most remarkable of all the cave temples in India. Portions of the temple in the centre have at some period been most elaborately painted, and even now there are some fragments which still retain much of their original beauty.

The caves at Pitalkhora were painted.

The latest limit of the series of caves at Aurangâbad must be fixed "as about coeval with or slightly subsequent to the latest at Ajantâ—say towards the middle or end of the seventh century A. D."† The most important cave from our point of view is cave No. VI. "There are traces of painting left on the roof of the front aisle of this cave in the same style as is used in the roofs of the verandahs at Ajantâ, and probably of about the same age."‡

Now we come to the Ajantâ paintings, and we hope to be pardoned if we dwell at some length on the uncommon beauty and grace of the Ajantâ pictures. These pictures afford an opportunity "not only of judging of the degree of excellence to which the Indians reached in this branch of the fine arts, but present a most vivid picture of the feelings and aspirations of the Buddhists during their period of greatest extension in India than we can obtain from any other source."§ "From the fragments that remain there is very little doubt that all the Buddhist caves were originally adorned with paintings, but in nine cases out of ten these have perished, either from the effects of the atmosphere, which in that climate is most destructive, or from wanton damage

* Griffiths—*The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajantâ*.

† Fergusson and Burgess—*The Cave-Temples of India*.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ Fergusson and Burgess—*The Cave Temples of India*.

| *Ibid.*

* Bhandarkar—*Early History of the Dekkan*.

† Fergusson and Burgess—*The Cave Temples of India*.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ *Ibid.*

done by ignorant men."* The earlier pictures must be assigned to a date not later than the second century A. D.—the time of the Andhrabhritya kings, the greatest patrons of Buddhism in the first three centuries of the Christian era. And in the Ajantā pictures is to be found a freshness of colour, which is wonderful, considering their exposure to the vicissitudes of an Indian climate for from fifteen to eighteen centuries.

What "enormous labour, skill, perseverance and endurance"—unlike the gentle and tranquil indolence generally associated with Buddhism must have gone to the excavation! What surprising boldness of conception and hardy defiance of difficulty do we perceive in these works of the old Buddhist artists, who thoroughly understood the principles of decorative art in its highest and noblest sense!

Walls and ceilings are all covered with paintings of figure subjects and ornaments full of invention and fantasy. They must have used artificial lights in the caves—very trying in Indian climate.

In the pictures we find—"the dominant figure of Buddha has already assumed some of the conventional fixity with which the art of the further East has made us familiar; but though frequently shown as an enthroned object of worship, there are many scenes in which the teacher still lives and moves—a man among men. The crowds that attend or adore are full of life and variety; there is no ascetic abatement of the splendours of Royal State, no softening of the pride and pomp of war and the chase; while the every-day life of the people—buying and selling, cooking, feasting, drinking, love-making, singing and dancing—is fully displayed."† The endeavour of the artist was to show the eager service and interest of his fellow-men. "No matter how crowded a composition may be, each individual has something to do, and does it earnestly."‡ The faculty of truthfully representing easy actions of ordinary life is specially noticeable. The dresses are very various, and indicate the classes represented. "In no detail is the intention of indicating diverse races and castes more clearly shown than in the rendering of costume."§ Dresses and ornaments are most skilfully painted. The figures are natural and elegant; the pleasant and expressive human faces express the feelings they are meant to convey; the female figures are elegant and graceful.

The dominant figure of Buddha is seen in various attitudes.

* Fergusson and Burgess—*The Cave Temples of India*.

† Griffiths—*The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajantā*.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ *Ibid.*

"The hands bless, or teach, or lie on the lap with up-turned palms." The close-cropped or clean-shaven hair and drooping eyelids of the Bhikshu are unmistakable." Soldiers and huntsmen have short and coarse features, with none of the refinement of the elongated faces of princes and nobles."* The fine cloth of the Rānis is indicated by a few very light touches of whitish colour across the thighs, and by the flowered border as well as the chain by which the cloth was held up round the waist. †

Of course, as in other early works, much of the later science of art must be sought in vain. There in the early lack of aerial perspective. But says a competent critic—"In spite of its obvious limitations, I find the work so accomplished in execution, so consistent in convention, so vivacious and varied in design, and full of such evident delight in beautiful form and colour, that I cannot help ranking it with some of that early art which the world has agreed to praise in Italy." ‡

The opinion of Dr. Fergusson we quote with pleasure, "The style of the paintings cannot, of course, bear comparison with European paintings of the present day; but they are certainly superior to the style of Europe during the age in which they were executed; the perspective, grouping and details are better, and the story better told than in any painting anterior to Orcagna§ and Fiesole."||

"At the Sānchi Tope geese are carved among the lotus flowers, and the same motive is repeated in colour at Ajantā with surpassing grace and freedom."¶

Reference has already been made to the assertion of Professor Weber that "portrait painting, for which perspective is not required, seems to have succeeded best, as it is frequently alluded to in the dramas." But the scenes painted here prove that the Professor worked with insufficient—if not inaccurate—materials.

Here we find painted ships and boats. A sea-going vessel with high stem and stern, and three masts, each surmounted by a truck, and carrying a lug sail is very skilfully and faithfully painted.

* Griffiths—*The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajantā*.

† The same is found in sculpture too—"It is quite a mistake to suppose that nudity is the rule among the female figures at Sānchi. Some who appear, on a cursory glance, to be totally nude only, appear so because the sculptor, like the early Greek artists, represented their drapery, over the lower limbs, by simple lines"—General F. C. Maisey.—*Sānchi and its Remains*.

‡ Griffiths—*The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajantā*.

§ 14th Century.

|| 1387 to 1455 A. D.

¶ Griffiths—*The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajantā*.

"The treatment of landscape by the early Italian masters has much in common with the Ajantâ work."* Plants have not been neglected. "Artists will be interested in work which, while decorative in feeling, faithfully preserves essential characteristics of the plant life here shown."† The banana naturally is a favourite subject. We find a fully expanded leaf tattered and rent by the wind, and the half-opened leaf sheath with its vigorous upward growth.‡ "The graceful *ashoka* or *devadâru* with its rounded flower head and drooping foliage, the *palâsa*, the banian, and the *pipâl*—the most familiar and beautiful of Indian trees—are drawn with the appreciation of their growth and habit that might be expected from men who regarded them as sacred. In ornament the lotus—blue, white and pink, the mango, custard apple, pomegranate, gourd and other fruits and flowers, furnish themes for decorative fantasies which always fill their appointed spaces effectively."§

And how many centuries must have passed before the art could reach this high pitch of excellence—the hand of the artist could be thus trained by steady practice till it rejoiced in its own power? Then how old in painting in India? We can but guess.

THE STYLE—INDIGENOUS, NOT BORROWED.

We wonder how Mr. Griffiths arrived at the following conclusion:—"The elements of design (at Ajantâ) are spontaneously developed everywhere, but it is by more than elementary forms and lines that sources of inspiration so diverse as Greece, Persia and China are here indicated.* * * It is plain that then, as now, Indian work was largely influenced by foreign ideas."|| And he has gone all the way to Persia in a fruitless search after the source of inspiration. "The works of Mâni, a famous Persian painter, who lived (240 A.D.) chiefly in Turkestan, may have exerted some influence on Indian artists. He exhibited a set of pictures called *artang* or *archang* Mâni, which he painted in a cave, and said he had brought from heaven."¶

But in these matters slight similarities must not be accepted as conclusive proof. Paintings on stucco bear certain resemblances to each other all over the world. Mr. Griffiths himself admits that "Egyptian tombs, Etruscan frescoes, and painted stuccoes of Herculaneum and Pompeii, furnish ex-

* Griffiths—*The Painting in the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajantâ.*

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

§ *Ibid.*

|| *Ibid.*

¶ *Ibid.*

amples almost identical with those of Ajantâ in technical details."* A fragment of a fresco painted by Ambrogio Lorenzatti (fourteenth century) of heads of nuns, in the National Gallery is singularly like the Ajantâ work in colour, execution and treatment. In the absence of ample and strong evidence, external or internal, we should be chary of conclusions which try to start new theories.

The influence of Persia and Greece we need not discuss at length. We can find no trace of influence from Persia; and Fergusson—a great authority—has said, that the style is not European. We do not deny that intercourse with other nations must have left their marks on Indian Art. But we are certain that the source of inspiration, as well as the whole process of elaboration and execution must be admitted to be characteristically Indian and neither Greek nor Persian.

We now proceed to consider the assertion about the influence of China on the pictorial art of ancient and mediæval India.

There is a Chinese turn in the Ajantâ paintings—in the suppleness of the figures, the drawing of the human eye and sometimes of the whole figures as well as in many ornamental details. There we find the flatness and want of shadow we are accustomed to associate with Chinese pictorial art. Fergusson has admitted that the style of the Ajantâ paintings is not European, but more resembles Chinese art. But he has added, "I never, however, in China saw anything approaching its perfection."

Buddhist pictures of Tibêt, Nepal, China, Japan, Burma and Java present a marvellous unity of style, and all bear a striking resemblance to the Ajantâ work. It is, we think, but natural. And we wonder how, commenting on this fact, Mr. Griffiths has declared—"looked at more closely, however, it is soon apparent that the latter (the Ajantâ work) is younger, nearer to the original source of inspiration, and that there is a delight in nature for its own sake, and a free-handed revelry in the opportunities afforded to the artist, of painting the manifold life he saw and knew."† We do not know how to reconcile these assertions. One would rather suppose that the art of the country nearer to the original source of inspiration should be older than the art of the countries more remote, that, surely, is more natural. And we do not see why we should suppose that there has been a breach of the rule in this case. Then the "delight in nature for its own sake" and the "free-handed revelry in the opportunities afforded to the artist, of painting the manifold life he saw and knew"—which Mr. Griffiths has noticed in the Ajantâ work could

* Griffiths—*The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajantâ.*

† *Ibid.*

only be possible before the antique style of composition had become fixed by rigid adherence to a canon. And they betray the fact that these paintings—the strange work of a long-dead people—belong to a very remote age.

It is strange that a very simple thing did not strike the learned writer, even when he himself said—"It is clear that wherever Buddhism prevailed the art of painting flourished, and early records and traditions show that it was systematically studied and practised."* Was not India the home of Buddhism? And is it hard to conjecture that the art had its origin in India? Fā-Hian has said that he remained at Tamralipti for two years *drawing image pictures*. And we are of opinion that when India gave to China her cult and her culture, Buddhist monks and Chinese pilgrims took the pictorial art of India to China. Then in India came the religious revolution which restored the power of Hinduism. Buddhist monks fled to Tibet and China. From China the religion and the art went to Japan,—chiefly through Korea. This is the explanation of the existence, at the present day in some of the oldest temples of Japan, of paintings, treasured as the most precious relics and rarely shown to Europeans, which closely resemble the Buddhist art of India. So the school of Ajantā carried its traditions into the congenial atmosphere of the Far East among a people whose artistic sympathies were entirely in the same direction.†

The art of India thrived in the Far East. And in India itself when the time for revival came with the advent of a luxurious court the Moghuls brought with them their own art. The axe of the conqueror was applied to the tree which had borne brilliant flowers; and it was simply lopped in order to receive on its crown a cluster of foreign branches. At last the wound closed, the saps mingled; and in India arose a new and characteristically Indian school of pictorial art in which were mingled the traditions of the Persian school, and the traditions of the old Indian school. This is known as the Moghul school of art in India. And there is nothing to be surprised at in the fact that in making copies from the Ajantā pictures it was found that Hindu, Parsi and even Goanese students of art can still easily do the work which was done centuries before, while English artists find considerable difficulty in doing it. It is only another example of the Law of Heredity.

HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE.

† Griffiths—*The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajantā*.

† See the *Studio*—October 1902—*Some Notes on Indian Pictorial Art* by Mr. E. B. Havell of the Calcutta Art School; and Wm. Anderson's *Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum*.

ART II.—THE LAND OF THE NAYAKARS.

THE NAYAKAR KINGDOMS.

THE seventeenth century was peculiarly the century of the Nayakars. It was then they attained their precarious independence and greatest glory.

The great Nayakars of Madura, Tanjore, and Ginji were tributary to the Emperor of Vijayanagar, to whom they were supposed to pay each an annual tribute of from six to ten millions of francs, say forty lakhs. They were not exact in paying, and the Emperor would send soldiers by the hundred thousand to enforce arrears with interest. This frequently happened, and the poor people suffered. Madura and the other cities passed through many vicissitudes, and their population varied greatly at different times.

TRIBUTARY LORDS.

The great Nayakar of Madura had only a little territory of his own. The rest was parcelled out to seventy-two Palayagaras, or tributary lords. These had each his own territory, and within it the full administration of police and justice. They raised contributions of, at least, half the produce of the ground; this they divided into three parts; the first belonged to the great Nayakar, the second was devoted to the expense of troops that had to be furnished to the Nayakar in case of war, and the third was their own.

ERUMEIKATTI.

The greatest chieftain of Madura was nicknamed "Erumeikatti." He was brother of a powerful lord and relative of the king, owned the Brahman quarters in the city, and was bound to support for the service of the Nayakar 3,000 infantry, 200 horse, and 50 elephants.

SCHOOLS OF LEARNING.

In 1609 there were more than ten thousand Brahmin students in Madura, distributed in classes of two hundred to three hundred each. The other castes, especially Vaisyas and Sudras, were excluded. The Emperor of Vijayanagar and the King of Madura had endowed the schools sufficiently for the pay of the masters and support of the students. The first course was Logic, requiring four or five years of study. Besides Theology, or Vedantism, there were five other courses.

STRUGGLES WITH VIJAYANAGAR.

A contemporary view of the political state of South India

is given us in the letters of Father Proenza, a Priest residing in Trichinopoly and writing in 1659 to his Superior in Cochin.

From Comorin all east of the Ghats had submitted to the three Nayakars. North of these were two kingdoms, formerly very powerful, but now dependents of the Great Mogul at Delhi, *viz.*, Golconda to the east and Bijapur to the west. Narasingam of Vijayanagar had been driven southward, and had fixed his seat at Vellore.

The Madura Nayakars had long paid tribute, but Tirumala, following his father's example, determined to free himself. Too feeble to resist openly, he, for several years, sent presents without tribute. Old Narasingam dissembled to avoid war; but on the accession of a new Narasingam he sent an army to collect his dues.

Madura formed a league with Tanjore and Ginji, but Tanjore betrayed his allies and yielded. Then, while Vijayanagar was marching on Ginji, Tirumala begged Golconda, a Mussulman King, to invade Vellore. He agreed, and devastated Vellore, but Narasingam turned back and repulsed Golconda. Golconda, however, did not lose heart, and afterwards gained the victory over Vijayanagar, and occupied Vellore.

Vijayanagar now joins with his former enemies in a league against Golconda, and takes refuge among the three Nayakar, leaving the Musalman in Vellore. Jealousies arose, and Vijayanagar was obliged to establish his court in the forests north of Tanjore. For four months he suffered such privations that his courtiers all left him. Finally he appealed to Mysore, who promised to support him, and gave him a hospitable refuge.

MUSALMAN ALLIES.

When Mogul cavalry passed near Tanjore the inhabitants crowded each other in the streets with crazy fury, no one knowing what was the matter. Cannon were fired into the air, and men were crushed under horses and elephants. The Nayakar was the most frightened of all, and kept hid to in different places all night. Golconda was advancing on Ginjee. Tanjore was frightened. He had failed Madura, and now could not rely on Madura to help him; so he delivered himself to Golconda.

Tirumala's next move was to send ambassadors to Adal Khan, King of the Deccan, in Bijapur. He sent 17,000 horse, 30,000 troops were added by Tirumala, and the united force advanced toward Ginji. The Musalman of the armies of Golconda and Bijapur united with each other; Golconda withdrew to Vellore and left the 17,000 Deccanese to continue the siege; and Tirumala's 30,000 went in to Ginji to defend

it. These last had good fortifications, powerful artillery, plenty of provisions, and the advantage of numbers under protection. Yet when a revolt was started inside, the doors were opened, and the Musalmans entered and took the fortress with immense spoil. Forthwith they marched against Tanjore and Madura. The Tanjore Nayakar concealed himself in the forests, the Madura man in his fort; but both submitted, and the conquest of the Musalmans was complete without a blow.

These two Nayakars thought only of oppressing their own subjects. Their pride consoled itself for repeated humiliations by making heavy the yoke of despotism. Their spoliations made the people long for the Moguls.

Narasingam was wiser. With the support of an army of Mysoreans he repulsed Golconda, and reconquered a part of his kingdom. It was Tirumala's opportunity; but, instead of helping Narasingam, he opened anew to the Musalmans the passage of the Ghats, and pushed them to war with Mysore. Vijayanagar had to seek an asylum in the woods in the corner of his kingdom, and was again deserted.

STRUGGLES WITH MYSORE.

The Treasurer of Adal Khan took enormous contributions from Madura and Tanjore, and returned. Mysore proceeded to call Tirumala to account for his disloyalty; and sent an army for vengeance, and to collect the expenses of the war. Sattiamangalam was the first point of attack, and there the Commander of the army found no resistance and plenty of treasure. He then advanced to the walls of Madura contrary to orders.

THE MARAVAR.

Tirumala was about to fly to the woods alone, when the Maravar came to his rescue. When their king heard of the danger, he assembled in one day 25,000 men and placed himself between Madura and the enemy. This braced up the Nayakar and he raised 35,000 for his defence. Mysore, however, won the Brahman Commander of the Nayakar's forces by presents, and the traitor tried to delay the attack. This aroused the suspicions of the Maravar, who thereupon imprisoned the Brahman, and cut in pieces the enemy. The remnants of the Mysore army took refuge in a neighbouring fortress until reinforced by 20,000 more men, when they returned to the attack. The combat raged with fury all one day, and each army left more than 12,000 dead on the field of battle.

THE CHASE OF THE NOSES.

The advantage was with the Nayakar, and he carried the war into Mysore. The Mysoreans had been cutting off noses and sending them by sackfuls back to Mysore. So now the troops of the Nayakar scattered through Mysore for noses to cut off, in retaliation. They succeeded even to the extent of cutting off the nose of the king himself. This war was called the Chase after Noses.

TIRUMALA NAYAKAR.

Tirumala died at the age of seventy-five, having reigned thirty years. He had grand qualities tarnished by vices and follies. He built the Pagodas of Madura, many public edifices, and especially the Royal Palace, whose colossal proportions and astonishing boldness recalled the glories of ancient Thebes. He loved and protected the Christian religion, whose excellence he recognized. He had 200 wives. The most distinguished of his wives were burned on his funeral pyre.

THE KING OF TANJORE.

Mutavirappa Nayakar followed Tirumala Nayakar, and tried to shake off the Musalmans and otherwise recover from the consequences of Tirumala's faults. Trichinopoly was the key of the position with reference to the states to the north; so he garrisoned its fortress with soldiers and munitions of war; and thus, having prepared for vigorous resistance, he refused the annual tribute. Tanjore immediately sent ambassadors to Adal Khan of Bijapur. Suddenly a Musalman army crossed the northern mountains and appeared before Trichinopoly, thus announcing their design of conquering the whole country. Without waiting to reduce that fortress, they turned eastward and fell on Tanjore, March 19, 1659.

Tanjore stood in the midst of a fertile plain, possessed powerful artillery, had plenty of troops, was provisioned for several years, was equal to the strongest citadels of Europe, and could laugh at besiegers who had not a single cannon. The Commandant of the fortress, a son-in-law of the Nayakar, showed himself on the rampart with immense pride; but an arrow hit him, causing all his bravery to disappear, and he shamefully delivered up the city. Only the young Rajas protested. Disdaining bow and gun, as the weapons of cowards, they took sword and lance, and with the motto, "never fall back, conquer or die," they fell upon the enemy and found a glorious death. Amid so many instances of base cowardice it is quite refreshing to come upon this act of daring.

With Tanjore in their power the Musalmans marched to Mannarkoil, 51 miles east of Tanjore, from whose god Mannar

the Nayakar claimed descent. This, the second city of Tanjore, shared the fate of the capital.

The third city of the kingdom was Valiankottei, nine miles south-west of Tanjore. It was situated on a steep rock, with carved ramparts, and should be impregnable. Here the Nayakar placed his treasures and women, but when peril approached he sacrificed everything and fled to the forests of his vassal Talavarayan. Adal Khan's army had not even to attack this third city. By night the people all fled to the forest. A few opened the coffers of the Nayakar and took treasures out of them. Robbers fell upon them and took away what they had taken, then rushed to the fortress and helped themselves to all the riches therein, the path of their flight was marked by precious stones dropped along the way. But the Musalmans did not get them, and they were distributed among the people. Afterward, when the Nayakar returned and was in great distress, the people restored to him some of his treasures, claiming that they had been keeping them for him.

Many prisoners were liberated, among them two brothers of the Nayakar with their eyes put out. The army spread themselves throughout the country for several months. Robbers frequently attacked them, and they in turn would pursue the robbers into the woods, desolate their abodes, and take their children into slavery.

The Tanjore Nayakar used to spend the month of December in the midst of his idols. Two hours before daybreak he would go to Mannar sanctuary, staying five hours at a time to pour upon the head of the god a rain of flowers. Cultivators had orders to bring him flowers from hour to hour. He would live as a Sannyasi, cooking for himself in vessels of gold and silver. In procession the King's Guru would be carried in a palanquin by the ladies of the Court. Another palanquin had the slippers of the Guru, and the Nayakar on foot preceded the slippers with the censer. When the Guru was dying the king visited and promised him a magnificent funeral. The Guru was offended, but the death occurred, and also the magnificent funeral.

Once the king made a pilgrimage to a place called "Ramanacor," described as an island between Coromandel and the Straits of Mannar. Surely this is no other than Ramesaram? There was a celebrated tank there where the goddess Perumal bathed, which gave the water the quality of washing out all sins. The Nayakar and all his nobles shaved from head to foot. Himself and his Queen were weighed in the scales before the idol, and he offered an equal weight of gold. On his return to his capital the god Mannar was said to be jealous of

the king's generosity to Perumal, and to utter loud cries. He appeased it with 20,000 crowns of gold.

WAR AND FAMINE.

In 1660 the Portuguese were being attacked and driven out of their territories by both the French and the Dutch. Golconda was an ally of the Portuguese. For two years the Musalmans under the generals of Adal Khan occupied the kingdoms of Ginji and Tanjore. The people found them less cruel and more just than their own sovereigns. Famine followed hard after war, and the inhabitants retired to Madura and Sattiamangalam. The Musalmans were the first to suffer. There were dissensions among their own generals. One Moula called on the Nayakars to pay three years' tribute. Tanjore had nothing to give or lose, and stayed in the woods. Madura defended himself in Trichinopoly. Despairing of taking the fort, Moula ravaged the country, and was frequently himself ravaged by robbers at night. Finally he accepted a small sum from the Nayakar and retired to the mountains.

TREACHEROUS OFFICERS.

Meantime Muttuvirappa Nayakar had given himself up to luxury, and had lost, first his energy and health, and then life. He was succeeded by Sokalinga Nayakar, who was only sixteen years old. He moved his court from Madura to Trichinopoly.

The young king conceived the daring project of driving out the Moguls from all the kingdoms invaded, restoring Ginji to its Nayakar, and re-establishing Vijayanagar. His prime minister was a Brahman, and his secretary an aged confidante of his father. These two took all authority, and removed from the king all lords and captains that could overshadow them. Captain Lingama was sent to take possession of Ginji, but he took bribes from the Musalman and wasted the money in a long campaign. The Nayakar was practically a prisoner at Trichinopoly, with no means of communicating with his subjects. The two ministers conspired with Lingama to depose the Nayakar in favor of his younger brother. A lady of the court overheard their plans and informed the Nayakar. He proved equal to the occasion, and sent word to two captains who had been exiled because of their devotion to him. They came with soldiers, and cut the secretary to pieces. The other minister being a Brahman, they did not dare to kill him, but put out his eyes.

Thus delivered, the Nayakar brought back the exiled courtiers, and dissimulated with Lingama. Lingama afterwards joined Sagasi of Ginji, who had bribed him before, and

the two returned to attack Trichinopoly with 12,000 foot and 7,000 horse. The Sokalinga had 50,000 men, but the new Brahman minister was treacherous. He made the best captains fall into traps, by which they were killed or captured, and then tried to capture the king with a part of the troops. The king again proved himself equal to an emergency. Taking command of the other part of the army, he overcame the Brahman, and swore he would never trust Brahmans again. Lingama and Sagasi took refuge in Tanjore.

Sokalinga Nayakar inspired respect and fear. He attracted soldiers to his army from the enemy. When he marched against Tanjore he had 70,000 troops. Lingama and Sagasi fled to Ginji, and the Nayakar of Tanjore submitted to him.

A FAMOUS ROBBER.

Robbers infested all the region about Tanjore. Twelve miles from Tanjore was a famous robber named Meicoundone (Veigundan?), who repulsed the cavalry of Adal Khan, and was called King of the Forests. Small wars were waged against him, but he was always victorious. He knew the Christian missionaries, and before going into battle would kneel and call on Jesus. Other chiefs united against him, and traitors delivered his place to them, but Veigundan, followed by his brother and son and a few others, forced a passage and fled to a refuge. The victors burned his town, and went to his palace to burn that with their own hands, when a magazine of powder underneath exploded and blew up forty of them,—the soldiers fled in a panic.

DESOLATION.

Sokalinga had gone from Tanjore to Madura. It was a time of distress when millions are said to have perished from famine and misery. On the king's return to Trichinopoly he gave a banquet to the poor on the banks of the Kavari. There were long rows of plantain leaves with piles of rice distributed by troops of people. At the beginning of the feast the king arrived on horseback and passed between the rows. He became famous for his justice and good administration.

In addition to other troubles, locusts destroyed the crops of the country. Madura was so deserted that wolves, bears and tigers increased, even coming into the city and wandering through private compounds. Clouds of insects of bad odour and painful bite infected the whole country.

In 1665 the Musalmans again attacked Trichinopoly under the command of Adal Khan's most valiant captain. Several assaults were repulsed by Sokalinga with warlike valor. The besiegers were more successful in devastating the country and sent terror into all hearts. They destroyed harvests, burned

villages, and enslaved the people. Nobles immolated their wives and children, then pierced themselves with their own swords. Whole villages burned themselves in their houses. One man is said to have come out alive from under a pile of four hundred corpses. The Musalmans, being satisfied, negotiated with the Nayakar, and left on receipt of a large sum of money.

SOKALINGA'S REVENGE.

Sokalinga Nayakar, being freed, took revenge on Tanjore for having united with the Moguls. He captured the important fortress of Vallam with its rich territory, and made peace on his own terms.

Turning from Tanjore he took further revenge on the King of Marava, because he had refused to help him against the Musalmans. He first captured Tirupatur, Pudukottei, and Munamadura, and then penetrated the forests and seized the fort of Kaliarkoil. The King of Marava retired into the depths of his forests.

A SILLY KING.

The Tanjore Nayakar, having betrayed Madura and suffered for it, was told by his Brahman advisers that he had better be reborn. So a colossal cow in bronze was cast in a mould and the king was shut up inside. The wife of the king's Brahman Guru acted as nurse, received him in her arms, rocked him on her knees, and caressed him on her breast, and he tried to cry like a baby. The neighbours laughed greatly at this, but the ceremony brought the Brahmans immense sums.

FAMOUS BRIGANDS.

Thirty miles north of Trichinopoly lived a famous Pareia brigand, who was dreaded by all on account of his ferocity. At the age of ninety he turned to the fanatical worship of various gods. He walked three days to Trichinopoly and wandered all day searching for the Christian Pandaram. At night he fell into the moat of the citadel. A Christian catechist found him and the next morning baptized him, and at noon he expired.

The professional robbers were feared by the Musalmans more than the armies of the Nayakars. They would come out of the woods in little bands, spread themselves through the country, attack the Musalmans, and suddenly disperse to meet in the woods at a whistle. Almost any one of them could run like lightning, jump on a horse and carry it off without any bridle, and dash through any band of men.

SOKALINGA'S CONTEMPORARIES.

In the history of the Naidu community published by Nara-

simalu Naidugar in 1896 Sokalinga Naidu is said to have come to the throne in 1670. But that is certainly an error, for in 1666 he had not only reigned for several years, but had done his best work and become enervated by his passions. His contemporary in Tanjore was Vijaya Nayakar. At this time Ginji was ruled by three captains of Adal Khan.

CRUEL MINISTERS.

The Pradani (prime minister) of Tanjore allowed a Brahman to despoil all the vassals of the king, and he did it cruelly. He mulcted both labourers and merchants to such an extent that they fled and the city became a desert. The king intended to secure the plunder for himself, but the Pradani was too far-sighted for him; so at last the king gave up the Pradani to the fury of the people. The Pradani of Madura did the same thing; but his king fined him three lakhs of crowns, and he made the people pay it in addition to all his booty.

MADURA PALACE.

Sokalinga started out as one of the bravest of the Nayak dynasty, but he too lost his energy in self-indulgence, and his renown in the folly of ruining the Madura Palace, described as "the most majestic monument that existed in these countries," and transporting its splendid columns of black granite for the erection of a sumptuous castle at Trichinopoly that could not compare with the one he ruined. At the entreaty of his courtiers he left a little of it standing, but its glory had departed, and never reappeared either in Madura or Trichinopoly.

GENERAL DISTURBANCE.

No letters from the Jesuits are extant between 1667 and 1676, because they were all lost in the wars between the Portuguese and Dutch.

In 1676 the Madura Nayakar, after many disastrous wars, captured Tanjore, beheaded the king, and gave the throne to an elder brother. But Adal Khan sent Ecogi with an army to establish the son of the slain king. Ecogi was checked and waited on the frontier for a whole year, until quarrels enabled him to carry out his purpose. Ecogi then attacked Trichinopoly, but the Nayakar successfully resisted him, Ecogi, however occupied all the fortresses of the Nayakar. The latter was a tyrant worse than all his predecessors. Meantime famine had ravaged Madura and Marava, and everywhere there were devastation and solitude.

These were times of general disturbance. In Ginji a Brahman, brother of the Governor, plotted against Adal Khan, but was killed himself. A general sent to depose the Governor

was repulsed, and devastation followed. Ecoji on one side, and Mysore on the other, gathered the debris of the Madurese kingdom. At Tanjore, Ecoji, contrary to the orders of Adal Khan, assumed the throne of Tanjore, and won the good-will of the people. Adal Khan sent an army to punish Ecoji, the Nayakar approached to capture Tanjore. Mysore, on the other hand, fortified the places taken from Madura. War brigandage more than the wars between Madura and Mysore, depopulated the country by driving the inhabitants to flight.

THREE MAHRATTA BROTHERS.

By 1678 the three Mahratta brothers, Sivaji, Ecoji, and Santogi, have become the prominent actors in the land of the Nayakar. While Sokalinga Nayakar was preparing war against Ecoji, now master of Tanjore and Ginji, rumour indicated that Sivaji had seized several provinces of Vijayanagar and was advancing with a powerful army. He fell like lightning on Ginji and easily captured it. Ecoji, pretending to respect his brother, advanced to meet Sivaji and found him on the other side of the Coleroon, nine miles from Tanjore. Sivaji seized him and loaded him with chains to force him to deliver up all the treasures of Tanjore. Ecoji escaped, swimming across the river and hiding in the woods. Sivaji took all the provinces north of the Coleroon, left the greater part of his army to Santogi and a Brahman counsellor, and flew to the north to help his son against the great Mogul.

Ecoji took advantage of Sivaji's absence to attack Ginji and give battle to Santogi. Ecoji's troops fought like lions and Santogi fled, but ambuscaded the victorious army and won the final victory, though suffering the greater loss. Sokalinga thought his time had come to regain Tanjore, but Ecoji re-entered the city, and the Nayakar first hesitated, then offered money to Santogi to help him. Ecoji could beat him at this game, and outbid him and kept his place. So the Nayakar had nothing to do but return to Trichinopoly. Santogi went to assist Sivaji at the siege of Vellore. After a year's siege it was captured and Sivaji became sovereign of a great part of the old kingdom of Vijayanagar. He fortified Ginji and other principal places with great art, destroyed useless fortresses and prepared himself to sustain a siege of several years, and then plundered the people for the expenses. The people sighed for the Moguls.

Ecoji was driven to oppress the people in order to furnish the immense sums he had promised. There were abundant harvests, but the Maravar plundered right and left. All Tanjore provinces were desolated for twenty years by the Sivaji-Ecoji wars.

DEPOSITION OF SOKALINGA.

Sokalinga not only failed to get Tanjore, but lost his own states to Mysore, who captured the only two fortresses he had in the north. The lords of Madura imprisoned Sokalinga under the pretext of insanity and placed on his throne his brother Muttulinga Virappa Narakar. He was neither wiser, nor less tyrannical than his predecessor.

A DEN OF BRIGANDS.

Sattiamangalam, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, and Ginji were desolated by a deluge, followed by famine, pestilence, and brigandage. Madura was no longer recognizable, its palaces so rich and majestic were deserted and falling in ruins. It was less a city than a den of brigands. The new King was a worthless ruler, and spent his time sleeping night and day, while people who did not sleep deprived him of his estates.

A GREAT DELUGE.

A graphic description is given of the terrors of a vast inundation that swept down the country of the Coleroon on the 17th and following days of December 1678. At Tattuvancheri on a hill a mile and half north of the Coleroon, de Britto had a church and presbytery part way up the hill. People assured him that the overflow of the river never reached this hill. But in the middle of that night he was awakened by the cries of villagers, and found the water rising into the compound. Many ran into the thicket to climb the trees. Before long the water in his house had risen to his breast, so he rushed through the flood to the top of the hill, where were the ruins of an old mud hut. Serpents filled the thicket, and eight of his Christians came and crowded together with him on the top of the hill. There they stood, surrounded by water, and the bodies of men and animals, dead and dying, trunks of trees, beams, roofs of houses, and other debris were continually floating past. They had no nourishment. There was food in the presbytery, but it could be obtained only by swimming. Serpents from all the plain and the thicket directed themselves towards the mound. Some were of enormous size, and the human occupants of the hill-top had to be on guard every instant, night and day, to kill or drive them away.

It was Friday when the waters surprised them. By Saturday evening they had diminished somewhat, but on Sunday rose higher than ever. All prepared to die, being overwhelmed with the mass of rushing waters. After two days of alternating danger and despair they had forgotten hunger. Finally by wading in the water up to their shoulders they gathered wood in the thicket and cooked some rice. After three days the

waters retired, and they came out of their strange prison. The church and presbytery were entirely destroyed. They suffered from exposure to piercing winds. Two Princes invited de Britto to come to their palace, but he asked and received a grant of the land that had saved them, and built a church on it.

Not long after this destructive deluge from the rivers, an equally destructive inundation of the villages of the east took place from a tidal wave that destroyed more than six thousand persons.

ENFEEBLED KINGS.

In 1682 it seems as if the kings were running to ruin, blindly. Tirumala's fatal policy of calling the Moguls had been pursued by his successors. The Princes enfeebled themselves by reciprocal treacheries. Vijayanagar, Ginji, and Tanjore had been despoiled, and the Madura kingdom was invaded at Trichinopoly, by both Ecoji and Mysore. While Muttulinga Nyakar was promenading at Trichinopoly, a Musalman commander of cavalry shut him out of the citadel, and nominally restored Sokalingam but actually usurped the authority himself with the aid of his cavalry, and took all the wives, as well as treasures of the palace. Two ladies committed suicide to escape him. Sokalingam watched his opportunity for two years. Then Kumarayan, General of the Mysore army, attacked Trichinopoly. The commander usurper made a sortie, was ambushed and lost his cavalry. When returning to the citadel Sokalingam massacred him and his Musalmans and resumed his authority.

ASSAILANT OF THE NAYAKAR.

He was now surrounded by four great armies, *viz.*, (1) Kumarayan, who was besieging him; (2) the Maravar, who pretended to defend him, but came to pillage; (3) Arasumalei, general of Samboji, Sivaji's son and successor; and (4) Ecoji. The last two had been invited by Sokalingam, and pretended to come to his aid but really had the intention of repulsing Mysore and capturing Madura. Kumarayan offered peace to the Nayakar with his estates and the restoration of Tanjore and Ginji; but the Nayakar contented himself with remaining an idle spectator of the struggle to see who should be master.

Kumarayan now offered Arasumalei great sums if he would withdraw to Ginji, hoping that he would soon receive reinforcements from Mysore. Receiving no answer from the Mahratta general, he undertook to retreat. He charged the cavalry to simulate an attack while the rest of the army should withdraw. The Moguls were not fooled. Without engaging the cavalry, they pressed his army closely. Then the cavalry ran away, and they butchered the infantry, and captured Kumar-

ayan. Following up this success, they chased the Mysoreans from all the provinces and nearly all the citadels they had taken from Madura. Samboji promised to restore what he took, but he carefully kept everything. Mysore did manage to keep Madura itself with the aid of the Maravar who thought Mysore less dangerous than Samboji.

Sokalinga fell into melancholy and died. His successor this time was his son, fifteen years old, Muttukrishna Nayakar. Enemies occupied the citadels, robbers were masters of the rural parts, villages, and cities, and practiced brigandage with impunity.

Ecoji's tyranny in Tanjore was increasing; he destroyed men, then attacked their pagodas and despoiled them of their treasures. In Ginji Samboji showed himself a tyrant more cruel and perfidious than his father. At the solicitation of Ecoji the Mogul was sending an army against Samboji. Samboji was fighting against Mysore, and had taken all the province of Darmapuri and other territories. He was seconded by the Canarese ruler and the King of Golconda, who were at war with Mysore.

In December 1680 a comet appeared, and then another comet, and the people attributed their troubles to them.

Samboji was besieging the Mysoreans in the citadel of Madura for a year.

A KINGDOM IN FRAGMENTS.

In 1683 we have the kingdom of Madura described as in fragments, the parties possessing the fragments being the Nayakar, the King of Mysore, the little King of Marava, Samboji, and Ecoji. The power of Mysore had been enfeebled by the attacks on his own state by Samboji, so that he was unable to reinforce his troops, and little by little his provinces threw off his yoke and became independent, or joined some one of the other powers.

TYRANNY OF THE MAHRATTAS.

Ecoji had lost some of his provinces to the Maravar. He claimed four-fifths of all the crops, refused payment in kind, and fixed the price himself, so that the whole harvest could not equal in value the money he claimed. And then he would torture cultivators to prove that they could not pay. Samboji's tyranny in Ginji was more frightful and revolting than this.

In 1686 famine had killed off the Maravar to such an extent that they formed only one-thirtieth part of the people; the rest being Musalmans, Pallar, and Udeiar.

POLITICAL DISSOLUTION.

Political dissolution was going on. The little rajas had

shaken off Mysore, brigands and Maravar had fought the troops of Ecoji, and Samboji's invasion of Mysore was powerfully seconded by revolts of the people against their own sovereign. For the sake of meeting the expenses of defence his exactions had been so terrible that the two Brahman chiefs of the Sivites and Vaishnavites, respectively, led the insurrection. One with 70,000 troops marched against the king himself in the fortress of Mysore, and the other ravaged Sattiamangalam with 30,000. The king retaliated by sending an army to devastate with fire and blood. The Siva and Vishnu temples were razed and their worshippers driven out or killed. Strange to say, only Christians were spared.

FAMISHED TIGERS.

In Marava a famine raged for seven years, and drove out troops of famished tigers, any one of which would attack singly a band of a hundred persons, seize the first victim and carry him off. Besides cattle more than seventy people disappeared in a short time. The fear of the people was so great that at night they set guards with fires. They dared not travel at night, and were not always safe by day.

THE CRUEL NAYAKAR.

When the Nayakar expelled the Mysoreans from Madura and regained the city, the Palayagaran of Mullipadi, a just and pacific man, went to Madura to pay his respects to the Nayakar. The cruel Nayakar arrested him, deprived him of his jewels, shut him up in a cell, and sent troops to despoil his territory and seize and torture his wives to make them reveal hidden treasures.

SUBJUGATION OF TRAVANCORE.

At the end of the seventeenth century Travancore was under one of the least of the princes, and was tributary to Madura. Kotar at the foot of the mountains, twelve miles from Cape Comorin, was the southern terminus. It was frequently attacked by the Vadugar, and suffered annual pillage. The Vadugar penetrated as far as Kurakulam, the capital and principal fortress. The Nayakar offered it to them on condition of their delivering to him eight of his ministers who were in possession of his revenues. They killed one or two of the eight, others ran away, and some paid over the money, but the prince attacked the fortress and drove out the Vadugar, killing most of them, and then took the government into his own hand.

PEARL AND CHANK FISHERIES.

As long as the Portuguese held power in the south the Paravar were rich and powerful, but with the disappearance

of the Portuguese they became poverty-stricken. They lived by exchanging fish for rice and other provisions not grown on the barren sandy coast. The principal places on the coast were Taley, Manaparej, Alandalei, Punikal, and Tuticorin, but these had all diminished, and there were no longer any large towns on the fishing coast. Tuticorin, which now has only 28,000 people is said to have had 50,000 in the seventeenth century. The pearl fishery extended forty leagues from Comorin to Ramnad. The sea at its greatest height was said to have not more than three or four feet of water at Adam's Bridge.

In 1700 the Dutch controlled the commerce of the coast of Madura and Tinnevely. They had high buildings on the two islands off Tuticorin, and a fortress and great stores on shore. They made stores of the Parava Churches built by the Portuguese, and drew considerable revenues. They traded leather from Japan and spices from Molucca, for cloths from Madura, and they had two kinds of fisheries, pearls and chank shells.

The chanks were like the shells assigned to Tritons by painters. The spirals turn from right to left; if any were found with spirals from left to right they would be worth millions, as the Hindus thought a god took refuge in a shell of this sort. The Dutch sold chanks in Bengal for bracelets, which were as brilliant as ivory. They would kill an Indian who should sell chanks to any but themselves.

Previously Madura and Marava had divided the profits of the fisheries; but when the Dutch came they gave the pearls of the first day to either Madura or Marava according to the location. Formerly, too, any boat that would pay sixty crowns, or more, could carry on the work of fishing for pearls, and six or seven hundred boats take part.

Later the Dutch company would send ten or twelve boats to explore. Dividing into different roadsteads they would test a thousand oysters at a time. If from a thousand oysters they could get pearls worth a crown, the fishery would be very valuable; but if the value was not more than ten annas, the profit would not exceed expenses. When good fishing was announced boats would come from all quarters. A cannon shot in the morning would be the signal for all boats to start, led by two shallops which would turn to right and left to show the limits. Instantly divers would plunge in at a depth of three to five fathoms, turn by turn, attached to a cord fastened to the yard-arm, to be relaxed or drawn up at will. Each diver had a sack at his belt to carry his oysters. If he found more than he could carry he would pile them up for the next man. Divers would fight under water over their piles of oysters. At times one would kill another with a knife; and

sharks would carry away both divers and oysters. They were accustomed to diving from infancy, but could not dive more than seven or eight times a day, and even then sometimes they would lose respiration and presence of mind.

At midday all boats would return to the shore, when the master would convey to a park the oysters belonging to him, and leave them two or three days to be opened by the death of the oysters. The pearls were sifted through copper basins with holes of sizes, the lowest without holes receiving the seed pearls. The Dutch reserved the right of buying the largest pearls but did not force the sale of others. The shortest way to get rich was to have cash in hand to buy cheaply. People would eat the decayed oysters, and usually this caused much disease.

The fishery of 1700 was very unfortunate. The test was very fine, but at the opening at the end of March all the divers together brought up only two or three thousand oysters, and they had scarcely any pearls. The Christians regarded this as a punishment on the Dutch because they had broken the custom of giving the first pearls of Christian divers to the nearest Christian Church.

END OF THE RULE OF THE NAYAKARS.

In 1734 the Nabob of Arcot took Tanjore, then Travancore. The Mahrattas sent 60,000 horse and 150,000 foot in 1739 into the Carnatic, of which Arcot was the capital. And in 1740 the Nabob himself was killed at Ambur. The rule of the Nayakars had ceased, and their territories were soon to be incorporated into British territory to enjoy a peace and prosperity unknown for centuries.

J. S. CHANDLER.

ART. III.—THE AFGHAN INVASION AND CONQUEST OF PERSIA, 1720-1730.

- 1.—Hanway's *Revolutions of Persia*, 2 vols. 1753.
- 2.—Malcolm's *History of Persia*, 2 vols. 1815.
- 3.—*The Chronicles of a Traveller, or A History of the Afghan Wars with Persia*, being a Translation of the *Tareekh-i-Seeah*, from the Latin of J. C. Clodius, by G. N. Mitford. 1840.
- 4.—Ferrier's *History of the Afghans*, 1858.

THE modern history of Asia records few more singular incidents than the raid by which the Ghilzais of Kandahar overthrew the Sophi dynasty, and made themselves masters for the space of seven years of the capital and great part of the kingdom of Persia. The movements of the Tartar hordes who followed Genghis Khan and Timour were on a larger scale and spread ruin and desolation over wider areas. But the mists of many centuries have dimmed our vision of those tremendous cataclysms, while less than two hundred years divide us from the horrors of the Ghilzai invasion. The tragedy of Ispahan was enacted while George I was king, and our knowledge of that appalling episode and of the events which led up to it is comparatively distinct and detailed.

The ownership of the city and province of Kandahar had long been intermittently disputed by the dynasties of Delhi and of Persia, and had changed hands more than once with little regard to Afghan wishes or sympathies. But during the latter half of the seventeenth century the Persians were in possession, and towards its close the national spirit began to awaken. The Ghilzais, in particular, the most powerful and widely diffused of the Afghan clans, were markedly hostile to their foreign rulers, and began to show symptoms of readiness to revolt.

The opening years of the eighteenth century dawned on a new scene, in which the protagonists were Gurgin Khan, the Persian Governor, and Mir Vaiz, the chief of the Ghilzais. Gurgin, or Georgis, Khan was a prince of the Bagrathion family of Georgia, who had embraced Islam, and was regarded as the ablest and most resolute general in the Persian service. The Shah, Sultan Hosen, who had succeeded his father Suleiman in 1694, was an effeminate devotee, entirely in the hands of a palace clique of eunuchs, to whose choice he owed his elevation. To this junto it appeared that the time had come to check the turbulence of the Kandahar tribesmen, and that Gurgin Khan was the man to do it. In 1702, accordingly, he

arrived in his new satrapy with an army of 20,000 men, of whom 1,200 were Georgians. This force was sufficient to crush opposition, and none was offered; but the Vali was determined to presume the will and take it for the deed, and allowed his troops to harry the people as if their rebellious intentions had been actually carried out. After four years of this reign of terror the Afghans sent a secret deputation to Ispahan to entreat relief. It was coldly received, and returned after many delays without obtaining any redress.

Mir Vaiz, the Kalantar, or chief magistrate of the city, was the most wealthy and influential, as well as the ablest and most ambitious Afghan in Kandahar. He was man of unswerving purpose, capable of the most far-seeing designs and the most consummate dissimulation. The fire of tribal patriotism glowed in his breast with an ardour worthy of any of "Plutarch's men;" he loved his people and hated their oppressors as fervently as ever did Themistocles or Hannibal. In him Gurgin Khan recognized the embodiment of that spirit which he had been sent to crush, and of him he resolved, in an evil hour for himself, to make an example. He arrested the Ghilzai leader as a dangerous and disaffected person, and sent him to Ispahan with a warning to the Shah's ministers that if they wished for peace in Kandahar he should never be allowed to return thither. Thinking himself now safe from Afghan opposition, he dismissed the bulk of his Persian troops. But he had fatally misjudged his men and the court to which he sent him. Judicious bribery soon won for Mir Vaiz the favour of the corrupt ring of officials at Ispahan, and admission to the royal presence. At this audience he defended himself and his countrymen so skilfully against the accusations of Gurgin Khan, and spoke, at the same time, with such insidious moderation and even eulogy of his accuser as to convince the Shah that he was a loyal subject falsely suspected of treason. He was taken into favour, and soon succeeded in instilling into the minds of the court the belief that the Georgian renegade was strengthening himself at Kandahar with a view to revolt against his sovereign. He might now have easily obtained leave to return with honour to his own country, but represented himself as only too happy in the enjoyment of the royal favour at Ispahan, and talked of sending for his family to join him. Meanwhile, he begged to be allowed to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. The request was granted, and to Mecca he went, and thence to Medina, and from the Mullahs of each of the holy places he secretly obtained a *fatwa* declaring it to be the bounden duty of all Sunnis (such as the Afghans) to wage war against and exterminate all Shias (such as the Persians) who presumed to hold them in subjection.

Armed with these documents he returned to Ispahan, there further to bide his time and mature his schemes of vengeance.

An unlooked-for turn of fortune aided his plans. An Armenian adventurer named Israel Ori, who had found his way into the Russian service, was sent in 1708 by Peter the Great on an embassy to the Shah. Some idle boasts of his royal ancestry gave rise to a rumour that he was the king foretold in Armenian prophecies who was to conquer Persia. The French ambassador, for reasons of his own, played upon the credulity of the ministers, and pointed out that the letters of the name of Israel Ori also spelt the words *Il sera roi*. A very pretty scare was thus created at Ispahan, and Mir Vaiz was consulted as to whether Ori should be admitted to the capital or no. His advice was to avoid offending the Czar by a refusal to receive his envoy, but it was coupled with insinuations that Russia was plotting with the Georgians against Persia, and that Gurgin Khan was implicated in the conspiracy. The best way to defeat these designs, he hinted, was that he himself should be sent back to Kandahar to keep his countrymen firm in their allegiance to the Shah. The bait was swallowed, and Mir Vaiz furnished with letters to the Vali, enjoining that he should be restored to his former office of Kalantar and honourably treated. Private instructions were also given him to keep a watch on the Governor, and to report any symptoms which he might evince of rebellious intentions.

On his arrival at Kandahar, Mir Vaiz was welcomed by his countrymen with all the honours due to a returning Haji and a royal favourite. But Gurgin Khan, though he obeyed the Shah's *firman* and reinstated the Ghilzai chief in his office, was not yet beaten, and resolved to deal his enemy a blow which should, if tamely submitted to, degrade him in the popular esteem, or else goad him to some rash act of resistance which might furnish an excuse for his destruction. Mir Vaiz had a daughter, the fame of whose beauty had reached the Governor's ears, and, determined to strike through her at her father, he demanded that she should be sent to his harem.

The insult was atrocious, but Mir Vaiz was not the man to allow his hand to be forced by any provocation. Affecting submission, he selected from his household a handsome slave girl whom he tutored to play the part of his daughter and sent to Gurgin Khan's seraglio. The Governor, completely hoodwinked, and convinced that Mir Vaiz was really anxious for a reconciliation, ceased to regard him with suspicion. The inscrutable Ghilzai's next step was to instigate a rising among the Kakar and Abdali tribesmen, to put down which Gurgin Khan sent out nearly all the troops at his disposal, including six hundred of his Georgians. Mir Vaiz now felt

that his enemy was at last delivered into his hand, and invited the Vali to an entertainment at one of his country houses, a few miles distant from the town. The invitation was accepted, and after the banquet, at which Gurgin Khan and his suite had drunk freely, the guests retired for the usual *siesta*. When all were sound asleep, Mir Vaiz and his partisans fell upon them and slaughtered them to the last man. The Ghilzai chief then donned the robes of the murdered Vali, and bade his followers put on the garments of their other victims. Thus disguised, and mounted on the horses of their late guests, the party set out for Kandahar, and reaching the citadel under cover of night, were admitted by the unsuspecting guards, whom they quickly cut down. At a given signal a strong body of armed Afghans, who had been concealed in the town, rushed in and put the rest of the garrison to the sword. The gates were closed, and not a man escaped.

On the morrow Mir Vaiz called together the leading men of the city and expounded to them the situation. They had drawn the sword, he told them, and must throw away the scabbard. Persia had been offended past forgiveness, and their only hope of safety lay in strenuous defence of the liberty they had won. Nor was the wrath of the Shah much to be dreaded; he had seen the rottenness of the Persian government, and assured them of its incapacity for any vigorous action. His eloquence bore down the opposition of the pro-Persian and pro-Mogul factions, and the production of the *fatwas* which he had obtained at Mecca and Medina enlisted on his side the Afghan hatred of the heretical Shias. His counsel was adopted by acclamation, and all swore to stand by him to the last.

Three days later, the Georgian six hundred, after a successful punitive expedition against the Abdali insurgents, returned to Kandahar. When within musket shot of the walls, they were received by artillery fire, and attacked by Mir Vaiz at the head of 5,000 horse. But the Georgians were tried soldiers, and though taken by surprise made a gallant resistance. Their losses were heavy, but the survivors fought their way back to Persia. As an instance of their hardihood, Hanway relates that while they were crossing a river, closely pressed by their pursuers, "one of them, who was dismounted, seeing an Afghan riding towards him at full speed, turned back to meet him, and holding out to him with one hand his sabre, as if he intended to surrender, with the other shot him through the head with a pistol; then, leaping upon the dead man's horse, he plunged into the river, which he crossed under the incessant fire of the enemy."

Leaving some troops to guard the passes, Mir Vaiz hastened back to Kandahar, to organize his forces and prepare for a siege. Meanwhile, he wrote to the Persian Prime Minister to explain that Gurgin Khan had been killed in an *émeute* provoked by his oppression, and that he himself had been forced by the insurgents to assume the Governorship; but that his heart was still true to his master the Shah, and that if left to himself for a time he hoped to be able to bring his countrymen back to their allegiance. He therefore deprecated the despatch of an avenging force as likely to drive the Afghans to seek aid from India. To the ministers of the Mogul Emperor, Bahadur Shah, son and successor of Aurangzib, he also wrote letters, asking for benevolent neutrality for the moment, and for active support in case of need, and dwelling on the tie of a common creed which united the Sunni Muslims of India with the Afghans against the misbelieving Persians. Favourable replies to these letters were received from Delhi, while the missive addressed to the Prime Minister at Ispahan was so far successful that, instead of an avenging army, the Court sent an envoy to attempt by mingled threats and promises to recall the Kandaharis to a sense of their duty. He met with a contemptuous reception from Mir Vaiz, and was detained as a prisoner. A second envoy shared the fate of the first, upon which the Shah's ministers, convinced at last that words were useless at Kandahar, proceeded to try the effect of blows. But even then they frittered away their strength in fragmentary efforts despatching no less than four expeditions in 1710-11, all of which were driven back in hopeless rout by the Afghans. A more serious effort was made in 1712. Kai Khusru, nephew of Gurgin Khan, and his successor as Vali of Georgia, was chosen to avenge his murder, and entrusted with an army of 30,000 men, including a strong regiment of his own countrymen. Advancing by Herat and Farrah, he forced the passage of the Helmand, and pushed rapidly on to invest Kandahar. The garrison offered to capitulate upon terms, but when Kai Khusru insisted on unconditional surrender, resolved to hold out to the last. Mir Vaiz, though defeated on the Helmand, still kept the field, and persistently harassed the enemy by cutting off their supplies. These tactics had the desired effect. The Persian army, its ranks thinned by disease, privations and desertion, was reduced in a few months to a third of its original strength, and Kai Khusru was compelled to raise the siege and attempt a retreat. But the resolution was formed too late. Mir Vaiz, at the head of 16,000 men, attacked his enfeebled troops almost before they had begun their westward march, and showed, what has so often been proved since, that the Afghan

is a bad man to retreat from. Khusru himself, followed by his few remaining Georgians, found a soldier's death; of his other troops only seven hundred made their way back to Persia.

Mir Vaiz was now recognized by his countrymen as independent ruler of Kandahar, and in his name the *khutba* was read and coin issued. But his reign was brief, and he died of a wasting disease in 1715—with his last breath he exhorted the tribesmen whom he had welded into a nation—barbarous, indeed, yet still, for the time, a nation—never again to submit to the Persian yoke, and assured them that if they remained united it would be within their power to carry the war into the enemy's country, and to occupy Ispahan itself. This had long been his fixed idea, and into the mind of at least one of his hearers his dying prophecy sunk deeply.

That hearer was his eldest son, Mahmud, a lad of eighteen, who had fought with distinction by his father's side, but on the ground of his youth was passed over for the succession in favour of his uncle, Mir Abdullah. The latter, though he had sworn fidelity to the policy of Mir Vaiz, now proposed to send an embassy of reconciliation to the Shah. The terms to be offered were that Persia should relinquish all claim to interfere in the internal affairs of Kandahar, and should resign the province and its dependencies to the Ghilzaïs in perpetuity, the chiefship becoming hereditary in the family of Mir Abdullah. The Afghans, in return, were to pay a moderate tribute, or, according to the historian followed by Malcolm, were merely to recognize the suzerainty of the Shah. The proposal raised a storm of indignation among the tribal leaders, and was denounced as a return to slavery, and an abandonment of the dazzling projects of conquest and plunder which Mir Vaiz had held out to them. But in spite of opposition Mir Abdullah made secret overtures in the sense above indicated to the Court of Ispahan, a fact which soon came to the ears of Mahmud.

Placed in a position somewhat resembling that of Hamlet, the son of Mir Vaiz did not long suffer the native hue of resolution to be sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought. At the head of a party of forty adherents, he seized the palace, killed his uncle with his own hand, and was acclaimed as his successor by the assembled tribesmen. From 1717, the date of his accession, the Persianizing party in Kandahar may be regarded as extinct. The Shah's government, indeed, was in no condition to attract adherents. Weakened by its futile attempts to reconquer the revolted Afghans, it was still further exhausted by a rising among the Kurds, whose ravages extended almost to the walls of Ispahan. Northern Khorasan, too, had

been invaded by the Uzbeks, in combination with the Abdalis, whose young chief Azadullah had seized Herat, and defeated the Persian force sent against him.

This disaster left Persia with only one body of troops deserving the name of an army, and that had been marched to Bandar Abbas, under the command of her last remaining general Lutf Ali, son-in-law of the Prime Minister, Fattah Ali Khan. The object of this expedition was to recover some islands in the Persian Gulf, which had been seized by the Arab chief of Muscat, and Portuguese ships had been hired to transport the troops to the scene of action. But the price which had been agreed on for this service was not forthcoming; the Portuguese commodore withdrew his fleet; and Lutf Ali Khan, unable to proceed further, halted at Bandar Abbas. It was at this juncture, in 1720, that Mahmud, after three years of preparation, resolved to execute the project which he had inherited from his father for the invasion of Persia.

Kirman was the point which he selected for attack, and he decided to reach it by a march through the desert of Seistan. It was a daring scheme for a general of twenty-three, with an army not more than 12,000 strong; but though he lost heavily in men and horses from scarcity of water, he got through with the bulk of his force, and Kirman, taken completely by surprise, submitted without resistance. The Afghans abused their bloodless conquest by the most cruel exactions, but their triumph was brief, for Lutf Ali Khan, advancing by forced marches from Bandar Abbas, compelled Mahmud to make a hasty retreat to Kandahar. To guard against a repetition of the attack, the Persian general strengthened the fortress of Kirman, and concentrated troops at Shiraz. But the ministers at Ispahan promptly nullified the effect of his success. By refusing supplies they constrained Lutf Ali Khan to help himself from the country around him. Complaints were urged at court by the influential nobles whose estates had suffered from requisitions and he was removed from his command, and summoned to the capital to answer a charge of having conspired with his father-in-law, Fattah Ali Khan, to promote the rising already alluded to among the Kurds. His ready obedience, which it would have been difficult to enforce, to the Shah's *firman* was the best proof of his innocence; but his guilt was a foregone conclusion. The Prime Minister was blinded and disgraced; Lutf Ali Khan was thrown into prison; and the army which he had left at Shiraz quickly melted away.

It might now have been thought that the Shah and his advisers had no mistakes left to commit; but they contrived to add another to the list. Vachtanga Bagrathion, in whose family the

Governorship of Georgia was hereditary, was next in succession to that office after the death of Kai Khusru at Kandahar. But having refused to exchange Christianity for Islam, which seems to have been a condition of the tenure, he had been banished to Kirman. In 1719, however, he agreed to accept the faith of the prophet, and was appointed Vali of Georgia. On reaching Tiflis he found that his country had been ravaged by the Lesghees, a predatory tribe of the Caucasus, and resolved to teach them a lesson which should prevent them from repeating their incursion. The marauders, alarmed by his preparations, entreated the Shah's interposition, and Sultan Hosen put a peremptory veto on the campaign of retribution which had been already begun. "If you have put your foot in the stirrup," so ran his rescript, "alight immediately. If you have drawn your sabre, return it at once to the scabbard. If you are in pursuit of the Lesghees, stop the instant you receive our commands." Vachtanga, who was in full march when this imperious mandate reached him, obeyed and returned to Tiflis, but vowed, as he sheathed his sword, never again to draw it in Persia's quarrel.

Mahmud, who since his defeat at Kirman, had been dreading a counter-invasion of Kandahar by Lutf Ali Khan, now resumed the offensive. His influence, which had been shaken, revived, troops flocked to his standard, and by the close of 1721 he was at the head of an army of 25,000 men, of whom 15,000 were Ghilzais, and the remainder Abdalis, Biluchis and Kabulis. Leaving his brother Mir Hosen as regent of Kandahar, he again set out on his desert march through Seistan, and reappeared before Kirman in January 1722.

The resistance of the town was slight, but the garrison left in the citadel by Lutf Ali Khan held out obstinately. Mahmud had no siege guns, and after several vain attempts to storm the fortress accepted the sum of £6,000 offered as ransom by the besieged, and set out for Yezd, some 200 miles from Kirman. Here again his efforts to capture the town were unsuccessful and soon abandoned. Leaving Yezd untaken, he pushed on towards his real objective, and early in March reached Gulnabad, a village, nine miles from the Persian capital.

Ispahan stands upon the north bank of the river Zindarūd, which, in the spring, the season of Mahmud's advance, is unfordable, but is crossed by several bridges. On the south of the river lie the suburbs of Abbasabad and Julfa. The city was surrounded by a wall, and is stated by Sir J. Malcolm to have contained some 600,000 inhabitants; but this may be an instance of the tendency to overrate the population of large towns, while underestimating that of the

country, which was almost universal among Indian Officials in pre-census days.

The Persian court had made no preparations to meet the coming storm, and was now a prey to the most distracted counsels, the Shah being pulled in opposite directions by his two principal advisers, Muhemmad Kali Khan, the new Prime Minister, and Abdalla, chief of the Arab tribes, subject to Persia, and commonly called the Arabian Vali. The former argued that safety lay in remaining on the defensive, that the Afghans had shown at Kirman and Yezd their inability to reduce a fortified town, and that time was on the side of Persia. The latter denounced timid counsels and urged an immediate attack on the insolent brigands who had dared to insult the majesty of the throne. The forward policy carried the day, and on 7th March 1722 some 50,000 troops, regulars and militia, marched out to Gulnabad. But as if to ensure defeat, a joint command was entrusted to Muhammad Kali Khan and the Arabian Vali, whose views were incompatible and who had no idea of concerted action. The 8th March had been chosen as a propitious day by the Shah's astrologers, and for some twenty hours the opposing armies lay in full view of each other. In the Afghan Camp were some 23,000 men, ragged and way-worn; horses lean and jaded; no artillery but a hundred small swivel guns, mounted on as many camels; everything colourless and dingy, save where sabres or lances glittered in the sunlight. On the Persian side were more than double their number of showily clad troops, sleek horses, gaily caparisoned, a train of twenty-four field guns, sumptuous tents and camp equipage. Of generalship, there was not, perhaps, very much on either side. But Mahmud, if not a military genius, could at least impose his will on the whole of his army, and in Amanulla Khan, to whom his right wing was entrusted, he had a capable divisional commander. Up to, and even beyond, the last moment the Persian leaders were unable to agree. Muhammad Kali Khan still insisted on waiting for the enemy's attack, but the Vali of Arabia, exclaiming, "we are not here to deliberate but to fight," galloped off to his division and ordered an immediate advance. The Afghan left quickly gave way, but the Arabs, instead of pressing their advantage, fell to plundering Mahmud's camp. Muhammad Kali Khan now ordered an attack on the right wing, but Amanulla drew him on by a feigned retreat and then suddenly unmasked his batteries. A volley from the hundred swivel guns threw the Persians into confusion, which was turned to rout by charge of the Afghan horse. The whole of their artillery train was captured and turned against them. The Arabian Vali, having secured the contents

of Mahmud's military chest, made the best of his way back to Ispahan. The losses of the vanquished amounted, according to Hanway, to 15,000 men, and many provincial nobles went straight from the field to their own homes.

When the wreck of the beaten army straggled into Ispahan, confusion grew to panic. The Shah talked of removing the Court to Kasvin, but the idea was dropped. New levies were called out, the fortifications strengthened, and the bridge-heads entrenched. Orders were issued to the Provincial Governors to march with all the troops they could raise to the relief of the capital. The Arabian Vali, in spite of his misconduct at Gulnabad was made Governor of the city and Commander-in-Chief.

Mahmud, mean while, though victorious in the field, was in a state of extreme anxiety and indecision, and after several days of inactivity was on the point of retreating to Kirman when he received a letter ostensibly written by the Vali, but really it is said, dictated by the Shah himself. This epistle assured Mahmud that the writer, as a co-religionist, sympathised with the Afghans in their enterprise, but advised them, in their own interests, to return to their country with the spoils they had secured. If they would only go away, their retirement should be unmolested. Mahmud should be recognized as independent ruler of Kandahar, and a large sum of money should be paid him as a token of the Shah's good will! Concluding that such offers could only be prompted by a conviction of hopeless impotence, Mahmud resolved to prosecute the siege.

On 12th March he moved towards the city, and occupied the fortified palace of Farahabad, which was abandoned on his approach. His next step was to attack the Armenian suburb of Julfa, whose inhabitants formed a distinct community, retaining their national religion and customs, and were industrious and loyal, though of late years oppressed subjects of Persia. They made a creditable resistance, and asked for aid from Ispahan; but the Vali, hoping, perhaps, that the Afghans would depart when satiated with the plunder of the suburb, sent the Armenians no assistance. Thus deserted, and a weak point in their defences having been breached by an elephant which the Afghans brought against it, they were forced to capitulate. A ransom of 70,000 tomans, (£175,000), and a tribute of fifty maidens were the terms imposed upon them. The latter condition was complied with, and the former enforced by house-to-house searches and by torture of those who were suspected of concealing their wealth.

On 21st March Mahmud tried to seize the Abbasabad bridge, but the Persian troops who guarded it stood their ground,

and the Afghans withdrew "after riding and hollowing, rather than fighting, for the space of six hours." Two days later a more vigorous attack carried the bridge of Shiraz, and the defenders were in full flight when Ahmad Agha, "a white eunuch," brought up a reinforcement which drove the Afghans back across the bridge. Their discomfiture was completed by a volley of canister from a battery on the banks of the river, the guns of which were pointed by one Jacob Charpentier, a Courlander employed as an artillery man in the Shah's service.

Mahmud's confidence was so far dashed by this reverse that he offered to raise the siege on condition that he should be recognized as sovereign not only of Kandahar and Kirman but of the whole of Khorasan, and that one of the Shah's daughters, with a dowry of 50,000 tomans, should be given him in marriage. To these terms, however, Sultan Hosen could not bring himself to agree, and Mahmud now resolved to reduce Ispahan by starvation, with this object he sent out detachments which crossed the river a few marches higher up in its course, and ravaged the country surrounding the capital. "The task," says Malcolm, "occupied his army more than a month; but the lapse of nearly a century has not repaired what their barbarity effected in that period."

On the last day of April Mahmud succeeded in carrying the Abbasabad bridge. A body of Georgians by whom it was guarded got hold of a supply of liquor, and became hopelessly drunk. In this condition they were attacked and cut to pieces; a strong division of the Afghan army crossed the bridge; and the investment of the city commenced.

Ispahan soon began to feel the pinch of scarcity, and all hopes of relief from the provinces were doomed to disappointment. Ali Mardan Khan, Vali of Loristan, had raised a force of 10,000 men and collected a large store of provisions to be thrown into the city. But during his temporary absence his brother usurped the command, and rashly advancing towards Ispahan was attacked and routed by Amanulla Khan, and the convoy captured. The other provincial Governors failed to render any assistance, and Vachtanga, Vali of Georgia, whose aid had been urgently invoked by the Shah, sullenly adhered to his vow never again to draw sword on behalf of Persia.

From the capture of Ali Mardan's convoy, the character of the war became bloodier and more embittered. Amanulla had promised quarter to the Persians who surrendered, but slaughtered in cold blood all whom he judged unable to pay ransom. The Afghans, on the other hand, while returning from the victory, stained by this massacre, were set upon by

the people of Ben-Ispahan, some three miles from the capital, who recaptured much of their booty and took many of their prisoners. Mahmud himself, with a body of horse, hastened to the rescue, but fared no better than his lieutenant and lost heavily in killed and prisoners. Among the latter were several of his own relatives, whose capture so affected him that he sent an urgent message to Sultan Hosen begging him to interfere for their protection. The Shah, naturally humane, complied, but his courier arrived too late, and found that the prisoners had been already impaled, in revenge for Amanulla's butchery of his captives. Mahmud had little right to complain of this act of reprisals, but was so infuriated that he ordered the immediate slaughter of all Persians in his hands, and forbade his troops to grant any quarter in future. Reaction from this fit of rage threw him once more into a despondent mood, and he withdrew the bulk of his army to Farahabad, leaving only a weak garrison in Julfa, and strong parties to guard the Abbasabad bridge and other advanced posts.

A vigorous attack might now have forced him to abandon the siege. The Armenians reported the depression prevailing in the Afghan camp, and offered to rise upon the garrison in their quarter as soon as the royal troops were engaged with the main body of the enemy. But the force ordered out for this purpose was entrusted to the command of the Arabian Vali, who after delaying the attack for several days on various pretexts, returned without having achieved or even attempted anything.

Towards the end of June the Shah sent his fourth son, Tahmasp Mirza, whom he had declared to be his heir, to make his way out of Ispahan and endeavour to raise an army in the provinces. The prince left the city under cover of night with an escort of 300 horsemen, and after an obstinate engagement with the Afghan pickets, reached Kashan in safety. Thence he proceeded to Kasvin, and though he failed to raise any force sufficient to relieve the capital, yet the fact of his escape led as will be seen in the sequel, to important results.

Meanwhile this successful evasion of the heir to the Persian throne was a heavy blow to Mahmud, who threatened to execute the commandant of the pickets which had failed to intercept him. This was his own first cousin, Mir Ashraf, son of Abdulla Khan by whose murder Mahmud had cleared his path to power. Ashraf had contrived to dissimulate his hatred for his father's murderer, and by his uniform courage and conduct had won the esteem of the army at large. He now made so good a defence before an informal court martial of chief officers, showing that he had only had a hundred

men under his orders, of whom thirty fell in combat with thrice their number, that he was acquitted and restored to his command. But even less love must have been lost between the cousins after than before this incident.

Day by day and week by week the famine grew sorer and yet more sore in Ispahan. No attempt had been made during the early months of the siege to economize the stock of provisions, and swarms of non-combatants from the country had flocked into the city for refuge. Now, however, the hunger-stricken wretches deserted in crowds, nor did the pitiless slaughter by the Afghans of all such as fell into their hands deter the rest from attempting to escape. The flesh of horses and donkeys became a luxury confined to the rich; dogs, cats and rats were greedily devoured; leather softened in boiling water was gnawed; the powdered bark of trees sold at the price of cinnamon; and finally the starving citizens were reduced to feeding on the bodies of the dead. In several instances whole families poisoned themselves together, and corpses which none had heart or strength to bury strewn the city and polluted the water of the river. The European residents French, English and Dutch, are said by the Jesuit Krusinski [author of the *Tareekh-i-Seeah*, who was in Ispahan during the siege], to have fared better than the natives. They had laid in a good store of provisions, and when the famine grew severe shut themselves up in their houses and kept constant guard to prevent an irruption of the famished mob.

The Shah in his extremity sent an envoy to signify his assent to the terms which he had previously rejected when offered. But his acceptance came too late, and elicited only the haughty reply that all that he proposed to give was already in Mahmud's power, and that nothing short of the full sovereignty of Persia would now satisfy the conqueror's demands.

One last hope remained. Malik Mahmud, Governor of Seistan, had marched from his province with 10,000 regulars to relieve the capital, and was known to have reached Gulnabad. It was thought that this force, in concert with such troops in Ispahan as were still serviceable, might force the Afghans to raise the siege. But Mir Mahmud overcame the loyalty of his namesake by the bribe of the principality of Khorasan and the Malik, deserting the cause of the Shah, set out with his army for Meshed, the capital of his new dominions.

This final stroke reduced the Court to despair, and towards the end of September Sultan Hosen sent ministers to Mahmud to arrange terms of capitulation. But they had to deal with one who knew not pity, and in whose eyes the miseries of the besieged were but a means to secure his end.

Mahmud did not choose to enter the city until it was wholly incapable of resistance, and for a full month he prolonged the discussion as to terms and the agony of Ispahan, until the Shah, unable longer to endure the horrors of the situation, resolved to end it at whatever cost. He had since the beginning of the siege, shut himself up in the palace, but on 21st October, clad in robes of mourning, he took leave of his household and made a farewell progress through the streets of his capital. The dreadful sights which met his eyes on every side moved him to tears, and he declared aloud that heaven had judged him unworthy of the throne. Next morning he sent ministers to conduct his daughter to Mahmud's head-quarters, and to announce his intention of resigning the crown to his conqueror. The surrender was accepted, and on 23rd October 1722 the last of the Sophis, mounted on a horse sent for him by Mahmud, set out for Farahabad with a *cortege* of some three hundred nobles and ministers. The ungenerous Afghan did not deign to go out to meet his humbled foe, who was even kept waiting outside the camp for half an hour on the pretext that Mahmud was asleep. When he was at length admitted to the palace which had been his own, he found Mahmud seated, and not till he approached him and saluted did the victorious upstart rise and return his greeting. When both were seated Sultan Hosen expressed his readiness to resign the crown and his hope that his successor might wear it in all prosperity. Taking the royal aigrette from his turban he offered it to the Afghan Vizier, from whom, however, Mahmud refused to receive it. Sultan Hosen then rose, affixed the plume with his own hands to the turban of the usurper, and with the words "Reign in peace" resumed his seat. Coffee was then served, and Mahmud while drinking it addressed the fallen king. "Such," he said, "is the instability of human grandeur. God disposes of Empires as he pleases, and takes them from one nation to give to another. But I promise to consider you always as my own father, and will in future undertake nothing without your advice."

Sultan Hosen in reply begged him to respect the women of his seraglio, and to regard his sons as his own brothers; to show favour to the ministers who had served him faithfully, to protect the poor, and administer the laws. He was then conducted into a more private chamber where, after signing a formal deed of abdication, he knelt down beside Mahmud, and the Afghan high priest laid his hands upon their heads and invoked a blessing on the new king's reign. Thus the Sophi dynasty, having lasted 223 years, ended in the person of Sultan Hosen, tenth in descent from its founder Shah smail.

Ispahan was at once occupied by a strong Afghan division, and three days later Mahmud, with the *ex-Shah* in his train, made a triumphal entry into the city. He was greeted on his way by the European residents, and alighting at the palace, took his seat on the throne. A separate dwelling within the walls was assigned to Sultan Hosen.

The first care of the new king was to throw food supplies into the starving city, and the next to establish order. The existing Persian officials were retained, but to check their proceedings an Afghan colleague was associated with each. Such Persian nobles as had been loyal to the *ex-Shah* were honourably treated, and the Prime Minister, Muhammad Kali Khan, was confirmed in his post; while that arch-traitor the Arabian Vali was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. Thus far Mahmud's conduct had not been without magnanimity, but he was soon to exhibit more sinister traits of character. Avarice stuck deep in his nature and he exacted large sums from the *ex-ministers* and from the merchants of Ispahan and Julfa. But worse than avarice was the callous cruelty of which he had already shown himself capable, and of which still darker proofs were now to follow. Amanulla Khan had been despatched with 6,000 men to reduce Kasvin and, if possible, to secure the person of Tahmasp Mirza. The prince fled to Tabriz on his approach, and the slender garrison which he left behind him in Kasvin obeyed Amanulla's summons to surrender. But the inhabitants, exasperated by his exactions, concerted a midnight rising, and slew some two thousand of the Afghans. Amanulla himself was wounded, and escaping with difficulty from the town made his way back to Ispahan. Mir Ashraf, who had taken part in the expedition, separated from him during the retreat, and with three hundred followers took the road to Kandahar.

This disaster did not come alone. A convoy of treasure which Mahmud had despatched to Kandahar, to be expended in raising fresh levies, was plundered by a petty chief of Seistan. A Turkish army was reported to be marching on Hamadan. And the Czar, in retaliation for the ill-treatment of a Russian caravan by the Lesghees and the Uzbegs of Khiva, had invaded Shirwan, and occupied Derbend, on the Western shore of the Caspian. These accumulated troubles aroused all the innate ferocity of Mahmud's nature. He was standing on perilous ground, and resolved to reduce the risk of revolt by destroying those who were most likely to become its leaders.

On 25th January 1723, the day of Amanulla's return from Kasvin, a large number of Persian nobles and ministers, who

had been invited to a feast at the palace, were massacred to the last man, and their bodies exposed in the great square of the city. A day or two later, their sons, to the number of about two hundred, were collected in an open plain outside Ispahan. Afghan lancers were let loose upon them and they were ridden down and speared like game. Three thousand of Sultan Hosen's guards, whom Mahmud had taken into his own pay, were invited to a dinner spread for them in one of the Courts of the palace. They had no sooner taken their seats than they were set upon and slaughtered by armed Afghans. This *coup* was followed by an order to the troops to kill all Persians who had ever been in the service of the late Government. Nor were these atrocities confined to the capital. Wherever the Afghan power extended, carnage and plunder prevailed. But though the dread thus inspired kept Ispahan and the surrounding districts in subjection, it was impossible for some 18,000 soldiers, however ferocious, to terrorize the whole of an extensive empire. Northern and North-Western Persia were falling into the hands of the Russians and the Turks, while Tahmasp was recognized as king in Azerbaijan. The reports, moreover, of Mahmud's insane savagery checked the flow of recruits from Kandahar. A small body which did join him came under the command of Mir Ashraf, and refused to serve under any other leader.

Previous to Ashraf's arrival, Mahmud had raised some levies among the Kurds, who, being Sunnis, were willing to act against the Persians, and had to some extent re-peopled Ispahan with Kurdish settlers. With the aid of his new troops he had mastered the great part of Irak and Farsistan, and captured Shiraz capital of the latter province. He now marched in person to subdue and ravage the country south and east of Ispahan, but met with no marked success, and conspicuously failed in an attempt to reduce Yezd. His health began to give way, and his intellect to show signs of derangement. The discontent of his troops forced him to return to Ispahan, where he grew rapidly worse in mind and body, and abandoned himself to the wildest superstitious austerities. For weeks together he remained shut up in a subterranean cell, in darkness and almost without food, a prey to visions of remorse and horror, and when he emerged, it was as the mere ghost of his former self. He was possessed alternately by moods of insane terror and suspicion, and by paroxysms of gloomy rage. A report, which proved to be false, that the eldest son of Sultan Hosen had escaped from Ispahan, brought on an access of fury in which he ordered all the males of the royal family of Persia to be collected and put to death before his eyes. He began the slaughter with

his own sword, and thirty-nine princes, out of a much larger number, are said to have been massacred on this occasion. The unhappy Sultan Hosen, hearing the cries of two of his youngest sons, sheltered them with his own body, and received on his arm a blow aimed at one of the boys. Mahmud, sobered for the moment by the sight of his blood, spared the children's lives. His condition after this outbreak grew from bad to worse, and the skill of his physicians, and even the prayers of the Armenian clergy, proved useless. He was attacked by a loathsome disease resembling leprosy, and raving madness supervened. It is said, that his mother, to put an end to his sufferings, ordered him to be suffocated, and that Ashrof, who had been chosen by the army as his successor, refused to mount the throne until the head of his father's murderer was laid before him.

"Thus perished," writes, Hanway, "at the early age of twenty-seven, this destroyer of one of the fairest monarchies of Asia. . . . He was middle-sized and clumsy; his neck was so short that his head seemed to grow from his shoulders; he had a broad face, a flat nose, his beard was thin and of a red colour; his looks were wild, and his countenance austere and disagreeable; his eyes, which were blue and a little squinting, were generally down-cast, like (those of) a man absorbed in deep thought."

"Whatever view may be taken of the earlier portion of Mahmud's brief career, few conquerors can have caused more misery than he during his last three years of life, and no one will dispute his claim to rank high among the less well-known scourges of the human race.

Sultan Ashraf inaugurated his reign by the slaughter of his predecessor's personal guards, and the arrest of many of his ministers and generals. The able and ambitious Amanulla was put to death, and his wealth confiscated. Ashraf's own brother, whose fears had led him to attempt flight, was blinded and imprisoned. Thus far the new sultan's severities were confined to his own countrymen, while the Persians were treated with judicious lenity. His next step, which must have been dictated by an insidious policy, was to invite the *ex-Shah* to re-ascend the throne. Sultan Hosen declined the offer, and signed a fresh deed of abdication in favour of Ashraf, who rewarded him by raising his personal allowance from fifty to two hundred tomans monthly, and married one of his daughters. The remains of the princes who had been massacred by Mahmud were sent for honourable interment at Koom, the ancient burial place of Persian royalty.

Before his elevation to the throne, Ashraf had been in communication with Tahmasp, whom he had tried to induce to

move on Ispahan by promises of support against Mahmud. He now renewed his efforts to persuade the prince to agree to a meeting, at which he had every intention of seizing his person. Tahmasp was so far cajoled that he marched with a small body of troops nearly as far as Koom, but learning that Ashraf was advancing with a much larger force, he fled to Mazenderan, a province on the southern shore of the Caspian. Foiled in his purpose, Ashraf returned to Ispahan, where he put to death most of the few remaining Persian nobles on the pretext that they were in league with his enemy.

Tahmasp had fled, but more formidable foes remained to be encountered. Peter the Great had died in February 1725, but his successor, the Empress Catharine, was not less disposed than he to move back her neighbour's landmark. The Turks, playing the same game on a larger scale, had seized Georgia and Armenia, and now invited Russia to carry out a treaty already concluded by the two Powers for dividing Northern Persia between them. If Tahmasp agreed to this partition, he was to be placed in possession of his remaining provinces. If not, the partition was to be carried out notwithstanding, and the rest of Persia to be made over to any ruler whom Russia and Turkey might agree to set up. But the Afghans were in any case to be expelled.

Ashraf had sent an ambassador to Constantinople to demand recognition of his sovereignty, and the claim was supported by the Ulema on the ground that it was against the law of Islam for Musalmans to combine with Christians against Musalmans. But the Porte was not to be turned by these arguments from its aggressive policy. The Afghan *elchi* was dismissed with scant courtesy, war was declared against the Afghans, and an army of 70,000 men under Ahmad Pasha marched on Kasvin, which surrendered, and thence towards Ispahan.

At this crisis of his fortunes, Ashraf gave proof of the most signal ability. Having secured his base by the construction of a strong fortress in the centre of the capital, he advanced at the head of 30,000 men, and by a rapid march cut off a large Turkish detachment. His agents were busily preaching among the Kurds, many of whom had joined the Turks, the sinfulness of a war waged by Sunnis against Sunnis on behalf of Shias, and he now deputed four Mullahs to urge the same doctrine on the Turkish general. These holy persons adroitly engaged the Pasha in a controversy in the presence of his troops, many of whom were visibly impressed by their arguments. The conference was still going on when the call to mid-day prayer was opportunely sounded, and the Mullahs knelt down with the Turkish officers and implored the Almighty to

establish unity and peace among all true believers. This timely display of piety had its effect. Some Turks and many Kurds deserted to Ashraf's camp, and the spirit of those who remained was dashed by doubts as to the justice of their cause.

To check the spread of discouragement among his troops, Ahmad Pasha offered immediate battle, and a fiercely contested action was fought between Kirmanshah and Hamadan in March 1727. The Turks were defeated with the loss of 12,000 men, all their artillery, and most of their baggage, but Ashraf, with profound policy, returned the spoils taken from their camp and liberated his prisoners. The Porte, sobered by this check, and also by the mutinous spirit shown by the reinforcements ordered to the support of Ahmad Pasha, offered to make peace, and a treaty was signed near Hamadan in September, which provided that the Sultan of Turkey should be recognized by the Afghans as their spiritual head, and should retain all Persian territory of which he was in actual possession; and that Ashraf should be recognized by the Porte as lawful sovereign of the rest of Persia.

Thus relieved from his most pressing danger on the north west, Ashraf sought to strengthen himself in the country south east of Ispahan, and reduced Yeزد, which had always been a thorn in the side of the Afghans. But for the occupation of the fresh territory thus acquired more troops were needed, and these were not forthcoming, the supply of recruits from Kandahar having been cut off by Mir Hosen, whose regency had been converted into sovereignty since the death of his brother Mahmud. For the time, however, Ashraf enjoyed an interval of tranquility, and returned to Ispahan to receive an embassy from Constantinople.

Tahmasp was still in Mazenderan, under the protection of Fattah Ali Khan, chief of the Kajars. He had sought in vain for aid from the Porte and from Russia, and had become an object of contempt to the Afghans, who commonly spoke of him as *Sagzadā*, or son of a dog. But in his degradation he found an adherent destined to restore him for a season to his high estate, and to prove himself the most formidable warrior whom Asia had produced for more than three hundred years.

Nadir Kali Khan, better known to fame as Nadir Shah, belonged by birth to the Afshars, a Tartar tribe subject to Persia. Brought up as a shepherd, and left an orphan at thirteen, he earned his living as a woodcutter until he was taken captive by the Uzbeks, from whom he escaped after four years of servitude. At the age of forty he had acquired some local reputation as a captain of banditti in the mountains of northern Khorasan. Though wholly illiterate, he possessed the my-

sterious power of subduing men to his will which has marked the great conquerors and tyrants of every age. Finding himself at the head of a small army of nearly three thousand outlaws, he resolved to offer his services to the titular Shah in Mazenderan, and, to give his intended master a proof of his quality, surprised the Afghan garrison of Naishapur, and took possession of the town in the name of Tahmasp. This exploit earned him a welcome at Astrabad, and a pardon for the murder of his own uncle, Governor of the small fortified town of Kelat, with whom he had a private feud. Early in 1728 he joined Tahmasp, and was gladly received. Hitherto the war between Afghans and Persians had been a war of wolves against jackals, but the jackals had now found a tiger to lead them.

Jealous of Fattah Ali Khan's influence, Nadir soon found means of putting his rival to death, and persuaded Tahmasp to march to Naishapur, where he was joyfully received. His next exploits were to drive Malik Mahmud out of Meshed, which he had held since 1722, and to reduce the rest of Khorasan, up to and including Herat. The fame of these successes disturbed Ashraf, who marched out of Ispahan with 30,000 men, leaving behind him a garrison only 200 strong, but sufficient to overawe the crushed and depopulated city. Nadir, who had raised his army to 25,000 men, met him at Damghan, where a battle was fought on 2nd October 1729. Ashraf was no mean soldier, and his troops were full of the confidence inspired by a long series of victories. But they had now met more than their match, and were completely defeated, with a loss of some 10,000 men, and all their artillery and baggage. A second battle was fought at Murchakor, thirty miles north east of the capital, in which the Afghans were again routed with heavy loss. Ashraf hastened back to Ispahan with the remnants of his shattered army, stripped the palace of all its valuable contents, and resumed his flight to Shiraz, having glutted his rage by the murder of the illstarred Sultan Hosen, whose daughters he carried away with him. On 16th November the Persian troops entered the city, and put to the sword the Afghans found in it. Some exceptions, however, were made by Nadir in favour of individuals who were reported by the citizens to have behaved humanely while in power. The Mausoleum of Mahmud was destroyed, and its site desecrated.

Tahmasp had remained at Teheran, but on the news of his general's success set out for the capital. As he entered the desolated harem of the palace, he was embraced by an aged woman, and recognized in her his mother, who ever since the occupation of the city by the Afghans had disguised

herself in the garb and performed the drudgery of a household slave.

Finding himself unpursued, Ashraf halted at Shiraz to plunder the city and district. But for this delay he might have reached Kandahar in safety, for it was not till the last days of December that Nadir resumed his task of expelling the Afghans from Persian soil. His long halt at Ispahan was doubtless due to deliberate policy. It would be a mistake to think of him as inspired by patriotic ardour. Himself of Tartar race, he regarded Persia merely as a field of action, and, until his influence was firmly established, had no intention of leaving the king whom he had set up in the hands of ministers who would be only too ready to take advantage of his absence to belittle his services. He therefore took warning by the fate of Lutf Ali Khan, and declined to move until he had been granted authority to levy money at discretion for the payment of his troops.

Since their last defeat the Afghans had plucked up spirit to try the hazard of another battle, and took up a strong position near Istakhr. From this they were driven by Nadir on 15th January 1730, but rallied for the defence of a mountain pass leading to Shiraz. Again defeated, they fled into the city, whence they sent envoys to offer to hand over the captive princesses and the royal treasure which they had carried off, on condition of being allowed to march out of Persia with their families, arms and baggage. Nadir replied that unless Ashraf were placed in his hands he would put the whole Afghan army to the sword. Seeing his position hopeless, Ashraf fled from Shiraz by night with the bulk of his remaining troops. They were overtaken by Persian detachments, whom they beat off, but being compelled by the difficulty of the country and the severity of the weather to break up into scattered parties, they were harassed by armed peasants and marauding tribes, and forced to abandon their prisoners and baggage. The treasure to which they still clung invited attack, and they were hunted down like wild beasts for the sake of their spoils. Ashraf himself with two hundred men got as far as the desert of Seistan, where he and all his followers were cut off by the Biluchis after a desperate resistance. Of the remnants of his army it is believed that not more than a few hundred succeeded in regaining their homes.

Thus ended, by the extermination of the invaders, the Afghan invasion of Persia. Of the leading actors in that savage drama but one, and he perhaps the greatest, died a peaceful death; the rest fell in battle or by the dagger of the assassin. But over the ashes of all alike could no more fitting

epitaph be inscribed than the lines which a living poet* has placed in the mouth of a historical Afghan of our own day:—

"Such is the work of the Merciful, whose will is to smite or to save;
It is He gives wealth and vengeance, or tears o'er a blood-stained grave."

H. C. IRWIN.

ART. IV.—THE FLAG OF THE HOHENZOLLERN.

FROM where we sit, close by the picturesque little town of Föbingen, we can see the hill and castle of Hohenzollern breaking the dark-blue line of the Swabian Alps. My companion and I often come here; and the pastimes of the great houses whose stammschloss we look at, have furnished us with much to say and to think over. From this distance and from all the country round, the castle presents an imposing spectacle. Set high upon its lofty rock it is visible for many miles round, and looks a fitting home to an imperial race. It is, indeed, disappointing to find, after climbing the long winding ascent that leads to the summit of the hill, that the imposing fortress is little more than a shell; and that the walls contain besides a few living rooms for the imperial family, only quarters for a company of soldiers and a restaurant for trippers. At holiday times visitors come from all parts of Germany; and their presence there in a spring or autumn holiday gives added significance to the commanding aspect and unique position of the Schloss. For this is one of the shrines of latter day German imperialism. And it is no unworthy shrine. In spite of the modernity of the interior, the castle itself remains a striking and deeply interesting feature in the landscape. Although the whole structure is modern, it stands upon the site of the ancient castle. And no one can see it from far or near without noticing how well the counts of Hohenzollern chose their fortress-home. Over a hundred villages, we were told, can be counted from the windows of the castle; and it is just in these villages, and in others like them, that the strength of the German Empire lies. For the German villages are full of big, fair-haired people, men women and children; and the men and women and the children as they have grown up, have been accustomed for centuries to work hard from morning till night, and have been content to be ruled by others and to leave politics to their lords and masters. It may be that they are not so contented now. In this peaceful land of Swabia, too, factories are springing up, and the influence of the cities is spreading; and it may be that the discontented murmurs of the big cities are echoed in the hamlets. But the peasant with his long day's toil coming regularly round has little time to give to such thoughts even though they should occur. His place in the Empire means to him his place in the ranks of the army. The great bulk of the German soldiery is drawn from the villages; and in the villages, too, the great future of the splendid military reserve is still to be found.

* Sir Alfred Lyall: *The Amir's Message*.

With such a prospect as the castle offers before their eyes, who can wonder that the Hohenzollerns for generations and for centuries have been an ambitious race? Looked up to by all within sight of their battlemented rock, it was natural enough that they should, early in their history, acquire notions of power and dignity greater than those of counts, and that they should ask from other Germans the same allegiance that they received from the peasants of their own domains. The ruling instinct, which survives so strongly in the vigorous race, surely came to them in their early days amid these surroundings; and now that they have won their way from rung to rung of the imperial ladder until they have reached the top, it is fitting that their present representative should be the foremost exponent in Europe on the doctrine of the divine right of kings.

In the whole history of Europe there is no more thrilling story than that of the family that has forced its way from a Swabian castle to the throne of Prussia and the headship of the greatest military power in the world. And the interest that gathers round the House of Hohenzollern is not historical nor romantic only. It is a living, political interest which the German people feel to-day and which, through them, effects the policy of the nations of the world. When first we hear of them in history, the Hohenzollerns were counts and soldiers of fortune differing not very greatly if at all from the fighting barons of mediaeval Germany. They are emperors now. But still their ambitions grow, and their ascendancy over the German states and people increases every year. Their supremacy is not resented now. It may have been resented for local and patriotic reasons a generation ago. For different reasons it is resented at the present day by the liberal and democratic parties in the towns.

The growth of the democratic party is one of the striking features of the political situation in Germany. It is probable although without statistics at hand, this cannot be said with certitude—it is probable that the social democrats have greatly increased in numbers in the last decade. It is certain that they have grown in influence and that they have received a powerful accession of intellect and ability to their side. The Germans themselves speak of this, and note with some wonder that men of good social standing join the proletariat in their May-day processions; and they do not fail to see that much of the best speaking in the local and imperial parliaments comes from the social democrats. But in spite of the growth of the democratic party, the sovereignty of the Kaiser over Germany, as a whole, becomes every year more real. The ambitions of the Kaiser fit the present mood of the German people. His

personality dominates their hopes and political aspirations. Their fears as well as their hopes demand a leader; and they see in the Kaiser and his house their proper leaders in the movements of nations and peoples, convinced as they are, that the twentieth century is to witness great and far-reaching changes among the states of Europe, they feel the necessity of uniting and consolidating the different parts of the present Empire. That is a preliminary state, the imperialists believe—the consolidation of greater Germany will follow. But in the meantime it is a necessary step and a simple measure of self defence. It is not sentiment only,—although more than most peoples they feel the influence of sentiment in politics, that makes them long for a united Fatherland. A struggle lies before them. They will have to bear the brunt of military and industrial assaults, fiercer than they have ever felt before, now is their time to marshal and discipline their forces, and to unite under one banner for their own safety and for the good of the Fatherland. And there can be no other banner for them save that of the Hohenzollerns. The Hohenzollerns are the natural leaders of Germany. There is no one else. Nearly five centuries ago, when they had first attained to princely rank the Hohenzollerns set up a claim to the imperial throne. They contended in vain against the Habsburgs then. But in the long interval they have increased and the Habsburgs decreased. The Habsburgs have resigned their claims, and the Hohenzollerns are unchallenged in their supremacy now. However loyal the people of Germany are to their princes and kings, they have come in these days to look beyond and away from their own states; and they see in the rising fortunes of the imperial house, the promise of the future greatness of the whole Fatherland.

The Germans in Austria are willing to transfer their allegiance from the ancient to the modern Kaisers if ever the opportunity should come. It is doubtful if that opportunity is any nearer now than it has been for the last thirty years; but it was a German deputy in the Austrian Reichsrath who first gave public utterance two years ago to the belief that all Germans must unite under the flag of the Hohenzollerns. The first of the modern Kaisers, the Emperor William I, when the time came for him to assume the title of Emperor, complained that "he did not understand this Emperor-business." He and his father had been kings, he said, and he did not wish to change. But his grandson understands the business. His words and actions meet the present wishes of the German people. And so the unification of Germany proceeds apace, and belief in the future of the empire spread and grows.

The change that has come over the people of South Germany in their attitude to Prussia and the Kaiser has been gradual; but no one who goes about among the kindly people here can fail to notice it. The force of economic circumstances has slowly convinced them that they must accept the increasing authority of Prussia in commercial as well as in military matters. The desire to manage them over affairs is giving place to the wish to help in, the future of a greater Germany. Jealousy of Prussia still survives among the Bavarians and Swabians; but that does not prevent them acquiescing in Prussian views about the expansion of Germany and adopting them as their own. They recognize that the spread of Prussian authority is not only inevitable but desirable for the sake of the Empire; and the bucolic Swabians and independent Bavarians are willing to surrender their old exclusiveness for the solidarity of Germany. Last year Württemberg gave up its stamps. Bitter jests were made at the time over the loss of these emblems of independence. The Bavarians, who cling most tenaciously of all the German peoples to their national rights, mocked, and warned their neighbours that the Prussian eagle having flown off with their stamps would soon attack their railways. But the Swabians took it stolidly. The change had to come. For economical and for public reasons the railways will soon be managed from Berlin, just as the armies of the southern kingdoms are already directed from this imperial headquarters. But the people are content. In the changes already effected, and in the greater changes imminent, they see the writing out of large imperial plans, which are to strengthen Germany against attack, and which may eventually make it the greatest power in Europe.

Every great nation has something to hope and something to fear. Bismarck once boasted that the Germans feared God and nothing else in the world. That is true enough in the sense that they are as ready now as they ever were to face any dangers that threaten them. But a commonwealth may have something to fear, however brave its people and however splendid its army, and one soon finds, in conversation with the educated classes, what it is that Germany has most to fear. When politics or economics are discussed, the dread of Russia and still more of a hostile alliance between France and Russia instinctively betrays itself in the German mind. That is always present to them. It is not that they are afraid of Russia. But they are afraid that they may have to go to war with Russia sometime, and they believe that if they relaxed their watchfulness Russia would go to war with them. That is the impression that I have formed while

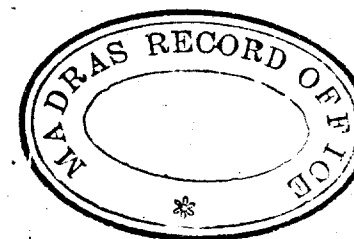
living among many German friends, and I find it confirmed in several of the political pamphlets that are so popular in Germany just now. The Kaiser may have his dreams of a fleet and an Empire over the seas; but it is not for these reasons, primarily, that the Germans wish to make Germany strong. It is not, in the first place, for the expansion of the empire that they cheerfully maintain their huge army, and contribute to it both their money and their sons. It is because the army is necessary to their national existence. Russia weighs upon their minds. It is the peril of the immediate future. They are ready to face it, and to force the issue, if necessary. But the dread that in an evil day they might be caught unprepared and crushed between the forces of France and Russia, makes them willing for any sacrifice. The thrifty housewife when she is told that she pays more than three times as much for her sugar and tea as her English sister does, replies, as I have heard more than one reply, "Ah, well, you have not France on one side of you and Russia on the other. We have to pay for our safety." And their safety, they clearly see, lies in the consolidation of Germany under the imperial flag.

It may be somewhat fanciful to associate the castle of Hohenzollern with those dreams and hopes of empire that are now taking shape in German minds; and I have never heard any German do so. But it seems to us, as we continue turning our gaze in the direction of Hohenzollern, that its position is further symbolical of those new aspirations, and of the place which the House of Hohenzollern is to fill in the future of united Germany; The hill of Zollern is not the highest, but it is one of the highest points in the watershed between the countries of the Rhine and Danube. And a glance at the map shows that its geographical position is doubly unique in this respect that it might be taken for the centre of central Europe. It is not a little curious that the idea of a central European federation under the hegemony of Prussia is one that is now a commonplace of the German press. It is to include Austria, Switzerland and Italy, who will be compelled, in the commercial struggles of the coming century, to make common cause with Germany against Russian and American competition. It is not by any means certain that Italy and Switzerland will take the same view; but the German political writers do not make much account of that. Perhaps they are right. If the scheme is for the benefit of those other countries, they will fix to join the Zollverein. The stress of economic competition may lead them round to Germany's way of thinking. But in the meantime the idea is German. One reads in the German press

glowing articles about the picture of that Greater Germany (Grossdeutschland) which with Hamburg as its chief port, is to embrace all the German speaking countries; and which is to take the lead in the yet bigger scheme of a central European confederation. It was only the other day that we read something like this in a North German newspaper; and we discuss it now. By an odd political arrangement the territories of the princes of Hohenzollern Sigmaringen now form part of Prussia. The Sigmaringens are, of course, the elder branch of the family; but about fifty years ago they gave up their sovereign rights to their more distinguished and more powerful kinsmen; and while they retain their princely rank and title their territory is administered from Berlin. So it happens that the soil from which the ancient seat of the Hohenzollern stands is Prussian, and that the direct authority of the Kaiser reaches down to the banks of the Danube. The Rhine is already German except for the little bit between the frontier of Holland and the sea; and it would not be surprising if German hopes travelled along the other great river of central Europe as well. A day or two ago we walked a few miles up the lovely valley of the Danube above the town of Sigmaringen; and with the recollection of much that we had read about the future of Germany still fresh in our minds, it did not seem strange to us that the Germans should look forward to the time when the Kaiser will control the policy and the fortunes of the greater portion of Europe outside of Russia. Already the term "little Deutschlander" is—as it has amused us to notice—employed in the German press to pour contempt upon the opponents of expansion. Little Deutschlanders are not, any more than little Englanders allowed much of a hearing; but some of the more thoughtful writers have pointed out the difficulties in the way of a Pan-Germanic league. It is a characteristic of the experienced writers that they ignore difficulties that must be surmounted before Holland and Denmark can be taken in the German empire, but they recognize the damage that threatens Germany from American competitions and from Russian attack. The dangers may be real; but the difficulties are real, too, however, small they may appear on paper. Germany is more disliked in Holland than in any other part of Europe; and the hope that the Dutch will calmly surrender their independence for the sake of German protection may turn out to be a very slender basis on which, even in imagination to build up the fabric of a greater German empire. As long as these hopes and fears continue to agitate an increasing number of Germans, the prestige of the Kaiser and his house will

grow. The strength of Germany at present is bound up with the army and the Kaiser. On that strength hopes are being raised. Whether or not these hopes are likely to be realized is a question for discussing. Others, as well as Germans, are quite competent to discuss it. But it lies outside the scope of this paper, which is only meant for a record of impressions on the spot.

J. CAMERON.



ART. V.—ON THE BIHARI CUSTOM OF PLACING EXPIATIONS ON THE CROSSWAYS.

THE belief that the ills which the human flesh is heir to, that human suffering and misfortune, can be transferred, averted or stopped by shifting the burden upon other persons or things, is current among various races of people inhabiting the surface of the globe. The devices resorted to by them for effecting the transfer or the stoppage are many and various, and invariably take the shape of exorcism, witchcraft, devil-dancing, charms, disease-boats, scape-goats, Jonahs, placing expiations on the crossways, passing days and nights by the invalids in the temples of Æsculapius and other deities, and so forth. Of these devices, the custom of placing expiations on the crossways for transferring barrenness on to some others, prevails among the Hindu women-folk of Bihâr, and is described below:—

जिस अन्नरु को किसी वजहसे लड़का नहीं होता है, वह किसी व्रोका या बरमुह के कहने से दो रास्ता के बीचमें अस्नान करति है। अन्नर वहां अपने बराबर सुत जो खरह घरके उसपर नहाति है। इसके बारे अकीन चनुको होता है कि जो इसको पहिले लेंगेगा उसको इह दोख जिसमें हमको लड़का नहीं होता है वह लायेगा।*

TRANSLATION.

A woman, who, for some reason or other, suffers from barrenness, bathes at the crossing of two roads, according to the instructions of some exorcizer or Brâhman. She measures her height with some thread, and places this thread and some straw at the crossways, and, taking her stand on the said articles, undergoes the bathing operation. She does so in the belief that the ill (i.e. barrenness), from which she is suffering, may be transferred to whomsoever will, first of all, step over the aforesaid articles.

Now, this custom of placing expiations (or articles touched or bathed upon by the patient or sufferer) on the crossways or at the junction of two or three roads, in the belief that the disease or other physical disability, from which he may be suffering, may be transferred to whomsoever will, first, tread upon the same, or to some other place to which the said expiations may be conveyed by some means or other, has many parallels and analogues among the nations of antiquity

and various other races of people inhabiting the earth at the present day. It was prevalent among the ancient Greeks, who believed that sickness and other evils could be got rid of by means of *καθαύματα* placed at the crossways, as is evidenced by the following passage from Becker's *Chronicles* *:—"Polycles (who was ill) was not satisfied with applying for aid to the successors of Æsculapius, but tried the efficacy of certain charms; while interpreters of dreams were consulted, *expiations placed in the cross-ways*, and aged women reputed to have the power of curing diseases by mysterious arts and magic songs, had been summoned to attend. Whole days and nights had also been passed by the sufferer (Polycles) in the temple of Æsculapius, but to no purpose. At last, hearing of a happy cure effected in a similar case, by the baths of Ædepsos, he repaired thither for the benefit of the waters; but the Nymphs had refused their succour; and, some days ago, the doctor had declared that the patient would never need any herb, save the parsley."

The English translator of the aforesaid work, which is in German; has appended the under-mentioned learned notes on the Greek customs, referred to *supra*, of placing expiations on the crossways, and of an invalid's passing days and nights at the temple of Æsculapius:—

"The belief that sickness and other evils could be got rid of by means of *καθαύματα* placed at the cross-ways, is well-known. The throwing them into flowing water is chiefly mentioned by Roman authors; nor does the passage in Theocr. xxiv. 92, seem properly referable to this custom. The Roman usage is often alluded to. See Virg. Ecl. viii. 101; Tibull. iv. 4, 7; Ovid. Metam. xv. 327."

The custom of an invalid's passing days and nights in the temple of Æsculapius "appears to have been much in vogue; so much so, that apartments were provided in the temples of the god, in which sick persons might reside. Pausan. ii. 27, 2. See Aristoph. *Plut.* 410, 653. cf. *Plaut. Curc.* i, 1, 61; ii. 1. Probably some temples were accounted more efficacious than others. Thus, Bdelycleon took his father to Ægina. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 122. So also many persons sought for aid at the oracle of Amphiaraos, near Oropos, and threw a gold or silver coin into the holy spring. Lastly, between Tralles and Nysa, not far from Acharaca, there was a village with a shrine sacred to Pluto and Persephone, and *Χαρώνιον ἀντρον* whither sick people were brought. Strabo, xiv. 1, 44."

* Communicated by Lâlâ Sital Prasad, Guru of the vernacular school in Mauza Pângrâ, Pargana Bîpâh, in the District of Saran, within the Zamindari of Maharaaj Kumar Guru Mahâdevâsram Prasad Sâhi of Hâthwâ.

* *Chronicles or Illustrations of the Private Life of the Ancient Greeks.* From the German of Professor Becker. Translated by the Rev. Frederick Metcalfe, M. A. New Edition. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1895. pp. 133-135.

This old-world custom of ridding an afflicted person or an infected place of certain diseases by placing expiations on the cross-ways, in the belief that the person, who will pass over the expiations, will catch the transferred disease or convey the same to some other place, has other parallels, which are still current in various parts of Northern India, especially in connection with the transference of the small-pox. "In Agra and in many other large cities and military stations in the North-West Provinces, when small-pox is raging in the villages around, small-pox festivals are held in the suburbs; and one favorite mode of removing the pestilence is to collect the small-pox crusts in an earthenware saucer, and, placing this on some cross-roads, trust to the wheels of passing carriages to carry the evil spirits in these crusts to some other place."* But the god or spirit of small-pox is politely shown the door or seen off in Japan, not by placing, at the junction of several roads, certain articles into which the spirit is supposed to have been driven, in the belief that the person, who will first tread on the same, will convey the spirit of the disease to some other place, but by hanging the said articles on a tree, or by setting the same afloat in a running stream, as is testified to below by Mr. Lafcadio Hearn:—

"When a person is certainly going to get well of small-pox, a feast is given to the Hoso-no-Kami, much as a feast is given to the Fox-god, when a possessing fox has promised to allow himself to be cast out. Upon a sando-wara, or small straw mat, such as is used to close the end of a rice bale, one or more kawarake, or small earthenware vessels, are placed. These are filled with a preparation of rice and red beans called adzukimeshi, whereof both Inari-Sama and Hoso-no-Kami are supposed to be very fond. Little bamboo wands with gohei (paper-cuttings) fastened to them are then planted either in the mat or in the adzukimeshi, and the color of these gohei must be red. (Be it observed that the gohei of other Kami are always white.) This offering is then either suspended to a tree, or set afloat in some running stream at a considerable distance from the home of the convalescent. This is called "seeing the god off."†"

But, in Indo-China, the spirit of the disease is expelled by setting him afloat in a raft in a river, as will appear from the following description of the Annamite and Cambodian custom, given by M. Paul d'Enjoy in the *Revue Scientifique*:—"Villages, whose population is being decimated by cholera,

* Extract from a letter by Brigade-Surgeon Robert Pringle, M. D., to the *London Standard*, quoted in the *Englishman* (Calcutta) of Tuesday, June 20th, 1893.

† *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*. By Lafcadio Hearn. Two Volumes. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company. 1901. Vol. I. p. 147.

offer, with great ceremony, a sucking pig, bananas, oranges, and litchis. On a raft formed of trunks of banana trees bound together with rattan, are placed plates heaped with food and fruits. Vessels of tin and copper are placed before these plates, and little incense-candles smoke around this floating altar, which, after long prayers and solemn salutations, is abandoned to the current of the river. The people hope thus that the spirit of cholera, appeased by these gracious gifts, will consent to embark on the raft, where his appetite can be satisfied, and that, thus, the personified scourge will quit the territory of the village and journey into that of their neighbours. The cholera is, thus, politely shown the door, with all the honors due to the rank that it occupies among earthly calamities."*

But, among the Malays, the disease-spirit is seen off by setting him adrift in a boat or raft lit with lamps, as is evidenced by the following:—"The Malay medicine-man invites the evil spirits, who are troubling a sick person, to be seated upon a lamp-bearing raft or boat, in order that the frail craft may bear them to regions beyond. Whatever may have been its origin, however, the "Lanchang" was, formerly, one of the most popular and well-known items of the medicine-man's programme; and tradition has it that a Malay lady of high position in the state had one of great size and perfection towed down the Klang River in days of yore. The Lanchang, generally, takes the form of a boat filled with offerings to the spirits. They are now, generally, constructed without masts; but, formerly, two masts were used, and the little craft was furnished, moreover, with a *dan-dan*, both at bow and stern. They are, now, however, made in accordance with no fixed pattern; and, even, models of steamers have been similarly used. Money, again, no longer always forms part of the offerings with which the boat is loaded; although it should undoubtedly do so, according to the older usage. This money had a special name; and, in Java, where the custom is still continued, it consists of two or three cents of the current coinage. The Lanchang is loaded with offerings to the spirits, consisting of the flesh of a white fowl, the flesh of a black fowl, parched rice, and other provisions. When the Lanchang is loaded, three tapers are lighted, one at each end and one in the centre; and the medicine-man takes the craft in both hands, and gives it a rotatory movement, several times towards the left, as in using a sieve. He, then, burns incense and raises his voice to a high pitch, while he repeats a spell. The ceremony ends with the launching of the frail craft."†

* *Vide Statesman* (Calcutta) of Sunday the 4th October 1895.

† *Vide Statesman* (Calcutta) of Sunday the 1st September 1895.

There are other methods, followed by Malay medicine-men, for the transference of diseases. One of these is that the medicine-man prepares a select and assorted number of "scape-goats" with the preformance of due rites and ceremonies, and places the same in a tray, and also places one end of a many-colored thread in the hands of the sick person, and puts the other end thereof in the tray containing the scape-goats. The disease-spirit is, then, supposed to leave the patient's body, proceed along the many-colored thread held by the sickman, on to the tray, and enter the collection of scape-goats. When the medicine-man thinks that the disease-demon has entered the scape-goats fairly, he loosens three slip-knots (*lêpas—lêpas*), and pronounces some incantations for the purpose of compelling his devilship to depart and, then, throws the untied knots outside the house.

The "disease-boat," used by the medicine-men of Selangor, is modelled after a special kind of Malay vessel called *lauchang*, which is a two-masted vessel with galleries (*dandan*) fore and aft, and is often colored with turmeric or saffron to make it more acceptable to the disease-spirits, yellow being the royal color among the Malays. Sometimes, the Malay exorcizers use, instead of disease-boats, a simple raft (*rakit*), or a small model of the *balei* (state-chamber), or only a set of the banana-leaf receptacles called *limas*.

When everything is ready, the medicine-man places, on the *lauchang*, offerings exactly similar to those placed on the sacrificial tray or *anchak*, and ties one end of a piece of yellow thread on to the sickman's wrist, and the other end thereof to the *lauchang*. He, then, burns incense and pronounces some incantations, whereof the purport is to compel the disease-spirits, which have taken possession of the patient's body, to enter on board the vessel. When he supposes that they have done so, he takes the *lauchang*, or raft, or the *balei* down to the sea or river and always sets the same adrift at the ebb-tide which is believed to convey the vessel together with the disease-spirits thereon to "another country," which is no other than the island of Celebes.

The incantation, ordinarily recited by the Malay medicine-man, in setting the "disease-boat" adrift, is as follows:—

"Ho, elders of the upper reaches,
Elders of the lower reaches,
Elders of the dry land,
Elders of the river-flats,
Assemble ye, O people, Lords of hill and hill-foot,
Lords of cavern and hill-locked basin,
Lords of the deep primeval forest,
Lords of the river-bends,
Come on board this *lauchang*, assembling in your multitudes,

So may ye depart with the ebbing stream,
Depart on the passing breeze,
Depart in the yawning earth,
Depart in the red-dyed earth,
Go ye to the ocean which has no wave,
And the plain where no green herb grows,
And never return hither.
But if ye return hither,
Ye shall be consumed by the curse.
At sea ye shall get no drink,
Ashore ye shall get no food,
But gape (in vain) about the world.
By the grace of," etc.

Sometimes, the Malay exorcizer asks the crocodile-spirit, in the incantation given below, to transmit the "disease-boat" to its destination:—

"Ho, Elder of the Sloping Bank, Jambu Apai (*i.e.*, Crocodile-spirit),
Receive this (*lauchang*) and forward it to the River-Bay,
It is *So-and-So* who presents it.
Sa-rêkong is the name of the (spirit of the) Bay,
Sa-rêkong the name of the (spirit of the) Cape,
Si 'Abas, their child, is the rocky islet;
I ask (you) to forward this present at once to the God of Mid-currents."

Sometimes, the following longer incantation is recited:—

"Peace be with you! O crew newly come from your shipwrecked
barque on the high seas,
Spurned by the billows, blown about by the gale;
Come on board (this *lauchang*) in turn and get your food.

In this incantation, the Malay medicine-man says that he recognises the right of the disease-spirits to levy toll all over the country, and that he has constructed this *lauchang* for them as a substitute (*tukar ganti*) for the "barque wrecked on the 'high seas'" (*i.e.*, the patient's emaciated body, of which the said spirits were so recently in possession), which they had lost and in lieu of which they were offered the "disease-boat" in question.*

There arises the question: Why is the spirit of the disease set adrift in a boat or raft in a river or stream? I am inclined to think that this practice has its origin in the primitive belief that there is some communication, mysterious and awful, between the world of waters and the world of the dead, or, for the matter of that, with the spirit-world. This is nowhere more clearly illustrated than on the occasion of the Japanese All Souls' Day, when the spirits of the dead are supposed to float back in the tiny lamp-lit boats of straw, along some river, lake or canal, to their abode in the nether regions. The intention underlying the custom of seeing off the disease-spirit

* Summarised from *Malay Magic*. By Walter William Skeat. London Macmillan & Co. 1900. page 433 436.

in a boat or raft, appears to have been that the frail craft, on which he is seated, will take him back to his abode in the spirit-world.

Sometimes, the spirit of the disease is transferred, in a chariot, from one place to another, as is done in the Bombay Presidency. This ceremony is known as "*Mātānī rath kākādvī*," i.e., "Conveying out of the village the chariot of the village goddess." When plague, cholera and small-pox rage in a village, the *rath* or chariot of the village-goddess, which consists of small pieces of wooden planks standing on wheels, and is decorated with small banners, is carried by one of the villagers in his hand; while some of the latter carry a cock and a goat in their hands, and others carry a cocoanut, betelnuts, cooked food, etc.; the whole procession being led by a *Bhagat* or priest who chants several incantations all the while. The villagers make over the chariot to the inhabitants of another village, and return to their own with the delusion that they have transferred the epidemic, or for the matter of that, the spirit thereof to the latter village. The residents of this latter village, in their turn, pass the chariot on to another village, and so on. When the next village is far off, the transferring villagers place the *rath* in a place, which is hemmed in on all sides by hills, so that the disease-spirit being cooped up, as it were, may die out in solitude. When the last village, to which the chariot is conveyed, is situated on the seacoast, the residents thereof throw the *rath*, and with it the spirit of the disease, into the sea where it is supposed to die of drowning. The goat and the cock, that are carried with the *rath*, are let loose; and it is believed that whoever will catch and take them away will contract the disease. When the procession starts, the women of the village meet near the village-well, light a lamp, and sing songs imploring the mercy of the village-goddess to them.*

In China, when the country is decimated by some epidemic disease, the people go through a mock-performance of the festivities celebrated at the commencement of the Chinese New Year, in order to exorcise away the spirits of pestilence. This mock-celebration is done under the delusion that, thereby, they will "turn over a new leaf," and, thus, free the country from the ravages of the disease-demons, as will appear from the following testimony of Mr. Archibald John Little:—"We found Hung Ya, a nice clean well-to-do city, with wide streets. The principal thoroughfares were festooned with cypress boughs; and tables, with candles and incense burning on them, were set out in the streets at intervals. The poor people were

* *Vide the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. IV., p. 419-426.

making New Year, they said, to drive away the pestilence which was decimating Hung Ya, as it had decimated Chungking, Kiating, Chêng Tu and the other principal cities of the province; and the idea of celebrating an imitation of the New Year festivities seems to be to turn over a new leaf and purify the country from evil spirits, as at New Year time. The gods are propitiated with fasting and prayer, and the sale of all flesh-food and the slaughtering of animals is strictly forbidden.*

In Korea, the exorcist, who is always a female, exorcises the spirit of small-pox, by donning a soldier's hat, and taking bells in her hands. She offers to the spirit of this dreadful disease, white cakes made of rice-flour and water, and then baked, and also libations of water. Then she dances until the spirit takes possession of her. Making the exorcist his mouthpiece, the spirit says that there are 53 spirits of small-pox, of whom he is the chief, and that only one-third of those spirits have taken up their abode in Korea by reason of the smallness of the country, and furthermore promises that, if a family will pay its devoirs to him properly, none of the members thereof will be attacked with small-pox.†

The Karens of Burma believe that there are seven malignant *Las* or spirits, namely, the *Las* of madness, epilepsy, lechery, wrath, bad dreams, langour, and diseases, who, though seven in number, are still one, and are constantly desiring to bring about the death of a man. But they, also, believe that each man has his guardian *La* or spirit who resides in his body, and prevents him from being destroyed by the aforesaid seven malignant *Las*, among which is the *La* or spirit of disease. If the guardian *La* departs from the body of a man, the latter is left to the tender mercies of those seven malignant *Las* among whom is the *La* of disease. The Karen, therefore, thinks it a very important part of his duties to be on good terms with his *La* and, therefore, pays great attention to it, presents to it offerings of food, and resorts to many other devices for securing its presence and good will. This he does under the delusion that if he fails to keep his guardian *La* in good humour, the latter will cease to protect him from the attacks of the aforementioned malignant *Las*; and, as a consequence thereof, he will get disease and suffer from other misfortunes.‡

* *Mount Omi and Beyond*. By Archibald John Little F. R. G. S. London: William Heinemann. 1901. Page 221.

† *Vide the Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of India*, Part III for 1895, Page 5.

‡ *The Karens of the Golden Chersonese*. By Lieut-Colonel A. R. McMahon, F. R. G. S. London: Harrison. 1876. Page 128.

Among the Burmese, when a man is ill, and the say sayah or the native medicine-man is unable to cure him, the latter declares that the patient is either possessed by a disease-spirit, or is under the spell of a sohn or witch. So a witch-doctor or an inn—wezah is called in to exorcise the spirit or witch. The patient's birth-horoscope, and the charms that may be on his body are examined; prayers and incantations are pronounced over him. Finally, the baydin sayah comes to the conclusion that the man is bewitched. He, then, ties a rope round the patient's neck and pronounces some incantations over him, jerking the line from time to time. He, then, asks the disease-spirit for what purpose he has come. If the patient gives an answer and mentions some object, it is thought to be the thing the spirit requires. It is, accordingly, placed outside the house in the road and left there all night. It disappears by that time, if it is worth taking by men or spirits. The disease-spirit is supposed to be transferred into that article and to go out of the patient, if that article, after being exposed on the road during the night-time, is taken away. If the tugging at the rope does not elicit any answer from the patient, and if the disease-spirit does not go out of the sick man in the way described *supra*, stronger measures are had recourse to for exorcizing away the spirit. A good beating is administered to the patient with a thick bamboo, pins are stuck into him, red pepper is inserted into his eyes; and the louder the patient screams out of agony, the greater is the satisfaction of his friends and relatives, for it is the disease-spirit or the nat-soh that is suffering, and not the sick man at all. If this heroic method of treatment does not kill or cure the patient, another ceremony for transferring the disease-spirit is performed. A middle-aged woman, who is, sometimes, a member of the family, dons a fantastic garb and assumes the name of "wife of the evil spirit." She begins to dance to the strains of weird music, in a shed erected for this purpose just outside the house, at first slowly, and then gradually gyrating more and more furiously till, at last, she works herself up into a regular frenzy or ecstasy. Then, it is believed that the disease spirit has gone out of the patient into her, and that whatever answers she, now, gives to questions are the spirit's utterances. Consequently, her orders are implicitly carried out. She, usually, commands offerings for the disease-spirit to be placed outside the patient's house during the night. If this final ceremony fails to exorcise the spirit away, the Burmese medicine-men and witch-doctors declare that the disease-spirit is too strong to be exorcised by them, and leave the patient to his fate. If the patient possesses a strong

constitution, he occasionally recovers from his malady after the performance of this ceremony.*

But, sometimes, the spirit or demon of the disease is simply expelled from the place or village, which he may be devastating with his ravages, just in the same way as a wild animal is hunted out of its cover by the votaries of St. Hubert. This is strikingly illustrated in the custom called *Era Sendra* prevailing among the aboriginal tribes living about Lchardagga and its neighbourhood, who, while cholera rages in their kraals or villages, engage in the semi-magical, semi-religious pastime of hunting out the cholera-demon, and expelling him from their abiding-places into the villages of their neighbours.

But I must, now, return to the main subject of this essay, and state that the Bihari custom of placing, at the junction of two or three roads, articles touched by the patient, in the hope that the disease, from which he is suffering, will be shifted on from him to the person who will, first, tread on the same, has many analogues current in the district of Murshidabad in Bengal, which are set forth below:—

A knife, some rice, or *dal* (peas and lentils), and turmeric are placed under the head of the sick person at night. The next day, these articles are given to a beggar or stranger, who is supposed to carry away the disease. This is similar to the South Indian custom of presenting articles passed over a patient to a Nayādi or a member of the lowest caste among the Hindus of Malabar. When a person is ill, a black country-made blanket, with gingelly, mustard, turmeric, and coconut tied up in the four corners thereof, is passed three times over the sickman, and given over to a Nayādi, together with a cadjan umbrella, a stick, and a cucumber. This gift is designated *kala dhanam*, or offering to Yama, the god of death, whose onslaught has to be warded off by propitiatory offerings. The Nayādi accepts the gifts, and prays for the long life and prosperity of the donor. Placing the offerings before his own family deity, he prays to him for the boons that the patient's life may be spared, and that the disease from which the latter is suffering may not be transferred to himself.†

In the north of the district, (Murshidabad), rice, betel-nut, and some vermilion are tied in a rag smeared with turmeric; and the little parcel is thrown down at the junction of three roads. The person, who treads on the parcel for the first time, is

* Summarised from *The Burman: His Life and Notions*. By Shway Yoe. Subject of the Great Queen. 2 vols London: Macmillan & Co. 1882. Vol. II, pp. 134-135.

† Vide the *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*. Vol. IV., No. 1, page 68.

supposed to contract the disease, and, thus, relieve the patient. Sometimes, seven nails, seven pieces of charcoal, one plantain, one sugar-wafer, one betel-leaf, one areca-nut, and a lamp containing some oil and a wick, are placed in a new earthenware saucer painted red; and, then, the whole thing is passed seven times over the head of the sufferer and thrown down at the crossing of three roads, under the impression that whoever will step over the same, first, will catch the disease, thereby relieving the patient. Sometimes, the transfer of the disease is effected by having recourse to turmeric, coloured rags, mustard-seed, and the worship of Shiva. A charm for curing a fever patient of ague is that the sufferer smells, during the day-time, at some turmeric, seeds, etc., wrapped up in a rag. During the night, he throws out the packet into the street. It is believed that whoever will, first, tread upon it will take off his disease. Another charm for effecting the transfer of the disease is that an *ojha* or exorciser is called in on a Sunday, Tuesday, or Saturday, to pronounce some *mantras* or incantations on a piece of bone (preferably the jawbone of an ox) with three red patches on it. Then the sufferer or his friends throw out the bone at the junction of three roads, under the same belief as in the foregoing cases, namely, that whoever will tread on it will catch the disease and, thereby, relieve the sufferer.* But every charm has its countercharm; and one mode of counteracting the evil effects of the charms described *supra* is that the person, who may have trodden on the aforesaid expiations placed at the crossways, should turn round and tread on the same over again. This is but a practical illustration of the medical doctrine that *similia similibus curantur*, i.e., like cures like.

Almost all the ingredients composing the expiations from Murshidabad, are popularly supposed to act as gall and wormwood to witches and spirits and are, therefore, especially used in exorcism or the casting-out of disease-demons.

(a). Grains symbolize good luck galore; and are specially endowed with the power of removing all evil. In the Punjab, grain is kept near the head of newly-delivered mothers to prevent any evil from happening to the child or the mother during confinement, from witches or spirits.† For some mysterious reason, devils, or for the matter of that, spirits do not like peas and fly therefrom. It is on the occasion of the Japanese festival, known as Setsuban, that the Japanese exorcisers cast out the devils or spirits by scattering dried peas towards the four corners of a house; and it is believed that

* *A History of Murshidabad District*. By Major J. H. Tull Walsh, I M.S. London: Jarrold & Sons. 1902. p. 90.

† *Vide*, J. A. S. B., vol. lii, Part I for 1883, pp. 206-207.

they will, thereafter, cease from troubling the householders.* For the very same reasons, it appears to me, that rice and *dal* (i.e. peas and lentils) are used, in Murshidabad, in expelling or, rather, transferring the disease-spirits.

(b.) Jinns, and other evil spirits, as also witches, have great dislike for iron. In fact, it is supposed that they cannot approach places where there is iron. For this reason, locks and other iron-objects are kept on the bed of women in confinement. Similarly, witches, spirits and other beings of the same kidney cannot exercise their baleful influences upon armed persons. According to this belief, in the Punjab, some weapons are placed on the beds of women in accouchement in order to scare away those ministers of evil; and the bridegroom arms himself when going in procession to the house of his bride, in order that the fairies and witches may not fall in love with him and carry him away to the elf-world.‡ It is in accordance with the same belief that, during a cholera epidemic, the people of Mungeli Tahsil, Bilaspur District, Central Provinces, carry an axe or sickle under the impression that the presence of iron wards off the disease or, for that matter, the spirit or demon of the disease.§ It is for this reason that a knife is placed under the sick man's head, and, sometimes, seven nails are passed seven times over the patient's head, in Murshidabad, for driving out the spirit of the disease.

(c.) Ghosts, demons and beings of that ilk cannot bear the reek of turmeric. It is a sure test that a person has been possessed by a ghost (*bhūt*), if he cannot tolerate the smoke of this spice; but it is a sure indication that he has been bewitched by some witch, if he can bear it§. Hence turmeric is placed under the patient's head, in Murshidabad, for expelling the disease-demon.

(d.) Betel-leaf, betel-nut, plantain, and sugar-wafer are all offered up to deities and the manes of deceased ancestors in Hindu ceremonies. Vermilion is also an object of good omen, and used in various Hindu rites and ceremonies. All these being objects of good omen, spirits and demons cannot stand being near them.

(e.) Pieces of charcoal are carried by thieves and burglars for the sake of good luck or, as some say, as a charm to protect them from coming to grief. This interpretation is not accepted by Mr. Charles G. Leland, the well-known student of gypsy-lore, who says that the coal is simply a sign for money, and that, when the thief comes across a likely purchaser of

* *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*. By L. Hearn. Vol. ii, pp. 498-99.

† *Vide* J. A. S. B., vol. lii, Part I for 1883, pp. 206-7.

‡ *Idem*, vol. lxxi, Part-III, for 1902, p. 49.

§ *Vide* Dr. Tull Walsh's *History of Murshidabad*, pp. 84-5.

stolen goods, he shows the coal to the latter, as if thereby enquiring whether the latter has got any money to purchase the stolen articles with. He says that, in vulgar Gypsy, the word for money is *wongur*, which is a corruption of the better word *angar* (Sanskrit अङ्गार meaning charcoal), which also means a hot coal.* Accepting the view that charcoal is used as a charm, it is very natural that seven pieces thereof should be passed seven times over a patient's head, in Murshidabad, for expelling the disease-demon.

(f.) A lighted lamp is a symbol of good fortune, and forms part and parcel of the paraphernalia used in Hindu worship. It also represents the sacrificial fire used in the *Hom* and other ceremonies of the Hindus. A lighted lamp, as representing the sacred fire, must be hateful to demons and spirits, who fly away from the propinquity thereof. It is, therefore, passed seven times over the head of a patient for expelling the disease-demons.

A quite different method is that either the patient or the exorciser calls out the name of another person, who, if he answers the call, catches the disease of the patient; and the latter, thereafter, is rid of his ailment. The rite from the Murshidabad District, corresponding to this custom, is that a patient ill of "fever" will cover himself in a black blanket. If a passer-by enquires of the fever-patient: "Who are you?", the latter answers "Take my disease." The disease is, thereafter, believed to be transferred to the enquirer. This is similar to the custom, prevalent elsewhere in Bengal, according to which a boy of the age of eight years and upwards, who suffers from the bad habit of urinating in the bed while asleep, covers himself up in a black blanket, goes out on the night of the fifteenth day of the waning period of the moon, and takes his seat at the crossing of three roads. If a passer-by says *केरे* (Who are you?), the afflicted boy replies *आमार बेजसुतोडा नेरे* (Take my bad habit of urinating in the bed) and runs back home without looking backwards. Thereafter, the habit is supposed to be transferred to the enquirer.

Similarly, in Bengal, the custom of invoking the night-demon *Nisi* is prevalent for transferring diseases. If a person is seriously ill and lying nigh unto death's door, the ceremony of invoking the demon is performed. The Brāhman, who performs the ceremony, goes forth at dead of night, with a green cocoanut having the top thereof cut open, and thrice calls out the name of some person in the neighbourhood. If the latter answers the call thrice, the Brāhman covers up the cocoanut. Thereafter, the disease is transferred to the answering person;

* *Vide The Gypsies* By Charles G. Leland. Seventh Edition. Boston and New York. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1898. p. 222.

and the patient is supposed to recover. This is somewhat similar to the charm, which is current in the Bombay Presidency, for curing a complaint of the eye, known as the *stye*. The patient has to knock, at midnight, at the door of the house of a man who has two living wives, and to mutter the following incantation:—

"Stye ! you are the breaker (of the peace) of a house,
To day it is my turn, to-morrow it will be yours."

From the most ancient times, even civilized races of people believed that the collective sins of mankind could be transferred to others. In the times of the ancient Hebrews, the sins of the people were transferred to a goat, which was, then, set free in a wilderness, as is described below in the Book of Leviticus: "But the goat on which the lot fell to be the scape-goat shall be presented alive before the Lord to make an atonement with him, and to let him go for a scape-goat in the wilderness, and the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities unto a land not inhabited" (Lev. XVI, 10; 22). The Levitical dedication of a scape-goat is, at the present day, represented by the custom, prevailing among the Badagas, who are the agricultural aborigines of the Nilgiris, of dedicating a scape-goat to carry away the sins of a dead member of their community. During the performance of the funeral rites of a dead Badaga, an elder of the tribe takes his stand alongside of the corpse, and offers up a prayer to the tribal gods that the deceased may not go to hell and undergo the torments of purgatory, and that the sins committed by the deceased, during his life-time, may be pardoned, and carried away by a calf, which is let loose in the jungle and, thereafter, not employed for any work. The idea, underlying the above custom, may also be the basis of the practice according to which a bull is branded and set free at the *Sradha* ceremony of a Bengali Hindu of the wealthier classes.

The idea of transferring the sins of a people or of a deceased person through an animal, survives to this day in the form of the customs of transferring the disease, from which a patient is suffering, to another person or place through an animal, which prevail in the district of Murshidabad, and which may be described as follows:—

The goat is, sometimes, utilized for transferring diseases to an enemy. The goat's ear is bored, and a ring passed through the hole. Then the animal is let loose. If it bleats near the house of the enemy, the disease is believed to be transferred to the latter. Sometimes, a person suffering from a chronic

* *Vide the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. III., p. 341.

disease lets loose a goat to wander at its sweet will and pleasure, in the belief that it will carry away his ailment. Sometimes, the disease is transferred to a goat which is, then, sacrificed before the goddess Kālī. In other cases, the stuffed skin of a goat is hung up at the entrance to a village or a house to ward off or check the spread of disease.

Sometimes, the disease or physical disability is sought to be transferred to a fruitful tree. Witness, for instance, the Bihārī custom of *बाँवो चार* or of a sick woman's clasping a fruitful tree with both her hands. In North Bihār, if a woman is sick, or if a woman is *रुतबला* i.e. her offspring does not survive after birth, she goes out, during the night, on a Sunday or a Tuesday, to a tree which is fruitful, and clasps its trunk by encircling it with both her hands, under the delusion that the disease or physical disability, from which she is suffering, will be transferred to the tree. It is believed that, thereafter, the woman will recover from her ailment, and the tree will wither away. This is parallel to the charm, which is in use in the Netherlands, for the cure of the ague:—"Whoever has the ague, let him go early in the morning to an old willow tree, tie three knots in a branch, and say, 'Good morning, old one! I give thee cold; good morning, old one!' He must, then, turn round quickly and run off as fast as he can without looking behind him."*

Sometimes, the disease-demon is imposed upon and, thereby, sought to be expelled or transferred by the make-believe that the sickman, whom he is tormenting, has died and been buried, and that, therefore, there is no further necessity for his possessing the latter. Among the Sinhalese, the *yakadura* or exorcizer personates the patient and pretends to die, and is, then, conveyed, amid the sham weeping of friends and relatives, to the cemetery, where he is supposed to be buried. Occasionally, instead of the exorcizer's simulating the personality of the sickman, a rude image is made of the patient, and similarly treated. All this is done in the belief that the patient having died, the disease-demon will find that his occupation is gone and will, therefore, go away elsewhere of himself. This is very similar to the Burmese ceremony for transferring diseases, known as *Yaydaya Ya-Yee* or *Yaydaya Sin*. When a man is ill, the Burmese make a small coffin with a tiny corpse inside it, and convey it to a short distance to the east or the west of the patient's house, and buries it there. When the *a-yoht*, or the patient's effigy has been thus disposed of, the Burmese believe that the disease-spirit, finding his victim dead and

* *Vide the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. III, p. 341.

gone, will go away, and that the patient will, then, recover from his illness.*

All the customs and practices, described above, have their basis on that system of beliefs, which goes by the name of Animism. Savage races and uncivilised peoples, who entertain these beliefs, think that the whole universe is peopled by souls or spirits, of whom some have power for good or evil to them, and on whose favours or frowns depends their weal or woe, and of whom they are very much afraid or whom they hold in the greatest reverence. These spirits live, move and have their being throughout the earth and air, and appear to men either of their own sweet will and pleasure, or when they are conjured up by the latter. They also take up their residence, either permanently or temporarily, either in lifeless objects or in living men and animals. If they take up their abode in inanimate objects, the latter, now instinct with a powerful spirit, are believed to have power either to protect or harm human beings, and, accordingly, become the objects of adoration to savages and uncivilized people. This has given rise to the system of religious beliefs broadly designated as Fetichism. The favour of these spirits is sought to be gained, and their wrath appeased, by offerings or acts of homage. Or if they are bent on injuring mankind, they are kept in order by the performance of magical rites and the pronouncement of incantations. The men, who have the speciality for the performance of these magical rites, become known as magicians, wizards, medicine-men, or exorcizers. The belief that incantations, or certain words and imprecations have power to hold in check or destroy the malevolent influences of evil spirits, or counteract the charms of magicians and wizards, has given rise to another idea, mostly current in communities of savage, uncivilized and semi-civilized peoples, that if these words and imprecations are written on some substance, and these inscribed articles are worn on some part of their persons by men, the same will protect them either from possession by, or the malevolent influences of, evil spirits. *Vice versa*, if words of invocation to the beneficent spirits, and representations or images of these latter are worn on a man's person, these writings and images will draw down upon the wearer, the protection and blessings of these spirits. These inscribed articles, and images of spirits, either worn on the persons of human beings, or buried underneath houses and human habitations, are known as talismans, amulets or charms. Among the Assyrians, palaces and houses were protected from being possessed by evil spirits,

* Shway Yoe's *The Burman : His Life and Notions*. Vol. II., p. 138. VOL. CXVII.]

by placing talismans in different parts thereof, or by burying the same under the thresholds thereof. The winged bulls and cylinder seals, unearthed from Assyrian mounds and ruins, are talismans of this nature.

According to animistic beliefs, there are spirits who harass mankind by inflicting diseases on them, and, for this purpose, take their abode in men either permanently or temporarily. If they take up their residence in men permanently, the afflicted persons die. But if these disease-spirits possess men temporarily, they are sought to be transferred to other men or places, by the rites and ceremonies described above. This animistic belief about disease-spirits or demons taking up their residence in the bodies of human beings of their own accord, or under the compulsion of powerful magicians or medicine-men, is as old as the times of the ancient Chaldeans, who believed that the disease-demons or spirits could either be expelled, or their malevolent influences counteracted with the assistance of the beneficent Ea and his son. If the latter's assistance was of no use, the Chaldean patient was left to recover by himself if he could, or to die. This is the reason why the Chaldeans did not possess the science of medicine properly so-called. Similarly, the Shumiro—Accads believed in the existence of a beneficent spirit called *Meri-Dug* or *Mirri-Dugga*, whose only duty was to procure the assistance of his father Ea for relieving the sufferings of sick humanity.

This animistic belief is current, in such a persistent form, among the semi-civilized races of Central Asia, at the present day, that even such petty ailments as sore-throat etc., are supposed to be caused by disease-spirits taking up possession of the sufferers' body, and that the same may be cured by the *Peri-Bakshis* (or professional exorcizers') exorcizing away the said spirits, as will appear from the following testimony of Dr. Sven Hedin, the famous Swedish explorer of Central Asia:—
“A few days afterwards, I fell a victim to a very bad and painful sore-throat, known by the name of *gorkak*, very prevalent thereabouts. After I had tried the beg's prescription, which was to gargle my throat with warm milk, but to no purpose, he proposed that I should give the *peri-bakshis* or spirit-exorcisers a trial. I told him that I did not believe in such nonsense; but that the *peri-bakshis* were welcome all the same.

After dark, when there was no light in the room save what came from the glowing coals on the hearth, the *peri-bakshis* were introduced—three big bearded men, in long white *chapkans* (cloaks). Each carried a drum (*doff*) of extremely tightly-stretched calf-skin, and on these they proceeded to perform by tapping them with their fingers, beating them with

the flat of the hand, and thumping them with their fists. The drums gave out such a volume of sound that it might have been heard at Lailik, six or seven miles off. The performers beat the instruments at an incredible speed, and all three in exactly the same time. After tapping the drums with their finger-tips for sometime, all three would give a bang at one and the same moment, and then follow it up with half-a-dozen hollow whacks with their fists. Then the finger-tapping would begin again, and the whole process be repeated without a moment's cessation. Sometimes, they sat still; sometimes, they were so carried away by their peculiar music, that they got up and danced; and, sometimes, again they tossed their drums into the air and caught them with a bang. At every round, which lasted five minutes, the beating recurred in a certain order, which explained the fact that all three were able to keep time so well together. The full measure of rounds for putting evil spirits to flight is nine; and once the exorcisers have begun, it is impossible to stop them until the full tale of bricks is told!

The *Peri-Bakshis* are called in mostly at births and by sick women; for the women are much more superstitious than the men. The exorcisers enter the sick room, and gaze attentively into the flame of the oil-lamp, where they say they can see that the woman is possessed of an evil spirit. Then the drums begin at once, while the invalid's friends and acquaintances gather inside and outside the room. But the performance does not end there. When the last thundering roll of the drum has died away, the assembly withdraws, and the *Peri-Bakshi* and the sick woman are left alone in the room together. In the middle of the floor, the sorcerer drives a rod with great force, having a rope tied to the top of it, while its other end is fastened to the ceiling. The woman pulls and tugs at the rope, until she succeeds in getting it loose, while the *Peri-Bakshi* bangs at his drum. The moment the rope breaks loose from the roof, the spirit departs out of the woman.

The hunting falcon, too, is credited with similar powers of exorcism, and is, therefore, called *ghush-bakshi* (the falcon-exorciser). The *peris* or evil spirits are supposed to fear her greatly. During the pangs of childbirth, the woman sees evil spirits flitting about the room, though they are invisible to other people. The falcon, however, sees them, and is let loose in the room to chase them out. It is very evident that the falcon, the drums, and the rope and stick all tend to the same end—namely, to distract the woman's attention to a certain extent, and so make her forget herself.”*

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.

* *Through Asia*. By Sven Hedin. Vol. I. Methuen & Co. London 1898. pp. 480-481.

ART. VI.—WHIPPING AS A JAIL PUNISHMENT.
A REJOINDER TO "J. M."

HYSTERIA is a charge easily brought, not so easily proved. In the April number of this Review, J. M. severely criticised my own criticism in the January number on the subject of whipping in Indian Jails and especially the whipping of Europeans. The matter will be clearer if I group my replies under these headings.

1. Whipping as a Jail Punishment in general.
2. Whipping as a Jail Punishment in India.
3. Whipping as a Jail Punishment for Europeans in India.

First then, with regard to the general question of Whipping as a Jail Punishment it must be remembered that in spite of the publicity of Government Reports and the visits of "independent laymen," the conditions under which whipping may be administered in jail are not understood by the public. My original remarks were suggested by the Punjab Reports, but as J. M. wishes Bengal Jails to be discussed, I will quote from the Bengal Jail code, Chap. 18, Rule 587. "Whipping shall only be awarded for very serious offences." Now in chapter 18, Rule 567, Jail offences are divided into I—Serious Offences, II—Offences which may be "Serious" or "Minor" according to the circumstances of the case, and III—Minor Offences. Punishments are in Rule 567 divided into Minor and Major—the Major Punishments are placed in an ascending scale beginning with hard labour and forfeiture of marks, rising through fetters and separate confinement to penal diet, and ending as a climax with whipping—Now Rule 569 goes on to say that minor punishments are for minor offences and major punishments for major offences—but that the frequent or aggravated commission of minor offences may be met by a major punishment. This is a humane code. Will it be believed by a sane public that the possession of tobacco is an offence which may be regarded as major according to the caprice of the Superintendent, and that as a matter of fact it is frequently punished by flogging on the third occasion of detection?

J. M. quotes an ex-convict's remarks as to the necessity of whipping as a deterrent from brutal assaults on warders—we wonder by the way if J. M. would quote as readily the remarks of any former prisoner if they should chance to contradict the received opinions of Jail Authorities. That everything is not perfect in English Jails might be shown by extracts from the recent book "Penal Servitude" by another ex-convict,

Lord William Neville; even English prisons have not entirely emerged from the Dark Ages and such persons as corrupt and inefficient jail officials do still exist.

With regard however to the question of whipping as a deterrent from violent crimes, one may remark that if it is such a "small schoolboy's allowance" as J. M. would lead us to suppose, and if, "for several years no prisoner has been admitted to Hospital after corporal punishment in Bengal," the whipping can hardly act as a deterrent except from the shame of it, which shame only exists before the first punishment. On the other hand, if severe enough to be a deterrent it is inhuman to require the victim to work and in that case he ought to be admitted to Hospital. It is a question whether it is not in accord with the human nature which even jail officials possess, to keep such cases out of Hospital to avoid swelling a disagreeable record. It is curious that the Bengal and Punjab experiences should differ so greatly. Let me quote the Punjab Report for 1901.

Extracts from the Punjab Jail Report for 1901, Chapter III. pp. 6—8.

"The number of whippings fell from 200 in 1900 to 168 in 1901. This decrease is satisfactory but still the cane has been used in some cases without sufficient justification. In 11 cases the punishment directly or indirectly caused illness. Among the central Jails the ratio of whipping to all other punishments was highest at Mooltan. In the Montgomery Central Jail, this punishment was used 17 times as against 53 times in 1900. In several jails not a single prisoner was flogged—Lieutenant Colonel Little in his management of the Rawalpindi Jail did not find it necessary to have recourse to the punishment, notwithstanding that he had to deal with an average population of 646 convicts drawn from the turbulent inhabitants of the Peshawar and Rawalpindi districts. It is to be hoped that the example shown by this experienced officer will not be without its effect on other Superintendents."

"In a circular dated 4th October 1901, I explained how the punishment should be inflicted hoping it would be found possible to avoid mutilation of persons subjected to it, without impairing its effectiveness as a deterrent. I regret to say my instructions have not fulfilled the object with which they were issued, in as much as in several cases in which whipping was used, illness has been caused—in one case such serious sloughing of the back ensued as to entail a residence of 75 days in Hospital. In this instance, as well as in two other in the same Jail, the injuries are ascribed by the

Superintendent to the excessive thickness of the cane prescribed by the law."

Extract from the Punjab Jail Report for 1902.

"The number of whippings inflicted in 1902 was 103 only as compared with 168 in the previous year. Ill effects followed the whippings in 3 cases. The Inspector-General of Prisons has continued to give his attention to the unnecessary use of fetters but the use of fetters has decreased very little in spite of the decrease in the average number of prisoners. In order to obtain a just appreciation of the manner in which punishments are awarded, it is a consideration whether the statistics should not classify the prisoners punished according to the number of punishments awarded to each."

We have more than a suspicion that if this were done it would be found how little is the deterrent effect of whipping or fetters after the first use of them: we have heard of good authority of a man who died in Jail and who had had in all 600 lashes. As 30 is the maximum which can be given at one time, this man must have had at least 20 whippings. For this reason we dissent from the view of the Inspector-General of Prisons, Punjab (Lieut.-Colonel Bate, I. M. S.) that "in the case of obstinate offenders it is especially necessary to enforce the regulations persistently and regularly." We have read of a certain traveller whom the sun compelled to take off a cloak of which the most boisterous wind had been unable to strip him. We have ourselves come across cases of refractory persons in workhouses at home, who were alternately in the padded room, the refractory ward, or charged before the Magistrate for violence, whom a little human kindness has completely altered. The prisoner mentioned above as having received at different times 600 lashes died bequeathing his sole worldly goods—4 annas—to a European convict official who had been kind to him.

On the other hand Lieut.-Colonel Bate takes a very different view from the ex-convict whom J. M. quotes with suppressed satisfaction on the subject of the necessity of retaining flogging if a convict prison is to be managed at all.

"The great majority of prisoners whipped belong to the habitual class. I have stated my opinion about this punishment so often that I will confine myself to saying that, although Superintendents are properly empowered to use it, it is seldom necessary to award it; indeed, speaking generally, it would seem that the more experience an officer gains in jail management the less ready he is to have recourse to it. This view is I am glad to say, shared by some of the most thoughtful Superintendents in this province; the punishment was not once used in 13 jails."

Lieut.-Colonel Bate is further advanced in his opinion that "could the mark system be worked in conjunction with the bestowal of immediate benefits in the shape of creature comforts its influence might be enhanced a hundred fold. It has always appeared to me that the value attaching to the mark system as an incentive to good conduct and industry by stimulating the better feelings of the prisoners, might be sacrificed by using it too freely for punitive purposes. Flogging as a jail punishment has been abolished in some countries: and the possession of tobacco is not regarded as an offence at all. The opinion of Major Arthur Griffiths is one for which J. M. must have some respect in the matter. I give a few extracts from his article on Prison Discipline in the recent issue of the Encyclopædia Britannica.

"India still retains Association as the system most suitable for its criminal classes, with other methods generally abandoned by Great Britain, such as the employment of well-conducted prisoners as auxiliaries in prison discipline and service."

"The penal system of the United States is perhaps the most advanced and the most backward in the world. At one end are the numerous bad country gaols and the horrors of the convict lease system in the southern State, now nearly extinct; at the other end the modern and well-equipped adult reformatories, such as Elmira and Concord. The local gaol in New York "the Tombs," a house of detention for prisoners awaiting trial, is defective; dark, damp and ill-ventilated. Worst of all is the hideous system of keeping two or three men in a cell, a means of indescribable torture to a decent man and prolific source of vice and crime to a criminal. Some of the prisons are built on the best lines with large comfortable cells and abundance of light and air. (One may ask what are the hot weather arrangements for European prisoners, especially long-term ones, in India? Are they even given upstairs cells?) The earnest desire of most prison administrations is to develop industrial training and trade profits side by side with mild treatment. The latter sometimes lapses into methods which are not usually thought compatible with prison discipline, such as the permission to play on musical instruments, the holding of concerts, the permission to chew and smoke tobacco, of receiving baskets of provisions, novels, and newspapers from friends outside." "At the Elmira Adult Reformatory . . . each inmate attends school three evenings a week. The men receive definite wages out of which they pay fines. The discipline and daily life are largely of a military character. The men are organized in to a regiment, are thoroughly drilled and dress parade is held daily. *Flogging has been abolished.*"

It may be urged that such treatment, though possibly a dissuasive from prison crimes, is not deterrent from crime outside. Major Arthur Griffiths (formerly H. M. Inspector of Prisons) shows from the statistics of different countries how doubtful it is whether the severity or otherwise of prison discipline has any effect at all on the criminality of a country. "In France crime in its most serious forms, murder, parricide, poisoning, has increased by leaps and bounds though strict cellular confinement is enforced and transportation to the ends of the earth is practised, a grievous punishment for a people is markedly attached to the soil.

There is the same increase in the United States, in spite of its mild reformatory systems. On the other hand in Belgium a steady diminution is noted in the numbers committed to prison in which that most irksome of all restraints, unbroken solitude for years, is inflicted. In Great Britain the whole tendency of legislation and administration has been towards leniency, and a steady decrease in crime has long been in progress."

We may quote further from the Encyclopædia Britannica article on Tortures.

"Crucifixion as a punishment was abolished by Constantine in veneration of Him who was crucified for mankind," (one wonders that scourging has not been abolished by Christian nations for the same reason.) "Scourging was in the Roman Empire inflicted only on slaves; free men were exempt by the *Lex Porcia* and *Lex Valeria* except in few cases such as adultery." "Torture as part of the punishment existed in fact if not in name down to a very recent period. Burning in the hand for felony was only abolished in George III's reign." Why is whipping alone retained of all the mediæval tortures, perhaps J. M. in his zeal against hysteria would fain revert to the rack and the stake? These are indeed "time honoured," or shall we say "time dishonoured"?

Secondly, with regard to whipping as a Jail Punishment in India, something is to be said for retaining it for natives of Eastern countries even though it has been practically abandoned in the Army and has much decreased in use or ceased altogether both judicially and as a Jail Punishment in most American and European States. Our experience of our native servants is that they are in many ways mere children and frequently they express an opinion that they would rather be beaten than fined. A blow, except in fair fight, is the last insult to a man servant, at home—The quotation I gave in the January number from the District Magistrate of Ferozepore bears out my remark that the Indian native frequently prefers whipping to being fined. Even with regard to natives, however, the immense difficulty of

arriving at truth in the East (was it not a Roman Judge in the East who said bitterly "what is truth?") Should be remembered before inflicting the climax of the major punishments. Both the Punjab Report quoted above and the recent Assam Report show that excesses have occurred in this matter of flogging and rule 589 of the Bengal Jail Code recognises the danger of excess by officials grown callous by use by providing that where in any jail the number of prisoners punished with whipping during a quarter exceeds 3 per cent. of the daily average population for that quarter, a special report of each case shall be made to the Inspector General.

With regard to the publicity of Government Reports urged by J. M. as a sufficient safe guard in the matter of jail-abuses, it may be pointed out how extremely difficult it is to track out this matter fully in Government Reports. For instance in the Bengal Jail Reports for 1900 and 1901 there is no heading for "Injuries after flogging" in the list of diseases and it is only after searching that a remark is found that no prisoner was admitted to Hospital in those years for injuries after flogging. In the same Report there is a column for Jail offences, with a sub-column for the possession of prohibited articles; there is also a column for punishment inflicted by the Superintendent. But in neither Bengal nor the United Provinces Reports can it be seen for what offences floggings were administered. We believe if such a column were insisted on it would be shown in many jails that the majority of floggings are given not for assaults or immoralities but for matters which are not sins or crimes or vices in the ordinary sense of the words and moreover for the possession of articles which do not tend to facilitate escape or suicide but are so natural and human as an inch of tobacco. To my mind, it tends to increase temptation to serious and real crime if a man feels that he has already incurred the major punishments for such a trivial matter as the possession of tobacco.

Thirdly comes the question of the whipping of Europeans in Indian Jails, the main theme of my original remarks. I may point out that J. M.'s own statement that "special statistics regarding pure-blooded Europeans committed to prison cannot be attained" is slightly at variance with his other statement that "the Government Reports are so complete and contain such a mine of information, that it would be difficult to imagine any detail, however trivial, that has not been given to the world." I have pointed out earlier in my rejoinder that there are other matters such as the proportion of floggings given for the possession of tobacco that are not given to the world in these Reports—J.M. presumes that I was writing of Europeans in the jail sense of the word, as a matter of fact

I was not, as my reference to the effect of climate here as compared with England, might have shown. I stated that one reason why Europeans should not be submitted to this last disgrace was that "for reasons of economy one prisoner" (and especially a European prisoner where he can be had) "is put in a position to control other prisoners and so to arouse their evil passions." J. M. misses my point when he replies "Europeans are guarded from unlocking to locking up by paid European warders, and are practically never brought in contact with native convict officials." My point is that the European is probably made a convict official himself and as such has to control native prisoners, who can, it is well-known be bought by any official or prisoner and for an inch of tobacco will bring any false accusation against a convict who may have upset any other official, paid or convict, or fellow prisoner. Moreover J.M.'s own statement leaves room for the deduction that during locking up time Europeans are guarded by native officials, even convicts, a deduction borne out by the chapter "On guarding" in the Bengal Jail Code and some accusations at least are as easily framed by night as by day.—It is nothing to the purpose that J.M. states that during the nineteen years preceding 1902 there were 34 cases of corporal punishment among Europeans.—It is not "hysteria" to say that one case of undeserved flogging of a pure-blooded European, through the false evidence of native prisoners, and quite possibly to cover a guilty party, whether official or prisoner, should be enough to abolish the possibility of such a thing occurring again. The fact that British Sailors form a fair proportion of the pure-blooded Europeans imprisoned in India should give the subject a special claim to consideration. Other Europeans for the most part definitely voluntarily choose India as a place of residence for their own gain: these are brought out here in the course of duty. Well conducted men as a rule do not end in prison but sailors are under very specially hard conditions in India and the manliness of their calling must render prison an especially hard discipline for them, whilst their usual ignorance of the language renders them especially liable to suffer from the wily Oriental.—Moreover flogging is regarded by Jack as the last disgrace and it is notorious that in both Army and Navy flogging is the ruin of a man. Sailors perhaps deserve special consideration, as they often have to commit nominal crimes in order to obtain their discharge from a ship with possibly tyrannical officers or bad food.

It is not so very long ago that an outcry against public executions, the use of the thumb screw to extort evidence, or the public flogging of women would have been considered

"hysterical." We believe that because flogging is a "time honoured institution," the flogging of women has died hard in the Southern States of North America, even if it is completely dead at this day. We are pleased to hear that criminals must be treated as children. Is J.M. as keen to procure for criminals the "play" without which all work makes Jack a dull boy? Are there schools for Europeans in Indian prisons? are the chapel services all they might be? are there any of the attempts made to brighten the life of the casual offender which are a marked feature of some American prisons? and is every care taken to treat the offender who verges on the imbecile more as a patient in a lunatic asylum is treated? why is an educated prisoner put on a level with the man who can hardly read and only allowed one book a week? Are these books worth reading or sufficiently often renewed for the sake of long term prisoners? Is the diet of Europeans arranged with any idea of humanity, or is the 10-year prisoner condemned to the same monotony as the three months prisoner? By all means treat prisoners as children, but children require something else besides the rod, though that seems to be J.M.'s chief idea (judging from his article) as regards their training. One of the advantages that might have been hoped for by the appointment of medical men as Jail Superintendents is that they at least might have been expected to realize that a dull monotonous life predisposes men to the very vices which J.M. notes as so prevalent in and out of Jail. The very difficulty of detection which J.M. himself acknowledges should make a Medical Superintendent of a Jail more ready to treat such difficulties by providing distractions rather than punishing especially by flogging on what is pretty sure to be mostly conjecture or false evidence.

By the way, J.M. gives the numbers of floggings of Europeans for the years preceeding 1902. As this question is being taken up by Government Reports which are always a little belated, it would have been interesting if J. M. had told us whether floggings increased or decreased in any particular Bengal Jail he is acquainted with in 1902. My remarks will not have been wasted if they call the attention of visiting justices to some of the matters that ought to be enquired into: for the worst of "independent laymen" is that with all the will in the world, they often do not know the regulations of the intricate code they have to administer, nor the ins and outs of prison life. For instance, they might inspect one meal and find it eatable; would they approve of this meal if they found it served every day or every second day for years? Would it not be possible for instance for even convicts to have some idea of the provisions of the humane code for their

protection? It should always be remembered that the position of authority over human beings deprived of intellect or of liberty is very apt to be abused, human nature being what it is. J.M. questions my remark that Europeans cannot be found to undertake such work as flogging of other Europeans in Indian Jails. We can only say, that if such can be found they must be driven to it by almost supernal ideas of duty (!), or by sheer incapacity to find other employment, or by a brutal and callous nature which should render them the especial objects of suspicion to "independent laymen" and Jail Superintendents alike. Many of the best men of the Indian Medical Service regard their Jail work as incompatible with the merciful and indeed with the scientific traditions of their profession. I should myself think twice before calling in to attend my family a man who had been engaged in ordering and witnessing floggings and superintending executions. When, however, one meets a Superintendent or Inspector-General of prisons who brings a kindly heart in conjunction with the deep knowledge of human nature which one expects from a medical man, to bear on his work, the disadvantage to the public from the point of view of private medical attendance is compensated for by the advantage to the public of a system of Jail Management likely to reform the prisoner and curtail the length of time he lives at public expense. Such a kindly heart and knowledge of human nature is displayed in the remarks quoted above from Lieut-Col. Bate's report: We hardly think they are equally in evidence in J. M.'s remarks.

YOUR REVIEWER.

ART VII.—THE IDEALS OF THE INDIAN ARISTOCRACY.

THE Indian Aristocracy may be divided into three definite division. The first is the Aristocracy of Learning; the second the Aristocracy of Wealth; and, the third the Aristocracy of Ancient Heritage.

The Aristocracy of Learning has ever been predominant in India. The members of this class may be compared with the Lords Spiritual of the English Aristocracy. Though the majority of this class is poor, it exacts respect and exercises a useful restraint on the progressive section of Society. It may be said to represent the conservative section in it. Its ideal is to follow duty for its own sake and to keep up ancient models. The poverty of this class or its disregard of wealth has ever been a favourite theme of the Indian poets. The real function of this class is being overlooked in modern times and it is being ill-used. In order to enable it to fully discharge its real duties, its status should be raised to its proper heights—this should be the aim of the Indian Statesman.

The second division, the Aristocracy of Wealth, nearly merges into the third and the last, adding to their wealth, the hallowing influence of time. The members of this class gradually pass into the third. The only two Baronets of India are a conspicuous example of this statement. This stage, however, is peculiarly transitory. With this class, the fear of reverting to the crowd or the hope of advancing to the higher stage is ever present. It is conceivable that except for the step taken by Government in conferring a Baronetcy upon Sir Jamshetji Jeejibhai, his name would have been perpetuated only by his philanthropic deeds. The institution of such a hereditary dignity, as the English Baronetcy, is a crying need in India.

Too much solicitude cannot be shown in the interest of the third, and perhaps, the highest class of the Indian Aristocracy. In every country this division is honoured and in none more genuinely than in England. There are special privileges attached to this class and although some of them appear to be antiquated, they are not only cherished, but jealously guarded. The trial of the bigamous Earl Russell is an instance in point.

The levelling influences of the British administration, have obliterated the land marks of the many privileges that the Indian Aristocracy possessed. In Native states these are acknowledged, but the former influence has so far affected

them, that these are honoured more in their breach than in their observance. When the rights of Native rulers, secured to them by treaties, made under different circumstances, are being submitted to new interpretations in consonance with modern times and ideas; the interests of the more numerous though less fortunate members of this class may at least deserve a consideration.

The memorable speech, which Lord Curzon delivered during his first visit to Jeypore and which marks the culmination of the transition in which the Native States had found themselves since the beginning of the 19th century, holds out a high ideal before the Indian chiefs. The transposition from the autocracy of unbridled kingdoms to the limited functions equal to those held by the officers of a regulated Empire, is a trying though necessary situation. The great pro-consul has, in an important case, which need not be named, exemplified his precept by practice. The inevitability of such a conclusion is apparent.

During the last few years three Native chiefs have come to grief for misbehaviour and have been dealt with in three different ways. One was deported to British India, after a departmental inquiry was held into his conduct by the head of the local administration. The other was summarily dismissed and confined within a fortress in his own territory. And the third was degraded after a public investigation by a Commission appointed by the Supreme Government.

Both the expediency and the morality of this last measure have been hotly called into question. The inclusion of a peer among the Judges would have eliminated all cause of complaint, perhaps the experience of such a mixed commission which sat to judge upon the conduct of a distinguished chief was not encouraging.

An interesting experiment was being made on a Native State of no insignificance. As in the English constitution, to a certain degree, the chief ruled there, but did not govern. The attempt to introduce the principles of a limited monarchy in the government of a Native State had met with unusual success. But the attempt to introduce in its affairs, the cumbrous machinery required for the Government of an Empire, is bound to end in failure. It will create decentralisation of authority, where centralisation is everything, and result in the diffusion of responsibility, where it ought to centre in one individual. There should be one responsible person in the administration, and in fair or foul weather he should be supported by the representative of the paramount power. If he does not deserve confidence, he can be replaced; but any weakening of his authority would lead to disastrous results.

Recently the novel and interesting feature in the above arrangement has been given up. But the withdrawal of the chief has been effected in a manner, which, though it is a graphic illustration of the present status of the Indian chiefs, is at best an equivocal precedent.

These latest instances, moreover, are indications of the resolve of the British Government to gradually incorporate the rulers of the Native states into the governing machinery of the mighty Empire, over which the sun never sets. The declaration, for the first time, by an important Minister of State that the King-Emperor is the Lord-Paramount of India, and the suggestion made by a "Divan," in a well-known English periodical, to make the Native States, Dukes and Earls of the realm, indicate the present tendencies of the times.

The late Raja Sir T. Madhavrao, in an unpublished work of his, succinctly and cogently views the position of the British Government in this respect. He states that the British Government says to each Native Prince. "Formerly if you grossly mal-administered your territories, a natural remedy came into operation, namely, your subjects rose in rebellion and put an end to the tyranny. The fear of such a contingency acted as a check upon misgovernment, but now we do not, and we should not permit, the violent remedy of rebellion on the part of your people. We have undertaken to put down any such rebellion by employing our military force, whenever necessary. We have thus deprived the people of the power of correcting tyranny. But tyranny must be corrected. Who is to correct it? We, the Paramount Power in India, have undertaken this duty on behalf of the people. When, therefore, the people complain of gross misgovernment in a Native State, we, the British Government, will enquire into the matter and set it right. If found necessary, we, the British Government, will even depose the misgoverning Prince, and place another on the Gadi of the State." Clearly an undue reliance on antiquated treaties is misplaced.

Whenever, therefore, the British Government feels itself constrained to interfere in the affairs of a Native State, care should be taken to restore the *status quo*, once the anomaly is removed, local materials ought to be utilised by all means, and failing these, only then recourse may be had to outside talent. All attempts at sudden reform ought to be curbed. Conceding that experience is a great thing, education cannot be trifled with, educated men should be studiously and freely encouraged. As in the British service, educated men should be gradually trained for the work of responsibility, rather than the old men retained in or restored to their former places.

The inclusion of the servants of the British Government who belong to the subordinate service, in the administration of the Native States is productive of little good. The bringing in of experienced civil servants from the higher ranks would, however, have a far different result. The latter alone know the true principles of Government and reform. Noting the natural drawbacks of the former, the able Native Statesman, already quoted, observes "they (the Native British servants) are, generally speaking, a little too regular and technical, at least in the beginning of their service in the Native States. I mean that they are guided more by rules than by principles. In other words, they are somewhat defective in that elasticity which the circumstances of the Native States require."

"Also, generally speaking, they are imperfect in the qualities of statesmanship, for the simple reason that, in the British service they fill very subordinate posts, that they do not rise to those higher positions which necessitate the acquisition and exercise of those qualities. In the vast and complex machinery of the Imperial Government they turn some distant wheel with mechanical regularity without learning—without having to learn—all about the machine *as a whole*, and as composed of parts all dependant on one another, and each contributing its share to the fulfillment of the common purpose."

An innovation which is not only repugnant to the traditions and customs of conservative India, but to those of rationalistic England as well, has been quietly introduced in the succession of a small Native State. Even to this day the provision that none but a "Protestant" should succeed to the kingdom of England is jealously guarded, but in the Native State in question a convert to Mahomedanism has been made to succeed to a long line of Rajput Hindu Chiefs. Such a step deserves condemnation on moral and political grounds alike.

The conference convened by Lord Curzon in January 1902, to discuss the provision made for the education of Indian chiefs and nobles, was a step in the right direction. The occasion evoked various suggestions from unexpected quarters to which the Government must have given its due consideration. Now it is high time that the result arrived at was made public. The ideal should be to give to the pupils of these institutions a general grounding in the literary education of the highest kind and no money should be spared to accomplish this end. Let all the Chiefs Colleges be concentrated in one centre and let these form a model University in India. The cry of want of funds raised in the case of the other Indian Universities need not and should not be allowed to stand in the way of this.

The creation of the Indian Cadet Corps has perpetuated

Lord Curzon's name in the heart of the Indian aristocracy. It has re-opened a legitimate career to the scions of noble houses. The inclusion of ruling chiefs in it is beside its purpose and ought to be discouraged. The latter should have other ambitions. In 1876 the late Raja Sir Dinkarrao wrote and submitted a pamphlet for the consideration of the Government of India. It contained a number of recommendations on administrative matters. One of the same was that from among such of the chiefs as had natural talent, received sound education and had been conducting their administrations in an approved manner, a number every two years should be appointed members of the Supreme Legislative Council. He hoped thereby that not only those who have had this honour will be benefitted by their experience, but the Government will also learn the sentiments and opinions of the people subject to a different form of administration. It was perhaps owing to this suggestion that the year following a new honour, that of the Councillors of the Empress was conferred on some leading Native Rulers. But it proved an empty honour, which has not been revived and which appears to have been now regarded as superfluous.

Not only that a selected number of the chiefs should sit on the Legislative Council, but, when any measure of universal application is to be passed the opinions of all the chiefs may be collected and given due weight. In addition to the Chiefs, members of noble families may also be asked to assist in the Legislative Councils. Formerly, before the so-called expansion of these councils, really representative men from this class used to be nominated members, but under present circumstances men of quite a different type crowd the legislative chamber. Occasionally a man from the Native States is appointed; but such occurrences should be more numerous than they are at present.

The abandonment of the statutory Civil Service has been harmful to the cause of the Indian Nobility. Its institution had opened to them an honourable and legitimate career, in the absence of which, those who have fallen in their state and have to earn their bread, are obliged to enter the subordinate ranks of the Government service. On the other hand, those whose position in society prevents them accepting an inferior position are not only lost to the service of the Government, but owing to poverty and other causes find it increasingly difficult to maintain their position and gradually sink into insignificance. A natural help from the Government, such as was given by this measure, sustains them in the struggle for existence constantly going on around them. It also encouraged them to acquire modern accomplishments.

In the absence of any such inducement, they become indolent and a burden to their country. The Government may have been deceived in the appointment of certain persons, who may have belied its confidence, but that is no reason why such a beneficent measure should be abandoned. It is undoubtedly an argument for becoming more cautious and circumspect in future selections, the re-opening of this opportunity is an urgent necessity.

Another career, which might be opened to the members of the Indian Nobility, consists in attaching them to the Embassies and consulates of the British Empire, all over the world. There will be few in the beginning who will accept these posts, but in the course of time, they will not fail to become popular. Their residence in foreign countries will give them much useful training and experience, and on their return home they will become centres, diffusing knowledge and enlightenment. Their experience with the Ambassadors and Consuls will not fail to be helpful to such of their countrymen as may visit those countries. These Indian representatives will also watch how the interests of India can be advanced both commercially and industrially.

The sending of the representatives of the chiefs and nobles to attend the coronation in London was a commendable step. The absence of the representative nobles from Rajputana and Central India is to be regretted. Unfortunately no greater attention was paid to this fact at the great function at Delhi. Indeed these two provinces always receive but scanty attention from the Government of India. Since the days of the late Raja Sir Dinkarrao no nobleman from Central India has been in the supreme Legislative Council.

Apart from the so-called ruling chiefs the status of the remaining aristocracy, in most of the Native States and British India, needs definition. The consideration and regard shown to the high birth of Lord Russell stands in great contrast to the alleged outrage committed on the sacred person of the Raja of Puri; the troubles to which a respectable Zamindar of Muzzafarnagar was put by a rash District Superintendent of Police; and the fate to which a grandson, (who was also a retired Deputy Collector in the United Provinces), of a distinguished benefactor of the British Government would have been relegated, but for the kindly intervention of and the clemency shown by the Allahabad High Court,—and these are not isolated instances.

As in England, so in India, the aristocracy has its past, has its use to the Government and therefore demands some equitable privileges for its protection and preservation. To avoid confusion, lists of the existing, aristocratic families

can be made. Excellent material for Rajputana and a fine model for the rest of India already exists in "Chiefs and leading Families of Rajputana" by the Hon'ble Mr. C. S. Bayley, C.S.I. (Government of India Press, 1903).

The steps taken by the Baroda Durbar on behalf of its aristocracy, under the guidance of the late Raja Sir T. Madhavarao, may be recommended as a model to be followed with advantage. The then Resident at Baroda, Mr. Melvill, C.S.I., delineates them thus: "The Sardars and certain of the superior bankers and Darakdars heretofore refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the ordinary Civil and Criminal Courts of the State whether in regard to themselves or their dependents and servants. They owned the authority only of a Court presided over by a Bakshi, or military paymaster, and they claimed a right of appeal to the Maharaja, or latterly to the Minister, in all cases in which they were a party, whether as complainant or defendant. Such a state of things it was obviously impossible to continue. Accordingly Sir Madhavrao consulted the Agent to the Governor-General about the establishment of a special Court for persons of the above classes, for it was felt that such a Court was requisite in order to save the higher classes, who are generally deeply involved in debt, from the harshness inseparable from the action of the ordinary Civil Courts, and also because it was known that the persons belonging to these classes would not readily submit to the jurisdiction of the ordinary Courts. The Court so constituted is formed of a qualified Judge, appointed by the State, of the Shibdar and Shibandi Bakshis, one Sirdar and one Darakdar. A bench consists of the Judge, with any one of the other four members of the Court. The Court is to exercise jurisdiction over Sirdars and other people of position in all Civil and Criminal proceedings which are brought *against* those persons but not in cases *brought* by them against others who do not belong to the same class. The Court has power to pass a sentence of imprisonment in criminal cases up to seven years. The ordinary law and procedure of the established Courts are to be followed with certain exceptions. Thus the personal attendance of a party or witness belonging to the privileged classes aforesaid may be dispensed with, if such party or witness objects to attend; and if the Court considers his attendance necessary, the matter is to be referred through the Varisht (High) Court for the orders of the Minister. Again, the Court may refer any case to any person with whom the defendant is officially connected, or to any other person, for amicable settlement; and if such settlement is made, the Court may pass a decree or order in the terms thereof, the head of the castes of the defendants are also to be consulted

when necessary. When the members of the Court differ in opinion, the case is to be sent for the orders of the High Court. Appeals and references lie to the High Court, and the orders of the High Court are subject to revision by the Minister. The processes of the Court are to be executed by the ordinary police or judicial establishments of the State when they are issued to persons not on the list of Sirdars, etc.; but all communications by the Court to persons on the list are sent in the form of a sealed letter. The defendants and menials of the privileged classes are declared to be subject to the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts, but processes issued by any Court to or against such persons are to be presented for execution to their masters. The Minister's previous sanction is to be obtained, through the High Court, to the arrest of any defendant subject to the jurisdiction of the Sirdar's court, and to the sale of any of his property in execution of a decree."

The introduction of any such measure in any Native State would not be attended with complications. In British India lists should be made of such persons living under the control of a divisional Commissioner, who should have preliminary jurisdiction over the privileged persons. An appeal from him should lie to the provincial Governor. Such a consideration shown to the aristocracy will deepen the roots of the British Indian Empire.

The Hindu law of inheritance has come to be more socialistic than the extremist in the cult of the advocates of liberty, equality and fraternity would wish. In early times when the patriarchal system prevailed, partition was unknown. The father, and after him the eldest brother had supreme power over the family. Even the Code of Manu says "the elder brother may take entire possession of the patrimony and the others may live under him, as they lived under their father (ix, 105)." And again "the seniority ordained by law is according to birth (ix, 125)."

When, owing to change of circumstances families began to separate, the claim of the former chief was recognised by the grant of a larger share to him. Yadnavalkya, as quoted by Mr. Brandreth in his erudite treatise on the law of adoption in Rajaputana, says "the elder son should receive the largest share."

So also, by their valour and patriotism, the Rajputs have kept aloof from foreign influences and have stuck to old customs. Referring to the practice among the Rajputs Mr. Brandreth says "the law of primogeniture,..... prevails throughout Rajputana; the eldest son must be considered the heir to the whole estate..... It is true that some provision must be made for younger sons; certain appenages must be

assigned them, according to the capability of the estate, but the amount of these depends upon the will of the owner, and I do not know that they would claim more than would be sufficient to keep them in food and clothes."

Owing possibly to an imperfect acquaintance with Hindu Law and Society, the British Government has not been happy in its actions regarding the inheritance and partition question, and its action has greatly influenced the mediocre administrators of Native states, who have given up more solid and sounder practices. Excepting the so-called chiefs, who are governed by political dictums, all have been indiscriminately submitted to the levelling provisions of the Hindu Law. The pronouncements of the Privy Council have also, if possible, made matters more confusing.

The Government of the Bombay Presidency alone, inheriting territories and wisdom, from the Maratha Government, has kept, in some measure, its head cool and has extended a helping hand to the otherwise helpless aristocracy of the late Government. Although it has made too minute a distinction between the Saranjami Jahagirdars and Tumani landholders, and although in cases like that of the Wicheoor Jahagirdar the rule has been honoured in its breach, yet its adherence to the law of primogeniture and impartibility has saved many a family from inevitable extinction.

A recent decision of the Secretary of State in a Bombay case may be highly commended as a model for future guidance. The Potnis family, the present representative of which, sirdar Bhidrao Madhav, was honoured by the grant of a jagir of Rs. 3,000 annually for life, at the last Delhi Darbar, is a very old one. Their ancestors were originally in the service of the Bijapur kingdom, in the Deccan. In the days of the Marathas they rendered services to Shivaji, Rajaram and Shahu. A Saranjam (jagir) was granted to them in the time of Shahu. Much of it, however, was confiscated by Bajirao and a part, worth about Rs. 7,000, having been divided amongst the branches of the family for some generations, was declared to be a divisible one by the High Court of Bombay. But as Saranjams have been declared to be, and are, indivisible, the Government considered the decision to be erroneous. Consequently it was not given effect to, and gave rise to protracted dispute between Sirdar Bhidrao, the chief of the most senior branch on the one hand, and the junior members, on the other. At last the Secretary of State decided that the whole Saranjam ought to entail upon the most senior representative of the most senior branch, but as it had been divided, long since, the portions divided should revert to him on the demise of each individual holder. This

took place in 1896. Sirdar Bhidrao represented that if the Saranjam were indivisible, it should forthwith, wholly entail on him, or that the divisions already effected should be kept up. But the Government, doubtless on grounds of equity and common sense, rejected the representation.

Not that the Government of India has remained insensible to this great danger threatening the extinction of the Indian Aristocracy. As early as the 12th March 1862, a Bill was introduced into the Legislative Council "to provide for the succession to and the rights in respect of certain *Taluqas* and granted estates in Oudh and for the jurisdiction of the Courts of that Province relating to land." The subject however was dropped, but again on the 17th July 1867 it was taken up, when Mr. (afterwards Sir C.) Strachey introduced another Bill, the object of which was "to define the rights of Taluqdars and others in certain estates in Oudh and to regulate the succession thereto." This Bill subsequently became Act I of 1869, but it is not perfect. The recent two provisional Impartible Estates Act in Madras and the larger one, shortly promised, show that the earnest attention of the Government has at last been drawn to this vital subject. It is to be hoped that this tendency of the times will penetrate into the Native States too. The Government of India and the misguided Native States can do worse than apply the English law of inheritance to the Indian Aristocracy.

ONE OF THE CLASS.

ART. VIII.—THE ERUKALAS.

THE Erukalas are a wandering tribe numbering, according to the last census 65,513 and found living in moveable huts of bamboo or palm leaves, measuring six cubits by three, in Telegu districts. A shade darker than the people around them, they are marked by well cut features and a supple and wiry frame.

Some trade in salt, and are called after the article they trade in; others sell certain dry leaves, (*Murraya Exotica*) and hanging receptacles of rope to put pots of curd and ghee in. It is these that subsist also by theft. A third class, called after their special work, furnish brushes for weavers, and women of this class stay no more than three days in a village and live solely by soothsaying: what the gentle art may owe to the rule of three days in a village, is not hard to guess.

Ordinarily the men breed pigs and asses, make baskets, sell sheep and goat skins. The women, when they are not basket making, tell fortunes equipped with a winnow, and a string of cowries, representing their family goddess winnow away all the harder facts and fears bred of them,—introducing in their place, soothing fancies in the troubled bosoms of their sisters who have been, perhaps, many times mothers.

The men, except of the section trading in salt (Upper Erukalas) wear no clothes except a narrow strip 6 cubits long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubits broad which hangs from the waist. It is specially woven for their use and colored dark-red except in the case of the brush-making Erukalas, when it is white. They have in addition a cloth-belt (*kāsi-kōka*) of the same color. This statement does not include a head-dress which they are never without, and an upper cloth which they sometimes put on. To wear clothes like a Sudra is considered a breach of caste-etiquette, and he runs the risk of a similar aspersion if he subjects the hair of his head to the razor.

Their womankind are distinguished from others around them by the more than usually narrow border of their cloths, and the absence of the all but universal tali, in place of which they put a string of little black beads (*karimani*). Besides, the right hand of wives is reserved for brass bracelets, as the left is for clay ones, and there may be no interchange of bracelets. The widow breaks her clay bracelets.

The Erukala man and woman are favourite characters in rural theatres; their language, a modified form of Tamil, their abruptness of manner, their frequent shake of the head

at the end of every sentence, their superabundant use of the gutterals are imitated to the intense delight of the audience.

The men are married at about sixteen to girls who have attained puberty. For three days during marriage the bridegroom may wear clothes like the Sudra. He distributes to all of his relations, young and old, half a measure of rice and swine's flesh. He pays to the parents of the bride thirty-nine rupees, and will be excused the payment of seventeen rupees provided that he becomes the father of two girls. Divorces are easily obtained by the unwilling husband as well as by the unwilling wife. The erring wife will have to pay thirty-six rupees to her husband. Even the innocent wife, who for no fault of hers is given up by a self-willed husband, will not be allowed to marry again till the husband is given four annas (4 Dabbus) and a pig.

No compensation is supposed to make the erring wife acceptable again to the husband. She can however marry seven times.

After marriage, the son leaves the parental roof and establishes a home for himself. The grown-up son will be provided with a hut, pot, sickle, cock, pig, and four measures of grain and is started in life. The Erukala worships Venkateswara and is frequently named after him; and another god named Satya furnishes a common name, but the deity of the tribe is Kūlapūri Amna whom they represent by an image made of mud and ornament with saffron, they sacrifice lambs, sheep, fowl and pigs to her. They have no priests, though Zangans assist at the funerals.

They will not eat bats, asses, buffaloes, bulls, and cats. They drink and smoke though in moderation,—and that they do not eat any variety of snakes or crows or kites, is, it is hoped, no feeble testimony to the Erukals extreme self-control. There is a caste tribunal to which all their disputes are referred. It is a mark of distinction that the Erukala, though he often has dealings in money on no inconsiderable scale, avoids the law courts and would rather appeal to the caste tribunal. Transactions between Erukala and Erukala are not uncommonly by word of mouth, and even when reduced to writing are rarely stamped or registered.

The incredibly heavy bill of costs in litigation in the caste-courts of the Erukals will give a sigh of relief even to the much criticised British Courts of Justice in India. Identical language and certain identical habits have led to the belief that the Erukala is essentially of the same stock as the Kurava of the Tamil districts for both talk Tamil. The names Kurava and Erukala seem to mean "soothsaying," the mark by which they are known in the several countries they live in. "Ku-

rava" is, in the language of the Erukala a synonym of soothsaying as also the name by which one Erukala refers to another of his caste. "Eruka" is a Telegu word meaning knowledge and prophecy. The varying costs of justice in caste tribunals is a feature common to these two classes.

It may be noted that the Erukala have family names while the Kurava have none,—but the family names consist of Telegu words denoting "cradle," etc. This fact is consistent with the identity of stock, and is sufficiently explained by their long sojourn in a Telegu country.

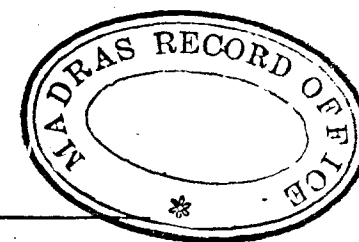
Different habits have been contracted by each section in their adopted home, but the memory of other habits is not extinguished. The Erukala women ties no tali and the Kurava does. But the Erukals have a tradition, that their elders who went out to bring the tali and the pipe, have not as yet returned, and that black beads do service for the tali, and the bell for the pipe.

The women of the Erukala tribe never undertake tattooing or ear-boring, whereas the Kurava women always do. Once the Erukala woman misbehaves herself she is cast away and her dereliction would not be condoned for payment of any amount.

The Erukala's gods are, besides Venkateswara, Satya and Kulapuri Amna, and the Kurava's is Subrahmanya by pre-eminence. It may be noted by the way that the Brahmin thief in the earliest Sanskrit drama mocks this god as the patron-saint of thieves.

The Erukala does not, like the Kurava, bury the dead around the hut he dwells in. He burns or buries the dead according to the means, at his disposal,—the aged are, by preference burnt.

A. SRINIVASAN.



ART. IX.—SANSKRIT LEARNING IN INDIA.

SANSKRIT has a vast literature. The works in Sanskrit greatly outnumber those in Greek and Latin put together. In a catalogue of Sanskrit MSS published in 1891 the number of single works amounts to 32,000 and several thousands have been brought to notice since then. With the progress of civilization not only the various Provinces of the Indian Empire but also the countries of Tibet, China, Japan, Central Asia, Mongolia, and even the backward Indo-Chinese Peninsula add to our knowledge of Sanskrit and Sanskritic Works.

This literature requires careful study, because in it are written the scriptures of three great religious systems of the world, namely, Hinduism, northern Buddhism, and Digambara Jainism, not to say anything of the scriptures of southern Buddhism and Svetambara Jainism and of the numerous religious sects of India, which are never well understood without a thorough mastery of the Sanskrit language and its literature. Of the religious literatures written in Sanskrit proper, one is the most ancient, going back, by the lowest calculation, to the fifteenth century before Christ, and the other has the widest currency in Northern Asia. If the scriptures of a religion can give importance to a language, the importance of Sanskrit is unquestionable.

But religion is not the only subject on which Sanskrit bases its claim to importance. It has a vast scientific and a vast arts literature, taking the word arts in the widest acceptance of the term, including poetry, drama, fiction, philosophy, history, tradition, including divine, human, domestic and social law and the law of the lawyers.

As regards science, the Indians did all they could by observation and observation alone. Experiments were just dawning upon them when their country was overwhelmed by the Muhammadan conquest. In the medical science of the Hindus, in which no trace has yet been discovered of any foreign influence, more than 400 works have been traced by my friend Dr. Cordier now working at Pondichery, and Indian medical science is now a subject of admiration and study in Europe. What progress they made in Chemistry is a subject of investigation by an eminent professor of a neighbouring college. In pure Mathematics they are not only the early teachers of the world but they made eminent progress, though they have been far outstripped by modern discoveries and researches in Europe. In Astronomy they not only made

a beginning, but with the help of the Yavanas made a substantial progress and they were making steady advance when the Muhammadan conquest overtook them. They have now been left behind by the discoveries and inventions of the past four centuries in Europe. From Vrihat Sanhita and other works it appears that they made a beginning in various departments of physical science so far as observation was concerned and made many bold speculations, though they have been greatly surpassed by the Scientists of modern Europe.

The stupendous temples of Southern India, the living pictures of Bhubaneswar, and the beautiful paintings in the caves on the Godavary, show what fine progress they made in architecture, sculpture, and painting. They had their books on all these subjects. Their great progress in fine art is attested by the fact that they enumerated these arts as 64, and all these 64 had each its literature. I have seen works on dancing, acting, mimicry and so forth. Their dramaturgy had a considerable literature.

But the branches of knowledge in which they achieved great eminence are philosophy, poetry and science of language. It is generally said that the Hindus have six systems of Philosophy. But the six is a misnomer. Madhava in the fourteenth century enumerates sixteen different systems but modern research has discovered many more, each with a distinct aim, with a distinct object, and a distinct method of reasoning; the study of Hindu Philosophy has only just dawned in Europe and it is with pardonable pride that the Indian Brahmanas observe that eminent European thinkers give their philosophy the highest place in transcendental speculations of the world.

Indian poetry fired the imagination even of the greatest poet of Europe in the 19th century who, however, had seen only a very faint translation of one or two works of Sanskrit Poetry.

In linguistic speculations India always had a high place, and as soon as these speculations reached Europe it gave rise to what is called the science of language, one of the greatest achievements of Europe in the 19th century, the eminent initiators of which acknowledge their unequivocal obligation to Sanskrit.

History is the only branch of knowledge in which the Indians are said to have been deficient and the blame is considered to be well deserved. But history began to be written so far back as 610 A. D. and recent researches have brought to light many works of local and contemporary history.

Indian law books began to be written immediately after the Vedas; the oldest extant is said to have been written 1,000 years before Christ. They were at first in the aphoristic form. Then they were written in verse, in which form most

of the original law books are found. Then there were commentaries and at last came codification. It is impossible to say how many different codes were made out of the old materials. The law began to be codified as early as the ninth century and almost in every country there was a code. Some countries again changed their codes more than once; so the law codes themselves form a vast body of literature.

English education in India by introducing the advanced methods of scientific study, by initiating historical investigations, and by fostering wider acquaintance of various countries, their peoples, their sciences and their thoughts, has done a service to India the value of which cannot be overestimated. India will remain ever indebted to those eminent men who initiated the bold idea of educating the children of India in English. But in doing so they thought they were working on a *carte blanche* and took no notice of what India already possessed and so while English education received Government patronage, Sanskrit was left to the Pandits single-handed. That they have succeeded in preserving it so long is a credit to them.

But they are labouring under a great disadvantage. There are two classes of learned men now in India—The Pandits, and the University men, but they are mutually exclusive of each other. The Pandits would see nothing in University men but the destroyers of their old religious, social, and domestic order, and the University men would see nothing but unflinching upholders of old social and domestic abuses in the Pandits. Mutual sympathy is absolutely wanting. A Pandit may sometimes be an admirer of an University man or the system under which he is trained, or an University man may be an admirer of a Pandit or of the system under which he is educated, but without mutual study such admiration is a blind admiration and is often apt to work mischief.

There is only one institution in all India where such a mutual study is possible and that is the Calcutta Sanskrit College. It was started at a time when the policy was to educate Indian people in Indian classics with English as a subsidiary study, and it has fortunately survived so many educational revolutions in the Empire and is now entering the 79th year of its existence. Here Young Hindu lads begin their Sanskrit and their English at the lowest of their school classes and pass through all the University examinations up to the B.A. and through an examination system of the College and then appear at the M. A. examination in Sanskrit, and become an M.A. in Sanskrit. The college examinations are by no means easy tests and they embrace all English subjects plus several papers

in Sanskrit. There are three such tests: one in the second class of the school department; one in the first year class of the College Department; and the last in the third year class. It no doubt is a strain on the students, and it is a matter of congratulation that we get students at all. Some wonder that the Sanskrit College is not a large institution with several hundred students. But the difficulties and the strain retard many from joining it.

There are two classes of men who would gladly join it and study with eminent success, but they are unfortunately too poor, and cannot bear the cost of living in a costly city like Calcutta; namely the children of the Pandits and Vaidyas, and these are for many centuries accustomed to a subsidised education and to them to incur cost for education is a strange novelty. This College is likely to produce eminent results if there is a free hostel in which at least 50 students can be boarded and lodged.

The institution has a College and a School Department and it is affiliated to the Calcutta University, which makes no concession to the hardworking students of this institution by relaxing in their favour the hard and fast rule of having many-compulsory subjects. It has an Oriental Department in which students qualify themselves for the Government Sanskrit Examinations: the Adya and Madhya and the Upadhi. There is no special allotment of professors for this department; the professors of the College lecture here too. There are 21 groups of subjects in which a Sanskrit student may get this Upadhi or title, and we have arrangements for teaching 7 of these groups, and our present Director of Public Instruction, Mr. A. J. Pedler, F.R.S., C.I.E., is doing his best to arrange for the teaching of a few groups more to make the Oriental Department a model Tol in this Province. We have arrangements for drill and for drawing; and the formation of a gymnasium has been proposed. We are now teaching two groups of M. A. subjects with a great strain on the professorial staff who have often to work 4 and 5 hours a day, more than this we are at present not in a position to do. A considerable portion of my time is taken up with the research scholars two in number, one of whom is studying paleography and the other investigating the Vaisnava Literature.

The principal of the Sanskrit College is also the Registrar of the Sanskrit Examinations which are conducted by the Sanskrit Professors of this College with the help of experts from *toles*, under his direct supervision and under the control of the Director of Public Instruction. The popularity of these Examinations is evinced by the fact that undergraduates

of the Calcutta University and Acharyas and Sastris of Benares and Lahore, and even the Mahavidvate of distant Mysore have begun to appear at these examinations. Last year 162 students appeared at the Upadhi Examination, of whom 62 passed, 1,024 appeared at the Madhya Examination, of whom 362 passed, and 2,643 appeared at the Adya Examination, of whom 655 passed. In these Examinations one student takes up one subject only and the taking of many subjects is unknown.

HARA PRASAD SHASTRI.

ART. X.—GENESIS OF "THE CALCUTTA REVIEW."

WHEN noticing the appearance of the new quarterly number of the *Calcutta Review*, we remarked that the *Review*, having been established in 1844, is now 58 years of age; and we availed ourselves of the opportunity to predict for it a "prolonged and useful career." It is the vigorous offspring of Sir John Kaye, its first Editor, and its destinies have been editorially guided since that eminent historian vacated the chair by the Rev. A. Duff, Mr. W. S. Mackay, Mr. T. Smith, Dr. George Smith, Mr. Meredith Townsend, Mr. J. Newmil, Sir Richard Temple, Mr. T. Pedsal, Mr. W. Hieley, Mr. W. H. Beverley, Sir Roper Lethbridge, Mr. J. W. Furrell, Dr. MacCann, Mr. G. A. Stack, Mr. H. A. D. Phillips and Mr. A. M. Cameron, its present Editor being the Rev. A. Saunders Dyer. The first number was published in Calcutta in May, 1844, and passed through three editions. It was printed by Messrs. Sanders and Cones, and it was sold, according to the announcement on the pale brown cover, by "Messrs. Thacker, Messrs. Ostell, Messrs. Lattey and Co., and Messrs. G. C. Hay and Co., Calcutta; Messrs. Pharaoh and Co., Madras. Messrs. Robert Frith and Co., Bombay; Messrs. Smith, Elder and Co. Edinburgh, and Messrs. W. Curry and Co., Dublin." (The *Review* is now printed and published by the City Press, and is also sold by Messrs. Thacker, Spink and Co., and "all booksellers in Calcutta," by Messrs. Higginbotham and Co., in Madras, and by Messrs. Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., in London.) It bore on its title-page, as all successive numbers have done, the following extract from Milton:—

"No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world; and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away."

The first number opened with an "Advertisement," corresponding to the "*Apologia pro vita sua*," with which, on the 14th December, 1868, the *Madras Mail* made its first appearance. Presumably this advertisement was written by Sir John Kaye. It set out with the statement that the *Review* was "projected at the suggestion of an earnest and able friend who had been deploring the want of some such vehicle for the publication of papers of a more lengthy and elaborate character than is adapted to the columns of a daily or weekly newspaper." So "a few able and experienced writers" were consulted, and they

gave "such cheerful and kindly promises of assistance, and such assurances of the ultimate success of the undertaking" that the proprietor determined to make the venture. He refrained from giving an "elaborate Prospectus," yet he explained at some length the objects he had in view. He especially desired to awaken interest in Indian affairs, "to induce a thirst for information;" then to "supply that information;" and finally to "teach the application of it to the most beneficial uses." It seemed to him that the bane of the country was ignorance, not ignorance as "to the dark recesses of native life" so much as ignorance "in high places—among the ruling body—among the men to whom inscrutable Providence has submitted the destinies of India." He warned the readers of the *Review* to expect slight discrepancies of opinion in its pages; for it would be his object to assist them in regarding public questions from various points of view. He would hold himself responsible for the character, the principles, the purity of the intentions, and the earnest aspirations after the good of their fellows, of his associates or contributors, but he was anxious that each should express himself without restraint. The different writers might work by different roads, but towards the same goal. He was confident of "preserving general harmony of opinion," and he was "desirous of preserving nothing more."

This number contained six articles in its 256 exceedingly well printed pages, corresponding closely in appearance to those of the *Quarterly Review*. These articles dealt with the English in India, Lord Teignmouth, the earliest Protestant Mission to India, the war in China, the rural population of Bengal, and the Amirs of Sindh. The first article ran to 42 pages, and was followed by another article of 79 pages in the second number of the *Review*. The two articles contain an elaborate survey of the advance in the *morale* of Anglo-Indians during the half century previous to 1844, together with a retrospect of the bearing and conduct of Europeans before that period which is not very agreeable reading. The first article commenced as follows:—

"Not very many years have passed away since even well-informed people in England knew little more about an Anglo-Indian than that he was very rich, very yellow, and very ill-tempered; that he dwelt in a country where fevers and liver complaints were abundant; where tigers and mosquitoes preyed on the human race, where hookahs were smoked and widows burned, and curry eaten, and wealth acquired; that he left England young, healthy, and poor, and came back old, decrepit, and rich; that he spent a life of luxurious solitude and wretchedness, and brought home his ill-gotten wealth to bestow it, after a few years of isolation and discontent, upon some distant relative, or compliant friend, who had invested his patience in a profitable market, and borne with the old man's

humours to the last. These liver decayed old Indians were principally useful in bad novels and worse comedies. They appeared in the third volume, or the fourth Act, to make a virtuous maiden happy for life, or to disconcert the schemes of some unprincipled nephew (for it will be observed that in novels and comedies old Indians are always uncles), to the consummation of poetical justice and the advancement of public morals."

And this profound, general, and careless ignorance about the accuracy of the representation of "old Indians" by novelists and dramatists, was allied with a corresponding ignorance, which was more excusable, of the geography of India:—

"Little more was known than that Calcutta and Madras were somehow or other two of the principal components of India; that the climate was very hot, and very unhealthy; and that the Great Mogul, the hero of the playing cards, was one of its most magnificent potentates. Whether Madras was in Calcutta, or Calcutta in Madras, or whether they were contiguous cities, like London and Westminster; whether Tippu Sultan was the Great Mogul, or whether the Great Mogul was one of the Princesses of Oude; all these were questions which only the very knowing were competent satisfactorily to solve."

Reference was then made to a novel written in 1819, and that enjoyed some popularity in its day, wherein the heroine is said to have proceeded to Madras up the River Hooghly, while another person is described as spending his time between Calcutta and Madras as though they were as close as London and Hampstead. It is not improbable that, notwithstanding the peregrinations of the British pedagogue since 1844, the mind of the average Briton is now almost as much a blank as to the position of Calcutta and Madras in Hindustan as was the mind of his grandsires and great-grandsires. We ourselves recently at a dinner overheard a member of the British Government enquire of a lady, who had alluded to Kashmir, whether Kashmir was not a delightful town. We were tempted to marvel at this illustration of the ignorance of "the Hon'ble Member" for a Borough that we will not name; but the still, the stern voice of conscience asked us whether we ourselves, notwithstanding we had passed many a long year in India, would care to offer ourselves for examination in the geography of the Central Provinces, the Punjab, Sind and so forth.

The essayist shows how knowledge of India had been increased by the development and improvement of the means of communication between England and India—especially by that establishment of a "regular steam communication between the town countries," which has "made every Englishman and Englishwoman, in the three Presidencies, a periodical letter-writer"—as also by the taking of furlough at

comparatively short intervals. "The establishment of a regular line of Government steamers from Bombay, and of the Oriental and Peninsular Company's noble steam-ships from Calcutta, has increased still more the home-going tendency; and we not seldom find a hundred passengers embarking, in a single month, on board the *Hindustan*, or *Bentinck*." Those "noble steam-ships," built in 1842 and 1843 with a measurement of 2,017 and 1,974 tons, respectively, and each with 520 horse power, were a notable advance on the East Indiamen which had hitherto sailed so leisurely round the Cape; but they were very inconsiderable as compared with the largest vessel of the P. and O. Company's present fleet, *viz.*, the *Persia*, of 7,951 tons, 11,000 horse power, which is itself to be eclipsed next autumn by the *Moldavia*, 10,000 tons, 14,000 horse power. And it may be added that the four Mail steamers that arrive at or leave Bombay every month, are capable of accommodating rather more than 2,000 first and second class passengers between them.

One way and another, the race of "genuine old Indians"—men who had passed 30 or 40 years in India at a stretch, had become nearly extinct in 1844, or at least specimens of the "ancient flock" could only be found at the Oriental Club, in Hanover Square, or sauntering aimlessly along the streets of Cheltenham. "Ere long," therefore, "a regular, liver-diseased, parchment-faced, shivering, querulous rich old Indian, who feels himself when at Home as in a foreign land, so strange and distasteful to him are its manners and customs, will have become as rare as a mummy." On the other hand, the new race of Anglo-Indians were already "plenty (*sic*) as blackberries." Even in 1844 the Indian Officer or Civilian returning to England was "very much like the rest of the world," for "he has brushed up all his old English habits and feelings, once at least before his ultimate retirement," and he was "only a few months," on his arrival at Home, "behind the London world in his knowledge of public events, a new tariff, or a new dancer." Men from India were no longer "necessarily old, necessarily yellow, or necessarily rich." If they differed much from other members of society, it was in being "a good deal less stiff, and somewhat more liberal." They would, therefore, have been somewhat of a surprise to an "old Indian resident of 1770 or 1780" were he to have been raised from the grave. And that venerable person, had he revisited familiar haunts in India, would have been struck by the improvement in appearance of the European portion of the towns, especially of the capital, Calcutta. No longer, for example, would he have found in that metropolis an absence of glass windows in houses to exclude the hot air. But, had he come to Madras, he would

have observed that a large proportion of its houses "are deficient in this essential item of comfort." And the essayist remarks that "in Calcutta people shut up their houses, while in Madras they throw them open. In the former the chief object is to exclude the wind, the dust, and the glare; in the latter, to admit the Madrassi's boast, the delightful sea-breeze."

The remark of Mr. Forbes in his "Oriental Memoirs" is quoted, that, about the year 1790, "the English houses at Bombay are neither so large nor elegant as those at Calcutta and Madras." Similarly, the Rev. James Cordiner, describing his visit to Madras in 1798, (of which more anon) stated that the "houses are good, and are generally of two storeys high." He added:—"But few people live constantly in them; in the afternoon they are almost all empty, and the town looks quite deserted. The better sort of inhabitants at Madras may be said to live altogether in the country. Every gentleman has a villa at a little distance from the town. The ladies seldom approach the Fort; very few of them attend Divine Service there on Sunday; and the gentlemen use it only as the scene of business; they repair thither after breakfast, and return to their villas before dinner. Their conveyances are palanquins and carriages. Walking abroad is a thing unknown among Europeans." So it would appear that rather more than a century ago our predecessors had ceased to reside in the Fort and had built for themselves many of the really handsome "garden-houses" that still adorn the Mount Road, Nungumbaukum, Chetput, Kilpauk, Teynampett, the Luz and the Adyar. The "pagoda tree" still flourished in the land and our predecessors never wearied of shaking it. So, according to Mr. Cordiner, "all classes of European Society" in Madras "live sumptuously, and many individuals expend from two to ten thousand pounds each annually in maintaining their households. The economy of their tables is entrusted entirely to native servants, who load them with dishes of solid meat estimating the goodness of the dinner by the quantity which they crowd upon the board; and in most houses there is but a scanty supply of vegetables. Even rice and curry, the staple food of the country, are often omitted, probably because they are common; but they are the best and most wholesome nourishment which India affords."*

* This Paper appeared in the *Madras Weekly Mail*, and it is reprinted here, by the kind permission of the Editor.

ART. XI.—HELLENISM AND HINDUISM.

A SCIENTIFIC comparison of Hellenism and Hinduism would be a work of great interest to the world. It would however require (besides personal qualifications in the writer) time and a good library, advantages which are not available in India, and when it does appear, it will issue, I suppose, from some intellectual hive in Europe. In the meantime I offer the readers of the *Calcutta Review* a few notes or suggestions on the subject.

Our comparison will naturally begin with the physical aspect of Hellas and Hindostan. Both are sunny lands, but the sun of Hellas though not less glorious is milder than the sun of Hindostan. One however is a land of great mountains, the other a land of plains. One is small, so small that the sea is never far distant; the other many times as large, so large that to nearly all its people the sea is little more than a name. Moreover, the coast of Hellas is deeply indented, full of natural openings and harbours, while the many neighbouring islands make navigation easy; India, on the other hand, lies remote from the rest of the world and presents few hospitable openings to the stranger. Hellas is a land of great natural beauty, the same cannot be said of the plains of India, though it is true of the mountain ranges. In point of natural fertility we may on the whole count the two countries equal, though the history of Greece shows nothing parallel to the failure of the rains in India.

In what extent these natural differences have affected the characters of Greeks and Hindus, it is not here proposed to enquire. The tendency to explain character as the result of surroundings has probably been carried too far; and the subject may be left with this caution. At any rate the usual line of argument is familiar to educated people, and they will easily reply it for themselves.

Another topic that I must put aside is the ethnological comparison. Experts are still engaged, I believe, in finding out how complex this really is, and one can only wait for the time when they will be able to put before the public some substantial and intelligible results.

Let us then turn to the outward aspects of Hindu and Greek society. We must remember here, and throughout our comparison, that small as the Greek world was, what we know of it belongs chiefly to the one town of Athens; while under the term Hindu are associated peoples of somewhat different characters. In colour the Greeks were dark, pro-

bably sallow rather than brown; their features as far as I know, were more or less peculiar to themselves; they had the Grecian nose which is not common in Europe, large eyes and thin lips. It is not easy to fix on a Hindu type of feature, but in any case it would not resemble the Greek. They were bodily more active than Hindus; there are certainly Hindus who are fond of wrestling and games, but races are, I believe, unknown in Hindu history. The Greek dress resemble that of the ancient Hindus before the Mahommedan invasions; but the Greeks never wore the profusion of ornaments that has always delighted rajahs of ancient and modern times. As a contrast with this their furniture was more ornate and luxurious. I wish I could say something about their ideas of cleanliness, but knowledge entirely fails me on this subject. We *hear* in Greek literature plenty about washing and bathing, but that does not settle the point.

If we compare the course of history in the two peninsulars of India and Greece we find it widely different. Indian history is much longer than that of Greece. The short heyday of Greek splendour is without doubt the most wonderful period in the history of mankind. From Homer to Aristotle the interest was probably not more than 700 years; and it includes the rise and fall of two civilizations, with a change resembling that from Vedic to Puranic Hinduism. Among both peoples there were many little states, but in Greece their frontiers were strongly marked by nature, while in India natural frontiers on the whole are wanting. Yet attempts at imperial dominion were made in each case; the confederacy of Delos and the rule of Asoka; they took however a different complexion, from the prevalence of personal rule in India, and the development of the free state in Greece. Greece, before its final decline, was strong in self-defence; India, which has seen the triumph of the Aryan, the Scythian, the Moghal, and the European, has no Salamis or Plataea to remember.

Let us turn to social and political organisation. It may almost be said that the Athenians discarded all organisation that was not directly political. They retained the family in its smallest dimensions; trade guilds, I believe, either did not exist or were unimportant among them. Hinduism has developed the family idea into the joint family system; caste, I suppose, apart from its religious aspect, is mainly a system of industrial organisation, which has no parallel in Greece. Political organisation in India is represented by the village system, a genuine form but rudimentary compared with the city-state of Greece. The Hindu raja has no counterpart in the Greek system; he would be an arbitrary ruler, a tyrannos.

We are now able to draw some broad lines of contrast between Hellenic and the Hindu temper. The Hindus are without doubt a much more domestic people than the Greeks the family means a great deal more to them, and the state a great deal less. Homeric Greece is much nearer to Hinduism in this point than later Greece; Andromache and Penelope are probably not unlike women of Hindu legend. On the other hand there has never been in the Hindu world anything like the independence of the Athenian citizen, his resolution to know everything of public importance and handle great issues himself.

This individual independence is the keynote of the Greek character, and, as far as the general comparison of the Hindu and Hellenic systems may be summed up in a few words, the sum of the matter is that the Hindu system repressed and the Hellenic system sought to develop the individual. Of course human nature will assert itself; in each case some institutions and some schools of thought may be found when the opposite tendency ruled, but there are exceptions. Many little illustrations of the difference might be quoted; for instance the abundance of portrait busts in Hellas and their absence in Hinduism; the absence too of epitaphs.

One dominant feature of the Greek temper was a lively curiosity regarding the world. As soon as the Greek intellect began to stir, it put forth physical speculations, and by the time of Aristotle it had accumulated a great store of facts, ascertained by observation—meteorological, botanical and others. Amongst these were medical observations; the conditions of hygiene especially were scientifically studied. The Greek curiosity was also active in exploring the world outside Greece. There were from the first many books of travels containing reflections on foreign institutions and the possible origins of Greek civilization. Herodotus is only one of the books; many others have perished. Nor should we omit here the achievements of the Greek mathematicians. Some part of these enquiries were also undertaken by Hindus, and of late years there have been monographs published in which their achievements are estimated. I have not read them and only with diffidence hazard the opinion that the mass of work accomplished by Hindu writers was much less than that accomplished by the Greeks. I fancy also that their researches were trammelled by a mystic spirit which the Greek enquirers threw off altogether, and they resembled the alchemists of curiosity, regarding other nations or other regions of the world it appears that the Hindus never possessed the slightest share.

I reserve for a special paragraph what is closely connected

with this, the historical work of Greece. There had been nothing like it in the world before. It arose, as Thucydides and Herodotus both tell us of their own books, from the simple desire to put memorable facts on record; and it is distinguished on the whole by perfect sobriety, proportion and fidelity and fact. Hinduism did not produce work of this kind, its eyes were turned within rather than without itself.

Let us turn now to the moral ideals of the two races. Here we find ourselves with an intricate subject and in every way at opposite poles of thought. If we look at the critics emphasised by the great teachers on both sides, without entering on long catalogues, then probably the characteristic virtue in the Greek social ideal is justice, in the Hindu, compassion! Plato's Republic is chiefly concerned with this question of justice; how society may be so organised as to give every man his due share of the work to be done for it, and the benefit to be reaped from it. Plato and Aristotle have little to say about compassion and nothing at all about alms-giving. Of Hindu writers the converse is true. They do of course require justice from the state, as a protection against injury; but they do not discuss the organisation of social effort as the Greeks did—at all events not beyond division into four castes. But compassion is their standing theme. Again, their ideal of self-regarding virtues is different. The Greek ideal is temperance (an ineffectual translation), by which is meant the regulation of desires not so as to diminish desire, but so as to increase it to the uttermost, yet keeping it within the bounds of human nature and the possibility of satisfaction. The Hindu idea that objects of sense are disappointing and their pursuit brings vexation of spirit finds no countenance among the Greeks. They loved the world and held that under wise Government the desires of man are a privilege of his nature. This leads us to the ideal of human nature as a harmony. The noblest man, according to this ideal, is the man whose body is developed equally with his mind; and whose mind is developed equally in all its powers. If we contemplate the Hindu moral ideal as a contrast to this we are met by the initial difficulty that it is not simple but double. There is of course a Hindu ideal of culture. The education of a prince is sketched in Bana's *Kadambari*,* and certainly aims at a many-sided development of powers. Besides this, however, there is the Asiatic ideal, and that seems to me to have its roots far deeper in the Hindu temper. At any rate it is this which conflicts most strongly with Greece. We are bound to honour it most where it writes the impulse of self-denial with the virtue of

* For the purposes of this paper Buddhism may be regarded as a development of Hinduism.

compassion and becomes self-denial for the sake of others, an ideal scarcely recognised by the Greek moralists.

We may pass on from morality to religion. There are some aspects in which Greek and Hindu religion resemble each other, more so perhaps than we usually realise. Both are polytheisms, and it is probable that the popular polytheisms of the two races were much alike. It is when we come to the philosophic religion of the upper classes that we find differences. In the first place Hindus are distinctly a religious people, while the Greeks were not. If religion means the feeling that man lives in the presence of an unseen Power, and depends on Him, then this feeling, though not absent from the Greek mind was not so constantly present as it has been to Hinduism, nor was the idea of dependence so lively. As regards this power, Hinduism conceives it as dwelling, in its highest essence, in a state of repose; Greek thinkers conceive it as essentially active! Hinduism would assert that the Greeks never rise beyond the idea of Ishwara to that of Bramha; the Greeks, could they have been confronted with this view, would have regarded Bramha as a fiction, an abstraction, an illusion. With regard to the relation between God and the world, the Greeks conceived the world as ultimately real; and pervaded by the power of God, the "idea of the good" in Plato's language, which became the Logos of Christian doctrine. Hinduism regards the world as ultimately unreal. With regard to the relation of man and God, the Greeks devoted comparatively little thought to it. They rested satisfied too easily with the approach which man makes to the divine in the development of his powers; they did not reflect on the separation of sin (though they knew what purification means), nor on the nature of the ultimate union between man and God. Indeed, they concerned themselves little with this ultimate union; but it is clear that the repose of Nirvana and the loss of individuality would have been abhorrent to them.

The inner light, the buddhi of the East was not known to Greece, till it came there as a lesson from outside.

In saying all this it must not be forgotten that there were some important aspects of Greek religious life that are little known to us, the mysteries to the doctrines of the secret societies, such as the Pythagoreans. In connection with them the profound questions of man's destiny were raised and answered in various forms, even by the doctrine of metempsychosis, which at any rate tried and rejected by Hellenism.

I have said the Greeks were not so religious as the Hindus; they were more philosophic and artistic. Art is the instinct to give every creation of man its most perfect form, and is

naturally united with refinement of the senses. This refinement the Greeks possessed in supreme measure, and they possessed too the impulse to create and perfect. They realised the condition of artistic excellence—freedom. This condition of course applies to all human effort; and it in every direction it was attained by the Greeks. Their science was free from mysticism, their philosophy from religion, and their art from mythology. To be more accurate, their artists learned to take and reject; to draw their inspiration from mythology, yet to cast off the unsuitable elements. Thus there arose the divine union of inspiration and technical skill which the best art shows only at the best periods, and owing to the frailty of human nature disappears through the continued operation of the very causes that create it. The Greeks not only attained the psychological condition of artistic excellence, but they discovered its external formula—simplicity. Simplicity was an instinct with them, an instinct well seen in the contrast of Greek and Hindu logic. What simplicity means in art may be illustrated from a comparison of pillars in India and Greece. There are myriads of pillars in Hindu architecture, on some of which infinite labour has been expended, but it is when one compares them with the Greek orders that the true ideal of a pillar is disclosed. Of Hindu art it would be unfair to deny that it exists. Hindu music is a tone art, refined and intimate; and the carved work on Hindu temples sometimes shows genuine appreciation of symmetrical form. But Hindu art as a whole never attained very consciousness of its own worth and destiny. It existed to support religion, and was satisfied with putting before the public religious emblems in a recognisable form. In the representation of scenes it is satisfied with the intellectual ideal of making the spectator understand what is meant. It values too highly mere labour and iteration. It seldom goes to nature for its inspiration. In architecture it devised one or two real forms, but rested content too soon and stereotyped their forms by a canon which forbade development—a fate that overtook Hindu music too.

Literature to denote a few words to one more topic, is really a reflection of life and not a subject by itself. In point of language, Greek and Sanscrit may be supposed equal achievements, from the verdicts of the few who have been able to judge. As for excellence in different kinds of literature, there are of course branches arising out of the conditions of Greek life that are wanting in India, the eloquence of the free assembly, history in general; poetry of a personal character. Conversely, devotional poetry, which scarcely exists

* Aristotle describes God's nature as "an energy of repose" (*kinesis akinesias*.)

in Greek, furnishes a great part of Hindu writing. Epic poetry and the drama, as well as philosophy, both races have in common. If we consider the spirit of the two literatures, we may note one curious point in which early Sanscrit literature differs from classical Greek; it has more reference to the sights and sounds of external nature; but this in time passed away. Sanscrit literature from a Western point of view is wanting in historical and personal reminiscences, such as are found to perfection in Plutarch. What takes their place is mythological stories, which seem to a Western mind to belong to the childhood of the world.

Thus have we finished a brief survey of a very large field—though indeed we can scarcely say we have finished it without a glance at the passing of Greece. Her decline was swift and final. Desolating war and perhaps lawless vice brought it about, so far as we can see; but, be that as it may, the genius of the land left it for ever. Political independence, once lost to Macedon through their own corrupt disunion, the Greeks ceased to deserve or desire or possess. The course of Hindu history is a debatable matter, but it is clear that the Hindu world to-day resembles Greece of the first century B. C. in the loss of political independence and in the consciousness that its halcyon days lie in the past. The causes which have brought this about include, as in the case of Greece, war. It is a disputable point whether 'apart from this the genius of Hinduism would have declined from internal causes; but it is the tendency of Hinduism to close its canons too early in art and literature, and to leave the younger generations no field but repetitions and pedantic annotations. The foreign ascendancy under which Hinduism has passed differs from that which dominated Hellas in bringing its own culture.

This leads us then to a final point, the attitudes of Hinduism and Hellenism toward the world at large. Both had their natural share of contempt towards the foreigner, the "barbaros." But with the Greeks, in spite of their own great achievements, it did not perish; the best men among them were generous admirers of foreign nations; witness Herodotus in Egypt, Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, and Polybius' Roman history. Moreover, the Greeks were receptive of suggestions from foreign sources; many of their deities were imported, and in industry, literature and art they owed their first impulse to Egypt, Phœnicia and Assyria. We sometimes forget this in the blaze of their later achievements; yet we should not forget that throughout their history they opened their ears occasionally to a thing so clear as the mystic teaching of the East, which penetrated Pythagoras and Plato

and culminated at Alexandria in the Hellenic version of Christianity. This, however, belongs to the Hellenistic rather than the Hellenic world; the age when Greek ideas left Greece to permeate foreign nations and travel by their own interest power to Central Asia and Hindostan. Whether Hinduism has absorbed foreign elements, it is difficult to say, and we know so little about its history. It has been suggested by various writers that stone architecture, coins stamped in relief, the Epic and the Drama of Hindu literature are due to Greek influence; and the suggestion has been vigorously combated whether Hinduism did or did not in the Hellenistic age accept any suggestions from Greece, it has since that time ignored the external world, a thousand years of contact with Islam have produced no effect on it.

The modern European system is an attempt to fix the energetic and adventurous spirit of Hellenism with the spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice, which, without raising further controversy, we may call in general terms Eastern. The fusion is full of difficulty, and is far from perfect either as a matter of theory or practice. The last, however, is not likely to abandon it or to accept the quietistic ideal which admirers of the Hindu system recommend. The future of Hinduism no one can predict—certainly not an Englishman.

J. NELSON FRASER.

ART. XII—THE FOLK-LORE OF THE PSALMS.

THE PSALMS IN GENERAL.

Old Hymn in Praise of Psalms.—The following stanzas are interesting not only as exhibiting a very early specimen of English verse, in praise of the Psalter; but also as forming part of one of those 'Miracle Plays' with which the monks entertained and instructed our ancestors 400 years ago. The stanzas themselves occur in a drama entitled 'Mary's Betrothment,' and which is one of the 'Coventry Mysteries' so-called from their having been originally exhibited by the Gray Friars of that city. The MS, a quarto volume, is in the British Museum, and appears to have been written in 1468. The speaker, in the present instance, is the Virgin Mary.

Now, Lord God, dysspose me to prayour,
That I may sey the holy psalmes of Davyth,
Wheche book is clessyd the Sautere,
That I may preyse the, my God, therwith
Of the vertuys therof this is the pygth,
It makyth sowles fayr, that doth it say,
Angelys besteryd to help us therwith,
It lytenyth therknesse and puttyth devely away.

The song of Psalmns is Goddys dete,
Synne is put away therby :
It lernyth a man vertuys ful to be,
It feryth mannys herte gostly.
Who that it usyth customally,
It claryfieth the herte, and charyte' makyth cowthe,
He may not flaylen of Goddys mercy
That hath the preysenge of God evyr in his mouthe.

O holy Psalmys ! O holy book !
Swetter to say than any ony !
Thou lernyst hem love Lord, that on the book,
And makyst hym desyre thinges celestly,
With these halwyd psalmys, Lord, I pray specyaly
Ffor able the creatures guyke and dede,
That thou wylt shewe to hem thi mercy,
And to me specyaly; that do it rede.*

* Holland. *Psalmists of Britain*, p. 40.

Curious origin of the word Psalter and the reason for it.—
"Some call it the Psalter, as S. Augustine, S. Jerome and other of the Aunceants have tearmed it, and this name might be given for divers respects; either a *Psallendo* and for that it is written in verse, appertaining to musick; or else it was borrowed from that instrument whereunto it was usually sung; for that which the Jews called *Nebel* was an instrument which the *Latines* call *Psalterium*. It consisted of ten strings, and differed from the *viola* or Harpe, in that they gave forth their sound belowe and the *Psallery* above. Moreover some thinke that it might be called the Psalter in respect of the thing signified by that instrument; for the Psalter, on which they usually prayed God in the olde Law, had tenne strings, which signified the ten precepts of the Law; and by that the mystical Psalter of the Gospel was also figured; whose ten strings are the ten mysteries of Christ and his Church. The first string of this *Psallery* is a Trinitie of Persons, in the Unitie of essence. The 2nd is the mystere of the Incarnation and Nativitie of Christ. The 3rd is the mysteries of preaching and sanctitie of Christ. The 4th of his miracles. The 5th of his passion and death. The 6th of his resurrection. The 7th of his Ascension and Universal Sovereignitie. The 8th is the mystere of sending the Holy Ghost. The 9th of the call of the *Gentiles*. The 10th of the general Judgment and everlasting glory. These are the 10 strings we should often be harping on, to make music in our own hearts, and in the eares of our God."*

Early Name of Psalter.—In the early phraseology of the Eastern and Western Churches the Psalter is simply called *David*, e.g., in Chrysostom *ἐκμαθόντες ὅλον τὸν Δαβὶδ*, and at the close of the Ethiopic Psalter, "David is ended."†

A List of Psalms for Use, "principally compiled from the Epistle of S. Athanasius to Marcellinus, and not without its Use."

Prayer.—Psalms 17, 68, 90, 102, 132, 142.

In Prayer, with supplication for deliverance, Psalms 5, 6, 7, 12, 13, 16, 25, 27, 31, 35, 38, 43, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 61, 64, 83, 86, 88, 140, 141, 143.

In supplication for deliverance alone. Psalms 3, 26, 69, 70, 71, 74, 79, 80, 123, 130, 131.

In Confession of sins. Psalm 51.

If thou desirest to render thanks to God for His many

* John Wither.

† Delitzsch's *Commentary*, vol. i

Marvels, or on the accomplishment of some good work, Psalms 8, 81.

If thou desirest to know how others praise God, Psalms 113, 117, 125, 146, 147, 148, 150.

If thou desirest to stir up thyself to bless God, Psalms 103, 104.

If thou desirest to praise God, Psalms 92, 105, 106, 107, 108, 112, 136, 138.

If thou desirest to sing to God, Psalms 93, 98.

If thou desirest to remember the mercy and justice of God, Psalm 101.

If thou desirest to exhort to faith and obedience, Psalm 41.

If thou desirest to show to others of what kind is the man who is a citizen of heaven, Psalms 15, 24.

If thou desirest to ridicule heretics or Gentiles, Psalm 76.

If thou beholdest heretics gathered together against the House of God, Psalm 83.

If thou desirest to convince heretics, Psalm 87.

If thou desirest to remember the benefit of the redemption of man, Psalms 8, 87, 116 (verse 10 to end).

If thou desirest to admire Sermons, and the grace of the preacher, Psalm 19.

If thou wouldest remember the Incarnation of our Lord, Psalms 45, 110.

If thou wouldest remember the Lord, Psalms 22, 69.

If thou wouldest sing of the Resurrection, Psalms 16, 66.

If thou wouldest remember the Ascension, Psalms 24, 47.

If thou wouldest call to remembrance the future judgment, Psalms 50, 72.

If thou wouldest commemorate martyrs, Psalm 79.

If thou wouldest praise God on Festivals, Psalms 81, 95.

If thou wouldest sing on Good Friday, Psalm 93.

If thou wouldest sing on Saturday, Psalm 92.

If thou wouldest return thanks on Sunday, Psalms 34, 119.

The Name of the Psalter as the title of the Book, is derived from the Alexandrine MS. of the LXX.—*ψαλτήριον μετ' ᾠδαῖς*,—The Harp with Songs.*

Psalms and their Headings.—It ought to be noticed that in the performance of psalmody, the headings or titles of the Psalms seem always to have been recited. It is well known that in his popular sermons on the Psalms, S. Augustine often makes a great deal out of the strange words which the English reader commonly passes quite unnoticed. Indeed, he speaks of the title as the herald of the Psalm (*heraldico Psalmi*). In

* Stanley's, *Jewish Church* II, p. 120.

this respect Christianity probably followed what had always been (and still is) the usage of the synagogue, where the title is always recited as an integral part of the Psalm, when the Psalm is used for devotional purposes, either by a single individual, or by the assembled multitude.*

Authors and Titles of Psalms.—With regard to the Authors of the Psalms, S. Jerome makes the following statement; "we bear witness that the Psalms were written by those Authors whose names appear in their titles,—viz., by David, Asaph, and Jeduthun (or Ethan); by the sons of Korah, by Heman the Ezrahite, by Moses and by Solomon; all which were arranged in one volume or roll by Ezra. If by the name titles we understand the superscription in the *Hebrew* original (not those also which have been added in the Greek and other versions), we may accept this declaration as correct. In confirmation of it, it may be observed that the ancient Hebrew Church received the titles (which specify the names of the Authors) as integral parts of the Psalms to which they are prefixed.

Consequently these titles were justly regarded by ancient interpreters as of great value, not only as indicating the names of the Authors of the Psalms, but also as specifying the occasions on which they were written." S. Augustine calls the titles the "*heralds* of the Psalms" also "decorations upon the brow of Psalms" (*Enarrations on Psalm lviii at beginning*).

S. Chrysostom compares them to the statues which kings erect to victorious generals (*in Homily on Psalms iii at beginning*).

S. Jerome (li—122) calls them "the *keys* which open the doors of the Psalms to us." (*Proæmium to the Psalms*.) The titles found in the Hebrew MSS. are of course given in our Bible version—being a translation from the original.†

Titles of Anonymous Psalms.—A Rabbinic Canon, referred to by Hilary and Jerome—probably a mere hasty generalization from what is really the case in the first three books of the Psalter—enacts that all anonymous psalms shall be deemed the compositions of the Authors named in the superscriptions last preceding. In virtue of this Canon the Jewish critics from the time of Jerome downwards have assigned the ninety-first and nine following Psalms to Moses.‡

* Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, p. 1754.

† Wordsworth's *Commentary*, vol. iv, p. xii.

‡ Thrupp on the *Psalms* vol. ii, p. 120.

List of Authors of Psalms.—Moses of one Psalm (90).

David of 73 (37 in Book i: 18 in Book ii: 1 in Book iii: 2 in Book iv: 15 in Book v).

Solomon, of 2 (Psalms 72 and 127).

Asaph of 12 Psalms (see in Psalms 50).

Sons of Korah (including Heman the Ezrahite) of 11 Psalms.

Ethan or Jeduthun of one Psalm (Psalm 89).

"This makes a total of 100 Psalms, leaving 50 anonymous."

The Alphabetical or Acrostic Psalms are 9 in number, Psalms 9, 10, 25, 34, 37, 111, 112, 119, 145*.

No Title.—There are only 33 of the Psalms that have no title at all, and these are called by the Jews "Orphan Psalms."†

The Superscriptions of the Psalms are designed to serve a variety of purposes:—

1. They sometimes indicate the *writers* of the respective Psalms. The Psalmists thus named in them are Moses, David, Asaph, Solomon, the sons of Korah, and the Ezrahites.

2. Sometimes they indicate the *character* of the Psalms. One Psalm is entitled "a (psalm of) Praise"; others "a song;" or "a psalm or song;" very many, "a psalm;" a considerable number, a "Maschil" or instruction. "Michtaim" and "Shiggaion" are understood to be words of the same order, but their precise meaning has not been quite ascertained.

3. Sometimes they convey *direction regarding the music*. Thus: "on Nehiloth" (Psalm v) denotes the accompaniment of *flutes*. "On Neginoth" (Psalms iv, vi, liv, lv, lxi, lxvi, lxvii) the accompaniment of *stringed instruments*.

4. Several relate to the sort of use for which the Psalms were designed. Thus fifty-five are inscribed to the "Chief Musician," and three of these the name of "Jeduthun" is added. Fifteen are entitled "Songs of Degrees" or of *goings up to Jerusalem to the feasts*. The xcii Psalm is entitled "a psalm or song for the Sabbath day," and is thus marked as the one which was constantly sung in the temple on that day.‡

Fixing the Dates of the Psalms.—Instructive as it would be to fix the dates of each of the various Psalms, as of each book in the Bible, there are limits beyond which our ignorance

* Wordsworth's *Commentary*, vol. iv, p. xii.

† *The Psalms: Their History, Teaching, etc.* by Dr. Binnie, p. 51.

‡ *Christ and His Church in the Book of Psalms* by Rev. A. Bonar.

forbids us to venture, and within which we must acquiesce in the warning voice which the Ancient Rabbi was reported to have heard, when he attempted to re-arrange the Psalter. 'Arouse not the slumberer'—that is 'Disturb not David.'*

Table of Verses of the Psalms Quoted in the New Testament:—

Psalm	Verse	Quoted in	Psalm	Verse	Quoted in
II.	1-2.	Acts. IV, 25, 26	XXXIV.	13.	1 S. Pet. III, 3, 10
II.	7.	" XIII, 33	XXXV.	19.	S. Jno. XV, 25
II.	9.	Rev. II, 27	XXXVI.	2.	Rom. III, 18
V.	10.	Rom. III, 13	XL.	7.	Heb. X, 5
VIII.	3.	S. Matt. XXI, 16	XLI.	9.	S. Jno. XIII, 18
VIII.	5.	Heb. II, 6	XLIV.	22.	Rom. VIII, 36
VIII.	6.	I cor. XV, 27	XLV.	7-8.	Heb. i, 8, 9
X.	7.	Rom. III, 14	LI.	6.	Rom. III, 4
XIV.	1.	Rom. III, 10	LXVIII.	19.	Eph. IV, 8
XVI.	8.	Acts II, 28	LXIX.	10.	Rom. XV, 3
XVIII.	50.	Rom. XV, 9	LXIX.	10.	S. Jno. II, 17
XIX.	5.	Rom. X, 18	LXIX.	10.	Rom. XI, 9, 10
XXII.	2.	S. Matt. XXVIII, 46	LXIX.	26.	Act i, 20
XXII.	19.	S. Jno. XIX, 24	LXXVIII.	2.	S. Matt. XIII, 35
XXII.	23.	Heb. II, 12	LXXVIII.	24.	S. Jno. VI, 31
XXIV.	1.	I Cor. X, 26	LXXXII.	6.	S. Jno. X, 34
XXXII.	1-2.	Rom. IV, 7, 8	LXXXIX.	20.	Acts XIII, 22†

The Inscriptions on the Psalms.—The conclusion, then at which we arrive here, is the same as in the case of the alleged authorship of certain Psalms. The Inscriptions cannot always be relied on. They are sometimes genuine and really represent the most ancient tradition. At other times, they are due to the caprice of later Editors and Collectors, the fruits of conjecture, or of dimmer and more uncertain traditions. In short the Inscriptions of the Psalms are like the Subscriptions to the Epistles of the New Testament. They are not of any necessary authority, and their value must be weighed and tested by the usual critical processes.‡

Need of Modern Criticism in interpreting the Psalms.—It is hardly necessary to repeat what has been said in the Prefaces to the two previous volumes on the advantage and the duty of availing ourselves, as far as possible, of the light of modern criticism in the elucidation of the sacred books. It is true that in so doing we deviate considerably from the method of interpretation pursued in many former ages of the Church. But this is a deviation in which the whole

* Stanley's *Jewish Church* Vol. III, Pref. X, IV.

† Plumer on *The Psalms*, pp 11, 12.

‡ *The Book of Psalms* by J. Stewart Perowne, Vol. II, p. 102.

modern world has shared. When Augustine repeatedly insists that the Psalms ascribed under their titles to Korah are descriptions of the Passion, and that the sons of Korah are Christians because 'Korah' in Hebrew, and 'Calvary' in Latin may be translated 'bald head,' and because Elisha was derided under that name; when Gregory the Great sees the twelve Apostles, and therefore the Clergy in the seven sons of Job, and the lay-worshippers of the Trinity in his three daughters, it is impossible not to feel that the gulf between these extravagancies and the more rational explanation of later times is wider than that which parts any of the modern schools of theology from each other.*

The Order of the Psalms—Eusebius observes the Psalms are not placed in chronological order, but are disposed according to a law of inward affinity. And we may proceed to affirm that this law of inward affinity is grounded on their relation to Christianity. We need not hesitate to assert with S. Chrysostom that the more the organic structure of the Psalms is analyzed, the more it will be recognized to have been pre-adjusted by the Holy Spirit Himself to the doctrine of the Gospel of Christ.

By whom the Psalms were arranged in their present order is not certain. It has been ascribed, with great probability to Ezra (S. Hil Proleg in *Psalms* expresses the prevailing opinion of Christian antiquity when he says, 'Ezra creditur Psalmos post captivitatem in unum librum collegisse'; so S. Jerome and S. Chrysostom), 'the priest and ready scribe in the Law of Moses,' who was endued with spiritual gifts, and had a principal part in completing the canon of the Old Testament, and in settling the religious affairs of the Hebrew nation after the Captivity, in conjunction with Nehemiah, and with the prophets Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi.†

The Titles of the Psalms.—In the Hebrew MSS. the Psalms are entitled Sepher Tehillim or Book of Praises; a correct title as describing their design generally, although only one Psalm, Psalm CXLV, has the name *tehillah* in its title.‡

Division of the Psalms.—It must be borne in mind, in reading the Greek and Latin Calendar of the Psalms, that the numbering of the Psalms in the LXX and Vulgate differ from the Hebrew.

* Stanley, *Jewish Church*, Vol. III, Pref. XIII.

† Wordsworth's *Commentary*, Vol. IV, pp. 4, 9.

‡ Wordsworth's *Commentary*, Vol. IV, p. 1.

Thus in Hebrew		LXX and Vulgate.
Psalms IX and X	correspond to Psalm IX.	
" XI—CXIII	" "	X—CXII.
" CXIV, CXV	" "	CXIII.
" CXVI	" "	CXIV—CXV.
" CXVII—CXLVI	" "	CXVI—CXLV.
" CXLVII	" "	CXLVI—CXLVII.
" CXLVIII—CL	" "	CXLVIII—CL.*

David as the Author of all the Psalms.—The popular belief that the Psalter of David was entirely composed by David himself has given way before the critical research which long ago detected the vast diversity of authorship existing throughout the collection (so Augustine and Chrysostom say;) just as for a similar reason the whole Pentateuch has been at times ascribed to Moses, the whole of the Books of Samuel to Samuel, the whole of the Book of Joshua to Joshua, or the whole of the Book of Isaiah to Isaiah. . . . As far back as the Christian era, this whole collection went under the name of "David." As such it is constantly quoted in the New Testament. As such it was received by the most illustrious of the Fathers, Augustine and Chrysostom. As such it is introduced into the English Prayer Book. This uniformity of authorship in the Psalms has now been generally abandoned. Not only are the most various authors and ages admitted by all scholars into this once exclusively Davidic dominion, but even the time-honoured titles which were long received as essential parts of the Canonical Scriptures, and which unquestionably represent the oldest tradition are now generally treated as uncertain in date and unauthentic in substance.

The consequence has been an universal recognition of that wonderful variety of situation and character which gives to the Psalter one of its chief outward charms.†

The Psalms a Second Pentateuch.—The ancient rabbins saw in the Five Books of the Psalter the image of the Five Books of the Law. This way of looking on the Psalms as a second Pentateuch, the echo of the first passed over into the Christian Church, and found favour with some early Fathers. It has commended itself to the acceptance of good recent expositors, like Dr. Delitzsch, who calls the Psalter "the Congregation's five-fold word to the Lord, even as the *Thora* (the Law) is the Lord's five-fold word to the congregation." This may be mere fancy, but its existence from ancient times shows that the five-fold division attracted early notice.‡

* Wordsworth's *Commentary*, Vols. IV, XII, p. 1.

† Stanley's *Jewish Church*, pp. 121, 448.

‡ *The Psalms: Their History etc.*, by D. Binnie.

The Poetry of the Psalms has with justice been described by Herder, and the description has been beautifully amplified by a living writer as "a poetry of friendship between the spirit of man and the spirit of God." *

The Versions of S. Jerome.—These versions were put forth by S. Jerome, both from the LXX. Of these the one was prepared at Rome, at the instigation of S. Damasus; the other in Palestine at the solicitation of S. Paula and her daughter S. Eustoch.

The former known as the Roman or Italic was at first employed all over Europe. But S. Gregory of Tours, having introduced a copy of the second or corrected version into Gaul, led by the weight of his authority to its introduction there, whence it obtained the name of Gallican. Thence it found its way into Germany, where it was struggling for mastery as early as the time Walapud Strato; in Spain it intruded when the Roman Ritual supplanted Mozarabic in that of S. Gregory VII.

It shortly invaded Italy itself, for we find S. Francis enjoining on his order the use of the Roman Office, *except* the Psalter. Under Sixtus IV the Italic use survived only in the city of Rome itself, and the suburban district marked out by a radius of forty miles from the capital. By the Council of Trent it was abrogated, but the Canons of S. John Lateran fought so strenuously for its retention that Pius V, probably not unwilling to dispense with a decree of the Council, sanctioned their wish, and by them it is used to this day. Those Spanish Churches which have retained the Mozarabic use have also retained this version. The modern Roman Breviary employs it in many versicles and responses, and from it the 95th Psalm is always recited except on the Epiphany.†

The Syriac Version of the Old Testament is of great antiquity, though the precise date has never been satisfactorily determined. Syriac writers themselves are extravagant on the point—some going so far as to say that a portion of it was made by command of Solomon for the use of Hiram, King of Tyre, and other portion by command of Agbarus, King of Edessa in the time of our Lord. It is referred by others to the hand of Asa, priest of the Samaritans,—of S. Thaddæus, the Apostle and of S. Mark the Evangelist. It is claimed that it must be as old as the Apostolic era because S. Paul in quoting a Psalm (Ephes. IV-8) differs both from the Hebrew and the LXX and agrees with the Syriac in an important

* *The Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity*, pp. 106, 107

† Dr. Neale's *Commentary*, Vol. I. p. 75.

peculiarity, to this however it is replied that the Syriac version of this passage may have been subsequently formed according to S. Paul's quotation. The concurrent testimony of the Syrians themselves, for whose use it was designed, and none of whom refer it to a later period than the close of the first, or beginning of the second century, would seem to be entitled to great respect. It is held in high esteem by the Aramæan Christians of every sect, is quoted by S. Ephraem Syrus in the fourth century as generally known, and is commended by him and other Syriac writers for its fidelity to the original.*

On the Titles of the Syriac Version.—It is not proved, but neither is it disproved that these titles were not the work of the Syriac translator, and whatever may be said of their authoritative value, and however unintelligible some of them may appear to be, they will be allowed to be interesting as an ancient commentary upon this portion of the Word of God.†

Those who reject the Psalms.—The Christian Church and the Synagogue have always regarded the collection of 150 Psalms which compose the Psalter as a Divine work, and inspired by the Holy Ghost. The Nicolaitaines, the Gnostics, and the Manichees as reported by Philastrius, denied that David was a Prophet; and that his words were inspired by the Holy Ghost. And Paul of Samosata had the impiety to suppress the Psalms, which had been accustomed to be sung in the Church in honor of Jesus Christ, and to substitute for them others composed for his own praise, saying that these primitive songs were the work of modern authors and without authority. But it has been doubted with good reason whether these Psalms suppressed by Paul of Samosata were the sacred and canonical songs, and not rather hymns composed in honor of Jesus Christ by the first Christians. Some Anabaptists have also carried their temerity so far as to reject the Psalms of David, but the Church has always condemned with horror those, who have attempted to weaken their authority wholly or in part.

The Psalms in Devotion.—The Council of Toulouse (A. D. 1229) prohibited the use of the Bible to laymen, the Book of Psalms excepted. We may account for the diligent use of the Psalms for devotional purposes from the fact, that more than any other book of Scripture, they contain the effusions of subjective piety, and "meet on that

* Oliver's *Translation of the Syriac Version*, Preface V.

† Oliveers *Translation of the Syriac Version* Preface XIII.

account in a more *immediate* manner the wants of Christian devotion. Luther says "other books talk much of the *works* of Saints, but little of their *words*. The noble virtue and manner of the Psalter is a pattern of another kind. Its perusal is so delightful because not only are the works of Saints recounted, but the words given in which they spake and prayed to God."*

The Psalms and the Clergy.—"The Primitive Church," says Bishop Taylor, "would admit no man to the superior orders of the Clergy, unless, among other pre-required dispositions they could say all David's Psalter by heart."†

Syrian Education and the Psalms.—Christian education in Syria began with the Psalms. Thus Assem T. III. 7, 937. 'Tirones primum psalmos Davidicos legant; deinde Novum Testamentum, mox Vetus.'‡

The Psalms and the Koran.—The Psalms are regarded in the Koran (IV., 161) as the fourth Sacred book, the Pentateuch, the Gospels and the Koran being the other three.§

What the Mohammedans say of the Book of Psalms.—The Mohammedans all allow that the *Ziboor*, or Book of Psalms, was given to David by *immediate inspiration*; and that it contains 150 Sowrats or chapters. His skill in music is also proverbial among Mohammedans. Hence some verses in the *Anvari Soheely*, which are to this effect: "you decide the greatest difficulties with as much ease as David touched the chords of the lyre when he chanted the Psalms." If we could persuade the Mohammedans that the Book of Psalms which we now possess was the real work of David, something would be gained towards their conversion. But they say the Jews have corrupted it, as the Christians have the *Anjeel* (Gospel), and the book which they produce as the Psalms of David consists of extracts only from the Psalms, with a variety of other matters which have no relation either to David or his work.||

Rabbinical Story of the composition of Psalms.—"David used 'to be awakened at midnight, and moved to begin the composition of Psalms by the north wind rippling along the

* Tholuck's *Commentary*, p. 1.

† *Sermon on the whole duty of the Clergy*. Works, Vol. viii, p. 597.

‡ *Speaker's Commentary* p. 146.

§ Stanley's *Jewish Church* II. p. 120.

|| Adam Clarke's *Commentary* p. 2413.

'strings of his harp.' A Cithern used to hang above David's bed, and when midnight came the north wind blew among the strings so that they sounded themselves; and forthwith he arose and busied himself with the time until the pillar of the dawn ascended.*

The Pauline Psalms.—Luther being asked on one occasion which were the best Psalms, he replied 'the *Pauline Psalms*.' Being pressed to say which these Pauline Psalms were he answered, "The 32nd, the 51st, the 130th, and the 143rd. For they teach us that the forgiveness of sins is vouchsafed without the law and without works. Therefore are they the *Pauline Psalms* for if David says, "With Thee is the forgiveness, that Thou mayest be feared' (Ps. CXXX)' so Paul likewise saith, 'God hath concluded all under sin, 'that He may have mercy on us all.' Therefore none can boast of his own righteousness but the words 'that Thou mayest be feared' 'thrust away all self-merit, teach us to *take off our hat before God* and confess, 'It is all grace, not desert; forgiveness, not compensation.'†

Suitability of the Psalms to all.—Every language, and every section of Christendom has its own peculiar delight in the Psalms. The awful pomp of the Latin Church; the homelier forms of Teutonic Christianity; the speculative subtlety and exuberant rhetoric of the Greek even before the Altar; the sober and reserved reverence of the Anglican Church; the austere severity of sectarian devotion; find their expression in the Psalter.‡

Psalms in mourning.—S. Jerome records how in that great mourning for Paula, Psalms were sung in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Syriac. That the solemn silence after Monica's departure was broken first by the cadence of a chanted Psalm. No book which was without the hope of immortality could have cheated so many dying Saints, and deceived so many generations of mourners.‡

Quotations from the Psalms. The total direct quotations from the Old Testament in the New is 285, of these 116 are from the Psalter. A similar proportion is found in citations by most of the Early Fathers.§

* *Talmud Berachoth* 31.

† *The Pilgrim Psalms* by S. Cox.

‡ *The Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity* p. 176.

§ *Speaker's Commentary* p. 146.

Suitableness of certain Psalms to certain occasions.—Catherine Stanley was the wife of Edward Lord Bishop of Norwich and the mother of Dean Stanley of Westminster. She died March 5th, 1862. Her son says of her death day 'That 5th of March was the Ash Wednesday of 1862, when her surviving son was absent in attendance on the Prince of Wales on a journey through Egypt and Palestine. . . . On another Ash Wednesday, the 1st of March 1876, he stood by the death bed of her' (his own wife, Lady Augusta Stanley) 'by whose supporting love he had been comforted after his mother's death, and whose character, although cast in another mould, remains to him, with that of his mother the brightest and most sacred vision of his earthly experience. The following selection of certain Psalms is the work of this mother, so well-beloved.

The sense of the effect of religion in elevating the mind and character above external circumstances.

'O set me up upon the rock that is higher than I.' Psalm lxi, 3.

Thankfulness for the vicissitudes of happiness and sorrow.

'O what great troubles and adversities had Thou shewed me!

And yet did'st turn and refresh me, and broughtest me from the earth again.' Psalm lxxi, 18.

The unexpected growth of good out of evil.

'Unto the godly there ariseth up light in the darkness.' Psalm cxii, 4.

The Uncertainty and mystery of the mode of the Divine nature combined with the certainty of its moral perfection.

'Clouds and darkness are round about Him, righteousness and judgment are the habitations of His seat.' Psalm xcvi, 2.

The effect of criticism on the Bible.

'Thy word is tried to the uttermost, and yet thy servant loveth it.' Psalm cxix, 140.*

Recitation of the Psalms in Hebrew—S. Gregory in the fifth century, writing to a woman called Eustochium, concerning her mother, says:—The Holy Scriptures she knew by heart. Indeed I must say more, what perhaps to everyone seems incredible, she also understood the Hebrew language so well that she sang the Psalms in Hebrew, even as we find it to be the case with her daughter Eustochium.

Psalm-caking.—At Great Martin, in Lancashire, there was formerly a sort of procession of young people from house to house, at each of which they recited Psalms, and in return received presents of cakes; whence the custom was called Psalm-caking.

* *Memoirs of Edward and Catherine Stanley*, p. 326.

The singing of Psalms, and the name of the custom seem to be only a misapprehension of the old term *sal-mas*, the mass or requiem for the dead, on November 2nd, on which day this custom prevailed.*

The Psalter and the individual recitation of it.—One remarkable effect of the prevalence of psalmody, and the scarcity of books was that the Psalter was frequently learnt by heart. In the sixth century this is reported of Cyril of Scythopolis to have been done by S. Theodosius. S. Jerome desired that it should be done even by very young people. Sketching the perfect monk he requires that by such a character it should be learnt word for word (*ad Rusticum*). The damsel Pacatula was to commit the Psalms to memory at seven years old (*ad Gaudentium*). No one of the sisters in the Jerusalem convent might be ignorant of the Psalter (*ad Eustochium*). Even the Huns, he says, are learning the Psalter (*ad Laetam*). Cyril of Scythopolis, in the Life of S. Sabas, says that monks were not admitted, till they had learnt the Psalter and the rule of psalmody. Hence it was ruled by the second council of Nicæa (can. 2), that no one should be advanced to be a bishop unless he knew the Psalter by heart, and that he was to be examined by the Metropolitan.

Gregory the Great says that he would not ordain John the Presbyter, because he did not know the Psalms. (S. Greg. M. lib. 4, Ep. 45). The same pope would not allow Rusticus the deacon to be made bishop of Ancona for a similar reason. He was a vigilant man, indeed he said, but according to report, he did not know the Psalms.

A curious story of an ineffectual attempt to learn the Psalter by heart, is told of the Archimandrite Theodore, a portion of whose life is given in the Acts of the second council of Nicæa. He had been miraculously cured of an epidemic sickness which had threatened to prove mortal, and on his recovery, apparently by way of thank-offering, he resolved to learn the Psalter. He learned the first seventeen Psalms, but the eighteenth baffled him, presumably by its length. He was in despair about his task. But prostrating himself on the pavement of an oratory, he prayed for success. At length on rising, he gazed upon the image of the Saviour, he felt in his mouth a taste sweeter than honey, his prayer was granted, and from that moment his task proceeded smoothly till he had learned the entire Psalter.

So great was the zeal of holy men for psalmody that wonderful achievements are recorded as to the number of

* *Popular Customs and Superstitions*, R. J. Hampson, Vol. 1, p. 375.
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Psalm which they recited. S. Gregory Thaumaturgus passed entire nights in Church with prayers and psalmody. S. Isidore had no fixed number of Psalms which he said in the service of God, for the night and the day used to be spent upon it. S. Germanus who was Bishop of Paris in the latter half of the sixth century, would say fifty Psalms or more before he rose from his bed, and called his companions. (*Vita, ad fin.*) Of S. Maur the disciple of S. Benedict, it is related that he would repeat commonly fifty Psalms, often a hundred, and sometimes the entire Psalter before the night office. S. Gregory of Tours (*de Glor. Confess.*) has even a wonderful story of two dead priests miraculously taking part in the psalmody of the choir, with the rest of the clergy.

Palaeomon, the abbot, would say the whole Psalter, and the canticles by night without any sound. By the rule of S. Benedict (Reg. c. 18) the whole Psalter was to be gone through in the week—a light rule, he urges, seeing that the holy fathers did as much in a single day. In England, also, a similar devotion to the psalter appears to have prevailed. King Egbert even made a vow that besides the psalmody in the canonical offices he would daily chant the whole Psalter. (*Bede Eccl. Hist. III. 27.*) *

The Prayer of Jonah and the Psalms.—The Prayer of Jonah, chap. ii, affords a beautiful instance of the use of the Psalter by a believing Israelite of old. Every phrase is taken from the Psalms, but with such slight, yet significant addition of tone or colouring as shows a living freedom of adaptation. See especially Verses 2, 5 and 8.

Verse 2.—"I cried by reason of mine affliction unto the Lord, and He heard me; out of the belly of hell cried I, and thou heardest my voice."

Psalm exxi.—'In my distress I cried unto the Lord, and He heard me.'

Psalm cxxx, 1.—'Out of the depths have I cried unto Thee, O Lord.'

Psalm cxlii, 1.—'I cried unto the Lord with my voice; with my voice unto the Lord did I make my supplication.'

Jonah ii, 5.—'The waters compassed me about, even to the soul.'

Psalm lxix, 1.—'Save me, O God; for the waters are come in unto my soul.'

* *Smith's Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, p. 1748.

Jonah ii, 8.—'They that observe lying vanities forsake their own mercy.'

Psalm xxxi, 6.—'I have hated them that regard lying vanities; but I trust in the Lord.'

Our Blessed Lord and the Psalter.—"If (the Psalter) appears to have been the manual of the Son of God in the days of his flesh; who at the conclusion of the last supper is generally supposed, and that upon good grounds to have sung an hymn taken from it; who pronounced on the Cross the beginning of the xxii. Psalm. "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?" and expired with a part of the xxxi. Ps. in His mouth. "Into Thy Hands I commend my Spirit." Thus He who had not the Spirit by measure, in whom were all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, and spake as never man spake, yet chose to conclude His life, to solace Himself in His greatest agony, and at last to breathe out His soul, in the Psalmist's form of words rather than His own." †

S. Athanasius and the recitation of the Psalms.—Athanasius (*de Virginitate*) tells a lady, "Say as many Psalms as you can, and to every Psalm let there be joined prayers and bending of the knees with tears,.....and after three psalms are finished, say *Alleluia*." ‡

Recitation of the Psalms.—There was a priest in the Church of Durham (while Eadmund was Bishop A.D. 1021) by name Elfred, who survived to the time of Bishop Egelwin, entirely devoted to S. Cuthbert: very sober, given to Alms-deeds, diligent in prayer, a terror to persons of loose character, but revered by all well-behaved and God-fearing men. He was a most faithful guardian of the Church, and when two succeeding Bishops, Egelric and Egelwin, and some of the monks wished to make free with the goods of the Church, and even with the relics, the fear of Elfred restrained them. Every night he recited the Psalter, before he rang the bell for nocturns, and he was the most zealous in teaching the young men to take their part in divine service." §

The Cathach or Book of Battle.—S. Columba's famous Mission to the Highlands of Scotland in A. D. 561, arose out of circumstances singularly characteristic of the time in

* *The Witness of the Psalm to Christ and Christianity*, p. 84.

† *Horne on the Psalms* Vol i Pref p. 5.

‡ *Smith's Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, p. 1743.

§ *Diocesan History of Durham*, p. 115.

which he lived. Columba had a passion of copying or borrowing volumes and manuscripts in the various monasteries, on one occasion he paid a visit to S. Finnian at Drom Finn, in Ulster, and borrowed his copy of the Psalter. Anxious to retain a copy of the volume, and yet afraid that Finnian would not grant permission if he made the request, he resolved upon a stratagem to effect his purpose. Every day he repaired to the Church, and when the people had all left, remained behind and transcribed as much as he could of the volume. The circumstance did not escape the notice of S. Finnian, but he resolved to say nothing about the matter till Columba had concluded his labours, when he sent and demanded the book, reminding him that as the original was his, so also was the copy which he had made without his permission. Columba was extremely indignant, and refused outright to comply; words followed and it was agreed to refer the dispute to Diarmaid the King of Ireland. Accordingly the disputants repaired to Tara and were admitted to an audience. The case was heard, and at the close Diarmaid gave the curious judgment which to this day is a proverb in Ireland. "Le gach boin a boinin legach leabhar a leabhran" said he, that is, "To every cow belongeth her little cow or calf, and to every book belongeth its son book or copy, therefore the book you wrote, O Columba, belongs by right to Finnian." "That is an unjust decision, O Diarmaid," was Columba's reply, "and I will avenge it on you."

Some time after, because the King had slain the son of the King of Connaught who had fled to the Saint for sanctuary, Columba with the men of Tyrone and the King of Connaught marched to Cooldreony between Sligo and Dromcliffe, where a battle was fought in which Diarmaid was discomfited. For this deed of blood the synod assembled at Teltoun in Meath, decreed that Columba "as the author of so great a slaughter, ought to quit his country, and win over to Christ from amongst the heathen, as many souls as had perished in battle."

Accordingly, after announcing his intentions to his royal relations, Columba, now in his 42nd year, collected twelve companions, and in the year A.D. 563 embarked in an osier boat covered with skins, and made for the western shores of Scotland. "The MS of the Psalter which had been the cause of this strange conflict was now returned to Columba, and was hereafter known as the Cathach or Book of Battles, and became the national relic of the clan of the O'Donnells. In an engagement which took place in 1479 between the O'Donnells and the McDermotts it was taken into battle, enshrined in a sort of portable altar, but was captured by the McDermotts. They

restored it, however, in 1499, and it is now to be seen in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy."

S. Anskar.—A monk of Corbey near Amiens—Missionary to Sweden and afterwards Archbishop of Hamburg (died February 3rd, 1865 A.D.) 'chanted a fixed number of Psalms, alike when he arose in the morning, and when he retired to bed at night.'*

S. Basil and the Psalms.—S. Basil directs that such as neglect to commit the Psalms to memory shall be shut up in solitude or kept fasting till they do. Another writer declares that 'no one who claims the name of monk, can be allowed to be ignorant of letters; moreover he must know all the Psalms by heart.'†

The Clugniacs and the Psalms.—The Clugniacs, when travelling were wont to beguile the whole distance with chanting the Psalms, in order partly to prevent evil thoughts and vain discourse. No weariness of the way, nor robber demonstration, could check this exercise.‡

The Golden Commentary of Gerhohus the Great (1093-1169 A.D.) is of unspeakable value. Prior of Reichersperg its author was the most celebrated German theologian of that latter age; and he flings himself on its horrible corruption with a vigour and force which render him a worthy follower of S. Gregory VII and S. Peter Damiani. Like S. Augustine against the Donatists, he turns the Psalms against the flagrant vices and especially the Simony of his own age, in a way which imparts great novelty, as well as great earnestness, to his words.§

S. Olaf and the Psalms.—There are so many stories about Olaf's journeys up and down the country to preach Christianity at the Thingsteads, that I hardly know which to choose to tell you.

He used to ride about from place to place, followed by his band, *singing Psalms* in a loud voice as he went. The tradition of the country declares that the old heathen powers, evil spirits of the air, familiar genii hidden in woods and waters and lowly mountain glens, were vanquished and driven back by the holy words of the royal singer as effectually as

* *Apostles of Mediæval Europe*, p. 170.

† *The Biblical Museum*, Vol. XI, p. 22.

‡ *The Biblical Museum*, Vol. XI, p. 23.

§ Dr. Neale's *Commentary*, Vol. I, p. 79.

the assembled at the Thingsteads were convinced by his reasoning, or overawed at the sight of his armed forces.*

Wilfrid, Bishop of York (A.D. 680), was thrown into prison by command of the king of Northumbria (Egfrid) and council because he had been to Rome to urge his claims to the see of York. He returned to Northumbria bringing the decree which had been made by the Apostolic see. It bore the "bullae" and the seals attached to it, which were the marks of its authenticity; but for all that it was received with all marks of contumely by the 'Witan.' The end of it all was that Wilfrid was thrown into prison. None of his friends were permitted to visit him in his prison cell, and in this captivity he remained for nine months. But he never lost heart. In a dark and gloomy dungeon into which the sun rarely shone, and where no artificial light was permitted him, he chanted his Psalter with unfailing regularity. Egfrid tried in vain to bring him to submission, and promised to re-instate him as Bishop of a portion at least, of the diocese he had heretofore ruled, and added other offers, if only he would repudiate the authority of the decree he had brought from Rome. Wilfrid was, however, obstinate, but in the end he gained his liberty although it meant banishment from Northumbria.†

Margaret, Duchess of Alençon.—"You ask me," writes Margaret, Duchess of Alençon, the favourite sister of Francis I of France, and a devoted Christian woman. "You ask me, my children, to do a very difficult thing—to invent a diversion that will drive away your *ennui*. I have been seeking all my life to invent this; but I have found only one remedy, which is reading the Holy Scriptures. In perusing them, my mind experiences its true and perfect joy; and from this pleasure of the mind proceed the repose and health of the body. If you desire me to tell you what I do to be so gay and well, at my advanced age, it is because as soon as I get up, I read those sacred books. There I see and contemplate the will of God, who sent His Son to us on earth to preach that holy word, and to announce the sweet tidings that He promises to pardon our sins, and extinguish our debts, by giving us His Son, who loved us, and suffered and died for our sakes. This idea so delights me that I take up the Psalms, and sing them with my heart, and pronounce them with my tongue, as humbly as possible, the fine hymns with which the Holy Spirit inspired David and the sacred authors. The

* *Early Scandinavian History, Vol. II, Monthly Packet, page 17.*

† *Diocesan History of York, page 65.*

pleasure I receive from this exercise so transports me, that I consider all the evils which may happen to me through the day to be real blessings, for I place Him in my heart by faith who endured more misery for me. Before I sup, I retire in the same manner to give my soul a congenial lesson. At night I review all that I have done in the day. I implore pardon for my faults; I thank my God for His favours, and I lie down in His love, in His fear, and in His peace free from every worldly anxiety."

Margaret of Valois.—Queen of Navarre—wrote a book called *Le Miroir d'une Ame Pécheresse* full of quotations from the Psalms, but without a word of Purgatory or the Saints. Noel Beda, one of the chief doctors of the Sorbonne, saw heresy in this, and encouraged the scholars of the College of Navarre to act a play in which she was caricatured; and a Franciscan declared that she ought to be put into a sack and thrown into the Seine.

Archbishop Laud.—(1573-1644) Laud in all difficulties and trials had yet confidence in his God. "All sides think themselves in ye right, and yet there is a quietness and depth in ye Church's confidence in the right of her side, which her opponents want. The most perfect tranquil assurance that he is to fight against the enemies of God appear in Laud's devotion; and a career of simple religious sincerity, doing what it thinks its mere duty and work is their substratum."

He expresses his weariness and his longing in the prayer of S. Augustine. "Long time, O Lord have I struggled against heresies, and am almost wearied. Come Lord Jesus, mightiest Warrior Prince of the host of the Lord, conqueror of the Devil and of the world: take arms and shield, and rise up and help me."

"Tempore adverso"—"Auxilium"—"Deliverance" appear at the margin of the prayer "Deal with me O God, according to thy Name, for sweet is Thy mercy. O deliver me, for I am helpless and poor, and my heart is wounded within me." "Mine eyes are ever looking unto Thee, O Lord; O pluck my feet out of the net." "I deal with the thing that is lawful and right O give me not over unto mine oppressors." "Let the proud do me no wrong." "I have heard the blasphemy of the multitude and fear is on every side." "Thou hast fed me with the bread of tears, and given me plenteousness of tears to drink." "I am become a very strife unto my neighbours, and mine enemies laugh me to scorn." "Gracious Father, the life of man is a warfare upon earth; be present with me in the services of my calling. That which

"I cannot foresee, I beseech Thee prevent; that which I cannot withstand, I beseech Thee master; that which I do not fear I beseech Thee unmask and frustrate. Especially O Lord, bless me at this time from M. N., that I may glory Thee for this deliverance also."*

The great scholar, Casaubon,—whose life has recently been made of such interest to Oxford men by a writer who singularly combines industry with refinement—was going to the Huguenot worship at Charenton in an open barge, August 20, 1668. A heavy boat ran in astern. His wife fell over into the Seine, but he pulled her in,—after almost losing his own life, at the same time he dropped into the river his Psalm Book, the gift of his wife, his constant companion for twenty-two years, out of which they were singing the 86th Psalm when the accident occurred. "I could not but remember," says Casaubon, in his journal, "that place of Ambrose where he says—This is the peculiarity of the Psalter, that every one can use its words as if they were peculiarly and individually his own."†

John Locke, the great philosopher (1632—1704) spent the last year of his life at Oates in Essex, the seat of Sir Francis Masham. He was hearing Lady Masham reading the Psalms, apparently with great attention, until perceiving his end to draw near, he stopped her and expired a very few minutes afterward.‡

The Psalms in trouble.—Mr. John Philpot having lain for some time in the Bishop of London's coal-house, the Bishop sent for him, and amongst other questions, asked him why they were so merry in prison? Singing (as the prophet speaks) *Exultantes in rebus pessimis*, rejoicing in your naughtiness, whereas you should rather lament and be sorry. Mr. Philpot answered, "My Lord, the mirth which we make is but in singing certain Psalms as we are commanded by Paul to rejoice in the Lord, singing together hymns and Psalms, for we are in a dark comfortless place, and therefore, we thus solace ourselves. I trust, therefore, your lordship will not be angry, seeing the Apostle saith, 'If any be of an upright heart, let him sing Psalms,' and we, to declare that we are of an upright mind to God, though we are in misery, yet refresh ourselves with such singing." After some other discourse, saith he 'I was carried back to my Lord's coal-

* Mozley's *Archbishop Laud*, p. 150.

† *The Witness of Psalms to Christianity*, p. 245.

‡ Lord King's *Life of Locke*, p. 264.

house, where I, with my six fellow prisoners, do rouse together in the straw, as cheerfully (I thank God) as others do in their beds of down.*

Mrs. Ferrar and the Psalms—Dr. Lindsell, Bishop of Hereford, the lifelong friend of Mrs. Ferrar (whom he held in such affectionate regard that he was himself accustomed to call her "mother"), and the tutor of her son Nicholas, gives a pleasant picture of the household in its happy early time when the "mother was constantly to be found sitting at work with her children and maids around her singing psalms with them, and hearing them read chapters in the Bible, and stories from the "Book of Martyrs," the *Acta Sanctorum* of those days.†

Nicholas Ferrar and the Psalter.—Nicholas Ferrar, of Little Gidding, and of pious and blessed memory was an active graceful child, quick witted, gifted with a strong memory, and great perseverance (*he had the Psalter by heart* at seven or eight years old), and the precocious love of books which often accompanies delicate health. His brother relates that he would often forget his meals while he pored over the "English," or the "Book of Martyrs," quaint old folios which were new then and of which the last had a touch of personal interest. The little boy learnt by heart the story of Robert Ferrar, Bishop of S. David's, burnt at Carmarthen in 1555, 'for his name's sake,' though it does not appear that there was any relationship.‡

Salmasius.—"I have lost a world of time," said the learned Salmasius, on his death-bed; "if I had one year more, I would spend it in reading David's Psalms, and Paul's Epistles."§

Wallace.—So dear to Wallace in his wanderings was his Psalter, that during his execution, he had it hung before him, and his eyes remained fixed upon it as the one consolation of his dying hours. ||

Burleigh.—Lord Burleigh selected the Psalms out of the whole Bible as his special delight.¶

Sir Patrick Hume, when, hid in the sepulchral vault, he had no light to read by, having committed to memory Buchanan's

* Samuel Clarke's *Mirror*, 1671.

† *Life of Nicholas Ferrar* edited by Canon Carter, p. 7.

‡ *Life of Nicholas Ferrar*, p. 9.

§ Horne on *The Psalms*, Pref. p. lx.

|| Tytler's *Scottish Worthies*, I, 280.

¶ Strype's *Parker* ii, 214.

version of the Psalms, beguiled the weary hours of his confinement by repeating them to himself, and, to his dying day, he could repeat every one without missing a word, and said they had been the great comfort of his life by night and day on all occasions.*

Edward Irving's comfort in the Psalms.—There lies a man (says Mrs. Oliphant), buried in Glasgow Cathedral, who trusted God to extremity and believed in all Divine communication, with faith as absolute as any patriarch or prophet; to whom mean thoughts and unbelieving hearts were the only things miraculous and out of nature; who desired to know nothing in heaven or earth, neither comfort, nor peace, nor rest, nor any consolation but the will and work of his Master, whom he loved—yet to whose arms children clung with instinctive trust, and to whose heart no soul in trouble ever appealed in vain. He was laid in his grave in the December of 1834—a lifetime since; but scarce any man who knew him can yet name without a softened voice and dimmed eye the name of Edward Irving—true friend and tender heart—martyr and saint. In a letter to his wife, dated Flint, October 12th, 1834, on his last journey through Scotland on the Mission to establish the Church which now bears his name, Edward Irving writes:—“How in the night season the Psalms have been my consolation against the faintings of flesh and heart.”†

Heylin and the Psalms.—Heylin, one of the most learned and voluminous polemical writers of his day, presented to the lady who afterwards became his wife, a very richly gilded Bible in which he had a beautiful copy of verses, one of which is as follows—

Much reading may thy spirits wrong,
Refresh them therefore with a song;
And, that thy music praise may merit,
Sing David's Psalms with David's spirit;
That as thy voice doth pierce man's ears,
So shall thy prayer and vows the spheres.‡

The Psalms and the Indian Mutiny.—“There is not a day in which we do not find something in the Psalms that appears written especially for our unhappy circumstances, to meet the wants and feelings of the day.”§

* *Life of Sir P. Hume by his daughter*, p. 78.

† *Edward Irving by Mrs. Oliphant*, p. 420.

‡ *Annotation on the Psalms by Dr. Hammond*, ii, p. 96.

§ *Edward's Personal Narrative of the Indian Mutiny*, pp. 145, 165.

Commodore Goodenough.—died from the wounds received from poisoned arrows at Santa Cruz—the same island in the Southern Pacific on which the martyr Bishop, John Coleridge Patteson met his death. During the last few days of his life Commodore Goodenough dwelt much on the vastness of God's love, and was anxious that he should be read to from the *Book of Psalms*.

A learned Brahmin Pundit has lately become a convert to the Gospel. From his acknowledged eminence as a Sanscrit scholar it was expected that he would first study the Greek of the New Testament as its cognate language.

But his love for the Psalter is so deep that he has first devoted himself to Hebrew. For in the Psalter he finds Christ and the Gospel; and, without that, he would, no doubt, prefer the ancient Hymns of his race and country.*

Mrs. Tait and the Psalms.—I remember no happier time than when with the two little girls living in a cottage along Ambleside, in the bright days of a summer vacation, we wandered together among the mountains, I watched the glorious sunset from Harrison's Terrace. She was indeed a sweet companion for such wanderings, she knew almost every Psalm by heart; her mind was stored with the old hymns she had learned in childhood and passages of Cowper which had been her father's delight.†

Bishop Field of Newfoundland and the Psalms.—A traveller in North America has recorded the circumstance that, while resting at a lonely inn, he was roused at night by the sound of a solitary voice chanting the Psalms. The next morning he made enquiries as to the source of sounds so unwonted, and learned that his fellow-traveller who had so disturbed him was the Bishop of Newfoundland; the incident formed the theme of the following verses, which appeared with the well-known initials of the authoress in the “Churchman's Companion” for 1848:—

Wake, wanderer, wake, a solemn voice,
Chants softly to the chill night air,
In old familiar melody
Sweet strains of praise and prayer,

Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity, p. 68.
Catherine and Crawford Tait, p. 24.

Such strains as in thine own dear land,
 Unnumbered voices love to sing,
 When, morn and eve, the Bride of Heaven,
 Brings homage to her King.

Here are no old Collegiate walls,
 No mighty minster fair and strong ;
 Whence caught this wild North-Western waste,
 The Church's Evensong ?

Sleep, wanderer, sleep, thy mother's hand,
 Is stretched to guard her wandering child ;
 Her shepherd waketh for the flock,
 Far scattered in the wild.

'Tis meet his voice should linger here,
 Chanting alone the dear old lay,
 Who beareth from the dear old land,
 High spiritual sway.

'Tis meet his deep unwearied tone,
 Still night and day her songs renew,
 Like strain thrice echoed from the hills,
 Whose every note is true.

Head of the Church ! for ever hear,—
 Hear Thou Thy servant's evening hymn ;
 Give that lone voice a power to raise,
 From sleep more dark and dim.

Be it a witness to thy name,
 For truth, for love, for order dear,
 Charming the sinner from his path,
 Soothing the exile's ear.

It dies beneath the wide grey heaven,
 It dies along the silent plain,
 No answering flock, no deep voiced choir,
 Take up the solemn strain.

Yet patience, strong and holy heart,
 Nor doubt the full response shall come ;
 Still waken with thy lonely note,
 The desert dark and dumb.

Deep down the course of coming years
 That chord shall vibrate once again,

And ages yet unborn shall hear.
 That slumbering Amen.

C. F. H.

Bishop Field was an Apostolic Bishop, it may be doubted whether during the 32 years of his episcopate, he was absent from his Diocese much more than as many weeks. He died June 8th, 1876.*

George Herbert.

The Fineness, which a Hymn or Psalm affords
 Is, when the soul unto the lines accords.

Robert S. Hawker (of Morwenstow).

'Sing from the chamber to the grave !'
 Thus did the dead man say :
 A sound of melody I crave,
 Upon my burial day.

'Sing from the threshold to the porch !
 Until you hear the bell :
 And sing you loudly in the Church,
 The Psalms I love so well.

Then bear me gently to my grave,
 And as you pass along,
 Remember 'twas my wish to have
 A pleasant funeral song.'

Robert S. Hawker.

M. A. (Cambridge).

* *The Life of Bishop Field*, pp. 296, 299.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Report of the Commissioner of Education (United States) for 1900—1901. (Government Printing Office, Washington.)

WHATEVER an American Report may be, it is never in our experience, dull—nor does it follow tamely in the wake of other countries, or of former Reports of its own land. In matters educational, Germany and America may be owned to have the lead. The mere chapter on "Educational Pathology," the mere name of the chapter is sufficient to show the character of the whole, only to be described by the slang term "go-ahead." The chapter opens with the remark that "While formerly education for the masses consisted in the acquisition of elementary knowledge and the training of children normally endowed, it directs its attention now also to the unfortunate, the weak and depraved, and tries to save those for a life of usefulness who were formerly treated as criminals. The blind and deaf-mutes are now treated rationally in State institutions, and the mentally weak are educated to the limits of their capacity. This serves the double purpose of saving the children from confirmed idiocy brought about by neglect, and of freeing the ordinary schools from an incubus that tends to retard the progress of all the pupils. Other agencies are awakening to the necessity of healing and preventing social diseases rather than punishing and incarcerating dangerous elements that cause the disease or are subject to it. This is done by reform schools and other institutions such as children's courts (in Germany) and homes of refuge for children in disgrace or distress, All this is analogous to the progress of physical hygiene. Formerly the State rather stamped out disease with fire and sword than prevented the spread of disease and epidemics by quarantine and actually preventive agencies, as is done now. This prevention of social disease assumes a variety of forms. In the last Annual Report of this Bureau an account was given of public play grounds in city parks, and of summer play schools designed to keep children from the influence of the slums and to awaken in them higher and nobler ideals of life."

Interesting details are given of various institutions attempting to train and reform boys by republican systems of self-government, and also of children's courts in Massachusetts and other

States, which deal with all cases of crime in children under sixteen. The work of a young philanthropist, David Willard, in New York, is fully described. He devotes himself to "settlement work among poor boys" in the lower east side of New York and is a teacher in the Tombs prison, which was till recently a disgrace to civilisation. The Judges in the Court of Special Sessions "have great confidence in Mr. Willard's judgment in the cases of boys and young men, and they parole all offenders between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one for one month in his custody. Mr. Willard enquires into their antecedents, and if he thinks the boy can be reclaimed he so reports and the prisoner is usually released under suspended sentence. The parole system however puts the boy back in 'that devil's kinder garden, the city streets.' Another recourse is to place the boy in some charitable institution, but this plan sometimes proves worse than the other. The children who have been assisted by the Children's Aid Society show the greatest percentage of arrests for crime among those who came from institutions. The petty crimes they committed were largely due to want of worldly experience—a difficulty in distinguishing right from wrong."

The details of the "Cottage Row" in the Farm School which was originally the Boston Asylum for Indigent Boys contain many suggestions for those responsible for School for Native Christian children in India. The boys were on one occasion given some old bed-ticking to play with and proceeded to make it into tents, in which they collected their treasures. The sensible superintendent saw the germ of training of a good citizen in the notion and now the tents have developed into a settlement of cottages with Town Hall, Zoological Gardens, Mayor, Aldermen, Police, Judge and Jury. Culprits are tried and sentenced, defended by counsel and punished in most practical ways. One boy who was convicted of breaking a window was sentenced to mend all the broken glass in the entire "city." Another found annoying the goat, was condemned to feed and water her for a month. The cottages are repaired, furnished and decorated by the boys themselves. The whole scheme gives them a form of home life and the joys of privacy and personal possession which are natural human instincts—in fact to a certain extent belong to the higher animal instincts—usually much to seek in institution life. Is it because those responsible for Indian schools are either married people with homes of their own, whose personal happiness blinds them to its constituent elements, or else unmarried and devout people, practically monks and nuns,

who forget that whatever may be said for community life when voluntarily undertaken for religious purposes by adults is not the method instituted by the Creator for the upbringing of the young. That the great founders of Catholic Religious Communities recognized this fact to a great extent is shown by the family names in use, "Father, Mother, Brother, Sister;" and the tender little traits shown by the greatest among them, give the secret of the success of their early days. St. Dominic's going round on cold nights to see that his sons had a blanket even if he had none, is a case in point. One glaring instance of the failure of so many to recognize that the natural home is an ideal to be copied as much as possible when organizing charitable institutions, is in the usual failure to allow widows who have to earn their living as teachers or nurses to retain their children with them, or at least to have them for holidays.

We recently had put into our hands the rules of a certain Hospital, evidently based on rules in force at home. One stated explicitly that though the period of training was for three years, no nurse was to bring children with her. At the same time the rules had a high moral tone and gave evidence that any grave moral transgression would be promptly followed by dismissal. The Hospital was not a Government Institution but one with the avowed object of assisting Indian women and children. It is strange that the framer of such rules should be so charitable to the general public of Indian women and children and so uncharitable to the special cases of such of them as were not patients but would be nurses and their children. It is also strange that persons of such severe morality should neglect the obvious and natural means of assisting widows (and especially widows of Eastern race) to maintain a high standard of virtue, namely, the presence of their children and the necessity of training them well. The whole mistake is due to a too slavish imitation of Western methods under Eastern conditions. At home nurses are usually the unmarried women with whom Europe teems. Moreover the strict regulation enforced at home as to infectious diseases and education, and the expense of house-room and feeding, would render it next to impossible for the children of nurses to be kept in the ordinary Nurses' Quarters of a Hospital. Here in India these conditions do not obtain; native children at least in their holidays might easily live with their mothers in any Hospital not expressly for infectious diseases. Moreover the barrack-system for women, whether pupils, teachers, or nurses is far worse than for boys or men, as "nature herself teaches," as distinctly as St. Paul says she does with regard to the covering of a woman's head. The

barrack-system may be unavoidable at present for school girls: but for grown women it is to be deprecated. Any little cell is better as a home than a mere bed in a marble-floored dormitory. It must be our English stolid lack of imagination that renders us so far slower than our American cousins in seizing these ideas and acting on them.

The whole Report teems with interest. The section on the Conveyance of Children to School is interesting to us who live in a country where also that difficulty is felt. In many ways American educational difficulties resemble the Indian; e.g., in the great mixtures of races. The question of the compulsory teaching of German and the use of German and Roman Catholic methods in towns full of German Roman Catholics is so important as to fill 177 pages of the Report. The education of the negro forms the subject of a chapter of 127 pages; as also does education in such different places as the Philippines and Alaska. The catholicity of the Report is exemplified by its chapters on education in other countries, notably in Germany and in England.

The Bureau of Education has not scorned to issue a pamphlet on schools in India. One great feature is that these "chapters" which are practically up to date essays on their respective subjects are written not by the Commissioner of Education, but by specialists in the subjects; and long extracts are given, e.g. from an article by Cloudesley Brereton on "A National System of Education" in the *Fortnightly Review* of May 1901. Technical training has a fair share in the Report, and so also, as might be expected in America, has the education of women and the burning question of the co-education of the sexes. The Report therefore forms a most useful handbook to all interested in education in all countries.

*Administration Report on the Jails of Bengal, 1902.
Punjab Jail Report, 1902.*

MAJOR W. J. Buchanan, Inspector-General of Jails, Bengal, contributes a very thoughtful preface to the statistics which form the bulk of the volume entitled "Report." He notes that during the past ten years there has been a rise in the number of habituals or reconvicted prisoners in jail. "This rise is in accordance with the growth of recidivism which is so marked a feature in the prison statistics of other countries." One source of error in such a conclusion is the number of cases imprisoned for "bad livelihood." The great objection of police supervision of discharged prisoners is that it greatly impedes their chance of honest livelihood; if this is the case at home, it is tenfold more the case here

where a discharged prisoner, warned by his first conviction and anxious for an honest living, may be summoned out of his employer's house by a passing *parawallah*, as a *purana chor*, and told that unless he produces bakshish he will be hauled up at the nearest thana for bad livelihood. Such incidents are not contemplated by the law but that they must occur is plain to everyone acquainted with the Indian native of the class in question, although it may be difficult for an official to detect such cases. "Give a dog a bad name and hang him" is one method in dealing with cases of "bad livelihood." If such cases were deducted, the total of re-convicted prisoners in jail would not be so high. The fact however that in all countries the proportion of reconvictions is not only high, but increasing and particularly so amongst women shows that a great change is needed in the shape of enforcing a great difference in the treatment of first offenders and of habituals. Privileges should be accorded to first offenders (might we suggest a greater reduction in the length of sentence by the Judges, exemption from flogging in prison except for assault, and some increase in creature comforts such as the permission to smoke or chew tobacco?) which are not allowed to second offenders. On the other hand, offenders convicted more than thrice might well be looked on as degenerates requiring life imprisonment under conditions approximating to those of a Lunatic Asylum, but involving forced labour. The day of thrashing lunatics into submission is over; they of course have not to be forced to work although work is very desirable for them, but kindness and the payment of small wages which might be used for the purchase of creature comforts, as practised in our leper asylums and in the Elvira Adult and many juvenile Reformatories, might be found much more effective in maintaining discipline and would more befit an age scientific enough to produce Lombroso and Max Nordau. Even the stern discipline of an ascetic monasticism had feasts as well as fasts, and a superior whose title of "Father" showed the ideal at least of Government.

A recent paper on the subject of Jail Punishments in this Review quoted an ex-convict's approval of the "cat." A wonderfully sensible book published about 1880 entitled "Five years' Penal Servitude" made the excellent suggestion that in the case of first offenders, sentences were far too long; that the disgrace and ruin involved were punishment enough, whereas in a re-conviction the disgrace is hardly felt and the jail may be a sort of a refuge to a ruined man who has lost his power to battle in the world. He also suggests that a short sentence, say of a year, would admit of severer discipline than a long sentence. While pleading for shorter sentences

for all first offenders, except such as seem degenerates (and these should rather be treated as criminal lunatics at once) the habit observable among Judges of inflicting heavy sentences such as five years' penal servitude, for trifling offences against property, in the case of an old offender, is to be deprecated on public grounds. It would be better to commit a habitual thief to prison for life where at least he could not hand on his criminal propensities to his offspring, and to make a skilled workman of him, than to let him out at intervals to commit depredations on the public which then had to pay for his keep (and probably that of his wife and children, in countries with a Poor Law,) for a span of years, when it was once demonstrated that no span of years could reform him.

The suggestion made recently by Lord William Neville that Judges would be all the better of a little experience of what prison actually is, at least as an official, (since experience as a prisoner though useful, would be a Utopian idea, fit only for a Gilbert and Sullivan Opera) has a great deal to be said for it. The inequality of sentences according to the idiosyncrasy of the Judge is notorious and has formed the subject of excellent essays in some leading Reviews during the last twenty years. These remarks are suggested not so much by the Government Reports under review, as by the ordinary newspaper criticisms on similar Reports. A review should be something more than a digest. The digest may give the ordinary newspaper reader a summary of the main facts and statistics of the Criminal Justice of a country, but without some intelligent criticism it fails in one of the chief duties of an enlightened press, the bringing to bear of independent observation and judgment on the officials who administer the laws, and on those who make or alter the laws. We are far from echoing Pope's dictum that "Whatever is, is right;" yet so far as newspaper criticism of Criminal Justice is concerned (except now and then in some flagrant case, where possibly the interest is more sentimental than just) one might imagine that the last word had been said not only at home but in India as to the best method of preventing crime and of reforming the criminal. In the twentieth century it should be impossible to report that "three prisoners received on transfer from other jails, came direct to Hospital, and died within a few days or weeks—two lepers died of leprosy and one female under-trial came to the under-trial ward in a state of advanced consumption and died in jail." Some more humane method than a common jail might be found for persons so sorely visited by the hand of God. Neither should it be possible to report of any jail as of that at Barisal "with three such factors as persistent overcrowding, bad water

supply and bad health on admission, it is not surprising that we have bad results." No jail should be established where the water supply is bad, and as the Inspector-General of Jails suggests that "the water difficulty may be got over in a year or so when municipal water works have been started," it may be asked if Government has no power to insist on the starting of such works. In any case overcrowding is culpable; and long sentences, or sentences of imprisonment for small offences which might possibly be otherwise dealt with, should be charily inflicted in a district where ill-health may well drive many to petty dishonesties.

Major Buchanan's remarks on the Marks and Remission system show that like Lieut.-Col. Bate of the Punjab he does not consider that the last has been said for humanity in the way of prison discipline. "If a system could be introduced whereby ordinary marks given for doing nothing in particular or mere negative good conduct were abolished, and marks only given for extra or continued good work and good conduct, I can conceive the system being of greater utility; but it would be difficult to avoid a large degree of favouritism if the selection were left in the hands of the subordinate officers of a jail. It is, however, probable that if a prisoner were able by extra work to earn a certain amount of money gratuity to be given him on release" (we think Lieut.-Col. Bate's suggestion that some immediate increase in creature comforts would be more effectual with most men, else why can most men in the every-day world be induced to work but few to save?) "Such a system might well prove more effective than the present system of shortening sentences. This system obtains in other countries, I understand. While it might be advisable to retain a modified remission system along with a gratuity-earning system in case of first offenders, I would be inclined to abolish the remission system for habituals or persons with more than one (or two) convictions. It is seldom for his own benefit to release a habitual prematurely, and it is certainly not for the benefit of society, but if the habituals felt that by steady hard work and good conduct they could earn a little money which would help them to make another start in life, it would, in my opinion, be a greater incentive to good behaviour and good work than the prospect of a few days' earlier release."

This whole question of aid given whether as charity or as deferred wages to prisoners on leaving is one that needs looking into. Major Buchanan rightly remarks that Rs. 3,500 from the Claude Martin Fund to assist 2,374 released convicts during the year, shows that the Fund is too small to be of much real benefit in assisting a released prisoner to start

again in life. But the liberal tone of the remarks of both the new Inspector-General of Jails, Bengal, and the Inspector-General of Jails, Punjab, raise in one's mind the desire that it were possible to have a conference of higher prison officials in India, and a similar one from time to time at home.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Botticelli. By A. Streeter. (Great Masters in Painting and Sculpture. George Bell and Sons. pp. 167.)

A MONOGRAPH on the life and works of Botticelli at the very moderate price of Rs. 5 with excellent photographs of his most typical pictures, is a boon to the picture-lover, and especially the picture-lover in Oriental exile. To such an one the Suez Canal represents more than a short route home, it represents a possible route home *via* Italy. It is only of recent years that Botticelli has come to the front amongst the artists of the Renaissance. Ruskin does not mention one of his works or even his name, so far as the writer can recollect, in his "Modern Painters." And yet he stands midway between the period when "art was employed for the display of religious facts," and that, extending to the present day unfortunately, when "religious facts are employed for the display of art." A glaring instance of this dictum of Ruskin's may be found in the gallery of modern paintings at Dresden, where a life size picture of the crucifixion is arranged so as to be visible through the length of a long corridor of rooms, mainly to display the Magdalene's hair.

Botticelli's Virgins are not "The crowned Queen Virgins of Perugino," but neither have they "sunk into the simple Italian mother of Raphael's Madonna of the Chair." His "Annunciation," for instance, though not marked by "the glittering childishness of the older art, and the desire to point out the treasures of earth at the Virgin's feet," does not regard her as "an available subject for the display of transparent shadows, skilful tints, and scientific foreshortenings, as a fair woman forming, if well painted, a pleasant piece of furniture for the corner of a boudoir and best imagined by combination of the beauties of the prettiest Contadinas." Yet at the same time it is Botticelli who excels in the depiction of movement. His Angel of the Annunciation has just alighted from his flight from Heaven, his draperies still quivering from the eager haste of his delightful errand. The art of it is as high as the religion of it is deep. And his Virgin is not the hysterical frightened school-girl of modern pictures, but a grave full grown woman, here sacrificing likelihood to inner meaning. Modern art is realistic and emphasizes the fact that Jewish girls were married early: Botticelli (or the pupil of his who possibly painted the Virgin in this picture) recog-

nizes that the Virgin of the Magnificat may be young in this world's years, but is mature in heavenly wisdom. Yet Botticelli is a consummate master of line, as Mr. Streeter points out. He is uncertain in his colouring, often defective in his modelling, and indifferent to effects of light, but he is the first great decorative painter of Italy, the father of the æsthetic (as distinguished from the devotional, and from the scientific) school in art.

Mr. Streeter well brings out the "double-mind of the Renaissance" exemplifying it by the melancholy alike of Botticelli's Virgin and of his Venus: "the one has missed earth, the other Heaven." "*Quattrocento* while still clinging to the faith it had inherited from mediævalism, perpetually contrasted this faith with the new conception of life it had acquired from its discovery of antiquity." This double-mind is an artistic expression of the conflict so often observable in Europeans in the East, when their childhood's faith stands face to face with the persisting non-Christian faiths of the land of their adoption. "Never, perhaps," says Mr. Streeter, "had the Religion of the Cross been so clearly recognized as a *religion of renunciation*" (the italics are ours) "as now when, strictly interpreted, it stood forth in threatening antagonism to the alluring ideals of pagan life of thought." The only danger to the Christian mind in India is where its faith has not been taught as a religion of renunciation; renunciation is not altogether absent from the faiths of old Egypt and Greece, but it is not nearly so apparent as in Hinduism and Buddhism and even in that corrupt offshoot of Christianity, Islam; and a Christianity without renunciation will not only never convert India but is bound to go to pieces when confronted with the ascetic religions of the East.

Fauna of British India. Hymenoptera. Vol. II. Ants and Cuckoo-Wasps by Lieut.-Col. C. T. Bingham (Thacker, Spink & Co. pp. 506.)

THE present is the last instalment to date of a series published under the authority of the Secretary of State for India. The Ants of India, Ceylon and Burma are numerous and have received considerable attention of recent years. This volume deals fully with them and with the Chrysididae, which latter are illustrated by the single coloured plate in the book. The dull coloured Ants are sufficiently represented by black and white drawings, which are very clear. Lieut.-Col. Bingham's first volume appeared in 1897, and comprised the Bees and Wasps. The author very sensibly gives in his Introduction the names of several works on the habits of the insects whose morphology is his own proper

subject. To the public in general the habits of animals are more interesting and more easily observed than their anatomy. There is a danger in the modern cramming system that boys and girls may take their B. Sc. degree and have only a laboratory knowledge of zoology. Field work is very essential, and the reading of treatises such as Lieut.-Col. Bingham recommends, as well as the study of such careful works as the volume before us. Special mention is made of Dr. Ford's contributions on the subject of Indian Ants to the Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society. The book under review opens with the sub-family Dorylinæ, the chief interest of which is the great difference between the male, female and neuter or worker. The male is a large wasp-like insect possessed of well-developed eyes and ocelli; the neuter is blind; the female is apterous and blind, with an immensely developed abdomen a little resembling a female termite. They form their nests in the ground, sometimes at a considerable depth. In India and Burmah the male is a well-known insect, coming freely in the evening into houses to the lights. It is not unfrequently taken for a wasp and there is a night-flying wasp, *Vespa dorylloides*, which, as the name implies, resembles the male *Dorylus*. An interesting feature of the genus *Chrysis* is that all its species are parasitic on fossorial and other Hymenoptera. One species, *Chrysis shanghadensis*, has been reared from the cocoons of a moth *Monema flavescens*; but Lieut.-Col. Bingham considers that this is probably a case of double parasitism, the *Chrysis* being parasitic on an Ichneumon, itself a parasite of the moth. Mr. Horace Knight's coloured illustrations of the Chrysidæ are exceedingly well done.

GOVINDA CHANDRA GITA. The text of this work is a manuscript, which bears the date Bengali 1206 and is therefore just over a hundred years old; the manuscript, however, is a copy of an older work by Durlav Mallik, which probably belongs to the fourteenth century. The Editor of the present work, Babu Shib Chandra Sil, claims for the original the honour of being the earliest historical poem extant in the Bengali language. Certain internal features indicate the period in which it was written and that with which it deals. The use in the poem of some Arabic words shows that at the time Mohamedan influence had already made some impression in Bengal. The incidents it records show that at the time of Govinda Chandra others than Brahmins were recognised as leaders of Hindu religious thought. We seem to trace in this fact the effects of Buddhistic teaching

on Hinduism, and this gives an additional interest to the poem.

The poem deals with the latter part of the life of Govinda Chandra, Raja of Kalinga, who was defeated in battle by Bijoy Sen in 1092 A. D. A great *jogi*, Hadipa, having incurred the wrath of his *guru*, was doomed to live as a sweeper (*hari*, hence perhaps his name), and he spent such a life in the stables of Govinda Chandra. The Rajah's mother, having witnessed some extraordinary feats performed by Hadipa, urged her son to become his disciple. Overcoming after much effort his natural scruples to accept a low menial as a *guru*, the Rajah went through the many ordeals to which Hadipa subjected him in order to test his sincerity. When, however, the Rajah had acquired powers similar to those of the *jogi* he fell under his sore displeasure for making a display of these powers before the Ranees, and was deprived of them by Hadipa. The Raja retaliated by having Hadipa buried alive, and in this state he remained for 12 years until he was exhumed by his disciple Kanupa. The irate Hadipa's revenge was averted by the penitence of the Raja, who eventually retired to the Deccan as a Vaishnav.

The language and style of the original poem as well as the absence from it of anything like true poetry or deep philosophy shows that it was intended for the masses rather than the educated classes.

The Editor of the book under review deserves much praise for the great powers of research of which he has given proof in valuable and lengthy notes. He has done a good work in adding a short chapter to the records of ancient Bengal. The publication of such a book is an encouraging sign that the people of Bengal are beginning to take a real interest in literary matters concerning their country.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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