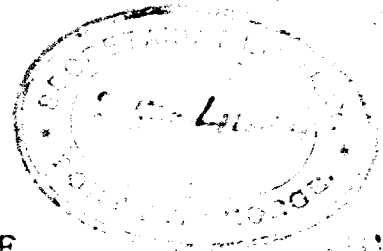


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CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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April 1904.

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 on that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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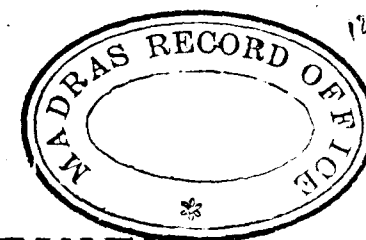
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THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 236—APRIL, 1904.

Art. I.—THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMAN IN BENGAL.

IT is always an interesting sight to see an ancient society passing through an important evolution, and to forecast its future. For the last forty years or more in this province the improvement of the other sex has been the subject of constant talk and thought and effort. The progress made is considerable. It is just to observe that the progress is largely the effect of Christian Missionary endeavour supplemented by members of the Brahmo Somaj, and some of the young gentlemen who have been to England for education, and returned with new ideas. There are hundreds of Bengali ladies who are emancipated from the traditional ignorance, apathy, and seclusion, there are scores, not hundreds, who freely move among the public; there are dozens who have won University degrees. There are multitudes who write essays and verses on all manner of subjects and publish them in the vernacular magazines. There are not a few homes both in Calcutta and the mofussil where the style of living is modernised and Europeanised, and there are troops of handsomely dressed children whose parents take pride that they cannot speak their mother tongue, but talk either in broken English, or oftener in broken Hindustani. At every point female improvement shows activity, and the question now is not whether the improvement should or should not continue, but on what lines it is to be carried on. This question can be answered in three ways. The old orthodox Hindu way; the modern English and American way; the combination of these two taking shape in a natural way whereby national instincts and usages are progressively modified in the spirit of Western Civilisation towards a new ideal.

It is singular how within the last ten or twelve years the ancient Hindu standard of female life has reasserted itself again and again, and a silent or semi-public protest has been made against modern forms of girls' education. Within our own knowledge not a few lady Radicals have turned Tories, old customs have been ostentatiously revived, the old law books have been searched for a solution of social problems. A suspicion naturally arises from all this as to whether every thing in old time practices which is disagreeable to our modern social training is necessarily bad, and should be discarded. The ancient model for the woman's life was her absolute domesticity. Wife or widow, girl or grandmother, she practised all her life an utter self-devotion to the household, outside of which she recognised no obligation. On occasions of *puja*, or important ceremonies, such as marriage and funeral, she attended the houses of neighbours and took part in social festivities, but even these had a distinctly domestic purport, they conserved and strengthened the relations of the caste and clan. This predominant domesticity made the old time Hindu woman a strong housewife, exercising in certain things greater influence than the male members; it made her an expert cook, a clever economist, a good organiser, a formidable controversialist, quite a character whose place in the home and neighbourhood had to be reckoned with. Another characteristic of the old system was the unvarying religiousness of the Hindu lady. Men were not particularly careful of their spiritual or even moral concerns, but it was a most exceptional thing to hear anything said against the religiousness, or regularity, or ethical correctness of the Hindu household. The simple reason of it was that the ladies ruled these. It is indeed long ago I renounced the customs of orthodox Hinduism, but the sense of simplicity, regularity, comfort and kindness of the Hindu home can never be wiped out of my memory, and whenever I recall those experiences the genial faces of the Hindu ladies present themselves in the mind's eye.

New let us turn to the modern Europeanised model. No one dare breathe a word against European estimates of womanhood. But the question is how far these estimates are applicable to Hindu society, and how far they should be

allowed to push overboard the indigenous preferences and principles of the people of this country. Surely it is self-evident that when you choose to accept European education you cannot logically refuse to accept its main principles on the subject of female education. These principles have undeniably advanced the teaching and improved the manners of our young ladies. Excellent as the old models of Hindu life might be, they could not be fully maintained among the exigencies of the present day. The integrity of the zenana is practically abandoned; it is no longer thought very creditable for an Indian lady not to know the art of reading and writing. Young men looking out for wives expect them to possess certain social accomplishments which are at bottom European in their origin. The Indian woman is no longer the mere slave of the household, she feels the growing sense of public duty. She attends religious and social meetings. She visits places of public entertainment where there is reserved accommodation for her, nay even where there is none; she is self-possessed while travelling. There are a hundred things to show that she has, under the pressure of Western ideas, overstepped the limits of the old civilisation. We should suffer this course of natural evolution to quietly continue. But some men would not suffer this; it is too tame for them. They would introduce and work the whole scheme of Anglicised social radicalism. Even in European countries manners and models of woman's life change, nor are two nations just the same in these matters. There are quieter and less quiet people everywhere in the West. It is difficult to say why we should imitate the latter; it is difficult to say why the unreasoning imitation of outlandish customs should be the ideal of refinement and reform for the women of Bengal. Take, for instance, the subject of dress. No one can doubt that the costumes of educated Bengali ladies mark the various stages of an evolution at once graceful and proper. But undeniably the metamorphosis shows a rapid sliding down in the direction of the low neck and bare elbow about which there is presumably some difference of opinion even in English society. The old orthodox array of a single piece of *sari* is primitive and scarcely proper. But a long and reckless stride towards the European

evening dress, towards the extravagance and frivolity of it, however dignified among Europeans, will not carry much dignity or propriety in Indian eyes. Abstractly judged clothes are of little moment; practically one's dress goes a great way towards alienating from or reconciling with the surrounding society. Over-dressing is a passion to which women are naturally subject, and in times of transition, the passion is likely to grow wilder. But the object of woman's improvement in Bengal is not to turn out the fashionable woman, but the refined woman.

Take again the subject of food and drink, the latter specially. The old national diet of Bengal is fertile with so many causes of illhealth, that a change is indispensable, and that change has come. The European style of food is rapidly coming into fashion like the European clothing. The effect is not very wholesome, when judged in respect of drink. At the beginning of the epoch of English education the use of alcoholic liquors suddenly came into vogue, and for succeeding decades many of the most prominent among educated Bengalis died from the effects of intemperance. The progress of the Brahmo Somaj checked this evil. It was never an article of the Brahmo Somaj creed to abstain from drinking wine, but the powerful example of such men as Keshub Chunder Sen laid down an unwritten law against it which few dared to violate. It had all the force of a reaction against the old Hindu College habit formed by its first alumni, and what Temperance reformers could not do the influence of the Brahmo Somaj undoubtedly did. Now the cause of reform is taken in hand by another race of men, I mean some of those who have been to Europe for education, and have returned with European habits. They are free from the old wholesome prejudice against wine-drinking, and many of them have reintroduced it not only amongst their educated fellow country-men, but unhappily amongst some of their fellow-country-women. The growing prevalence of the habit threatens to have the force of a new reaction against the erstwhile Temperance reaction. What there is in the nervous susceptibilities of the Oriental to aggravate the effects of alcohol it is not easy to say, but it is patent to every observer

that the drink-habit grows fast in the Indian constitution, and is deadly in its consequences. If this be so in the case of the male, how much more deadly is it likely to prove in the case of the other sex? The evil is not quite extensive yet, though it is growing, and public opinion may, if rightly worked, put a stop to it. The whole Brahmo Somaj in every section ought to throw the weight of their influence against this fashionable curse.

Take last of all the subject of public entertainment. The taste for theatricals is no doubt a source of higher education for men as well as women. There can possibly be no objection on principle for a lady to visit a first-class theatre in London. But the theatres of Calcutta are not the same as the theatres of London. Private theatricals are tolerable, but it is doubtful whether one's moral principles, specially a lady's, could justify attendance at all Indian theatricals. We remember an instance in which the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and Lady Woodburn had to cancel an engagement whereby they had promised to be present at a Calcutta theatre. The piece acted was not very objectionable, but the moral consequence of the Lieutenant-Governor's presence and patronage was thought to be undesirable. If this was correct proceeding on the part of an English official and his wife would it be correct for an Indian lady to do otherwise; would it for instance be correct for her not only to be present but to play a part on the public stage? What improvement of manners and morals will it advance? Any professed purpose to promote religious and charitable organisation can be no excuse. If religion or philanthropy had no vitality of its own, but must hold by the apron strings of stage-acting or tableau for money-support, that religion and philanthropy had better pack up their portmanteau and go. The motive for an eccentric self-display of ladies on the public stage might be good, but whether anybody among our people would accept it as anything better than wild Anglicism, unwise, untimely, and repugnant to their sense of order and the right instinct of social life, is open to grave doubt. Any intended reform in the direction of public entertainments wherein the other sex is concerned should be most soberly considered and conducted. In India woman has been so long secluded

that it has affected her whole mental formation, the full glare of public life is actually painful to her. It has also affected the attitude of the other sex to her. The chivalrous respect for woman as woman does not form the mental characteristic of an ordinary Hindu. To undo the effects of this degenerate change must be the work of time, trial and patient effort. Anything like a revolutionary extreme is likely to be worse than the evil it is meant to cure. Repeated social and sectarian revolutions have proved that. Our educated men and women must take care not to contract into a small social sect, but be in full touch with the great Indian society of which they are the pioneers. Warm advocates as we have always been of reform on European lines, it cannot be ignored that in the East woman has certain of woman's peculiarities which must not be levelled down. We do not defend seclusion, but we must maintain the dignity of retirement in feminine manners. The Hindu woman hates to be dragged to the admiring gaze of the proletariat. She loves reserve, silence, self-concealment. She prizes knowledge, refinement, and the privileges of civilised society, but she is temperamentally opposed to violent innovations which do not educate but expose her. Every high class woman is a born conservative, and though she be mistreated and misled by undesirable influences, left to herself, she will naturally choose the right and proper course. The wise thing is therefore to educate her, and let her do what she feels is most natural. In old time society her devotedness to the household, her thrift and self-denial distinguished her; any neglect of household duty, household economy, and self-forgetfulness for others' good, however fashionable, would neither be education nor refinement, but its reverse. In former days intense religiousness and scrupulous purity formed the model woman. Good care must be taken that she retains and cultivates her pious intuitions, and that the prevailing atmosphere of scepticism and irreverence does not infect her. The academic part of woman's education is much less essential than the formation of manners, morals, and spiritual life. It is here that all the wisdom of the Orient must exercise itself. The progress will be slow if it is to be ordered progress and not mere innovation, under

the general care of Christian philanthropists and Brahmo Somaj leaders. The evolution of woman's reform in India is quietly moving forward. And all true friends of the country and people watch the progress with interest not unmixed with anxiety.

PROTAP CHUNDER MOZOOMDAR.

Art. II.—FROM CAIRO TO KHARTOUM.

NEARLY everyone returning from India spends a week or two in Egypt. It breaks the journey in a very agreeable manner, and much may be seen in a short time in and near Cairo, its fascinating street-life, and the Bazaars, where many nationalities congregate, Egyptians, Europeans, Arabs, Bedouins, Nubians and hosts of others. Then there are charming drives to the various places around, above all to the great Pyramids of Gizeh and the ever mysterious Sphinx, which are only eight miles distant, Sakkara and Memphis being a little further away.

But to take a trip up the glorious Nile, visiting all the important temples and monuments, Abydos, Kanak, Abu Simbel and the tombs of the Kings, and numbers of others, arriving eventually at Khartoum, it will be necessary to spend three or four months in Egypt. And the time will be well spent for of all the countries in the world Egypt is the most interesting. Every year it attracts more visitors, but there is always something new to see. Excavations are being constantly carried on, and every season brings fresh discoveries to light. We saw last year a chariot which belonged to one of the old Pharaohs found in one of the tombs of the Kings. It is of particular interest, nothing of the kind, I believe, having been discovered before. It was shewn to us by special permission and is now at the Museum at Cairo. Originally it was overlaid with a covering of gold, but this has long since been stripped off and carried away by grave robbers, perhaps thousands of years ago. Everyone ought to visit the Museum before going up the Nile and again on the return to Cairo. It gives additional interest to what one hears about Seti I., Rameses the Great and many other Pharaohs, to have actually seen their mummified remains, and on the return, objects perhaps that have passed unnoticed before, assume a very different aspect after one has heard and learnt so much about them during the journey.

My father and I went out to Egypt last year, and on arrival stayed for a few days in Cairo and, of course, did not

let many days pass before visiting the Pyramids. They are simply stupendous. It is necessary to stand some considerable time before the Great Pyramid ere one can take in its hugeness in any degree whatever, but the best way to get an idea of its height is to mount to the top, a somewhat fatiguing undertaking. The drive from Cairo is a charming one along a well kept road under an avenue of shady trees; or if one is pressed for time there is the tramway, fancy going in such a modern conveyance to the Pyramids! How astonished King Cheops would be if he could take a look round there now. Arriving at Mena House Hotel (which was built as near as possible to the Pyramids on account of the pure and exhilarating desert air) we had tea on the verandah, and then mounted the camels that were waiting outside, for it was still some little distance across the sand to our destination. First we visited the Sphinx, thought by many to be the oldest of all Egyptian monuments, older than the Great Pyramid and that it dated back before the time of Mena even to pre-historic times. The Sphinx has many times been cleared from the drifting sand of the desert. Egypt was often ruled by princes of alien blood and the Sphinx always seems to have been taken care of and respected until its Mahomedan conquerors during the last century actually used it as a target for shooting at, and being now noseless it has acquired an ugly negro aspect. When it was carved out of the solid rock and came into being it was no doubt beautiful, I have even heard enthusiasts say it retains traces of beauty still, but I could not myself see any loveliness whatever in its poor scarred, battered face. How many thousand years the Sphinx has gazed across the desert no one can say with certainty, but it seems hardly probable that it can stay for very many more centuries, for it is certainly gradually crumbling away.

The Great Pyramid was Built by King Cheops of the Fourth Dynasty, as a last resting place for his body, and although it was, I suppose, the strongest building ever erected his corpse was nevertheless stolen. It originally covered thirteen acres before its outer covering of polished granite was taken away, and was a hundred and twenty feet higher than St. Paul's, London, exceeding St. Peter's at Rome by thirty feet, and were

it hollow there would be plenty of room for the latter to stand inside it. This Pyramid took between twenty and thirty years to build, requiring the continuous labour of one hundred thousand men. I was determined to make the ascent and was accordingly dragged up in the orthodox manner, an Arab pulling me by each hand and another helping to push. Some of the stones are four or five feet high. It was harder than I expected and when half way up almost regretted having started. Upon reaching the top I duly inscribed my name. It was somewhat difficult to find a place that had not already been written upon, but at last I found a little space and I remember it was not far from a large A. E. which the Arabs said King Edward had cut in the stone some time ago when he ascended the Pyramid. The view from the top is wonderful, on one hand can be seen miles and miles of sand and numerous Pyramids, on the other hand Cairo in the distance. The Arabs, camels and donkeys standing at the foot, appearing not larger than insects. I waited until the sun set; the great ball of fire illuminated the sand and distant objects with a glorious and weird light. Descending is almost as difficult as going up, and very tiring, jumping from one huge stone to another, a false step would mean being dashed to pieces below. It seems strange there is no mention of the Pyramids in the Bible, for they were already old when Abraham journeyed into the land of Egypt.

On a lovely morning we left the landing stage above the Kasr-el-Nil Bridge on board the *Rameses* for the journey up the great river, soon passing old Cairo and the traditional site where Moses was found in his ark among the bulrushes. In the distance we could see the great Pyramids of Ghizeh, and further on the Pyramids of Sakkarah. Sometimes we passed a stately dahabeyeh with its picturesque lofty sails, and the scene on the banks was an ever changing and animated one. Groups of natives, women filling their stone water bottles, and animals being driven to the river to drink. Just as luncheon was finished we arrived at Bedrachin and suitable men were found for our carrying chairs, which we intended to take with us as far as Assouan. These were not unlike the mountain chairs used in Japan, and are rather like wicker arm chairs

supported by two strong poles, and carried on the shoulders of four men. This is a much easier way of travelling than by donkey back, which is exceedingly fatiguing on long journeys.

Starting we travelled at a fair pace along the rough road, and before long reached the site of Ancient Memphis, considered to have been built by Menes, the first known king of Egypt, who lived about 5,000 years ago. It was a grand old city then and for centuries afterwards, but has long ago been trodden underfoot. The Egyptians from the earliest period built their houses, as they still do, of sundried bricks of Nile mud mixed with a little chopped straw; these falling into decay were after a time reduced again to mud and others built on the top of them, making huge mounds; these mounds are to be seen in great numbers in Egypt, and everywhere you see one you know that once upon a time a city or village must have been there, many have been excavated but there are still plenty left for the explorer. The temples and palaces were built of more substantial material, but even these have entirely disappeared from Memphis as the stones were carried off centuries ago to build other edifices on the right bank of the Nile, and later the Mahommedans took what was left to build themselves houses and mosques in Cairo. Groves of picturesque palms now cover the site of the city which extended for many miles. Pharaoh after Pharaoh succeeding King Mena embellished and enriched the sanctuary and the whole city.

Two gigantic statues of Rameses the Great, now lying on their backs, were unearthed here a few years ago, the larger one of fine grained limestone is one of the most pleasing of his images. On his breast is a shield upon which is inscribed his name "God of the sun, mighty in truth, approved by the sun." This Colossus when whole must have measured forty-two feet in height. We were, however, to see much larger statues even of this wonderful monarch during the journey up the Nile.

Getting into our chairs again our Arabs carried us through richly cultivated fields, where peasants were ploughing with oxen, and little wooden ploughs in exactly the same manner as in the times of the Bible. About an hour brought us to the

Necropolis of Sakkarah where is situated the step Pyramid, also the tomb of Pepi I. and the Pyramid of Unas of the Sixth Dynasty. First, I think, we visited the Serapeum or Apis Mausoleum. Descending a steep and rocky path we entered with lighted candles in our hands. This vast subterranean hall is 1,200 feet long, and the sacred bulls were buried in vaults on each side enclosed in granite coffins of immense size. Twenty-four sarcophagi are now to be seen; they have most of them been rifled at different times and their contents taken away. One chamber alone remained unnoticed, and when the vaults were discovered a few years ago everything was precisely in its original condition although 3,700 years had elapsed since it was closed, even the footprints of the slaves who carried in the great corpse were to be seen in the sand. An avenue of many hundreds of sphinxes led up to the entrance, but these have all disappeared under the sand. The sacred bull was worshipped from early times in a special temple at Memphis. These bulls were quite black with a square spot of white on the forehead and had special priests to look after them. After death they were embalmed and interred with as much ceremony as if they had been kings. The heat in the vaults was so great we were glad to get out into the fresh air again. Many of the children of Israel had learnt the worship of the bull from the Egyptians, and after the exodus, in their discontent, they begged Aaron to make a golden calf to go before them.

Not far from the Apis Mausoleum are some very ancient tombs full of interest, as the paintings on the walls depict the daily life of people of the period. One in particular of a man called Tih who lived about 5,000 years ago. He was a confidant of the King, and married a Princess. The bas-reliefs on the wall portray the life of the founder, how he managed his estates, etc. Being also a keen sportsman, shooting, fishing and hunting scenes are vigorously represented; also pictures show how his food was cooked and his fields ploughed and animals brought up for sacrifice. Here and there is a portrait of himself and his wife, the latter drawn on a much smaller scale; this one sees in all ancient Egyptian representations, the men appearing as huge monsters compared

with their wives and families, which strikes us as being exceedingly comical. In the tomb of Meri, we saw his statue crudely painted still in its place. The statues of the deceased were placed in nearly all the ancient tombs, but many have been taken away and adorn various museums. The paintings here show principally the ancient industries of Egypt, mercantile transactions, building of ships, etc. The poor people were usually mummified and buried in rows in great holes dug in the sand. On the way back we skirted the ruins of ancient Memphis through more groves of palm trees, watching with interest the peasants at their daily tasks at the doors of their huts, and much enjoyed our afternoon tea on our return to the steamer.

The second day we steamed quietly onward seeing a new panorama every minute, the exquisite sunlight on the water, and the soft and warm air made it difficult to imagine that our friends in England, perhaps, were experiencing snow storms and bitterly cold weather. Now and again we passed little villages nestling among palm trees, strings of laden camels and women in long blue robes came down to the river for water, their water pots poised gracefully on their heads. At intervals along the banks we noticed men engaged in raising water from the Nile with the help of curious looking appliances called shadufs. They pulled up the water in buckets by means of a weighted pole resting on a wooden cross bar, sometimes two or three of these were placed one above the other. This is one of the simplest methods the natives have for irrigating the land.

Next morning early we were out on deck again watching the ever-changing scene. Here beautiful green palms, then again sandy waste with great masses of rock in the distance. We reached the village of Beni-Hasan about 1 o'clock, and scrambling through a crowd of noisy shouting donkey boys surrounded by clouds of dust, were hurried away in our chairs to the tombs of Beni-Hasan hewn out of the rock. These famous tombs are situated high up in the mountains. We alighted at the foot and climbed up the steep sandy rocky path, past scores of common mummy pits to the top. The entrances were entirely hidden in the sand until lately excavated. Excavations were still going on and heaps of pottery and

broken vases were lying about. The tombs belonged to grandees, lords, princes and governors, there are about 39 of them, the larger ones consist of a hall for offering and a shaft leading down to a corridor ending in a chamber which contained the sarcophagus and mummy, but the mummies have nearly all been removed. The walls are plastered and scenes in the lives of the deceased painted upon them. One of the finest is that of a governor who ruled a "Nome" in Upper Egypt, his name was Ameni; he seems to have been a good, clever and wise man, but not particularly modest as regarded his own achievements or in setting them forth, for he caused to have written a long inscription in praise of his own virtues, beginning with "I was a gracious and compassionate man and a ruler who loved his city," he describes certain successful military campaigns and expeditions undertaken for his lord; and continues "I never made the daughter of a poor man to grieve, or defrauded the widow or oppressed the labourer" He makes an appeal to all who visit his tomb for funeral offerings to be made to his "Ka"—"O, ye who love life, and who hate death say ye. Thousands of cakes of bread and vessels of beer and thousands of oxen and feathered fowl be to the Ka of the prince Ameni."

It is all very well to make excavations in order to study the art of remote ages, but it hardly seems right to take up these corpses from their resting-places to be exhibited in museums, when their relatives had taken such pains to hide them, carefully selecting some out-of-the-way place in which to bury their dead, and covering the entrance with sand so that many have only been discovered by a mere chance. It was believed by the Ancient Egyptians that as long as the body remained intact the soul would again visit it and be re-united to it, hence their care in preserving their bodies, and thanks to the dry climate many are in perfect preservation to this day. Slaves and peasants were buried in common graves, but kings and noblemen in magnificent tombs according to their ranks and riches. It is supposed that between 4,000 and 5,000 years, 731,000,000 bodies were embalmed around the Nile valley, and although thousands have been dug up, millions yet remain. The bodies were buried in the desert in order to keep them from the Nile floods. At the same time no portion of the

fertile land was taken from the requirements of the living. It has been said that in the whole of the Nile valley not one ancient grave has been found which could be reached by the inundation of the river.

Bodies were mummified in three different ways. By the most expensive method the brain was extracted through the nose by means of an iron probe, and after making an incision in the side of the corpse the heart, liver and intestines were removed, steeped in wine and aromatic gums and placed in jars sacred to the gods. The cavity in the body was filled with fragrant substances such as myrrh and cassia, and sewn up again, next it was laid in natron for sixty or seventy days, and finally wrapped in soft bandages of linen, and laid in the mummy case. Only the very poor used the cheapest method of embalming; the body was merely cleaned with strong astringents and laid in salt, or in salt and hot bitumen for seventy days and a set of wax figures made in the shape of the four gods of the dead were sometimes buried with them in lieu of the expensive funeral jars.*

As we descended the hill, scores of children flocked round us crying "backsheesh," "backsheesh." Dozens ran in front and behind, clamouring and holding out their hands, tumbling over one another in their eagerness to get closer. It is incessant this cry of "backsheesh" which literally means "a present"; one hears it on all sides from men, women and children till it becomes exceedingly tiresome. To give them anything, only makes them the more ravenous, but we could not resist throwing some small coins to the little ones and at last left them behind.

The fourth day we were delayed a considerable time owing to a dense fog, which obscured everything; the morning was very raw and cold until the sun forced its way through the mist. Proceeding we passed huge rocks rising straight from the banks of the river, there are hundreds of miles of cliffs near the banks of the Nile, Egypt being very rich in building

* The British Museum contains the mummy of a prehistoric man, who lived any time between six thousand and thirty thousand years ago. The position is a curious one, he lies on his side, his hands before his face and his knees drawn up to his chin. He must have been a light coloured man, for a tuft of red hair still remains upon the skull.

material. As one travels up the river, first one sees fine white limestone, then sandstone, and afterwards the red granite of Assouan. All this was floated down in great slabs for the temples. The colossal figures were usually completed in the quarries before removal. Passing through the Barrage we reached Assiout in the afternoon and anchored there for the night. Crowds of natives were waiting on the banks, with their goods to sell spread out before them, here the famous red pottery of the town, there sham jewellery, imitation scarabs, beautiful shawls and bead necklaces. We drove through the bazaars, they are fairly good and some of the European houses outside the town are very pretty. Assiout has always been a town of importance owing to its situation in the midst of a fertile plain and at the beginning of a great caravan route through the Libyan Desert to the Soudan.

Assiout was called the Wolf City from the worship of the god Wep-wat, who was represented with a wolf's head; some say it was sacred to Anubis, the jackal-headed god of the dead, probably it was the same deity under different names. Next morning we drove to the sacred tomb or temple. In one of the chambers was a deep hole from which a number of mummies of wolves had just been dug out; they were lying in heaps on the ground, together with remains of human mummies, probably priests of the sacred wolves. It was a very steep climb to the tomb, which is situated in the mountain side; from there we had a good view of the town with its graceful minarets. Descending we passed a large Arab cemetery. Driving in the usual reckless manner back through the town our Arab driver nearly succeeded in knocking over some of the heavily laden donkeys and camels which blocked the way in the narrow streets.

Resuming our river journey we saw in the distance Kaul-el-Kebir. The temple which formerly existed there was dedicated to Antaeus, the Libyan wrestler, who fought with Hercules; it is said that as long as he remained in contact with his mother earth he was invincible, and in fact the more often he fell the stronger he became. Hercules, therefore, in order to overcome him had to hold him in the air. There is a large hole in the side of the hills where a number of mummies were

found a year or two ago, but being of no particular interest were put back again.

The next day being Sunday we remained on board, having the church service in the saloon in the morning. During the afternoon we passed the tomb of Sheik Saleem, a Mahommedan saint held in much reverence by the Arabs; during his life he sat on the same spot where he is now buried, some say for over fifty years during the heat of summer and cold of winter, without clothes and unwashed, depending entirely upon the villagers near for food. They in return entreated his blessing and would have parted with their last penny rather than he should starve.

Abydos is not far from here, but as we intended leaving these ruins until the return journey we went straight on to Dendera, a large and magnificent temple dedicated to the Egyptian Venus, Hathor, the goddess of love and joy. It was built in the first century B.C. during the reigns of the later Ptolemies on the site of an older edifice founded in very ancient times. It is in splendid preservation except that nearly all the faces of the gods and goddesses within reach have been shamefully mutilated, presumably by the Copts, early Christians, in excessive religious zeal. It is unfortunate so many of the Egyptian temples have been knocked about in this manner. In some bas-reliefs whole figures have been chipped away, the outline alone remaining. The walls higher up towards the ceilings remained unmolested.

We passed through one dark chamber after another with lamps and candles, the walls and pillars of which are principally covered with fantastic forms of Hathor in various attitudes. Horus, the hawk-headed god, and Troth, the ibis-headed are represented sprinkling the king with the symbols of life. The monarch offers incense and flowers to them, while they in return promise him long life and prosperity. On the ceiling of the Great Hall, supported by great Hathor-headed columns, paintings of scarabaei and zodiacal emblems appear, the colours being still quite distinct. We descended some steps and crawled through a small hole with great difficulty to get into the crypt. It was pitch dark, but by burning magnesium wire, which gives a brilliant light for a few moments,

we were able to see. Some of the finest carvings are here, and as they were doubtless overlooked by those exceedingly zealous persons are as perfect as on the day they were executed. Hundreds of bats hanging from the ceiling were disturbed at our approach, and not liking the light flew about in all directions making us hurry to get into the light again. Much of the fine sculpture is due to the beautiful Queen Cleopatra. On the outer wall of the temple appear the famous portraits of herself and her son Cæsarian, whom she was so anxious should succeed her on the throne of Egypt, but after her death the poor youth was murdered. Egypt as a nation, which began with Mena, ended with Cleopatra, when it merely became a Roman province. Quantities of rubbish still lie close up to the temple. Before it was excavated some years ago, it was nearly buried under the accumulation of centuries, and a village of mud huts had even been built upon the roof.

The following day we arrived at Luxor, an Arab village built on the site of ancient Thebes, remaining there some days. Thebes is said to have been one of the most magnificent cities in the world. It dates from the early kings, but during the reign of Amenophis IV. (the king who replaced the old religion of worshipping so many deities for one god, the Sun) the kingdom was transferred to Tel-el-Amarna. After his death it was again removed to Thebes, which extended for many miles on both sides of the river, and grew in importance as time went on, and the finest temples were built by Seti I. and Rameses II. The great temples of Luxor and Kanak lie on the eastern bank of the river, and were connected by an immense avenue of ram-headed sphinxes two miles long; probably there were more than five hundred. Many still remain but nearly all of them have been very much knocked about, some lying on their sides broken in pieces and others headless. As the sun rises in the east and sets in the west the eastern bank was called "the city of the living" and the western bank contained the Necropolis or "city of the dead" which included many temples, and far away in the distance the tombs of the kings; persons principally connected with the rites of the dead such as embalmers and certain priests lived here. The populace on each side of the river could see those on the

opposite bank; a grand religious procession must have been a fine and imposing spectacle, hundreds of priests richly dressed passing along those beautiful avenues, including, perhaps, the king and his numerous retinue. No wonder the people looked on with awe and veneration.

We started quite early in the morning to visit the great ruins of Kanak, the most wonderful and interesting in Egypt. Riding through the village of Luxor for some distance and on through the Avenue of Sphinxes we at last reached the ruins of the great Temple of Ammon, the "Throne of the World"; huge pillars, blocks of stone, colossal figures and broken obelisks were piled up or lying about in grand confusion. The Temple was added to by many successive Pharaohs. Entering the Hypostyle Hall of Seti I. the most splendid single chamber that has ever been built, we gazed on its famous columns. Seti set up seventy-nine and Rameses II. fifty-four. Six men with arms extended could hardly span one of them. They are completely covered with hieroglyphics and figures of the gods in beautiful bas-reliefs. Some of the lovely colouring still remains. It must have been the richest and most magnificent building ever seen. Several of the columns were prostrate, others appeared to be on the verge of falling, gangs of workmen being employed in raising them to their original position; a gigantic task.

In other parts of the Temple are one or two fine obelisks, one, particularly beautiful, hewn out of the pink granite quarry at Assouan, was placed there by the proud Queen Hatasu; its apex was originally covered with gold to be better seen from a distance, the fellow to it has been overthrown and lies close by. Then there is the Triumphal Monument of Sheshonk I. (the Shishak mentioned in the Bible). It commemorates the victory won by Shishak over Rehoboam, son of Solomon, and confirms the account given in 1 Kings c. XIV v. 25, 26, "And it came to pass in the fifth year of King Rehoboam, that Shishak, King of Egypt, came up against Jerusalem. And he took away the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house, he even took away all the shields of gold which Solomon had made." Mention is also made of the event in 2 Chronicles XII.

During the afternoon we visited the Temple of Luxor close by the river bank, and saw what there was to be seen of it, for a great part lies buried; many recent buildings and huts have been cleared away, but a little mosque, which its Mahommedan owners will not sell to the Government under a very high price, quite spoils the appearance of the Temple courts. The edifice was built by Amenophis III. and was much added to by Rameses II., who, as usual, could not refrain from erecting several colossal figures of himself. One of two pink obelisks remains, the other is in Paris and adorns the Place de la Concorde.

Luxor is a pretty village; the hotels have charming gardens. It is quite a winter resort for invalids and boasts a few shops, but nearly all the antiquities sold are counterfeits, being turned out by the gross every season to be sold to tourists. Scarabs, votive statuettes, imitations of old beads and bits of mummy cases, you cannot walk for many yards without being surrounded by numbers of men and children worrying you to buy their forged articles and assuring you that they are really antique.

Up betimes the next morning (for it is a long journey to the tombs of the kings) we were rowed across in a small boat to the western bank of the Nile. Borne shoulder high by four men, a "relay" running behind our chairs to take the place of those when tired, we were carried over a sandy waste, a cutting wind blowing clouds of dust upon us (it had turned suddenly cold the previous day), then along narrow paths through flourishing corn lands, where fellaheen were busy at work, a little distance brought us to the Temple of Koonah founded by Seti I. in honour of the god Ammon, and for the worship of the king's father Rameses I.

Emerging we proceeded along a stony valley for a considerable distance. High limestone cliffs in all kinds of curious shapes rose on either side. Once it was a rushing torrent bed and the ground is strewn with huge boulders. This is the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings. The glare was very great, it was necessary to protect the eyes as much as possible. At last we arrived at some unpretentious looking square openings in the rocks, guarded by custodians, and were told that these

were the entrances to the Tombs of the Kings. Here in chambers cut out of the living rock the Pharaohs of the 18th to the 20th Dynasties were buried; these rock tombs succeeded the Pyramids and consist of passages, chambers, corridors, staircases and pillared halls each farther removed from the entrance than the last, usually slanting downwards. The walls and pillars are covered with beautiful paintings in infinite variety. These sepulchres are gorgeous palaces and decorated as magnificently. We visited several of the tombs, that of Seti I. whose mummy is in the Museum at Cairo being one of the largest and best known. It contains three pillared halls, a large room thirty feet long, six small chambers, three staircases and two long corridors. Every part is ornamented, as are all the tombs with descriptive pictures showing the king being conducted into the world of death, attended by Anubis, the jackal-headed god. There are various other deities, serpents, demons, crocodiles, and bats. And the mummy is borne in a boat over the sacred lake. Finally the king after being purified and judged by Osiris, the god of the underworld, is received into the abode of the blest.

And here I may mention that all these gorgeous tombs are now lighted by electricity. Incongruous it may be! but what a splendid idea! instead of being obliged to grope along through the pitchy darkness with candles or torches, the smoke of which considerably damages the ornamentation, as one enters a brilliant light is switched on enabling one to see clearly the minutest detail. I am glad I did not visit the Tombs of the Kings two or three years earlier. Moreover wooden staircases have been erected along the slanting passages, and bridges over some of the deepest of the pits.

As the Ancient Egyptians believed in the revivification of the body so were they anxious to have their tombs as magnificent as possible, in order that the soul, when it revisited the body might have a fitting place to dwell in; for this reason many of their possessions were buried with them, articles of adornment, vases of gold and silver, jewellery, bows and arrows, and often the Book of the Dead to instruct them the way to the abode of the blest. Also meats to refresh the body, and above all numerous scarabs or emblems of the sacred beetle. These

were made in amethyst, jasper, balast, cornelian, and glass. Generally one was placed in the mummy in place of the heart. Scarabs were also used for commemorating historical events and for ornaments, men and women wore them in rings. They were made into bracelets and necklaces, these were often buried with them. Myriads have been discovered, some of great value according to the inscription or name of kings or nobles written on the flat base of the scarab.

But the most beautiful tomb of all is the last resting-place of Amenophis II., a king who lived some years before Seti I. and Rameses II. For some reason it had remained unnoticed by early grave robbers, and had not been plundered as nearly all the other graves have been, consequently when it was discovered two or three years ago everything was in its place just as the relatives had left it thousands of years before. We descended a passage of considerable length by the aid of the temporary wooden staircase, and passing through several rooms at last reached the chamber of the dead. There rested the king in his sarcophagus; the lid having been removed and glass put in its place, we were able to see the monarch lying in sublime repose exactly as he had lain through thousands of years. A strong electric light was placed at the head of the coffin. As we gazed down at the tranquil face and around the magnificent abode of the dead it was impossible to remain unmoved. It had an indescribable effect upon us. The exquisite pictures of the gods and goddesses in such gorgeous colouring on pillars and walls were as fresh as on the day they were painted, no smoke of candles or torches having defiled them, nor hand of man defaced them.

The heat in the tombs was very exhausting, but it is always so in the underground passages in Egypt. Emerging into the open air again, which had considerably altered since morning, the sun being now quite hot, we climbed or were rather dragged by an Arab on either side, up a steep and stony path, our chairs following behind, and again seating ourselves were carried over the Libyan chain of mountains. The Nile Valley looked beautiful in the sunlight as it lay below us. After travelling some distance we again dismounted and almost slid down the other side, ankle deep in

sand and stones, close behind the Temple of Queen Hatasu. She caused it to be built to commemorate the wonderful expedition to Punt, or as we know it Somaliland, which took place during her reign, about 1515 B. C. On the inner walls of the Temple are descriptive paintings of the whole journey; the sailing of the ships; the happy reception of the Ambassador among the savage tribes, and the return, when the whole city went out to meet the travellers who had brought with them gold, silver, leopard skins, dogs, apes, ebony, and incense trees to be planted in Egypt. The chief of the country and his wife, a curious looking dwarf, returned with the expedition to do honour to Queen Hatasu. Very little of the outer part of the ancient Temple is left, it has been greatly restored. Hatasu was an extraordinary woman and assumed a position hardly held previously by any female in Egypt; she reigned for some years alone, then conjointly with her young brother Thumosis III. She was often represented in male attire and with an artificial beard, and preferred being called "The King" rather than "The Queen." She handed down many monuments to posterity.

Being by this time exceedingly hungry and thirsty, the sight of luncheon laid out in the little rest house "Chalet Hatasu," near to the Temple, was an exceedingly agreeable one, the table was loaded with innumerable good things brought from the steamer. We certainly did justice to the meal, and mightily enjoyed an hour's rest afterwards, although enlivened by the presence of several pedlars of antiquities, who had actually followed us there, and had placed their wares on heaps of stones just outside the verandah where we were sitting.

Another day we crossed to the western bank again, being borne over the same sandy plain to the fields beyond. Here the peasants or fellaheen were busy at work making bricks for their houses, of Nile mud; rows and rows were lying in the sun to dry; or irrigating their land by means of sakkiyehs, large wheels to which a chain of waterbottles had been attached, and drawn by blindfolded oxen, a little boy sitting on the pole to drive them round and round, small canals supplying water from the river. Many donkeys passed by, so laden one could hardly

see anything but a moving mass on the top of four thin legs, or we met a scornful looking camel its nose high in air heavily laden with sugarcane, and women who drew their shawls across their faces if we glanced at them, carrying their babies astride one shoulder, one little foot dangling in front, the other behind, their tiny hands clasping their mothers' heads.

We soon arrived at the Rameseum, an enormous building erected by Rameses II., but at the present time almost a heap of ruins. Here lie the remains of the Colossus of Rameses II., the hugest statue in Egypt. It is supposed that it was knocked to pieces by Cambyses the Persian. With difficulty, as it is so finely polished, we climbed upon the face of the statue, which measures from ear to ear $6\frac{3}{4}$ feet. How this huge mass of granite, sculptured 3,200 years ago, was floated down the river from Assouan, dragged across the wide sandy plain and set up in its place, will ever remain a mystery, as its total weight is considered to be over two million pounds. It is supposed that Rameses II. was the Pharaoh who oppressed the Israelites so grievously. He was certainly the greatest builder in Egypt, adorning it from one end to the other with monuments, generally in the form of colossal statues of himself, for he was inordinately vain, and without multitudes of slaves at command could not possibly have accomplished what he did. Cities grew apace. In the Bible we read, "They built for Pharaoh treasure cities, Pithom and Rameses," treasure cities were built for the purpose of taking care of military stores and grain. When these cities were excavated a few years ago the bricks were found to be of three qualities in the store cellars, the lower bricks were mixed with chopped straw, higher up with reed and stubble, and at the top when the poor oppressed Israelites could get no more, with Nile mud alone, having nothing to bind them together they were not so strong. Rameses reigned sixty-seven years, was exceedingly handsome, brave and warlike in his youth taking part in many great battles, but in his latter years the country was given over to peace, enabling him to bestow more time on his favourite building operations. Of his 170 children 111 were princesses. And it is supposed his eldest daughter was the princess who found Moses in the ark of bulrushes and brought

him up in her house as her own son. Rameses the Great was buried in the valley of the Tomb of the Kings, and his mummy is now in the new Museum at Cairo close to his father Seti I. * His son Menephthah I. succeeded him, and was the Pharaoh who lost his chariots and hosts in the Red Sea when pursuing the Israelites.

There are some tombs of private individuals in the hill behind the Ramaseum. One, the tomb of Nekht, is beautifully painted, and is a fine example of the grave of a Theban gentleman of the Middle Empire. The representations shew various scenes in his daily life, himself and his wife seated at table, or in an arbour while attendants bring them poultry, fruit, fish, etc. Others show birds being caught in nets and plucked, and various other domestic scenes.

Returning we stopped to view the famous Colossi of Thebes. These sitting figures are two portrait statues of Amenophis III.; each was formed of a single block of sandstone, and are more than sixty feet high, they were originally placed in front of a temple, but all trace of it has now disappeared. They are surrounded by cornfields and, during the inundations, by the waters of the Nile. For more than three thousand years they have sat there keeping their watch over the lapse of ages. The more eastern of the two statues was known to the Romans as the "Vocal Memnon," as it sometimes emitted in the early mornings a musical sound. This continued for about two hundred years, when the figure which had been seriously damaged by an earthquake was restored, and from that time the sound entirely ceased.

The next morning we proceeded on our journey up the Nile, arriving in an hour or two's time at the village of Esneh. We walked through the Bazaars to the Temple of Khnum, the ram-headed local deity. Until you get close to it you can hardly see it, as the Great Hall lies so far below the surface, it was in fact choked to the chin with rubbish until excavated by order of Mohammed Ali. But thanks to this rubbish it has been preserved from mutilation by the natives.

* The mummies of Rameses II., Seti I., and one or two other Pharaohs are in perfect preservation. The features are refined, the hands long and slender, and the nails beautifully shaped, manicured and stained with henna.

The mound has been cut away from the building, which stands on the level of the ancient city, forty feet below. Standing level with the capitals of the pillars we looked down, then descended a wooden staircase into the Great Hall. It reminded us very much of Dendera, and is in beautiful preservation, but then it is comparatively modern, that is to say it was built about the time when our Christian era began. The names of Claudius and Vespasian occur among the Egyptian gods.

Walking back to the steamer we were followed by the usual crowd of children demanding *backsheesh*. The market place swarmed with people sitting about displaying their wares, and we nearly fell over some of the camels and donkeys lying about. I think in this village we saw more pigeon houses than in any other. The Arabs keep flocks of pigeons and build houses for them on the roofs of their own. Numerous sticks project in all directions for the pigeons to perch upon, giving to the locality quite a picturesque appearance, and numbers of waterpots are placed upside down for them to lay their eggs in. They are allowed to feed upon the grain at will, and certainly consume more than they are worth.

Later in the afternoon we stopped at Edfou, a temple 2,000 years old, in better preservation than any in Egypt, but unfortunately the faces of the gods and kings in the reliefs all over the temple were scratched out by the early Christians.

The day we reached Assouan was a glorious one. During the morning we passed Silsileh with its vast quarries of sandstone, from which the Ancient Egyptians took most of the material for their buildings. Many cartouches of kings from the earliest to the latest periods are to be seen. We stopped for a short time to visit the small temple of Komombo, situated on a hill commanding the Nile. Assouan was reached about 3 o'clock, and after tea we descended into a small boat and were rowed round the charming Island of Elephantine, afterwards taking a walk in the fascinating Bazaars; hundreds of bead and shell necklaces, spears and articles made of crocodile skin seemed to be the chief attractions.

Being obliged to put off making further acquaintance with this delightful place until the homeward journey, as the

"Prince Abbas" was waiting for us above the First Cataract, we left by the little railway to Shellal, embarking about 10 o'clock just above the First Cataract. Beautiful Philae was soon passed, her head rising proudly above the water. Since the opening of the Dam the Nile has been affected for about fifty miles. The palms which grew so luxuriously by the river side will ere long be dead. The feathery tops of the trees only could be seen. Government compensated the natives for every one of these date palms, enabling them to plant others in place of them. In an hour or two we came to the prettiest part of the Nile, a very narrow gorge, huge rocks rising from the sides, this was the strait of Kalabseh. Here a long pole had to be brought into requisition every few minutes to ascertain the depth of water. Near were two temples to be visited. One was much damaged by an earthquake shock long ago. Some of the gods and goddesses were painted in different colours, green, yellow, blue and red, and their faces had a coarse appearance with thicker lips and noses than those in lower Egypt. The natives too presented an entirely different type. These were jet black Nubians. The women had huge rings in their noses, and they and the little girls looked so quaint with their hair done into scores of plaits encircling their heads exactly like the pictures we see of the Ancient Egyptians. I believe when once plaited and soaked in castor oil it is not undone again for months, and this must be a somewhat trying ordeal as it is generally matted together with dust and sand. The girls and boys were wearing a little fringe made of leather thongs suspended from their waists. As usual the babies had dozens of flies creeping over their faces and eyes. It was difficult to take pictures of these people, one woman when she saw me advance with my Kodak screamed like a maniac and covered her face and her child's. But generally an offer of *backsheesh* will bring them to reason. That same evening we stopped to see the rock Temple of Gerf Husen, stumbling along in the darkness over the rough ground with candles in our hands. On entering we lighted magnesium wire, and, weird enough looked those huge figures carved out of the solid rock.

Early next morning the steamer stopped at Dakkeh. This Temple was built by Ergamun, king of Ethiopia, or Nubia, the land of "Cush" of the Scriptures. Ascending the Pylon the view of the Nile Valley in the early morning light with the mountains in the distance was glorious. Native children followed after us watching us curiously. They were better behaved and not such terrible beggars as the Arab children. We visited later Saboa "Valley of the Lions," so called on account of the Sphinxes whose heads just appear above the sand. The latter had drifted right into the Temple Court which was almost choked up with it. There is a marked difference in the appearance of the sand in Upper and Lower Egypt, here it is of a reddish golden tint; while in Lower Egypt it is of a pale straw colour. The balmy exhilarating air was delightful and on reaching Korosko we decided to climb the mountain to see the sunset. It was truly magnificent and well repaid our exertions.

We anchored for one or two days in front of the great rock Temple of Abu Simbel, the finest of its class known to exist, consisting of several chambers hewn out of the living rock. In front imagine four sitting figures side by side, each seventy feet in height, of the Great Rameses II. These form the façade; the features have a noble expression marked by profound repose. What a marvellous mind this man must have had! several of his children stand near him. Quite close to the Great Temple is a smaller one dedicated to his beloved wife Nefertari, six statues, each 30 feet high of Rameses and his Queen adorn the front, three on each side of the doorway, as well as some smaller ones of their children. The hieroglyphs explain that "Rameses the Strong in Truth, the Beloved of Ammon, made this divine abode for his royal wife, Nefertari whom he loves."

Leaving Abu Simbel, a few hours brought us to Wady Halfa, the Second Cataract. Nothing of interest is to be seen there. At 7 o'clock we boarded the little express train on the Soudan Military Railway and after an excellent dinner started on our way to Khartoum. We found our sleeping apartments very comfortable, fitted with electric bells and light, and running so smoothly, although the rails are only laid on the level sand. The next morning we stopped at Abu Hamed, where a number

of bath houses have been built for the use of passengers. Thoroughly refreshed we returned to the train for breakfast, and spent the rest of the day in the cheerful saloon. There was not much to be seen in the way of scenery, orange coloured sand stretching as far as the eye could reach, and here and there bushes of spiky mimosa. But the mirages were wonderful. It was almost impossible to believe that the pools of water in the distance with the palms reflected in their smooth surface were not real. The train stopped for a few moments at Berber, which owed its former importance to its position on the great caravan route to and from the Soudan, and soon afterwards crossed the Atbara on a long iron bridge. This river is one of the tributaries of the Nile, and brings down the water from the Abyssinian mountains after the great rains. Not far away are the Pyramids of Meroe and many others that have hardly been explored yet. We had been told to expect a very hot and dusty journey, but on the contrary, found it quite cool and pleasant. It was fortunate for us, however, being able to travel in January, no doubt later in the season the heat would be almost unendurable. We reached Halfaya, the terminus of the Railway about midnight, but remained in the train until the next morning, when we were conveyed by steamer to the Grand Hotel at Khartoum.

Soon after breakfast we went for a stroll along the Promenade by the river bank, passing the Sirdar's Palace, also the Gordon Memorial College, which was being brought to completion. It is an imposing structure and will be used as a Technical School where all useful trades will be taught, and youths will be trained by English and Egyptian teachers for an official career. Some of the Officers' Bungalows looked charming, surrounded by gardens and palm trees; and one can spend a pleasant hour or two in the Zoological Gardens, a military band plays there once or twice a week.

Khartoum, the Capital of the Soudan, is situated on the tongue of land formed by the union of the Blue and White Niles. The town was originally built by Mohammed Ali about 1823, and became an important trading depot for Egypt. During the rebellion of the Mahdi, Gordon was sent by the British Government to withdraw the Garrisons

in the Soudan, he entered the town in February 1884, and defended it against many odds for some months. When the gallant General fell in 1885, Ondurman became the Der-vish capital and Khartoum was reduced to ruins, but since the recapture of the Soudan by Lord Kitchener, the city has grown up again and is improving by leaps and bounds. Stately buildings are springing up on all sides. Very wide streets are being laid out at right angles to one another, levelled and planted with trees. The Promenade is especially beautiful, it is two miles long, and an avenue of trees extends from one end to the other. The means of locomotion is by horse or donkey back, scarcely any carriages are used in Khartoum yet, the streets are hardly ready for them. In the centre of the town is Gordon Square; it was awaiting at the time of our visit the beautiful bronze statue of General Gordon seated on a camel, which was temporarily erected in London in the summer of 1902. A short time ago I heard it had arrived (after passing through certain vicissitudes) at its destination.

The Palace of His Excellency the Sirdar and Governor-General of the Soudan (on the site of Gordon's old house) is a magnificent building facing the river. British and Soudanese sentinels pace backwards and forwards before it, day and night. As seen from the Gardens it is lovely, being surrounded by shady palms and other trees although only about five years old, for luckily when the Dervishes razed the place to the ground they left the trees standing. The Gardens are extensive and bright with roses and all kinds of tropical flowers. A day or two after our arrival we had tea with the Sirdar and Lady Wingate in a charming tent decorated with oriental hangings facing the Croquet Lawn and near the Rose Garden. After tea Lady Wingate took us to see Gordon's Rose Tree, really grown up from the old ones he planted himself; and we saw her tame leopard. She also has among her pets a most curious bird with an enormous bill, it is something like a pelican, it moves slowly across the lawn or stands among the flower beds, looking at one solemnly with its green grey eyes, I believe it was brought from Central Africa. Then we strolled into the Hall of the Palace, the walls of which are embellished with different kinds of guns

and spears, and the spot where Gordon fell was pointed out; a simple tablet bears the following words:—

Charles George Gordon,
Died 26th January, 1885.

As it was Sunday evening, towards 6 o'clock we all went in to the evening Service held in a large room in the Palace. Many officers and men were present. There is no English Church yet in Khartoum, but Lady Wingate is most anxious to raise enough money to have a handsome edifice built before long.

One day we went by steamer to Ondurman, three or four miles off on the other side of the river, passing on the way the junction of the Blue and White Niles. The waters of the two Niles are of an absolutely different colour. On landing we found donkeys awaiting us, and mounting, passed the Gum Market, where hundreds of natives were congregated, and rode slowly through the streets. The sun beat down upon us and the wind blew swirls of dust into our faces, but it was a most interesting day, and one not to be easily forgotten. Here the terrible atrocities of the Khalifa had taken place, and Slatin Pasha had lived in such close proximity to him for years never giving up hope of escaping at last. And here again the Missionary, Father Ohrwalder and other European captives lived in a quarter to themselves, plying simple trades, just getting enough to keep themselves and their families from starving. Father Ohrwalder and one or two others were lucky enough to escape. He, good man, has now gone back to Ondurman, where he has a school of upwards of four hundred pupils. And lastly the dreadful Saier Prison, where Charles Neufeld and others had suffered and languished in chains for so many years. Ondurman extends for about three and a half miles along the river, it was formerly a little village and had a small Fort during the Egyptian administration, but after the Mahdi conquered it he took up his abode there and it became a large town.

This wonderful man, Mohammed Ahmed, was born in Dongola of poor parents, who, however, claimed to be descendants of the Prophet. Being of a religious disposition he studied theology under various teachers and was a great

favourite with them all. After some years he went to Khartoum and became a disciple of the revered Sheikh Mohammed Sherif, to whom he became very much attached. After a time he went to the Island of Abba on the White Nile, where he lived for many years in a hole in the ground fasting and praying and was supported by his brothers who were boat-builders. People came to hear him from far and wide, for his reputation for sanctity had spread over the whole country. One day Sheikh Mohammed Sherif gave a banquet to celebrate an occasion of rejoicing in his family, and gave his guests permission to commit certain sins which were contrary to the Mohammedan religion and promised to pardon them. The pious Mohammed Ahmed hearing of this told his disciples that no man but only Allah could forgive sins. His words reaching the ears of his superior so angered him he immediately struck him off the list of his disciples.

Mohammed Ahmed was terribly upset by this treatment, and because he loved his master besought his forgiveness many times in the most abject manner. Sherif nevertheless cast him off and would have nothing more to do with him, so at last in despair and thoroughly embittered he decided to join himself to another order under Sheikh el Koreishi. Mohammed Sherif happening to hear of his intentions, and being jealous of Koreishi, commanded the young man to appear before him in order that he might forgive him, but Mohammed Ahmed, justly angered, would not go, and in consequence gained for himself much sympathy for having dared to disobey a superior.

He now thought the time had come to declare himself the Mahdi, the chosen one sent from Allah. Thousands flocked to him, all the gifts he received from them he distributed among the poor. As it was his secret intention to make himself master of the Soudan, he made journeys through the country, stirring up the people against the Government. More followers daily were attracted to his banner, especially the poorer people who had much cause for complaint, as the tax gatherers sent by the Egyptian Government were often very unfair in the gathering of taxes, taking bribes from and exempting the richer, but grinding down the poorer people to make good the deficiency. His chief Khalifa, Abdullah bin Mohammed, helped

him greatly with advice, and told him of the dissatisfaction of the people and the condition of the country, etc. In 1881 he and his Dervishes slew 200 soldiers who had been sent to seize him, the Government little knowing what a tremendous following he had gathered round him; afterwards he defeated 7,000 Egyptian troops. In 1883 he annihilated Hicks Pasha's army, a month later Slatin Pasha surrendered to him.

Soon after General Gordon arrived at Khartoum on his fatal mission and the town was besieged by the Dervishes. But as Gordon had so few troops, and the garrison was quite exhausted from want of food, when the Mahdi attacked and entered Khartoum, on the 26th of January, the garrison was too weak to resist, and the town was looted by 50,000 Dervishes; men, women and children were destroyed, except a few young girls who were sent over to the Mahdi's camp. A rush was made for the Palace where Gordon was standing on the top of the steps, and the first man to reach him plunged his spear into his body. Making a gallant defence, with blood pouring from him, he fought his way to the foot of the steps, where overpowered by numbers and covered with wounds he sank and died. Then dragging his body to the Palace entrance, they cut off his head, and sent it wrapped in a cloth to Ondurman, where it was shown to Slatin Pasha, then a prisoner in the Mahdi's camp. For many days the camp was given over to debauchery and wild excesses, and horrible atrocities were committed.

After the fall of Khartoum the Mahdi gave himself up to a life of ease and luxury, dressed himself in the finest of raiment and had numbers of wives to wait upon him; some rubbed his body with oil of roses, others fanned him while he slept. His sway was absolute; he was a handsome and powerfully built man, and had the three slits on his cheeks, as is the custom in the Soudan, but his life of ease and love of good food proved too much for him; in June 1885 he died. No one knew the exact cause of death, but it was hinted by some that he died of poison administered by the Khalifa, Abdullahi, who succeeded him. The Khalifa erected a beautiful tomb over his remains which was surmounted by a dome, ending in three brass balls placed one above the other and a spear at the top, and its

height was about 70 feet. It was afterwards destroyed by Lord Kitchener to prevent its being made into a shrine by the Mahdists. The Mahdi's body was burnt and the ashes thrown into the river. Only the ruins of the tomb are now to be seen.

Not far away is the Khalifa's house exactly as he left it.* The roof is made of iron beams taken from Gordon's Palace. On the verandah he received his Generals in audience, seated on an angareb (native bedstead). To his people he appeared to live very simply, but his private rooms were furnished quite luxuriously, and he had a harem of about four hundred women; he was quite cruel to some of them after he had ceased to care for them. From time to time he held a review of his ladies, giving away to his Generals, or even his servants, those he was tired of, to make room for more, and like the Mahdi kept special favourites to rub him with oil. He never parted with his principal wife, Sahra, whom he had married in his youth, and who had shared his vicissitudes, and was the mother of his eldest son, Osman, whom he passionately adored, but he often quarrelled with her, and threatened to send her away.

Abdullahi was a most unscrupulous man, even his relations and best friends dared not trust him; he was vain, suspicious, cruel. Hard hearted to such a degree he loved to see quite innocent people suffer. During the Mahdi's lifetime he was responsible for the cruelties enacted in his name, and after the Mahdi's death no atrocity was too great for him to commit. He had a number of people killed every Friday after prayers, for the most trivial offences, and made his name a terror to everyone. If he did not cut off their heads, he relieved them of a hand or foot. One little trick he was fond of practising was to put the fresh skin of an animal over a man's head perforated with air holes, the shrinkage of the skin after it became dry causing death. He had one individual bricked up in a wall in such a manner that he could neither sit nor stand, he lived for three days in this position, food being administered through a hole in the wall. And

* A tablet has since been let into one of the walls as a Memorial to the son of the Earl of Carlisle, a correspondent of the *Times*; he got into Ondurman too soon before it had really fallen, and was killed there by an English shot.

another man lived for twenty-three days shut up in a stone building with only water to drink.

What the poor wretches suffered in the Saier (prison) is beyond description. Charles Neufeld, a prisoner of the Khalifa and in chains for 11½ years, we met when staying at Assouan on our return journey. He has taken up his abode there, Europe being too cold for him, after his forced residence in the Soudan. We had many interesting talks with him, sometimes partaking of a dish of dhurra with warm milk poured over and sprinkled with sugar, which makes a particularly nice kind of porridge. (The natives eat the dhurra merely boiled with water, it is the food of the country and is very strengthening). He said he entirely owed his life to Lord Kitchener's prompt rescue of him from the prison directly the British and Egyptian troops entered Ondurman. Had there been any delay his guards would probably have killed him even at the last moment. Why they had not had orders to do this before he could not imagine. During the whole of his imprisonment he was momentarily expecting death and indeed prayed it might come quickly, the terrible life he was enduring was worse than death, and being in chains the possibility of escape was rendered so much more difficult.

All the prisoners in the Saier had to be provided with food by their friends, otherwise they starved to death. The common cell "Umm Hagar," "the house of stones," measured about thirty feet each way, it was filthily dirty. For a short time during the day the prisoners were allowed to lie in the open, within the enclosure and get what sleep they could, but at night were driven into this small room, sometimes over 250 men occupying it at the same time. Sleep was impossible, and as there was no ventilation the heat became intolerable. All had to stand, and in order to secure a place near the wall to lean against, they fought, bit and kicked each other with their shackled feet, swaying from side to side and woe betide a man if he went down for he never rose again, several dead bodies were dragged out each morning. It was a veritable "Inferno," and when the prisoners were more noisy than usual, their brutal guards opened the door and slashed at their heads with their whips. When dawn appeared they were allowed to shuffle

down to the Nile, not far distant, in order to make their ablutions and get water to drink, but this privilege was afterwards denied them owing to several having made their escape, and a well was dug in the enclosure. When taken out of prison and his irons removed Neufeld could hardly stand from weakness and for a long time could not walk properly. His hair was nearly white, but after a few months gradually regained its natural colour. From his smiling face and merry laugh no one would suppose he had gone through such terrible trials, but sometimes when his face is in repose it has a worn and haggard look, and years have been added to his age.

Near the Khalifa's house stands the house of his son, Osman Sheikhed Din, who appeared to be the only person he had any affection for; on him he could not shower too many favours, he furnished his house in even better style than his own, robbing others and giving everything to his son he desired.

The entrance gate to the courtyard of the Powder Magazine where the Khalifa kept his stores, is made of Dervish spears, and just inside, arranged in a long row are the Gatling Guns lost by General Hicks in the engagement of 1883, but the Dervishes were unable to make use of them afterwards. Here we also found an interesting collection of flint and percussion guns, small cannons taken from the Dervishes at the battle of Ondurman, a motley collection of old clothes, Dervish uniform (jibbas), caps, etc., and some memorials of Gordon, amongst other things his carriage (which the Khalifa appropriated for himself),—a poor old piano in a dilapidated condition presented quite a pathetic appearance.

Mounting our donkeys again we rode through the cattle and camel markets, where hundreds of animals were being brought in for sale, and dismounted for a walk through the bazaars. Here we were besieged by persons from all parts of the Soudan wishing to sell us ostrich feathers, filigree work and weapons with sheaths made of crocodile skin, beads, shells, native shoes, etc. Most of the people looked contented and happy, and well they might, for they went in fear of their lives in the Khalifa's time. The roads are wide, and Ondurman is now clean, a great contrast to what it used to be, when corpses

of human beings and animals were allowed to lie about, and all kinds of filth.

We saw in the distance the battle field of Kerreri, where was fought the great battle of Ondurman, 2nd September, 1898, the Sirdar entering the city the same evening, and Mahdism came to an end that day. The Dervishes fought superbly, preferring to die rather than return to their wives defeated; indeed many courted death, men in the Soudan have been known to commit suicide rather than be called cowards by the women of their family. Seeing all was over the Khalifa fled back to Ondurman, and somehow succeeded in escaping from there, giving no little trouble until he was finally captured some months afterwards by the present Sirdar, then Colonel Wingate. A solemn duty was performed Sunday, 4th September. The funeral service was read for General Gordon at Khartoum, just outside the ruined walls of his Palace. Lord Kitchener and his staff were there, and representatives of every corps belonging to the expedition. On a signal from the Sirdar the British and Egyptian flags were simultaneously hoisted on the Palace, the gunboats fired a salute, and "God save the Queen" and the "Khedivial" hymn were sung. Then followed the funeral service, which concluded with "Abide with me," played by the Soudanese band, being Gordon's favourite hymn.

Returning to Khartoum with our purchases of feathers, ostrich eggs, crocodile skins, Dervish spears and guns, and a Soudanese lady's costume (which was rather a swell one as in addition to the usual leather fringe, it was profusely ornamented with shells) we were not sorry to rest for the remainder of the day.

Towards evening next day we rode out past Gordon's old fortifications to a number of Soudanese villages. Many tribes are congregated there, Baggaras, Shilluks, Dinkas, Jaalins, etc. Each tribe adheres to its own mode of living, although only separated by a short distance from the others. Some have huts like huge bee-hives, others tents, others again have little square erections covered with mats, hardly high enough to stand upright in and mats hanging over the doorway. They all appeared very merry, laughing and showing their glistening white teeth, and the different tribes, formerly at enmity, seemed

to be on friendly terms with one another. They have most of them fine figures, and the men are very tall, jet black and have coarse features. The majority were wearing the one cotton garment, and either a turban or skull cap on their heads. The women had most of them the usual costume, thongs of leather suspended from their waists and strings of gaily coloured beads round their necks. Some of them seemed rather shy as they do not see many Europeans, and as we passed along perhaps a woman or child would be just emerging from a tent door, but on our approach scuttled back again like a frightened rabbit, or the younger women snatched up pieces of long cloth, and wound round their bodies, the old women did not trouble. They wore no covering on their heads, and their hair was plaited into innumerable little tails hanging round their heads, arranged in the same manner as the Nubian and ancient Egyptian women. The children had no clothes. Each village is under the control of a Sheikh or headman who is responsible to the Government for the good behaviour of those persons dwelling therein. The able-bodied are employed in the town and are well remunerated. One tribe was pointed out as being formerly cannibals, and we were told that when a member of a family showed any signs of illness it was the custom to present him (before he had time to die or to get better!) to a neighbour, who sliced him up and ate him; of course the neighbour returned the compliment as soon as an opportunity presented itself; they did not consider it "the thing" to eat their own relations.

But the Baggara tribe is still held in detestation by the others. It was to this tribe the Khalifa belonged, and in consequence he gave them a great amount of license, in fact they seemed to do as they pleased with total disregard of the feelings of others. They stole the food from the men of the other tribes, and even their wives and daughters, and escaped unpunished, the other poor wretches hardly slept for fear; happily all that is ended now. Formerly most of these people lived in Ondurman which was terribly overcrowded. Many thousands of Dervish widows are employed in Khartoum from here and other places; of course they only get small wages, but they are contented enough, mixing mortar and carrying

bricks for the numerous buildings rising up all over the town, or conveying large tins of water on their heads for the gardens.

The day before leaving Khartoum five or six young Englishmen residing there kindly invited us to go for a trip up the White Nile. The weather had suddenly changed and it was excessively hot, but very pleasant on the water. We had afternoon tea on board charmingly laid out, and all kinds of iced drinks, and were a merry party. We passed on the way Gordon's Tree, where it is said that he waited and watched for the help that never came.

Returning from the Second to the First Cataract in the Government steamer *Ibis*, we called again at Abu Simbel, but as there was a high wind scattering the sand in all directions, were unable to see it as well as on our first visit.

Two or three weeks were spent at Assouan, at the delightful Cataract Hotel, which was full of visitors, Assouan being even a greater favourite than Luxor as a winter resort. The Prince of Schonburg-Waldenburg and his sister the Princess Louise were staying there. I had a glorious view from my window over the Nile and lovely Island of Elephantine. The days went by only too quickly, the mornings being usually employed in making little excursions to the numerous places of interest around and basking in the generous sunshine and dreaming the afternoons away in the pretty native boats so smartly decorated with numerous coloured flags; sometimes taking tea with our friends in the beautiful gardens of the Savoy Hotel across the water, or they would come to us, when there was generally a polo match to watch, donkeys being used instead of ponies, causing great amusement: there was always tennis and croquet to fill up any spare time.

We paid several visits to the Great Dam. This stupendous structure vies with any of the colossal monuments of the old Pharaohs, and will tell to succeeding generations that Britain had the Egyptian people's welfare at heart. It was not made by the forced labour of serfs; every man received his lawful wage. Here through the rushing water to a depth of 30 feet the immense wall of masonry was driven, rising to a height of 132 feet and 100 feet wide at the bottom. We rode on a little trolley from one end to the other, a mile

and a quarter in length. Part of it is built of the hardest granite and is as strong as the Pyramids themselves. The Barrage was opened by the Khedive in the presence of the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, 10th December, 1902. Fitting a silver key which had been made in the form of the ancient symbol "The Key of the Nile," into the starting switch of the motors, the sluices were opened, causing the roaring water to rush through. The last stone was laid by the Duchess of Connaught (the Duke having laid the first one February 1899). The inscription says:—

"This stone was laid
to complete the Dam
by H. R. H.

The Duchess of Connaught,
10th December, 1902.

In the 10th year of the reign of
H. H. Abbas Helmy. Khedive."

As the Dam is just below the Temple of Philæ, the beautiful Island unfortunately had to be sacrificed, but the benefit to the country through the storing of the water will be enormous. It is estimated that the extent of cultivable land in Middle Egypt will be doubled, and millions of acres of arid desert will be transformed into arable land and millions of people will benefit by it. The Dam is six hundred miles above Cairo.

The great Granite Quarries of Assouan are interesting, from which the ancient Egyptian builders drew their supplies. An obelisk half hewn out is still to be seen. We returned through a Bisharin camp not far from the town; they were a curious, wild looking people with an extraordinary quantity of hair, very "fuzzy" on the top, and cord like plaits hanging all round. These wandering Arabs or "gipsies" live in tents covered with mats, and support themselves by cattle rearing. The wives make necklaces of different coloured beads and shells strung together with antelope hide; these the men and children sell in the town; dozens hanging round their necks give them a very picturesque appearance. Then the tombs excavated by Sir Francis Grenfell are well worth seeing, but I am afraid I did not give them the attention they deserved. Having discovered among the sand some curious blue beads which had

been dropped from the Mummies when they were removed, I scratched the sand over until I had collected quite a handful, and carried them triumphantly homeward.

Going down the Nile was a much quicker process than steaming up stream, and the steamer only stopped for a few hours at Karnak, Abydos and Tell-el-Amarna, on the way. Abydos was one of the most ancient cities of Egypt. The tomb of Mena, first king of Egypt, was discovered there. A great deal of it has not yet been excavated, but the Great Temple of Abydos begun by Seti I. and finished by Rameses II. was unearthed some little time ago. The bas-reliefs are exceedingly refined and artistic, and it was here the celebrated tablet of ancestors was found, the most wonderful and interesting genealogical record in the world. It contains seventy-six royal cartouches with the names and titles of Mena to Seti I. Depicted on the wall beside the tablet are the figures of Seti and his son. The father is pointing to it and telling the young Rameses to mind and be a good boy and fill the throne creditably as his ancestors had done before him.

Tell-el-Amarna was the city built by Amenhotep IV., or Khusnaten the worshipper of the sundisc, when he left the old religion at Thebes. Part of a stucco pavement has been discovered which originally decorated a wall of his harem, it was quite different from anything else we had seen in Egypt.

Every day the Nile was getting a little lower, once or twice we were stranded on a sandbank, not a very pleasant experience: there is a sudden jerk, the boat stops, then sways backwards and forwards, in a few minutes it usually goes on again. Once we remained in the same place for two or three hours. When the Nile is much lower steamers are not able to travel on the river. In April and May it is at its lowest, at the commencement of June the waters begin to come down from the Abyssinian mountains with their fertilizing mud; in July the increase becomes very rapid; in October it is usually at its highest level. The bed of the river rises some inches in every hundred years. If the Nile could be dried up or diverted, Egypt as a country would cease to be. It would soon be a sandy wilderness.

On reaching Cairo we drove to Shepherd's Hotel again, having decided that it was quite the most convenient place to stay at. It has recently been greatly added to and is quaintly decorated in Egyptian style. There one is in the midst of everything. From the large verandah one sees a constantly moving scene, everything of interest seems to pass that way. The Khedive often drives by, the carriage runners in white muslin and beautifully embroidered zouaves are picturesque objects, as they run in front of the carriages to clear the way for their august master. And one is within easy distance of the "Savoy" where such delightful little dances take place. The Ghezireh Palace Hotel is a magnificent place with charming gardens, but is rather too far out. It is quite a rendezvous on Sundays. It was built by the grandfather of the present Khedive to entertain the distinguished visitors who came to the opening of the Suez Canal and is sumptuously furnished. One suite of rooms is still reserved for royal visitors. The Khedive has many palaces, where reside his numerous relations.

We had a gay time in Cairo, several British Regiments being stationed there; there is always something going on. A good deal of time was taken up in paying visits or going to receptions and balls. Once or twice we took coffee with Prince Mohammed Ali, the Khedive's brother, at his palace not far away. One night there was a Confetti Battle in the gardens at Shepherd's, the trees were hung with numbers of Chinese Lanterns and coloured lights, it was a scene from fairyland; a dance in the spacious Lounge brought the evening to a close.

We often drove to Mena House to tea to have one more look at the Pyramids. And another pleasant drive is to Heliopolis, (passing on the way the Virgin's Tree, under its shade the Holy Family are said to have rested), Heliopolis, the city of the Sun is the same as the city of "On" mentioned in the Bible. It was one of the most famous centres of learning of all antiquity. Here Joseph married the daughter of the High Priest of On, and Moses studied the "wisdom of the Egyptians." The Phoenix was one of the sacred emblems, which rising from its ashes symbolized that all that dies in nature shall revive to new life and glory. Nothing now remains of the city but a

very ancient obelisk, 68 feet high, which bears the name of Usurtasen I.

There are about five hundred mosques in Cairo, the finest being Sultan Hassan, a sumptuous building constructed from the casing stones of the Great Pyramid. It was rumoured that the hands of the Architect were cut off by the Sultan at its completion to keep the edifice unique. One mosque, which is very old, has over three hundred columns, nearly every one different, brought away from ancient buildings. Very interesting is the University Mosque, students from all parts of the world assemble there to be trained to become Mohammedan priests; hundreds of men and youths of all ages were sitting about listening to lectures or learning by heart portions of the Koran. Afterwards we visited the Dancing Dervishes. The High Priest entered wearing a green turban signifying that he had made certain pilgrimages to Mecca, other priests followed in black robes and felt hats not unlike inverted flower pots. After bowing to one another and walking round in solemn procession, they removed their cloaks disclosing short full white skirts, which, as they whirled round with increasing speed, gave them the appearance of ballet dancers. The performance was accompanied by chanting and the music (?) of drums and flutes.

The massive citadel erected by Saladin commands the city; an English regiment is generally quartered there. It was here the dreadful massacre of the Mamelukes took place by order of Mahomed Ali in 1811. He treacherously invited them to a banquet, and when the gates were closed ordered a murderous fire to be opened upon them. All perished except one who was saved by his horse, which took a tremendous leap over the parapet to the abyss below.

In old Cairo there is a Coptic Church, in the crypt of which, according to tradition, the Virgin and Child spent a month after their flight into Egypt. The Copts are direct descendants of the ancient Egyptians, and embraced Christianity when it was first preached in Egypt by St. Mark. They have stuck to their religion ever since, despite Moslem persecution. Great numbers live higher up the Nile, at Luxor Esneh, Edfou, Assouan, etc. They are cleaner and more respectable than the Arabs.

Then one can always pass a pleasant hour or two in the Bazaars or Mouski, the celebrated street leading to them. And although there is plenty of life, so many nationalities being gathered together, they lack the colour of an Indian Bazaar, chiefly perhaps because the women are all clothed alike in long black cloaks which completely envelope them, ugly black veils reaching nearly to their foreheads secured by long brass ornaments resting between the eyes allowing just enough room to see through. These costumes are certainly not so pretty as the bright hued, tinsel trimmed dresses of the Indian women together with their amazing quantity of jewellery. And the men from the Khedive downwards wear the universal Tarbouche or red fez, either with their European clothes, or long blue native robes. The Bazaars are always crowded, every necessary and unnecessary of life being laid out for sale, and a constant stream of camels, herds of goats, water sellers, snake charmers, etc., pass along. The Bab-ez-Zuweleh a huge gateway is curious. We noticed pieces of hair, old teeth, shreds of clothing, etc., hanging upon it, which had been placed there by sick and pious persons hoping through these offerings to be cured of their diseases.

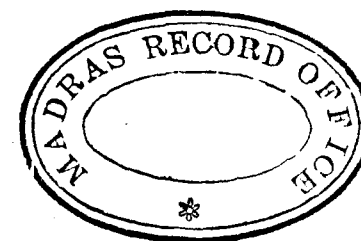
We stayed at Alexandria for a few days before embarking for England, and from there went to Palestine for a short time. Modern Alexandria is not particularly interesting. There is nothing to be seen of the magnificent city founded by Alexander the Great B. C. 332, except a few ruins. The famous Lighthouse or Pharos, one of the seven wonders of the world, which was 590 feet high has entirely disappeared. Of the two granite obelisks called Cleopatra's Needles (but Cleopatra had no connection with their history) that were to be seen in Alexandria a few years ago, one stands on the Thames Embankment the other is in New York. They were made during the reign of Thotmes III. B. C. 1600, and Rameses II. about 250 years later added some inscriptions; they originally stood at Heliopolis, but were brought to Alexandria by Augustus to be placed before the Temple of Cæsar. The Obelisk given to the English by Mohamed Ali was taken to London at great expense and trouble in a wonderfully constructed vessel built for the purpose: it was some time on the

way, and once was nearly lost off the coast of Spain. It, however, fortunately escaped the perils of its adventurous voyage, arriving safely at last.

We saw some singular tombs only discovered in 1900, not far from Pompey's Pillar. These consist of several rooms, we reached them by descending a circular staircase to some distance below the level of the road. Workmen were still excavating. The carving is very fine. The Tombs belonged to a wealthy Egyptian during the Roman period, and are the most interesting of the kind that have been found. Many people must have been buried in the vaults, probably his dependents, for in some of the chambers we saw numbers of bones heaped up on shelves.

I wonder how long it will be before we see this wonderful Egypt again? Of course we shall go back, everyone does. The Arabs know this, for they say, "Drink of Nile water and you will return to drink it again."

C. MILLICENT KNIGHT



Art. III.—SANSKRIT LEARNING IN INDIA.

IN a recent number of the *Calcutta Review* (July 1903) Pandit Hara Prasād Shāstri, of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, has contributed a short paper on *Sanskrit Learning in India*. When the principal of a Sanskrit College which he boldly asserts to be the "one institution in all India" where the university man and the *Pandit* can have the opportunity of a "mutual study" (?) takes up his pen to write on Sanskrit learning in India we naturally expect that he will elaborate some original idea or at least adumbrate some reform calculated to popularise the study of the language and the literature in which the spirit of ancient India is embalmed. But it is here that the writer has sadly disappointed us.

Intended originally to perform the part of one of those ephemeral productions which are read or recited at some function like the prize distribution of some educational institution and in which the chief merit lies in shortness—so as not to tire the patience of the august audience invited to spend an hour or so in hearing the production, the paper is a mass of vapid oratory and that of no very high order. On the 18th December 1902 on the occasion of the distribution of prizes at the Calcutta Sanskrit College, Pandit Shāstri, as principal of the institution, delivered a short discourse in which, of course, the institution claimed a larger share of his attention than Sanskrit learning. And we are somewhat astonished to find a shrewd man like the *Pandit* anxious to give it permanence by publishing it in the *Review* almost as it originally stood.*

The paper is a brilliant advertisement of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, a panegyric on the professors from their chief, a statement of how a considerable portion of the writer's time is "taken up with the research scholars, two in number, one of whom is studying paleography and the other investigating the Vaisuava Literature" (and we keep the writer's words like Mellin's Food "untouched by hand"), a declaration of

the duties of the principal of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, an enumeration of the number of students who appeared at the last Upādhi Examination and an indirect, though perhaps unintentional, hit at the Government for not doing all that it should for the institution. But there is little bearing on the study of Sanskrit.

Mr. Pedler, "our present Director of Public Instruction," gets more than his due for doing his bare duty; "my friend Dr. Cordier" is praised for his researches. But the amiable Dr. Profulla Chandra Roy is not considered aristocratic enough to be named. He has bare justice done to his researches by being referred to as "an eminent professor of a neighbouring college." (As if the Presidency College—the premier college of Bengal—is known only as one of the neighbouring colleges of the Calcutta Sanskrit College !)

Unfortunately the Shāstri who could have said something about the study of Sanskrit leaves that subject almost severely alone.

That the study of Sanskrit is indispensable for a proper understanding of the civilisation of ancient India is what nobody can deny and nobody will. For the history of pre-historic India we must go to the literature and the art relics of ancient India; and they are far from scanty. India will prove a fertile field for the labours of the archæologists. And we can hope that with a proper study of Sanskrit and a proper investigation of the art relics a comprehensive history of ancient India will no longer be considered an impossibility.

It is here that the alien Government was justified in centering its hopes on the Sanskrit Colleges established. But they have proved almost useless.

At the time when British supremacy was first established in India people of light and leading in England believed—like Burke—that in India the people had always looked up to the sacerdotal class—"an ancient, venerable priesthood, the depository of their laws, learning and history, the guides of the people whilst living and their consolation in death"—for everything connected with learning. They did not know that even the study of the *vedas* was not "banned and barred— forbidden fare" for the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas. Therefore

* The paper on *Sanskrit Learning in India* was kindly sent, at my request, to the *Calcutta Review*. I do not know that Pandit Hara Prasād Shāstri was "anxious" at all about the matter—Editor, *Calcutta Review*.

at the time of the establishment of the Sanskrit College at Calcutta no objection was raised when it was made a rule that none but Brahmins and Vaidyas would be allowed to study in the college (though one fails to understand why Vaidyas had been bracketed together with Brahmins.)

Long after the establishment of the College, Pandit Iswar Chandra Vaidyāsāgara, the then head of the institution, relaxed the rigidity of the rule. But in his report on the subject, dated the 20th March 1851, he wrote:—"The opinions of the principal professors of this College on this subject are averse to this innovation!"

It is not because in the College "Young Hindu lads begin their Sanskrit and their English (studies?) 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," and no concession is made "to the hardworking students of this institution by relaxing, in their favour, the hard and fast rule of having many compulsory subjects" that the College is not a "large institution with several hundred students." Nor can the fact that the College examinations embracing "all English subjects plus several papers in Sanskrit" are "by no means easy tests" be cited as one of the principal causes of the ill-success of the institution.

There is still another statement made by the writer which requires refutation. "There are two classes of men," he says, "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." The idea of subsidised and free education has long lost its hold on the Indian mind. And the spectacle of the professor who takes his students into his family providing their food and lodging is daily growing scarce. There are many Brāhman, Vaidya and Kaystha students studying in the Calcutta Presidency College—paying a very high fee—but how many of them would willingly go to

the comparatively cheap institution—the Calcutta Sanskrit College—in spite of the significant fact that students of the Sanskrit College are taught science in the Presidency College?

Since a young man cannot hope to attain worldly prosperity without passing through the portals of the University, many an Indian parent has been known to minimise his meagre comforts to suffer privations and to become involved in debt to give his sons a decent education. Indian parents often go beyond their means to give their children the requisite education, and they consider it so essential, that Indian parents have been known to die of broken hearts on account of the failure of their sons in University examinations. Therefore the plea of poverty can as safely be dismissed as the plea of an idea about subsidised education.

The causes of the failure of the Sanskrit College are to be sought elsewhere.

The present management of the Calcutta Sanskrit College must, to a great extent, be held responsible for the moribund condition of the institution.* Next the relaxing of the rigidity of the caste rules—which rigidly fixed the social positions and occupations of men has brought an influx of students to the educational institutions that have sprung up to satisfy the needs of the people. For students from the so-called lower sections of Hindu society are now taking full advantage of the opportunities offered them. But it is still considered

* The *Pratibasi*, in a series of able and well written articles, has exposed some of the causes of the decline of the Calcutta Sanskrit College. We quote the following with approbation:—

"Our undying gratitude is due to the Government of India for its benign and thoughtful act of establishing in Calcutta the magnificent and palatial pile of buildings consisting of the Sanskrit College.

"It showed therein its earnest desire to preserve from decay, and to call back to healthy vigour the foundation of our language and of our religion.

"But when the Government did its part, so nobly and liberally—by presenting to us such a magnificent gift, it certainly expected that we would do ours by making good use of it. It expected that its affairs should be wisely and judiciously administered. It expected that the principal who would rule and the professors who would instruct our youth therein, should be men of undoubted learning and repute: scholars known to fame in letters, but above all that they should be eminent Sanskrit scholars."

Then the writer goes on to show how the "generous and paternal intensions of the Government" are being frustrated "by 'Jobbery' in its worst form—pitchforking unqualified men into positions as preceptors of our youth."

And the writer's criticism of the system of teaching in the institution must be considered just and his censure not only justified but well deserved.—(*Pratibasi* 18th January 1904.)

derogatory to the dignity of the Sanskrit College to sully its sanctity by opening the door of the sanctum equally to all caste people. The aristocracy of learning characteristic of ancient India has crumbled to pieces, still the Sanskrit College owing to a self-imposed rule which offers special opportunities to students of some caste and thereby seems insulting to students from the other castes—cannot count upon students from all castes. We can understand—even if we cannot appreciate adherence to old social customs and social rules. We understand the changing of social customs and social rules with “the process of the suns.” But we cannot understand the half-way measures adopted by the Sanskrit College.

But there is yet another thing. There is no special advantage that the student derives from the study of Sanskrit. He cares only to become a lawyer, and in case he is not fortunate enough to climb so high, he tries to secure some petty post in the service of the Government. And in neither case can a knowledge of Sanskrit help him. In the College he swallows Sanskrit (as almost all the prescribed subjects) as a bitter pill. And as soon as he leaves College he severs all connection with it. To him education is not an end by itself, but a means to an end. Hence he does not care to read more of Sanskrit than he is bound to do to pass his University examinations.

Love of learning for its own sake we have yet to acquire, and till that is done there is little hope of artificial encouragement leading students to study Sanskrit properly. The highest ambition of Bengalee students is to become lawyers, and the ambition of the highest among them is purely political. Literature is not considered aristocratic enough to enthrall their attention. And a tardy recognition on the part of the Government by offering meagre pensions is not likely to draw to the profession of letters many of our young aspirants.

In Bombay the mantle of Dr. Bhan Daji has fallen on Dr. Bhandarkar. But who is there in Bengal to be within measurable distance of the exalted position once occupied by Raja Rajendra Lala Mittra? The University is annually pouring forth a torrent of graduates; but how many of them

devote their attention to literature—how many aspire to become eminent men of letters? How many of them have distinguished themselves as brilliant literati? Bengal is distinguished by the absence of a single high-class English magazine conducted by natives.

The Sanskrit College of Calcutta was established eighty years back. But how many of the students who have passed out of the College have attempted to utilize their education and opportunities by attempting to write a history of ancient Indian civilisation by applying the modern methods of analysis and synthesis—a task they should have been by education best fitted to perform. The few names that are familiar to us as connected with antiquarian research and literature have—and it is a strange fact—little or no connection with the institution.

On the other hand some students of the Sanskrit College have abused their education by using the name of Sanskrit learning to disregard the commonest considerations of decency and prudence;—to disguise, under the high sounding name of original interpretation, sentiments and ideas which have and should have no place in civilised society. They have made indecency masquerade under the borrowed plumage of Sanskrit literature! Let us give an example. Some time back some stir was caused in the literary lines of Bengal by the publication of a study of the *Meghaduta* by a distinguished graduate of the Sanskrit College and a member of the Provincial Education Service. In Bengalee we have about a dozen translations of the *Meghaduta*. Pundit Prâu Nath Sarasvati Mr. Sâtyendranâth Tagore, I. C. S., and many other writers have striven to render it into Bengalee verse. It was translated into English by Wilson in 1813, by Max Müller in 1847, and by Griffith in 1868. But nobody could imagine before the publication of this precious study that the piece could contain such gross indecencies. By distorting some passages of the poem, the writer had written far-fetched explanations—the products of a diseased imagination—that made one blush to read. Poor *Kalidâsa*! It was an act of vandalism which roused the indignation of all sensible people. The Government ordered the author to submit an explanation, and not satisfied

with it compelled him to withdraw the book from circulation. "These *be* thy gods, O Israel."

There are indecent passages in Sanskrit works. And almost no ancient literature is free from them. But indecency in these ancient literatures is like nudity in ancient Greek figures. Like it this indecency never offends—for it never pushes itself to prominence. The ancient poets like the ancient artists never gloated upon indecency. But when a man who has received all advantages offered by western education and culture comes to distort passages in order to find some grossly indecent interpretation, one cannot but grow sceptic of the good influence exerted by this education in India. What are we to think of the education that had shaped his mind, of the perversity that had made him conceive the idea of such a work, of the barefaced boldness that had prevailed for him to publish it?

More than half a century back Weber, the historian of *Indian Literature*, compared the subject of his history to "a yet uncultivated tract of country, of which only a few spots have here and there been cleared, while the greater part of it remains covered with dense forest, impenetrable to the eye, and obstructing the prospect." "A clearance," he said, "is indeed now by degrees being made, but slowly, more especially because in addition to the natural obstacles which impede investigation, there still prevails a dense mist of prejudice and preconceived opinions hovering over the land, and enfolding it as with a veil." What was true then is equally true to-day. And it is a pathetic sight to find a dozen pioneers striving to do the work of an army which has not followed them.

"Of all the classical languages, Sanskrit is that which has the largest literature. The number of Sanskrit books known to be in existence may without exaggeration be called stupendous. There is scarcely a department of human activity, not entirely modern, which Sanskrit writers have not dealt with at great length. And yet it cannot be said that this enormous literature has been studied in a comparative way in order to elucidate the exact condition of the early Aryan civilisation. The greatest Sanskrit scholars of to-day are Germans and Hungarians. We believe the finest collection of

Sanskrit manuscripts is to be found in the library at Budapesth. But the foreign orientalist who have made a study of the language have been rather inclined to devote themselves to that purely textual criticism in which the German excels. What is now wanted is an analysis of the historical and social conditions revealed—not by one book, but by a series of books. The genesis of the civilisation of India is wrapped in mystery. Such minor historians as have approached the subject of the Aryans have contented themselves with writing in general terms which convey nothing. For instance, the words 'ancient India' so frequently employed are used to cover periods of time which are probably vast. Indian civilisation could hardly have sprung into being in a few years. Evolution teaches us that the process of lifting a savage and barbarian race into a state which admits of the practice of the arts of peace occupies thousand of years, in course of which, from time to time, men of commanding genius are thrown up. One or two names have come down to us, Manu, Vikramāditya, Asoka, and even of these all that can be said with any degree of certainty is that the first won fame as a law-giver and the others as administrators. From far less evidence than is available in India, men have re-constructed the histories of Egypt and Greece, and Rome. From the scantiest of materials, by the simple method of comparative study there have been built up marvellous and succinct accounts of the rise and fall of the great Hittite Empire, the very existence of which was hardly suspected a few years ago. At the present moment historians like Sayce are coming to the conclusion that the Hittite, Chaldean and Egyptian civilisations were borrowed from India.

"In these circumstances the extreme importance of some accurate knowledge of 'ancient India' is manifest. And, as we have indicated, it is not that the material is not to be found. It exists in abundance. So far all that has been done is to extract from the Rāmāyan and Mahābhārat certain semi-historical narratives. But these books are in themselves in no sense histories. They deal rather with metaphysics than with narrative. But cannot there be found among German savants or scholars in India people capable of doing for this country

what men like Flinders Petrie have done for Egypt? So far as India is concerned the trouble is that the Pundits, who have a real and deep knowledge of Sanskrit literature, have so imbibed the Hindu philosophical system and are so contemptuous of Western methods that they cannot be induced to undertake the examination of Sanskrit works in a critical spirit. To them all Sanskrit literature is sacred. They acquiesce in the contradictions which puzzle the Western learner. Moreover, they are the less inclined to undertake a comparative study because they are afraid that it may destroy the social order of which they are such upholders. On the other hand, the Indians of the cultured and Anglicised classes are of so practical a turn that they cannot be brought to see any utility in an arduous study which may bring no return. In this matter the Government has done all that it could. The failure of the Oriental College at Lahore was a sad blow to those who cherished the hope that a system of State support for students of Sanskrit literature would in time produce a school of Oriental scholars of the type that such subsidies are accustomed to do in Europe. In these circumstances one must perforce turn to Europe. It seems to be but a question of time for our archæologists of the front rank to turn their attention to this country. There are few fields left to conquer in Egypt and Mesopotamia. India offers both a virgin and a rich field, both for the pick axe of the digger, and the eye of the trained student. The mere fact that the home of civilisation has been traced farther and farther east must draw to India the attention of those who are fascinated by the past. The wonder is that no competent Egyptologist or Assyriologist has yet been drawn into India by the links that are now known to connect the early Aryans with a civilisation which after all is the civilisation which has survived in Europe."

It was to remedy the state of affairs deplored in the extract quoted above that the Sanskrit Colleges were established—to produce a set of men who, versed in oriental lore, would apply to their researches Western methods to gain the desired end. But the alien plant has not taken root in Indian soil and consequently has not flourished. The system followed imparts a superficial education which does

not bring out the faculties of the mind. And a love of learning for its own sake we have yet to acquire. Till that is so there is little hope of our having in our midst oriental scholars—versed in oriental learning, and born to oriental ideas and consequently able to enter fully into the spirit of oriental civilisation—rendering signal service to their country by applying to their researches the modern methods of analysis and synthesis.

What the Calcutta Sanskrit College could have done, in spite of all untoward circumstances it has neglected to do. It could have appointed professors able—by example and influence—to infuse into the minds of the students a love of learning. In the branch of study which should be the object of its special care it could have followed a system of education calculated to impart sound education.

We ought to feel ashamed of the fact that European scholars like Jones and Wilson, Lassen and Bournoff, Roth and Reinaud, Cowell and Colebrook, Muir and Max Müller, Arnold and Griffith—not to name a host of others—have done more for Sanskrit language and literature than all the Indian princes and *pandits* of the present day put together. Histories of Sanskrit literature have been written by many European scholars. But no Indian has as yet finished the work—the work so promisingly commenced in Bengal by Babu Troilokya Nath Bhattacharjia being left unfinished on account of the plague claiming him a victim.

"Let knowledge grow from more to more,

But more of reverence in us dwell."

In our case it is doubtful if knowledge has grown from more to more; but its apparent reverence has grown from less to less. Reverence for age and antiquity, reverence for learning and character, reverence for manhood and ability we have lost. Advertisement and machination, influence and deception play their parts in our private as well as in our public life. A deplorable depth of degradation. We in Bengal are fast degenerating into what our most popular writer of comic songs significantly calls—

"Curious commodities—human oddities.

A queer amalgam of Sasadhar, Huxley and goose."

HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE.

Art. IV.—SIR A. SASHIAH SASTRI, K.C.S.I.—A FEW REMINISCENCES.

SOME reminiscences of the great man who has passed away and left a void in South India which, in some respects, it is not possible to fill, may be found to be of interest. Fragmentary though they be they may still serve to reveal points in his temperament, which could not be easily gathered otherwise. It is now more than twenty years ago that I was first introduced to Sir Sashiah. He was then Dewan of Pudukotah. The interview was over in a few minutes and there is little to record of it; but it has left an indelible impression on the mind. In the furthestmost compartment of the first floor of his residence, he was reclining on a broad wooden cot, massive and plain, supporting himself on a huge pillow. A few feet off, in front of him, was a bench, equally solid and plain, which was meant for visitors. The compartment was otherwise bare; the roofing was of the flimsiest material,—the twisted leaves of the cocoanut palm. The rigid simplicity of the place only served to set off the grandeur of the man. One unconsciously felt as if taken to a higher sphere of existence. He raised himself up as we approached. A slight effort was perceptible. It was inevitable in one of his ample proportions. In later years it became more marked and when one heard him say "*Svāmi rakshikka*" one knew it was a preliminary to a change of posture or "a migration from the blue bed to the brown" "*Svāmi rakshikka*," "may God protect" was, in these later days, the phrase that one heard most often from his lips. He was saturated, from his earliest days upwards, with a deep feeling that all things were in the control of an all wise and all merciful Power. In 1847, when he was as yet a student barely 19 years old he gave expression to this feeling (in an essay which secured for him Lord Elphinstone's Prize) in the following words:—

"They (the wonders revealed by science) all tend to bring before our mind such a profuse vision of the order, harmony and miraculous wisdom of the Almighty Architect that the

philosopher who contemplates upon the scene, sinks within himself in humble adoration, exclaiming 'such knowledge is too wonderful for me—my understanding is overwhelmed by a wisdom which I cannot understand.' Thus to the eye of the scientific philosopher, the universe is an immense fabric raised upon eternal wisdom. . . . Comparing then this state of man with his primeval condition we cannot help giving vent to feelings of endless gratitude towards Him under whose providential care man has arrived at this pitch of refinement. Moreover, when we consider that the sun of civilisation from the day of his dawning on the sacred banks of the Ganges, although obscured by many a temporary eclipse, brightened and gained strength as he careered onward to the 'isles of the western main' we cannot refrain from pleasing ourselves with the hope that a day will come when man will reach that goal of perfection which seems to be destined for him. For

This infancy of being cannot prove
The final issue of the works of God;
By boundless love and perfect wisdom formed
And ever rising with the rising mind."

The command of language, as shown here, is rather remarkable for an Indian youth of nineteen in the "forties." We also see here a certain fluidity and grandiosity of expression which a few years later Justice Holloway warned him against. Sashiah successfully got over the temptation and his later style has a chasteness and simplicity which it is rare to find outside the best English writers.

He could not abide the ground floor. He spent most of his time—day and night—in the second storey under a thin roof of the cocoanut palm, where he could, without moving from where he was, rest his eyes on the blue heavens or watch the floating clouds, when he could catch fresh, the breeze from the cocoanut palm and the mango and the music of their rustling leaves. He used to say "It may be a fancy; but I cannot help feeling, here, in the upper storey, *elevated* above the petty worries and turmoils of the work-a-day world; here one is *nearer heaven*."

His partiality for the cocoanut palm he would thus explain. "Of all things in the world commend me to the cocoanut

palm. It helps in bringing us into the world. It marries us and carries us to our final resting-place."*

Even when his ideas were not new he had a felicitous way of his own of expressing them. What he says, in one of his letters to an intimate friend, of Sir Charles Turner applies to him with equal force: "His style clothes even very old ideas in very new dress, it never degenerates to 'foam and froth' as did Lord Lytton's."

But to feel the spell of his words one must hear him talk. He was at his best in a select circle of old friends and intimate associates. There he threw off the reserve and a certain stiffness, which, after years of authority over those around, had almost become a habit with him. None knew better how to direct the conversation into fresh channels, to draw the retiring out or to set the circles roaring with his sallies of wit and humour. "Hold, Sir, for God's sake" implored on one of those occasions Rai Bahadur—a pensioned Deputy Collector and one of his intimate friends. "I can hold no longer (my sides)!"

The following extract from one of his letters gives us a glimpse of such occasions:—

"I saw Mr. at 9 A.M. (Saturday) and he kept me at conversation till 11-30 and even then broke off only because he thought it uncharitable to starve me in that way. He is indeed a curious specimen of the Civil Service. A short description will do but scant justice. So I reserve it all for a *tête à tête* in our porch over the Cauvery in flood. The rest of Saturday (breakfast at 1 of course—poor S—! who had to wait for his guest) and Sunday up to 5 were spent very pleasantly—all chatter and chat and laugh."

All chatter and chat and laugh. Yes, that best expresses these parties; and he was the life of them all, where each, be it remembered, was distinguished in his own way.

The humour in his letters, loses much of its force when bereft of the context. Perhaps the following specimen suffers least by a severance from the context: "P. S.—To *Amlu*

*The Hindu reader need not be told that the lying-in-room is generally improvised with a few screens of this palm; that marriages are celebrated under the palm shed or *pandal* and the bier is covered over with a rough bed of the same material.

belongs the credit of not despatching this letter last evening. Moral: Never trust children with such work. But it is all the same; perhaps better, as I can add to-day's morning news, of which there is none!"

His letters furnish delightful reading, even where there are no striking thoughts or humorous touches. The charm is in the manner—an unstudied flow and a genuine English flavour. He tells us in a letter how he writes his letters: "You must not mind much what I say in my letters, which are written at the spur of the moment, in any vein of thought or feeling that is then uppermost." That is the secret of the spell. Such off-handness, one is apt to think, might not succeed so well where descriptions are attempted. But let the reader judge; here are a few snapshots from his letters:

The following description, in a sentence is of a pond in the jungle: "It is a fine pond of water of light milky colour, surrounded by a jungle, half a mile deep all around, which can be traversed in every direction without fear of snakes or wild boars—except it be that you start now and then a deer, gracefully reposing in the shades."

He thus describes the comet that appeared in 1882: "Only this morning I was able to make the acquaintance of the illustrious stranger in the heavens. It was a little before 5 and early dawn. The moon in the west was very feeble and the comet appeared to great advantage in a clear blue sky tinged with the grey of the dawn. It was a splendid sight. It lay like a beautiful silver fish poising gracefully in the abyss of space. I sat and looked on without intermission till in the insensibly increasing light of morning it grew less and less brilliant and faded away into a mathematical point and was then completely lost."

This of a sunset in the jungle: "Last evening I drove out to the jungle and from a spot on the road had a view of the setting sun the like of which I never saw before. It is impossible to describe the thousand and one fanciful forms which the clouds assumed and the infinite variety of glorious tints which they assumed, in rapid succession on a background of deep blue azure. While this display was going on in the west there were very black clouds with lightning swiftly crossing

from one to another, all along the eastern horizon and finally ending in columns of rain which were driven before the wind. In the presence of this gorgeous display what is the place for man's vanity or even for woman's vanity! I mean going to the spot as often as I can to see if the same glorious scene is re-enacted or improved upon by nature and if its repetition can possibly tire me."

In conversation, his felicitous turns of expression, so apt and spiced with his peculiar humour, came upon one so unexpectedly. On the eve of laying down his exalted office of the Tondiman Regency the private secretary to the then Governor of Madras, Lord Wenlock (who had come to Pudukotah to instal the present ruler) said to Sashiah facetiously "And so the Regent expires this noon." The rejoinder came forthwith: "Death, official and otherwise, is a common enough event; but it is something to be proud of that a nobleman of his exalted state of life, like his Lordship, should have come all the distance to deliver the final oration."

The members of a newly-formed literary association, with the enthusiasm of novelty talked of its manifold aspirations and contemplated a group photo of the members. "It were a rare feat indeed" said Sashiah "to take the shadow of a shadow." It required no prophetic vision of a high order to say that most of these associations in this country have only a butterfly existence; but that expression—*shadow of a shadow*—seemed and proved its death-knell.

Once the conversation turned upon the misery of early widowhood. It was the time of Mr. Malabari's spirited appeal to the Government on behalf of these voiceless condemned. Some of us waxed eloquent on the hardships of the youthful widows. "Widows, do you call them?" said Sashiah, "they are the God-ordained saviours of the Hindu household—ministering angels of the home, finding their joy in the joy of those around. How round them are twined the hearts of all the family! The relentless march of new ideas is sweeping away the earlier ideal: After all, life is meant for higher things than the mere gratification of carnal instincts." To some of us this course of thought was new and opened up new vistas of reflection.

He could extract enjoyment out of the most unpromising conditions. He had a fund of good humour, which, though ever held under curb kept his temper for him under circumstances which would have upset men less gifted. While at Pudukotah he instituted the system of petitions. Once or twice a week every body who had, or thought he had a grievance could approach him and be sure of a patient hearing. In one letter he writes to a friend that the petitioners thus heard on a Sunday evening and Monday morning were between three and four hundred. It must have been very trying work sometimes. On one of these occasions an old *maniam* (village officer) who had been retired on the score of old age, was the petitioner and said to Sashiah that he was, so far as years went, not so hopeless as some others he knew of, who were, however, considered fit enough for incomparably more exalted offices; and in a few other respects the advantage was decidedly with him. Sashiah smiled at the broad hint (or was it hit?) and satisfied himself that the man could read without glasses and write without shaking. "Where is the advantage that you talked of?" asked Sashiah. The man replied: "I can, and often do, *walk* ten miles at a stretch without fatigue." The minister mentally confessed himself baffled and reinstated the man in office forthwith.

The fact was that he was catholic in thinking. Honest differences of opinion, boldly set forth never ruffled him. When Mr. Porter, the celebrated educationist of Southern India, was coming in for a deal of bitter criticism for his outspoken advice to young India on the eve of his departure from these shores, Sashiah was amused at the display of spleen. Writing *anent* this to a friend, Sashiah says "Mr. Porter spoke too much of truth—forgot to gild his pill, which to young India must have been 'gall and wormwood.' I am glad he pricked the wind-bags. It is most amusing how the wind-bags are letting off their contents against poor Mr. Porter, their quandom 'guide' philosopher and friend."

In another letter he writes: "Young India most wants the virtue of toleration in matters of opinion, which is the pride of the Englishman and which is the Keystone of the arch on which his constitution and society rest."

Elsewhere he thus advises one of his friends : "Hear all they say but keep your own counsel. You have arrived at an age and maturity of wisdom not to mind differences of opinion which only give life to dull life. We shall do that which to our own judgment 'seemeth best' and I am certain it would not betray us."

We can now well understand his philosophy of life which he thus sums up in one of his letters : "Well, we must face everything and try to secure for ourselves *some* pleasure amidst *much* unpleasantness. That I suppose is the verdict passed on man long ago."

It is in no spirit of vanity that he writes to a friend : "As to peace of mind, I think I enjoy it to a great extent under most circumstances."

Or this again : "Things will come round of themselves and if they don't I certainly shall not weep over it."

It is this frame of mind that has inspired one of his happy *bon mots* (which we find in a letter) : "Those who keep their temper before those who lose it, are doubly sainted."

It is just the temperament to cheat sublunary life of its sting : no sulking that you sow and others reap. As Sashiah puts it (this also in one of his letters, which are a veritable storehouse of wit and wisdom) "I am glad to hear of the little festivities in connection with the young ones, which, while relieving our pockets a little also relieve the dull monotony of life."

Again : "The bread winner of a family has little time for sharing its amusement. Neither does the master of the ceremonies enjoy the ceremonies himself. My happiness is to see that everybody else is happy and when all goes well my reward is reaped."

Kindness to servants he carried to a fault. Little things of some little value had once been, for some time missing in his house ; among others a silver plate. There was no clue though there were suspicions. The members of the ground floor were for a thorough sifting and giving short shrift to the culprit when found. There was Govinda Chetty, the wonderful diviner of Valangiman (just a few miles off from Kunbhakan). He would, with his second sight, unravel the whole mystery in a moment ;

and once the house was purged of the black sheep, there would be no more "things lost." Thus whispers ran downstairs. Sashiah was aware of the feeling below ; but never would he show (till the time or the need came for it) how far he knew or what he thought. At last the whispers assumed shape and the steward was sent upstairs with the prayer that he might be allowed to consult the diviner at Valangiman. Sashiah readily gave the permission sought ; and as soon as the stewards left, Sashiah turned to me (I was staying with him for a few days—in these later days almost all the time I could spare I was asked to, and did spend with him) and said : "You have not seen this man. He is worth seeing ; reminds me, more than anybody else—of that hackneyed saying of Shakespeare 'There is more philosophy, etc.' For my part I do not like this business of consulting him on the matter. My suspicion is, the man is only a skilled thought reader and when consulted readily names the person you *suspect*, be he guilty or otherwise ; an innocent person may thus be unjustly brought to book ; but even otherwise, I cannot bring myself to turn out any of my servants, you know they are *all* tried men, having served me for years ; and if any should have now fallen, sore, very sore must have been the temptation. A more generous policy would be to take greater care and place fewer temptations in the way and make it appear that the offender is known but condoned. Time and the guilty conscience will do the rest : but anyhow you will go and see the man and have a specimen of his powers."

I went ; I was curious. The Chetty was sitting on the *pial* of his house. He addressed himself to me in particular. "You have come to test my powers" said he "so here goes." After telling us that a silver plate was missing and after *naming* the offender, who was none other than the person that had been suspected (all this while we had not given him the slightest hint, by word or sign, of our purpose) he thus wound up : "Why do you make so much fuss about a thing regarding which the exalted gentleman of the second storey is perfectly indifferent ? He would only have you be more careful in future and would rather avoid the tempest in a teapot that might follow the exposure. *Live and let live* in his way of thinking."

The Chetty in reading Sashiah's thoughts had read him also with wonderful precision.

His mind was imbued with a reverent trustfulness in the Dispensations of Providence. He had also great faith in the *forms* of religious practice, that have been laid down by the ancient sages of the land. "Religious exercises," he writes, "discipline both mind and heart and contribute to the serenity of the one and the purification of the other." Of his son during his student days he writes: "I am making him cultivate the habit of early rising—at five—and have put him to recite *Rudra Chamaka* and *Purushasūkta*,* so that he may have about him some traces of the old 'Aryan blood.'" *Some traces of the old Aryan blood!* It filled his heart with sadness and despair that young India was parting ways with the best traditions of the land, was just throwing off the traces of the old Aryan blood.

He was not for new departures in religious theory or practice. Of "Keshab Chander Sen and his new Dispensation" he writes in a letter: "Keshab Chander was a great and public loss. He was a remarkable man with a wonderful command over a foreign language and an irreproachable high character for sincerity and truthfulness, zeal and piety. But the religion he wanted to create will die with him. As a matter of fact no new religion can even have life except ephemerally. In these days of free thought and free criticism, even the old religions are being torn to pieces. What chance is there for new ones, which, of course, will come and go as a nine days' wonder."

If he gave he gave right handsomely; or he kept quiet; he never held out false hopes; "cheeseparing" was an abomination to him. This princely spirit of liberality was remarkable in one whose early days had been a struggle for bread. His charity was the true metal—conceived and practised in the spirit which finds acceptance with the gods.

While I was writing his life, I had arranged with my publishers that one copy of the proof should be sent to Sir Sashiah and another to me. Sir Sashiah had kindly agreed to give my book the benefit of his revision. In the closing

*These form some of the holiest hymns of the Vedas.

chapter I had devoted one paragraph to some of his charities in his village (very nigh on 8,000 rupees). His "proof" came to me with this paragraph *deleted* and with the following words in the margin: "This may have interest for you; but I should like it better omitted." That was done.

When Sir Sashiah sent on to me the very last proof sheets of the Biography he wrote to me: "Your labour of love is completed; the *very end* is not far off."

It is not one full year since he wrote these words and the end came so calmly, so peacefully the other day. In 1886—eighteen years ago—he wrote in a letter: "Often times within recent years have I thought it very improbable that I should live to date my letters 1886. But Providence has a programme of our course which is unknown to and unalterable by us."

He was always prepared for the final Summons; for some months past he had become so weak and powerless that he often felt life a burden and prayed for "*nunc dimittis*" and his prayer has been heard.

When in November 1894 he, after handing over the reins of Pudukotah to the present enlightened ruler, bade farewell to his friends, he requested them to be "to his faults a little blind" and judge him as man should judge his fellow-man, when so judged it may be said of him: "He hath fought a good fight, he hath finished his course, he hath kept the faith."

B. V. KAMESVARA AIYAR, M. A.

Art. V.—THE SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.*

THE collection of the Sanskrit manuscripts in the British Museum, though not so large as that of the India Office or of the Bodleian Library yields to none in the variety of its contents, interest of the manuscripts, their literary value and the variety and the antiquity of sources from which they have been collected. The collection contains Sanskrit inscriptions from Siam and Cambodia, manuscripts copied in Nepaul and the Malabar Coast, written in almost all the variety of alphabets current in India for the last eight hundred years. It contains notices of Sanskrit works on Hindu Law commented upon and adopted by Buddhist commentators in Ceylon; Mahayana works adopted by the Hinayanists of Ceylon and other curiosities of a similar nature.

Professor Cecil Bendall, M.A., the Cataloguist, requires no introduction to Indian readers. He is a student, the successor of the late lamented Professor Cowell and so a *prashisya*, a student in the second remove of Mahamahopadyaya Mahesh Chandra Nyayaratna, C.I.E. He had twice been in India and made the acquaintance of and endeared himself to the Indian pandits of all classes. His principal field of exploration, however, is Nepaul, and his special study is the Mahayanist School of Buddhism. He is distinguished from other Oriental scholars by the extreme accuracy of his observations and his minute and conscientious scholarship. He would not take anything on trust until he had himself examined the sources of an author's statement. In the hands of such a conscientious scholar the unique and ancient collection of Sanskrit manuscripts in the British Museum has received a thorough and careful examination.

There were altogether 559 numbers in the British Museum which may be attributed to Sanskrit; of these 66 belong to the Vedas; 59 to Post Vedic Religious Poetry, *i.e.*, Puranas,

* *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the British Museum*, by Professor Cecil Bendall, M.A.

Mahatmas, and short religious treatises; 50 to Law, religious and civil; 75 to later Poetry and Belles Lettres; 63 to Philosophy; 39 to Grammar; 30 to Lexicography; 8 Rhetoric and Poetics; 7 to Prosody; 74 to Numerical Science; 9 to Medicine; 7 to Miscellaneous Arts; Architecture, Erotics and Magic; 7 copies of Inscriptions; 13 to Buddhist Literature; and 14 are later additions.

The oldest manuscript in the collection is a fragment of Yogayajnavalka on palm leaf 11½ inches by 1½ inches, the edges of which had been a good deal worn away. The character at first sight appeared to be later Gupta, but on closer examination Professor Bendall found it to be a character intermediate between Gupta and Nagari and he attributes it to a period between the ninth and eleventh centuries. There are some archaic forms which resemble the letters in Horiuzi palm leaves in Japan belonging to the sixth century, but Professor Bendall's criterion for fixing the antiquity of any Indian handwriting is very interesting. He says that the horizontal top stroke of letters is of later invention, the open tops are ancient, and so the proportion of the open tops appearing in any writing settles its date. Applying this criterion to the examination of the characters of the present manuscript, Professor Bendall comes to the conclusion that it belongs to a period between the ninth and eleventh centuries. This is approximately correct. The criterion was arrived at twenty years ago when only one Gupta character manuscript was known, *viz.*, that of Parameshwari-tantra in the Cambridge Collection, since then, however, several Gupta manuscripts have been discovered in Central Asia and Nepaul. A thorough palæographical examination of these manuscripts by a committee of experts may lead to more definite results.

The most ancient Buddhist manuscript in this collection is dated in Nepaul era 316, *i.e.*, A. D. 1196. It is written in hooked Nepalese character on palm leaf. The wooden boards covering the manuscript contain several illuminations of seated Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and others from which some idea may be formed of the excellence of Indian Art at that ancient age.

The collection consists of gifts and purchases from private individuals. Colonel Polier collected a number of manuscripts

in India between 1759 and 1789. He was a military officer of the East India Company some time stationed in Rajputana. He was a gentleman of Swiss extraction; he collected eleven manuscripts, all belonging to the Vedas. Professor Bendall says that this is perhaps the first collection of Vedic works ever made by a European. All the eleven, however, belong to the Rig-Veda. Colonel Polier was requested by Sir Joseph Banks, a trustee of the museum, perhaps, to collect the Vedas and so in a long letter, dated the 25th May 1789, still preserved in Add. 5346 of the museum collection, he complains how his efforts to collect the Vedas have proved useless on the Coromandel Coast, in Bengal, at Benares, in Oudh, at Lucknow, Agra, and Delhi. He at last sought the assistance of Pratap Singh, the Raja of Jaipur, and succeeded in obtaining copies, now deposited in the museum by paying a certain sum for a certain number of *anushṭupās* or slokas which he mistakes for *ashtakas*. The only condition the Brahmin who arranged the pages (Raja Anand Ram, of Lucknow), stipulated was that the manuscript should never be bound in any kind of leather but always in silk or velvet; a condition which the museum authorities have literally fulfilled.

From the middle of the eighteenth century English students tried to learn Sanskrit and master the Sanskrit alphabet, its grammar and dictionary. Some of the ephemeral efforts of these early students have been preserved in the British Museum.

One of these is *Elementa Linguae Sanscritae*; in this work the alphabet has been arranged in a very curious way and full lists of combinations of vowels and consonants are given, together with a few consonant combinations. From the style of the Nagari character Professor Bendall infers that the teacher was a native of North-Eastern India. The *Elementa* are followed by a transliteration of the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*. From the transliteration of C by च as well as some characteristic mispronunciations it may be inferred that the pupil was rather an unlearned French missionary. Pasted on the back of this work is a Chinese commercial stamp.

The *Parsiprakāśh* by Vedānga Rāya is a vocabulary of Persian and Arabic terms used in Indian Astronomy composed

in 1643 for Shah Jahan (there are other works of the same name and of the same nature not treating of astronomy, known to exist).

There is a Zend, Sanskrit, and Persian vocabulary in the museum, which contain, in Sir William Jones' handwriting a sheet of Sanskrit verbal roots arranged in a diagram with English meanings. There are also :—

(1) A vocabulary of Upanisadas, subscribed James Johnson.

(2) A vocabulary of the Upanisadas and Shivapurana (a motley combination indeed) by an English student, in the eighteenth century, with occasional English-equivalents.

(3) A short French-Sanskrit vocabulary,—and other curiosities of a similar nature.

One would be curious to know how the two great religions, Hinduism and Buddhism, dwelling side by side for fifteen hundred years in India, influenced each other and modified each other, till at last one could scarcely be distinguished from the other. It has been recently discovered that Buddhism is still a living religion in Bengal, but it is so much blended with Hindu ideas, rites, and observances that it has to be discovered with great effort. Anyone who produces any evidence by which any period of the blending is made clear does a great service to the student of Indian History. In the examination of *Kālavidhānpadhātī* and the *Navapatal Sangraha* of the present collection Professor Bendall has laid bare a period of this blending. Both these works are Hindu works on Sacraments or *Samskaras*, both have Buddhist commentators who write in Singalese. The first is a distinct case of adaptation by the Singalese Buddhists of Hindu customs. Even the Upanayana (investiture with holy thread) a distinctive Brahminic ceremony has been adopted by the Buddhists as presenting a boy to his teacher for initiation as a *Vikshu*. This initiation is now regarded in Nepaul as a mere sacrament. The boy comes to the oldest of Bānras of his Vihara and says as he is taught, "O ! Sir, the world is full of sorrow, save me from the world." The old Bānra says, "It is very difficult, very hard lines, you will have to fast, live on holy food, etc. Do not think of it." "No,

Sir," replies the boy, "I must be saved" and the Bānra initiates him and makes him Vikshu, invests him with a yellow robe and teaches the mantras. Five or six days later the boy comes to the Bānra and says, "O reverend Sir, these are very hard lines, I must enter the world again." The Bānra gives him some wine and meat to eat and the ceremony is over. The Nepaul Buddhist think this to be equivalent to Hindu Upanayana. In fact it is. The Singalese seem to adopt the whole Hindu ceremony in their initiation. The Buddhists also perform in a general way all the Sangskaras or Sacraments of the Hindus. The Jainas do the same, some bring in Brahmins to officiate on these occasions, others employ Buddhist or Jaina priests, that is all the difference. So it seems that since the rise of Buddhism and Jainism in the fifth century B.C. the Brahmins have so far succeeded in modifying their tenets that they all accept the Sangskaras. The second work Navapatal does not seem clearly to be an adaptation of Hindu rites by Buddhists. It raises a suspicion that these might be the survivals of old Arian customs amongst the Buddhists of Ceylon which this work attempts to record. This is the first beginning of an investigation on these lines and it may be hoped that others better situated than Professor Bendall may continue it with advantage.

Of the Sanskrit authors in Ceylon one of the most conspicuous is Ram Chandra Kavibharati, a Bengali Brahmin belonging to the Kartyayana gotra, of Ciravatika, which the Singalese commentator, in his ignorance of Bengal geography says, "Rarh deshe Barendra mandale," i.e., situated in the country of Rarh in the province of Barendra. But these two countries are conterminous and one is not included in the other. The Brahmins of either Rarh or Barendra have no Kartyayana gotra amongst them. Ram Chandra must therefore have belonged to a Baidik family of Brahmins who are found to be scattered all over Bengal. He wrote his commentary to Vriyaratnakar in 1455 when he was already made the Bouddhāgama Chakravarti or the head of the Buddhist hierarchy under Parakrama Vahu who reigned from 1410 to 1462. Professor Bendall says that Ram Chandra was converted in Ceylon. But it seems probable that he was converted in

Bengal; for in one of his Century of verses he distinctly says, "Let my King punish, let my relations forsake me, let Pandits deride, to me Lord Buddha is the only Saviour." He would have no occasion to sing in this strain while enjoying the highest respect in Ceylon. He seems to be one who was banished for his faith or degraded and compelled to fly from Bengal to Ceylon.

The tone of his Bhaktishataka is not a Hinayanist tone; it is distinctly Mahayanist. Mahayan still survived in Bengal in his time. Besides other evidences we have some from Professor Bendall himself. In his Cambridge Catalogue he speaks of some Buddhist manuscripts copied at Maldah by a Kyastha in 1446. In the present volume, too, he speaks of a Buddhist scribe copying manuscripts in 1479 V.S., i.e., 1423 A.D. for his Buddhist patron, who certainly was a man of consequence as in the Colophon he is described as a great Sthavira who is compared to the moon devoid of spots on account of the removal of all faults, extremely diligent in the preservation of Buddhistic initiation, a man of noble character and noble bearing. This patron, who is thus described, got the manuscript written for his own use and for the use of others. This shows not only, that there were great Buddhist monks in Bengal, but that they studied Sanskrit and, it seems made converts. Ram Chandra might have been one of these converts and so degraded by his caste men. He might have, however, been converted anew in Hinayana in Ceylon.

Professor Bendall leaves the question of the date of two great writers on Indian philosophy practically open, those are Vachaspati, Misra and Udayanacharya. He says that Vachaspati must have flourished between the time of Shankara (eighth century) and Amalananda who wrote in the middle of the thirteenth century; and that Udayana must have flourished before 991 when Sridhara wrote his Nyayakandali at Bhurshut, about eleven miles west of Howrah. But the dates of these two illustrious personages have long since been fixed by manuscripts bearing dates of composition.

In a short treatise entitled Nyayasuchinivanda published as an appendix to the fourth fasciculus of the Nyayavartika edited in the Bibliotheca Indica by Pandit Vindhyeswari Prasad Dube, Librarian, Sanskrit College, Benares, the date of the

composition of that work by Vachaspati is distinctly given as Vasvastavasuvatsari, *i.e.*, 888 of the Saka Era, *i.e.*, 966 A.D. Similarly the date of Udayana has long been given in the preface to Atmatatwaviveka of Udayana edited by Pandit Jadu Nath Sarvabhoutma of Navadipa, the date is 906 of the Saka Era, *i.e.*, 984 A.D.

As regards the connection of Katantra Grammar with Buddhism Professor Bendall seems to be generally right. The treatise entitled Shatkarka by Bhavahanandi or Rabhasha-nandi is well known in East Bengal and is much studied there, though the invocation is distinctly Buddhist and smacks of Hinayana. No inference can be drawn from the fact that the copy of manuscript examined by Professor Bendall is written in Jaina Nagari of the seventeenth century. It would not be out of place to throw out a conjecture here that the author, a Nundi with a curious name Bhabaha or Rabhasha, may have belonged to that great Brahmin family of Pundra vardhana, surnamed Nundi, to which Prajapati Nundi, the minister of peace and war, of Ram Pal in the latter end of the eleventh century belonged. One of these Nundies, Shandhyakara, wrote a poem in *double entendre* entitled Ram Charita recording the deeds of Ram Pal Deva of Gour. Another Nundi named Kali Das wrote the Jayamangalgatha embodied in the Vallal Charita. One of the reasons which leads me to connect the author with this family is that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the only grammar extant in Bengal was Katantra; others now current were mostly not composed at the time. And there was a taste for the minute study of the principles of logic as applied to grammar which are to be found in this book.

Professor Bendall seems to think that Vrittikār and the Tikākār of the Katantra Sutras is one and the same person Durga Sinha; this is extremely doubtful; the Vrittikāra is a Shaiva while the Tikākār is a Buddhist. The Vrittikār writes in a clear and concise style of an ancient writer, while the Tikākār clearly exhibits his marks of modernity.

As the Tikākār often cites the Vrittikār by name it is clear that they cannot be one and the same person unless there be two Vrittikāras of the same name.

The whole work is a monument of Professor Bendall's patient work for years, and we commend it to the favourable notice of Orientalists interested in the literature and history of India.

H. P. S.

Art. VI.—THE RE-SHAPING OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀεὶ τὰ κάλλιστα πράττειν.

THERE is no longer any doubt, since Lord Curzon in his speech to Convocation has spoken out with such inspiring firmness and hopefulness, that the great change in the conduct and control of the Calcutta University, which many have wished and prayed for, but few till recently expected to see, is about to take place. The Universities Bill will become law, the new Senate will be appointed, the effective control of the university will pass into its hands; all will be ready for the work to begin. And then? What is most evident at the moment is the greatness of the opportunity. The very greatness of the opportunity deepens the anxiety lest the opportunity should be missed. There have been important turning points in the history of the Calcutta University before, but never one like this. It is now possible to set to work in a thorough spirit to make the education which the university gives a sound one, guided by the experience and the mistakes of fifty years. Whatever is good may be preserved. If imperfections have become manifest, they may be cured or lessened. If mistakes have been made, they may be retrieved. The length of time that has passed since the necessity of reform was first spoken of, and the intensity of the light of criticism that has played upon the university, will now be useful. We know that mistakes have been made. We know what the worst of them are. We know the evils that have resulted and the exact nature of the remedies to be applied. If we cannot at once build up a perfect system, at least we can put right what has been most amiss. A few plain and simple changes in the regulations now in force would have at once the effect of greatly improving the education the university is giving. The particulars in which change is indispensably necessary are limited in number and admit of definite statement. These changes alone would not give us all that is wanted, but

they would remove the worst faults of the present system. They would, at least, make impossible the abuses which at present vitiate the education we have been trying to give. Strenuous effort on a larger scale, animated by a sincere desire for the attainment of the best possible, and guided by good sense and good temper, might within a few years give Bengal a system of university education which all concerned might regard with satisfaction. Is it realized how great a benefit this would be, first, to the class which receives university education, and then to the whole country? Sound university education would give to Bengal a class of men really educated, if not in all cases up to a high standard, yet truly educated within the limits imposed by the actual conditions of the case. These men would be more and more valuable to the community in the professions, in the public service, in all the relations of life. They would be happier in themselves and increasingly win the respect of others. Above all, as teachers, they would pass on to future students at the most impressionable period of life, right ideas, right methods of study, right aims and desires. This could not but raise in course of time the level of attainment in all branches and grades of education. The schools would take their tone from the university, and as they have adopted the vicious methods of the past, they would adopt the sound methods now to be encouraged, and, as far as possible, enforced. This would affect the secondary schools, first, in a direct manner: ultimately it may be hoped it would affect primary education also indirectly through the better education given to primary teachers. The improvement in the schools would also in turn re-act upon the university by supplying in increasing numbers better instructed students for the Entrance Examination. First, an improvement and then a steady expansion of education in all departments is to be hoped and expected; but when the expansion came it would be solid and real, not as at present in large part illusory. A genuine advance and spread of education would be the ultimate result with all the benefits associated with the idea of progress. But the improvement in the quality of the education must come first. And to get the improvement certain definite reforms are indispensable. Given these reforms the improvement must

necessarily follow with all its train of beneficial consequences. Success in the work of reform within the university must ultimately confer benefits incalculable on the community at large. That the new Senate may carry its work through effectually and with success is therefore supremely to be desired. What are the grounds of hope; what are the grounds of fear?

Before casting this balance of hope and fear I propose, first, to define succinctly the particular changes in the regulations of the Calcutta University which I conceive to be indispensably necessary; then briefly to state reasons for the necessity in each case. There will be substantial agreement, I believe (among those who have thought seriously of the defects to be remedied) in the following points:—We require—

1. The omission from the Entrance Examination of the paper on a specially prepared text-book: or at least such a re-arrangement of marks and papers as shall greatly reduce its relative importance.

2. The omission from the regulations of all rules prescribing the proportion of marks to be assigned to book-work in mathematics.

3. In science the definition of subjects by syllabus, not by text-books, or fragments of text-books; and greater insistence on the importance of practical work.

4. The raising of pass-marks in the Entrance and F. A. Examinations.

These four involve changes in regulations now existing. To these changes certain new provisions must be added, namely:—

5. An age-limit for the Entrance Examination of not less than fifteen* years.

6. Strict adherence to the standards fixed by regulation and the recognition of some simple and well-defined principle to restrict capricious license in assigning what are known as "grace-marks."

7. The contrivance of some effective check on the passing of examinations by means of matter learnt by heart and reproduced word for word by sheer effort of memory.

* Fifteen in deference to the Report of the Universities Commission, p. 46, paragraph 164; but I think it should be sixteen.

The last of these seven propositions strikes directly at an evil which vitiates the Calcutta educational system as a whole. The other six are in a sense relative to it, and in proceeding to offer reasons for the necessity of each of the changes indicated, I will begin with an endeavour to exhibit clearly what this evil is. Necessarily it is recapitulation—to many iteration—most wearisome; but as my argument requires it, I make no further apology.

The failure with which the university is reproached is a failure in practical results. It is said that the men it turns out are not educated in any true sense, that the education it gives is largely a sham education. Why is it so? Why does the Calcutta University, in spite of its elaborate organization at present, fail to educate? Its courses as defined in the pages of the University Calendar are extensive and varied; its examination papers as they appear in the same calendar are searching in character. Its standards viewed in this way might even seem, as they have been called, rigorous and exacting. It is true that the averages of marks required for passing are suspiciously low. But this is by no means the whole explanation; and the remedy does not lie simply in raising pass-marks. There is a vice within the system more subtle and deep-seated, which does not appear in the calendar at all* and can only be thoroughly understood by those who have had a good deal to do with the actual teaching and examining of Indian students. On the mind of the teacher it gradually dawns in the course of long and painful efforts to teach that the Indian undergraduate does not, as a rule, really wish to learn. He wishes to pass examinations, which in itself is a natural and legitimate wish; but his conception of the way to pass examinations is by absorbing and reproducing words learnt by heart. He wants his instruction conveyed to him, whether by oral dictation or by printed annotations and summaries, in such a form that he can commit it all bodily to memory. He wants examination papers so set that he can write down, with more or less of appositeness according to a

* Not on the surface; critical and comparative study of the Regulations, and especially of the Rules for Examinations (pp. 149-158, Calendar 1903), reveals a good deal to the patient investigation with a clue.

happy knack of recognizing the suggesting link, portions of this mass of matter got by heart; a paper which suggests the corresponding portion readily he calls "a good paper" (or in student language "very nice.")

Whether or no he understands what he writes down is an immaterial point. He may, but certainly very often he does not. Whether he does or does not, he sometimes passes. For the really extraordinary part of the business is that, to a great extent, he gets what he wants. He gets lecture notes and printed matter which he can commit to memory in the way described. He gets examinations which he can pass by writing down words learnt by heart. The marvel is not merely that the above is the average student's sole conception of how to prepare for and pass examinations, but that the university has bowed to the student's wishes in the matter and has adjusted its system to facilitate the smooth and easy working of this remarkable convention. The university has done nothing to counteract this theory and its application in practice, and has even allowed its regulations to be shaped in such a way as to countenance, if not actually to encourage, these vicious methods. When it is once thoroughly understood that students habitually pass the examinations of the Calcutta University in the way characterized above and that nothing is done by the university to check the habit, it is no longer wonderful that the university does not educate, but only produces a false show of education.

I cannot, of course, attempt to set forth here all the evidence of the truth of the above description. A great deal of it has been before the world in the published evidence of the sittings of the Universities Commission and in a number of pamphlets and articles written in the last few years; the results are also embodied in official documents. I cannot, I think, more usefully supplement these sources of information than by quoting a few of several testimonies from students actually working under the system, which I have garnered at various times. One writes: "Success in the university examinations at the present day is not a success in the real sense, but a self-deception, except in a very few cases. The methods of the university examinations are not a true test of merit; it

tests how much we can cram up, and even this test is not an exact one, for it requires the candidates to reproduce one-third or one-fourth of what they have got by heart or rote. The consequence is that most of the students who, after passing the Entrance Examination, enter College cannot follow the lectures of their professors; far less can they master the text-books by themselves; but owing to the present system of examination they get their books by heart and take even their degrees in this way." Another says: "The best thing the university authorities can do, is to discourage cramming. First, they should lessen the number of text-books. Then they should proceed a step further and force the students to break themselves of the habit of getting up by rote the Notes of Indian annotators whose somewhat too copious annotations prevent students from putting forth all their mental powers in order to master a foreign language. Thus every student will be taught to depend upon himself, and so much the better for him; for he will begin to exercise his intellect." These extracts are from College essays, but I have every reason to believe the views expressed are genuine as well as sound. Another even more remarkable testimony came to me in the form of a letter and was entirely spontaneous, for though the letter was a class exercise the subject was different. The writer says: "In this letter I propose to deal to some extent with the evils that have crept into our system of education. Well, Sir, did you throughout your own student life in England, or during your stay in India as a Professor come across a student who could get through an examination by getting by heart the Notes only without reading the text at all? I daresay you never came across such a dexterous fellow. But I being a native of this land and fully acquainted with the tricks which students generally have recourse to, have seen many such men. There was one with me, while I was in the Entrance class. He managed to secure nearly 40 per cent. in English by getting by heart Mr. S——'s *Possible Questions with Answers on the English Entrance Course*. What other modern universities discourage, our university encourages Why are not examiners directed to give no marks to such answers as might appear to them suspicious?

By suspicious, I mean that are not in the student's own words. Many portions are learnt by heart without the student understanding them in his own vernacular." If this is what thoughtful students themselves think, is it surprising that some of their teachers have become convinced that the only hope of university education in this country lies in a comprehensive and thorough-going scheme of reform such as the Universities Bill makes possible? The evil pervades the system throughout, though its extremer forms are found in the earlier examinations. Yet it was only the other day that a friend of mine who had recently been studying for the M. A. degree told me that he learnt a translation of the extracts in his Anglo-Saxon Primer by heart, because he found all his Calcutta friends doing the same. Reason with your best students and they will actually maintain sometimes that learning by heart is practically the only safe method with them as things are, though, at the same time, they readily acknowledge the pernicious nature of the practice from a different standpoint. It is clear that the first thing to be done is by some means or other to break down this conviction, and this can only be done by a combined effort on the part of examiners supported by the whole weight of such influence as the university can bring to bear upon the matter.

This abuse of the memory in Calcutta examinations is largely, though not wholly, due to the weakness of the student's English. It tends in turn to perpetuate this weakness. The Entrance candidate has too little English to trust to his own ability to express himself and as he passes examinations nevertheless, he never has any compelling motive to force him to improve his English at all costs. The case is even worse; he is actually taught to rely on verbal memory in his school. By reliance on verbal memory he passes the Entrance Examination. He finds it easier, or thinks he finds it easier, to go on trusting to this verbal memory, and in too many cases, it is to be feared, he is actually encouraged to do so by the system. He goes on, therefore, as he began, with the result that as a B. A. student he is sometimes capable of falling into the crudest mistakes in the elements of English grammar. Defective English on the one hand and on the other reliance on merely verbal memory are thus the two ingrained faults which vitiate the

whole education. These two act and re-act one upon the other. We do not find that the university has ever really tried to grapple with these evils, either indirectly by altering the character of the Entrance Examination, or directly by passing rules to check this reproduction of words learnt by heart in examination answers. These two faults are, therefore, what we first have to try and combat both directly and indirectly now.

This establishes the necessity of the first and last of my seven propositions. We must henceforth have definite rules, or, at least, recommendations, plainly directing examiners' attention to the gravity of this vice of unintelligent abuse of memory and insisting on the urgent necessity of deliberately coping with it. It can be coped with, if only examiners will agree, as suggested in the student's letter which I have quoted, to give no marks to matter got by rote without intelligent understanding. This can be done and my point is that it must be done forthwith.

1. As regards the Entrance Examination it is clear that we should remove much of the temptation to trust to memory for words apart from meaning, if we so arranged the examination that no one could pass it without a fair knowledge of English. We can do this; most effectually by abolishing the text-book altogether for examination purposes and making the test purely one of practical knowledge of English; short of that we could still attain the end fairly well by assigning 50 marks instead of 120 out of 200 to the text-book; 50 each to translation from and into the vernacular and 50 to an essay.

2. The reason for the second proposition is now equally apparent. In mathematics it should more than in any other subject be possible to secure sound training; for mathematical quantities and symbols are neither English nor vernacular. At present this advantage is deliberately thrown away by specific regulations which make it possible to get pass-marks by learning book-work by heart. This, at least, can readily be altered.

3. The importance of making scientific work practical hardly needs elaborate argument. Mr. W. H. Arden Wood said in his evidence before the Universities Commission "The science courses prescribed at other universities show

how unmistakably it has been recognized of late years that the real value of the study of science is in direct proportion to the degree in which it is studied practically. Practical work is now insisted upon in quite elementary examinations. Again in the laboratory the student gets away from words to things, and I can imagine nothing more likely to do away with the reproach against the Indian student that he is a slave to the mere word, than the encouragement of this side of his education. It would be a genuine step in the direction of greater efficiency.....The practice of the Calcutta University in prescribing text-books is at variance with that of most other universities, and tends to foster some of the most undesirable features of Indian university education."

4. The raising of Pass percentages generally is advisable on account of the confessed failure of the present system of low percentages; and this raising of the standard is more conspicuously necessary in the case of the two earlier Arts Examinations. As to the amount of the raising there is sure to be difference of opinion. I am convinced that the best method is to shorten and simplify papers and insist on a relatively high percentage of pass-marks. In this way we secure exactitude of knowledge without making our test too difficult. If the principle is accepted, I think 50 per cent. would not be too high for the Entrance and F. A. Examinations in the totals, nor 40 per cent. in the subjects taken singly. Further in the case of Entrance English, we require for special reasons at least 50 per cent. These statements, however, must be understood in combination with the other half of the principle laid down, that papers are in all cases to be relatively short and easy. Allowance will thus be made, without sacrificing efficiency and accuracy, for the difficulty under which Indian students labour in having to write answers in a foreign language.

5. The age-limit is desirable in itself on general grounds, and is wanted as subsidiary to the other measures to be taken for raising the standard of accuracy and efficiency. It obviates objections to the changes proposed on the ground of the youth of some of the candidates. I must, for my own part, say, however, that I think the right limit is sixteen and not fifteen years. Sixteen years was the limit of age fixed by

rule when the university was first founded; and, this rule continued in force till 1879. With a sixteen year rule we may ask a competent knowledge of English from Entrance candidates without fearing that we are asking more than can reasonably be expected. The absence of such a rule has been one factor in prosecuting the pernicious features in the Calcutta system for which remedy is sought to-day. There is besides the inconvenience of the presence of boys of thirteen or fourteen in College classes. They ought not to be there for their own sake and their presence confuses the standpoint both of teaching and discipline. Schoolboys should be treated and managed as schoolboys, while students are more fittingly expected to show a sense of responsibility. We want a clear dividing-line between School and College, and in fixing sixteen as the dividing line for Indian students we make sufficient allowance for differences of climate and social customs. The worst sufferers from the want of such a rule are the boys who are subjected to the forcing process which it renders possible. Among the Entrance candidates, are seen boys of twelve or thirteen,* mere children who would be fit subjects for the interference of some protecting society, if such an institution existed in India. Even in cases where the subsequent career has been successful one can hardly doubt that a boy would have developed more healthily in intellect and character, if mind and body had been allowed to grow together.

6. I do not propose to say much about the acknowledged scandal of "grace-marks." Something very much to the point will be found in Inquisitor's recently published pamphlet "The development of the Calcutta University," pp. 19 and 20 and also pp. 9 and 10. Nothing, perhaps, illustrates more strikingly how completely the practice has come to be regarded as an integral part of the Calcutta system than a remark made incidentally to the Universities Commission. In commenting on the weakness of English a witness is reported as saying: "At the B. A. Examination, A Course, more than twice as many 'grace-marks' have had to be given in English as in

* The Report of the Universities Commission, p. 45, paragraph 163, says eleven or twelve.

philosophy and more than four times as many as in mathematics." This gentleman was neither condemning nor defending grace-marks, but the form of the expression shows how natural it has become to consider the assignment of grace-marks a matter of course, whenever failures in any particular subject are more than usually numerous. This is precisely the abuse of which those who denounce "grace-marks" complain. Reasonable leniency towards men who have done well in several subjects and failed by a few marks in one only is defensible enough. To use "grace-marks" as a sort of automatic regulator of examination results is utterly indefensible. Therefore some such rule as that recommended by Inquisitor is urgently required.

7. The abuse of verbal memory by Indian students can only be corrected by undermining their conviction that the safe way to pass examinations is to learn by heart. That conviction can only be overthrown by practical demonstration that those who learn by heart without understanding what they learn do not pass. This result must mainly be effected by agreement and co-operation among examiners. They must recognize individually and collectively the gravity of the evil and make determined efforts to combat it. They can do so by openly agreeing to give no marks to work which has plainly been learnt by heart unintelligently. Stern warfare must be waged with this inveterate vice and the conviction on which it rests until a change is effected. It is a question of the survival of the fittest. At present the "fittest" appears to be the student who can learn by heart the largest mass of ready made matter and most dexterously apply portions of it in answer to examination questions. We have to bring it about, that the fittest shall be the student who has learnt most intelligently. The examiner's duty is plain, and up to a certain point it is a simple matter, whenever in any two or more papers any part of an answer (other than a definition or a quotation) is given in the same words the unintelligent use of the memory stands confessed. In cases such as this it is simple to give no marks. In other cases detection may be more difficult and the possibility of mistake, greater. But there are still means of judging

and the examiner must deliberately pit his cunning against the candidate's. This is the duty of the individual examiner and of the examiners collectively. The university may help by rules or recommendations which explicitly direct the attention of examiners to this duty. One such rule might run—

"Examiners are requested to give no marks to matter plain-learned by heart and reproduced word for word from books or notes."

A special warning might also be placed at the top of every Calcutta Examination paper.

"Candidates are warned that no marks will be given for word for word reproduction of Notes."

The case is so exceptional and so serious that exceptional measures such as these are justified. I fear to exaggerate, yet again and again have been forced to recognize that exaggeration is almost impossible.

This is not, of course, a complete scheme of reform. A good deal more is required to correct all imperfections and work out a satisfactory scheme in completeness—as far as this can be done on paper. Among these further needs I should give a prominent place to the 'bifurcation' of courses for the F. A., and a more distinct separation of Pass and Honour courses for the B. A. But my present concern is with the minimum of reform which must be considered indispensably necessary and the formulation of the particular changes, in the existing system which together constitute that minimum. If the definite changes enumerated under my seven heads were effectively carried out, fair educational results might be expected; certainly much better results than we are getting at present.

This, then, is the work to be done—the main work, the first work, and the most necessary. What are the hopes of getting it done? What danger is there of disappointment?

The chief hope lies, in the new Senate. In spite of the extent to which public attention has been called to the abuses which vitiate the Calcutta system of education, there can be no sort of confidence that the necessary reforms would ever be carried out by a Senate constituted on the old lines. All the indications which have been afforded of the temper of the

Senate since the publication of the Report of the Universities Commission have tended to show the vanity of any such expectation. The hope of effective reform, therefore, depends on the men to be chosen as members of the new Senate. The new Senate will consist (presumably) of men carefully chosen for the work of reconstruction; and it is further to be hoped that this will be true of the elected as well as of the nominated members. The responsibility which falls on those who have to make the selection is very great. But given the best men for the work in view, there will be good hope of success.

The hope of success depends next on the loyal co-operation of all concerned to make the work a success. The hope is that now attention has been called so emphatically to the nature and gravity of the mistakes which have been committed in the past and that the Supreme Government has intervened to take the initial steps towards thorough and efficacious reform, those to whom the further work is entrusted will not fail to show themselves sensible of the greatness of the issues at stake; that they will carry the work through, with care and caution indeed, but unflinchingly. It is to be hoped that the new Senate as a body will recognize the urgency of the need of reform, and of the need of co-operation to effect it. It cannot be expected that there will be complete agreement as to all the means by which the end is to be attained, but it may be hoped that there will be complete agreement as to the end itself, and substantial agreement as to the most important changes needed. The end is to put a sound system of education in the place of an unsound. As to the means the body of this paper is an attempt to offer a plain statement of what in a moderate view are the particulars in which a working agreement may be expected.

To secure this co-operation practically when the work actually begins one other condition must be fulfilled. There must be a readiness to sacrifice personal and individual opinion for the sake of the common end. There must be even some subordination of the less to the greater in matters of strong conviction. Thoroughness must come first or the work of reform may as well be left alone altogether. No half measures will suffice. If the reform now to be instituted is to be effective it

must be thorough. There are some points on which all who are earnest about the true ends of education must take their stand. As regards these essential points there must be no hesitation and no giving way. But these points are few and definite. What and how many these essential points are I have been trying, according to my ability, to say. In the case of all other points something may justifiably be yielded for the sake of common action.

The fear is that after all the attempt to re-shape the Calcutta University to better purpose may prove abortive. Failure may come about in either of two opposite ways. It is not yet certain that the new Senate can be so chosen as to contain a working majority of men thoroughly alive to the real need of reform and possessing a clear grasp of the precise nature of the reforms needed. The forces of inertia and the natural inclination to feel near and obvious interests more than remote and ultimate benefits may prove too strong, and the reform scheme may fail for want of thoroughness. On the other hand through failure to see the necessary limitations imposed by the peculiar circumstances of an Indian university too much may be attempted. The attempt may be made to raise examination standards beyond the point of what is possible and practicable in India, not to speak of larger ambitions. It must not be left out of sight that we are dealing with the education of Indian students who seldom have an opportunity of picking up English in their earliest years, and seldom at all in a natural manner through intimate association with Englishmen. The Indian university student is handicapped by having to study in a foreign tongue and is further handicapped by the manner in which he acquires it. We must not prescribe courses for him as if he had spoken English all his life.

The claims of efficiency and the limitations imposed by the circumstances are difficult to reconcile. The best mode of meeting the difficulty seems to be to combine carefully limited courses of study with a high standard of efficiency within those limits. We must beware of trying to teach more than our students can learn; but what we do teach we may teach thoroughly and what we test we may test strictly. We must

keep our ambitions within modest bounds and be moderate in the demands we make on our students. Practically it comes to this. We shall avoid complicating our examinations with many subjects. In subjects which must be studied in English, that is, English literature, philosophy, history, science, we shall be careful to limit our courses; we shall be careful not to make them long and difficult. We shall make them sensibly less than we should require of English students at the analogous stage of their education. But we shall set a high standard of thoroughness and accuracy. In contrast with the present order of things we shall not care how our courses look in the University Calendar, we shall care only for the real education of our students.

But perhaps the most serious danger with which the prospects of success are overclouded is the danger of the presence of faction within the new Senate. Some division of parties is inevitable. There are sure to be those who want to go a little further and those who do not wish to go quite so far: those who think that the standard of efficiency ought to be put a little higher and those who do not judge it possible to set it quite so high—Progressives and Moderates in educational reform. This is an inevitable division, a division which is natural and legitimate—even healthy. There must be difference of opinion as to the amount of change to be made. There must be those who think the changes proposed too drastic, or who think that more change is necessary or desirable. But no other division of parties is legitimate or natural. Unfortunately there is danger of other divisions. There must be possible lines of cleavage among the men forming the Senate; teachers and non-teachers, officials and non-officials, Europeans and Indians. It would be a disaster if party divisions should arise along any of these lines; most disastrous of all if the division should become, wholly or in part, racial. That there is some danger of this misfortune occurring it is idle to ignore. But it ought not to be allowed to occur and there is no need that it should. The question who is responsible for the faults of the Calcutta University and how these faults have been allowed to grow uncorrected is not, of course, irrelevant to the practical problem of

removing these faults. But the practical problem how to shape the university better is also a distinct question, and it is this purely practical problem which the new Senate will be called upon to solve. All the resources they can command will be required for the task. It is a practical educational problem of a difficult and delicate nature, and the gravest issues hang on the way the work is going to be done, whether well or ill. It is of the utmost possible moment that all should loyally unite to give their best efforts to the successful carrying out of the task. All personal consideration should be left out of account, all petty rivalries and jealousies laid aside. One and all should set to work with the singlehearted aim of bringing about the best results possible by unsparing and united effort.

Here appeal, as urgent as words can make it, must be addressed to educated Indians in Bengal who have any part or interest in this question. Certainly the quality of the education given by the Calcutta University is of far more concern to them than to anyone else. If the quality is bad, it is they who suffer; it is their sons who are badly taught and who incur the penalties of incapacity. If the quality can be improved, the benefits of better education are first and most for them and their children and their children's children. Will they, as a class, throw themselves across the attempt to make this education better, or be content to stand aside while the work is being done by others. Their co-operation is badly needed; it is doubtful if the necessary work can be done at all without it. Will they continue to withhold their support? At the present moment there is better hope of securing sound university education in Bengal, than has ever offered since the first years after the foundation of the Calcutta University. It will be a lasting calamity if this hope is disappointed for want of the loyal co-operation of educated Indians in the carrying out of the reforms which have been shown to be necessary. It is not a question of loyalty to Government, or to the University, or to class interests; it is a question of loyalty to intelligence, of loyalty to the very conception of sound education.

H. R. J.

Art. VII.—HERBERT SPENCER.

THE death of Herbert Spencer has set many journalistic pens in motion. Naturally these notices could not be very long, and in many cases were perfunctory, so that no very distinct notion of the deceased man's work could be gathered from them. It must, however, be clear to all intelligent students that a great teacher is gone, and a great work ended. Spencer's place is beside Huxley and Darwin; and these three between them have raised the level of English thought, and done imperishable honour to their country. Trained in his earlier years as a railway engineer, and endowed by nature with a singular union of observation and reflection, the tendency of his mind was always directed towards science rather than towards literature. Already in his 'prentice years he had established the principle, afterwards developed by the Frenchman Taine, that an organism must adapt itself to its surroundings if it is to endure and prosper. This was to lay the foundation of a new philosophy, for which, indeed, there was much occasion, for a brilliant journalist of the time had produced a History of Philosophy with the scarcely veiled purpose of proving that there was no such thing. When George Lewes' Biographical History of Philosophy appeared Spencer was in his twenty-fifth year, and was only known to a few readers of certain not very prominent periodicals. A few years later he became sub-editor of the *Economist*, where he remained for seven years, during which he published his "Social Statics." About this time a movement in thought was being originated by the successive publications by Darwin of monographs arising out of the famous voyage of the *Beagle*; and Spencer was not slow to observe that these discoveries harmonized with his own line of thought. In 1852 appeared his works on the Development Theory, and in 1855 "Principles of Psychology." Up to this time his writings had brought him in no profit, and he had only been able to bring them out by the fortunate accident of several small legacies that had fallen to him from

time to time: but in 1864 he attracted considerable attention by his onslaught on Comte's classification of the sciences. It soon became evident that a new system of the universe was being promulgated; and all the work of the three great contemporary English thinkers was converging to the same point. Based upon original observation the hypothesis of evolution was being demonstrated, not merely by *à priori* reasoning, not merely by elaborate induction, but by a combination of fact and argument in the manner best suited to the national character. Spencer's share may be indicated by his well-known formula of the transition from homogeneity to heterogeneity; whether a cloud of gas turning into a cosmic system or a speck of protoplasm evolving into an organized life. For any finite aggregate being unequally exposed to surrounding forces will become more diverse in structure: every differentiated part becoming the parent of further differences; and this integration of parts, being accompanied by dissipation of force, will lead to rest, and ultimately to dissolution. Applying this to human affairs, he published from time to time other works on what is barbarously termed "sociology."

The "Principles of Ethics" in 1879 furnished a means of applying his Synthetic Philosophy to the subject of human conduct. The best conduct, he held, is that which best realizes evolution; but it may be doubted whether morals, although esteemed by him the goal of all his labours, were ever treated with the same convincing fulness as some other branches of his vast system. Believing as he did in Determinism and Heredity, he laid equal stress on the importance of good habits. Instinct was the capitalized experience of our ancestors, but reason was the product of our own experience; as all force follows the line of least resistance, a man might be instinctively thrown to do evil unless he formed new channels for the nerve-force by the cultivation of good habits.

It was characteristic of Spencer that he declined to follow the extreme Determinists to whom his position must have seemed illogical. The epithet "synthetic" which has been used above was employed by Mr. Spencer to indicate the noble system with which he followed Bacon's grand motto "I take all knowledge for my province;" but a new epithet was

adopted by an American disciple, John Fiske; whose "Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy" (Boston 1874) gives the most complete and agreeable summary of the Spencerian system. Spencer's own style was dry and unsympathetic; a fault which George Eliot vainly endeavoured to cure; Fiske's work, therefore, may be doubly recommended, as being more complete and more readable. Spencer never married, and his long life exemplified a pure and high standard which in our days tends to become too rare.

H. G. KEENE.

Art. VIII.—THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

AN EPITAPH.

NOW that the noise and the bustle of the last session of the Congress have passed away and the fervid patriotism of the moment has had time to cool down, one may permit oneself a calm survey of the position that the Indian National Congress holds among the world's institutions and the part that it plays in the fortunes of India. It is rarely safe to prophesy; certainly it is never profitable for the prophet to foretell evil—even the professional astrologer recognises this cardinal principle. Nevertheless it is neither difficult nor inexpedient to cast the horoscope of the Congress and foresee its melancholy future with the logic of common-sense and in the light of reason.

In considering the circumstances that gave birth to the Congress, a few preliminaries need to be taken note of. Among the many things ushered into the country along with the British supremacy in India was a spirit of political discussion which the Indian people knew nothing of in their previous history. It may be fairly assumed, without any elaborate demonstration, that this spirit, however beneficial it may be to a nation with high political ideals and extensive political training, is not calculated to work much good if it prevails among a people who are almost new to political life and liberty. In the days before the advent of the British into India, the "mild Hindu," as he even now sometimes calls himself, was content to take the good with the bad, in a spirit of resignation and submission. But suddenly there was opened before his eyes a broad vista of political aspirations the result of the enlightenment and liberty that are ever in the vanguard of British civilisation. Well might he be pardoned if, dazzled by the new light, he allowed his imagination to run riot, and dreamt of wrongs and grievances done by a paternal and benevolent Government, when he had not dared to raise his voice against the atrocities perpetrated by the worst despots of earlier epochs in the country's history. The Government gave him facilities;

he passed through the schools, colleges and universities which could not have existed but for them and developed into a "constitutional agitator" on novel lines.

The peculiarities of the Indian Congress commenced with the manner of its birth. Claiming as it does to represent the views and opinions of the Indian people, one would naturally expect it to have been the outcome of the efforts of a patriotic Indian or Indians. But no; it was otherwise. It was reserved for a benevolent foreigner to bring a few ardent spirits together and band them into the Congress. Now from his home six thousand miles away, that foreigner, hoary with age, is watching over the young manhood of the infant at whose birth and baptism he officiated and to judge from the words he has addressed to his friends across the seas, the "Father of the Congress" does not seem to be at all satisfied with its doings or the interest that it has been able to create and gather round itself.

Let us for a moment look at the constitution and the methods of the Congress. It is not seldom that it is made to pose as the Indian House of Commons! No more unhappy comparison could have been made, no more fantastic exaggeration is possible. Only one fact can, if at all, give some colour to the claim—that the annual congregations of this "National Assembly" command the presence of as many delegates of the people as there are members of the Lower House. But then, what a vast difference there is between the two! Indeed, one would be inviting ridicule if one launched out into arguments to establish the difference between an assembly which joins in an annual chorus of complaint and lamentation and an institution which is the basis of the British constitution. One may be permitted to ask what the work is that the leaders of the Congress are doing throughout the year, beyond nurturing in themselves that spirit of discontent which finds such noisy expression at the end of it. Are any attempts being made to educate the masses? Are there constituencies which elect representatives to air their grievances before the "National Assembly?" True, we have at present delegates elected by some of the bigger townships, but we cannot even form any conception of the nature of the work these are doing, except attending the session of the Congress

and travelling at half-fare on Indian railways. Is it because the leaders have found the system of sending a representative from each borough to this "National Assembly" for a fixed period of years impossible, that the present unsatisfactory system of delegation is had recourse to?

We may pause for a moment to enquire what the qualifications are that may be demanded in a delegate. Our ideas on the subject are nebulous, we confess; but we fancy we are not to blame. Indeed, it seems any one who has any degree of local influence or who wants to "do" Calcutta, Bombay or Madras cheap can, as matters stand, secure for himself the honour of delegation.

Admitting the existence of grievances, how and by whom are they best represented? What is everybody's business is nobody's and so long as the present system of representation continues, it is not likely that the utility of the institution will increase. What ought to be done, if anything may be done, is the division of the country into electoral districts or constituencies, each of which must send its representative for a fixed period of years to this assembly. It was more than whispered some few months back that steps were being taken to give the Congress something like a constitution; but the mysterious secrecy that was preserved by those who were "in the know" left the general public entirely in the dark as to the nature of the changes proposed to be effected. Whatever they might have been, they would have been welcome; for nothing can be worse than the present chaos. But now it appears that the proposals have had to be abandoned under the counsel of wise heads who, in addition to other qualifications, can claim knowledge of the real strength and position of the movement with which, from its very inception, they have been associated. So the Congress remains without a constitution and in this respect, the smallest debating society, it cannot be denied, which can boast of a body of rules, is its superior. And yet a Congress wiseacre declared within our hearing: "Oh, we in Bombay are so advanced as to think that the constitution of England is no constitution at all!"

Whom does the Congress represent? Does it take up the poor man's burden, fight his battles and win success for him,

or is it an organ of the educated classes, kept alive to gain for them rank and official preferment, to increase their importance in the State and to press their claims before the Government? The Congress, by its accommodating programme, admits every sort of work within its scope and it is apprehended by those who, like Mr. Malabari, have been watching the growth of the "national" institution with sympathetic interest, that so long as no attempt is made to keep out incongruous and heterogeneous elements from the Congress propagandism, no really substantial work can be turned out. The interests of the masses are rarely identical with the interests of the classes and by professing to espouse the causes of both, the Congress falls far short of fulfilling its self-imposed duty to either. It is becoming increasingly obvious that the institution has ceased to be popular, that it is preserved as the organ of a few, and that its resolutions cannot be said to have the sanction of the people at large. It was only the other day that the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* was forced to confess that the so-called national assembly was the preserve of a few people who could make a speech in English. What a humiliation that admission must have been for a leading Congress organ to make! But the *Patrika*, whatever its faults, has never been lacking in honesty of conviction and candour of expression.

The man in the street, who is not as unintelligent as he sometimes appears to be, has little knowledge of the Indian Congress and less faith in it. With all the wealth of its assurances, its pledges to lighten his burdens and its pretentious resolutions, it appeals neither to his imagination nor his heart; and everyone who has seen the ordinary man contribute his pice to the collection-box of the Congress knows well enough that the benefaction proceeds not from any knowledge or recognition of the worth and value of the institution, but partly from the instinctive charity of the Hindu, and partly from the awe with which the poor man regards the personages who go out to beg and will not be denied. The average educated man, who may be expected to evince an intelligent and active interest in an institution which professes to strive for a political millennium in India, though he is not altogether unfriendly to it does not have any overweening confidence in

the ambitious programme of the Congress or the ready promises of its leaders. Receiving a liberal education which, whatever it does or fails to do, develops his critical faculty to a powerful degree, it is not to be wondered at that he does not permit his vision to be dazzled by the prospects held out by the Congress and that the complaints of the Congress and the difficulties of the Government are not easily distorted, out of all proportion, in the perspective of his intellect. Perhaps the only classes of people, (other than the leaders), who are distinguished by a fervid enthusiasm in the cause of the Congress, are the students and school-boys who indulge in idle visions of a great future wherein they fancy they are to play a leading part, and the idly-busy lawyers who, having little professional work, readily welcome the opportunity of having something to do and somewhere to go at the end of each year.

We now pass on to say a few words about the boasted utility of the Congress. The work of the Congress can be divided into two distinct branches—*viz.*, the "authoritative" expression of the grievances of the people, and a half-hearted attempt to educate the masses. To the generality of minds, this latter division of congress-work is rarely apparent, as there has always been a tendency—which has now become a reality—to miss it out of the Congress programme. Turning to the more prominent aspect of the Congress, it may be asked if the work that the Congress professes to do in this direction is not already done satisfactorily by another and a greater institution—the Native Press. With all its faults, its sins of commission and omission, the indigenous Press of India is a wonderful institution. In a few short years it has earned a remarkable prestige and position and has won the confidence of the people whom it represents, of the Government who are never averse to lend a patient and favourable ear to the authoritative expression of real grievances, and of the Anglo-Indian Press which, despite some journalistic skirmishes that must occur now and then, regards it with no unfriendly and unbrotherly interest. Looking at the questions that are agitating the public mind, it must be obvious to every fair-minded person that the full, frank and free discussion that we have in

the columns of the Indian Press on subjects like the Universities Bill and the Official Secrets Bill and the conclusions arrived at by learned and impartial writers are at least as authoritative and as likely to attract the favourable notice of Government as a number of resolutions passed helter-skelter in the course of three-days' sitting of the Indian Congress.

Coming to the subject of popular education, can the warmest partisan of the Congress honestly and with any fair show of reason contend that it makes anything like an honest and conscientious effort to infuse an idea of national life and to introduce wide-spread political ideals into the mass of the people by the publication of tracts and pamphlets, and by organising meetings for addressing and educating the working man, the agriculturist, the man in the street? What does the dweller in the village, who knows not English and has barely heard of the Congress, know of its ambitious work, how is he brought within the scope of its influence? The Vernacular Press, though no one can claim perfection for its methods or its manners, is certainly doing more substantial work than the Congress, in that its products exert some influence on people who reside in rural tracts and out-of-the-way nooks in India. The great drawback of the Vernacular Press is that it is but in few instances in the hands of competent people—that it is run more often by ill-read and rampant demagogues who earn cheap popularity by violent denunciation, rather than by capable and conscientious journalists. If these latter be placed at the helm of the Vernacular Press, there can hardly be any doubt that the best results will be produced. Turning over the accounts of the Congress of such years as accounts have been issued for, we gather that about Rs. 50,000 are spent annually to make the Congress session an attractive "political festival," as Mr. Malabari has so happily called it. The same Rs. 50,000, if only utilised in the rehabilitation of newspapers that, though deserving of support, have become defunct through lack of patronage and the starting of others under the control of competent journalists will be productive of far more substantial work, each day of the year than the most pompous resolutions, proposed, seconded and supported by a persistent parade of stock argument and stump oratory.

We are perpetrating a truism when we declare that within the ranks of the Congress, the utmost diversity of opinions and a general disagreement prevail. The leaders are hopelessly divided among themselves, and cannot inspire the same confidence in the rank-and-file as they did in the old days, when the Congress was young and the leaders could display and excite some enthusiasm. But now what a melancholy spectacle meets the sympathiser's eye! In such an essential matter as the providing of a constitution for the Congress, the way for which the Madras leaders had fondly hoped they had cleared, one hailing from another Presidency, who is known to have the best interests of the Congress at heart and whose experience cannot be questioned, had to over-ride them in a rather unceremonious manner and postpone the all-important question to the "next year" as usual. The point has been won but not without creating considerable discontent and even some disruption in the camp.

Then again what is to be said of the bond of union between the leaders and the followers? The latter indeed are a necessary set of people; they can run errands, erect the pandal, feed the delegates and otherwise make themselves useful. But when they come to ask for any higher privilege than that allowed to a general factotum, the leaders are agape at their audacity and vouchsafe no conciliatory reply. When a gentleman, who believed he had qualified himself to express his views on the subject of one of the resolutions of the last Congress, aspired to the honour of being a speaker thereon, quoth a leader with more curtness than courtesy:—"You are only a First Grade Pleader, I don't see why *you* should speak." Other counsel, however, prevailed and the anxious aspirant's research and eloquence were not allowed to be lost to the audience or the cause.

The fact of the matter is the Indian Congress labours under a peculiar trouble. Paradoxical as it may seem, it has at present too many leaders and yet it has not enough. We mean, of course, that while the Congress can count at its head any number of people who have their own small factions, their little parties of adherents, it cannot boast of a couple of individuals who have the grit, the integrity, the magnetism,

of a pure and high personality, of a Gladstone, a Chamberlain or a Beaconsfield, which can appeal to the feelings of a nation, claim the reverence of a people and make them willing followers. Outside the Congress meetings we never see the leaders mingling with the multitude, speaking to them in the languages they can understand, educating them on the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. The mob never sees these leaders, does not hear the ring of their voice, the music of their speech. In short the attitude of the Congress towards the man in the street is one of absolute apathy and contempt, and of the man in the street to the Congress one of ignorance and indifference.

The subject of leadership in the Congress camp some time ago gave rise to an animated discussion in the columns of some of the leading organs of Indian thought and in the course thereof, many an unpleasant but incontrovertible statement was made which could not but give offence to those who were anxious to whitewash the sins of the Congress and varnish the motives of Congress leaders and followers. The correspondence columns of the *Madras Mail* were at that time dragged into the orbit of that discussion, and the general tenor of the letters, that appeared on the subject, indicated an unmistakeable indictment against the majority of those who had joined the ranks of the Congress. A love of notoriety, a desire for personal aggrandisement have led not a few to ally themselves with the Congress; but we are all glad to acknowledge that there are some honourable exceptions. The fact remains, though we regret to admit it, that too many of those who profess to look on the Congress as their mother, "trade upon her resources or her reputation."

We cannot conclude this article without a few words about the Industrial Exhibition. We may grant that in the course of an indefinitely large number of years, vast improvements may be made in the arts and industries of the country, on account of this institution; but in the meantime, one who can read between the lines can reasonably suspect that the Exhibition was started to bolster up the Congress and maintain its former hold on the few thousands who congregate at the Pavilion every year. We are tempted to read in the institution of the Exhibition a tacit acknowledgment of the

Congress leaders that the Congress is a sinking ship requiring to be towed across the high seas by a fresher and stronger vessel. Besides, from the beginning of the later institution, steps were taken to enlist in its favour, the sympathies of the Government and the active support of officials. The Government of Madras have done wisely in trying, as far as it lay within their power, to keep the two institutions apart by insisting as a preliminary to the promised grant of Rs. 10,000 that their accounts should be kept distinct and separate. They have, by this step, given the Exhibition a *quasi*-official character. The action of the Local Government excited a flutter in the dovescotes of the Congress; but when all is said the inference is obvious that, if the Congress leaders were wise, the Government are wiser and desire to separate the Exhibition as much as possible from the Congress so as to make them mutually independent.

And now, how does the Congress stand? Melancholy as it is to confess, it is abundantly clear that it is on its last legs if we may use the expression. Disruption within, disaffection and unpopularity without, a growing expense that is met by the people grudgingly, a superfluity of bad leaders and a paucity of good ones—these are among the symptoms that embolden us to hazard the remark that the Congress is doomed to die at the end of a few short years. Its birth and its growth were phenomenal; never in the history of the world has there been another institution, with such ambitious aims and so hopeful of a glorious future, which grew up in so short a space of time. But the Congress was built up literally in a day. There was no period of slow evolution, of gradual development from childhood to man's estate. It was born a bulky, full-grown creature, and as nothing can stand still in nature, without undergoing alterations of any kind, without increasing or decreasing, improving or degenerating, the conclusion is irresistible that since it *will* not improve, the Congress must degenerate, since it *will* not take any of the precautions to live, it must die. And what a death it promises to be—more phenomenal than even the birth! To-day, a living fact, with all the show and trappings of life;—to-morrow, a mere dead name, the memory of a thing that was!

T. V. SUBRAHMANYAM.

Art. IX.—“ST. MICHAEL OF THE CHRISTIANS AND MITHRA OF THE ZOROASTRIANS—A COMPARISON.”

THE Zoroastrian Scriptures speak of seven Amesha Spentas¹ or Archangels. 1. Ahura-Mazda, 2. Vohumana, 3. Ashavahishta, 4. Khshathra-vairya, 5. Spenta-ârmaiti, 6. Haurvatât and 7. Ameretât. If Ahura-Mazda, which is the name of the Almighty Lord, is not counted in the list, the number of Archangels is six². Similarly the Jews have seven Shadim or Archangels. 1. Michael, 2. Gabriel, 3. Raphael, 4. Uriel, 5. Chamuel, 6. Japhiel and 7. Zadkiel. Dr. Kohut says on this subject “It is worth observing that the fluctuation between the number of six or seven of the Amesha-spentas, indeed, according to as Ahuromazdao is counted or not in the class of the Amesha-spentas of yst. I, 36³; 2, 1-6 recurs also in the Jewish Scriptures. Thus the so-called Jerusalem, Targum to Deuter. 34, 6 and the book of Enoch C. 20, where the list of “watching Angels” is counted up—gives only six; the Book of Tobit 12, 15 and of Enoch C. 90, 21 give seven as the number of the Archangels. The latter is probably the more correct assumption, which then corresponds even to the Christian seven Archangels⁴.” As pointed out above by Dr. Kohut, the Christian Scriptures also speak of seven Archangels or the seven spirits of God⁵. Similarly we find the “Divine Powers” of the Neo-Platonic Philosophy of Philo Judæus corresponded

¹ Hapta Amesha-Spenta, Yasht II., 13, ² Yasht I., 25. ³ Spiegel, Yasht I., 37. Westergaard, Yasht I., 25.

⁴ “The Jewish Angelology and Demonology based upon Parsiism,” translated from the German of Dr. Alexander Kohut, by K. R. Cama, p. 4 n.

⁵ “And I beheld, and, lo, in the midst of the throne and of the four beasts, and in the midst of the elders, stood a Lamb as it had been slain, having seven horns and seven eyes, which are the seven Spirits of God sent forth into all the earth.” Revelation v. 6.

“And I saw another sign in heaven, great and marvellous, seven angels having the seven last plagues.” *Ibid.* xv. 1, also 6 to 7, viii. 2, xvi. 1, Zechariah vi. 10.

“The seven holy angels . . . which go in and out before the glory of the Holy One.” The Apocryphal Book. Tobit ch. xii. 15.

Cf. Milton.—

“The seven who in God’s presence nearest to his throne Stand ready at command.”

to the Amesha Spentas of the Zoroastrians. These “Divine Powers” stood “closest to the Self-existent.”¹ They were six in number. Including the self-existent, their number was seven. The Gnostics also “taught that the universe was created by the Seven Great Angels.”

Among these seven Archangels of the Hebrews and the Christians, Michael is the first. The object of this paper is to compare or identify this Archangel, with the Mithra of the Avesta, or the Meher of the later Persian Books.

As Dr. Kohut says “The belief in the existence of superior beings, endowed with a perfect spiritual disposition, was in ancient times a commonly prevalent one. In reality even the great progressive range of existence, that rises up from the inanimate stone to human beings leads to the assumption, that over these there must be existing again a class of beings with superior intellectual endowments to those of mankind—an assumption, against which even from the standpoint of modern thought there is nothing to object.”²

Thus then there is no wonder, if we see the belief in the existence of Angels common among the ancient Zoroastrians, Hebrews and Christians. What strikes one is the similarity of the ideas about these Angels in the scriptures, in the later books and in the sacred and legendary art of these nations.

It has been pointed out by several eminent scholars, like Revd. Dr. Mills, Revd. Dr. Cheyn, Dr. Kohut and others that the ancient Zoroastrian ideas had influenced, to a certain extent, the religious ideas of the Hebrews. Dr. Kohut says “all these local and chronological data agree with the assertion, that we suppose to be the result of our researches, that the exiles in their domiciles in Persia and Media, adopted and made current among themselves, much from the Zoroastrian religion, for example the inner economy of heaven and hell, pre-eminently however the ideas touching the genii.”³ So the Jewish Angelology and from that, the Christian Angelology was replete with Persian influences. Of the seven Archangels

¹ “Philo Judæus or the Jewish Alexandrian Philosophy,” by J. Drummond, Vol. II, pp. 82-83.

² “The Jewish Angelology and Demonology, based upon Parsiism,” by Dr. Kohut translated by K. R. Cama, p. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

of the Jews, Michael the very first is identified by Dr. Kohut with the Vohumana or Bahaman of the Zoroastrians.

Dr. Kohut thinks that the Jewish people took their ideas of the "Angel princes" not from the Amesha Spentas or Archangels of the Persians but from their later Zoroastrian Yazatas or angels. He thinks that the very "appellation Malak-i Hushrat (used in Jewish books) as the collective designation of Angels is borrowed from the Parsee Yazatas."¹ On the question of this borrowing he says "It is therefore quite a natural proceeding, if the Jewish people and their organs, which are the Haggadists, depended for the characterisation of the 'Angel princes' not on the already blasted Amesha-spentas but on the later Zarathushtrian genii. . . . Only with Michael it seems to have an especial condition."² I think that in the case of Michael also, it is no exception, and there is no "especial condition." His characteristics also are not taken from any Persian Archangels—from Vohumana or Bahaman as Dr. Kohut suggests—but from an Yazata or Angel, and that Yazata is Mithra.

Dr. Kohut advances the following points of identification to show, that Michael of the Jews is the same as the Vohumana or Bahaman of the Zoroastrians.³

1. As Vohumana is first of the Archangels, so is Michael, the highest prince.
2. Vohumana has to see, that good thought, peace and friendship are preserved among men (Yasht III). So "In Michael is symbolized goodness and merciful disposition . . . His chief attributes are therefore mercy, goodness and peace."
3. "An altar is raised in heaven, upon which Michael, the great prince, offers 'the souls of the pious' that ascend high to the heavens, similarly as Vohumana, according to Persian tradition, in the Garonemana encounters the ascending souls and makes them sit down on their thrones of peace."

These three seem to be the only points of identification, on which Dr. Kohut bases his theory of identifying Vohumana with Michael.

¹ "The Jewish Angelology and Demonology, based upon Parsiism," by Dr. Kohut translated by K. R. Cama, p. 29.

² *Ibid.*, p. 37.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-7.

The only strongest and most important point in this identification seems to me to be the first, *viz.*, that as Vohumana was an Archangel and the first of the Archangels among the Persians, so was Michael an Archangel, and the first of the Archangels or "the highest prince" among the Jews. The other two points of identification, *viz.* (a) that Michael showed mercy and brought about peace like Vohumana, and (b) that Michael "encounters the ascending souls" like Vohumana, apply as well or rather more forcibly, as will be seen later on, in the case of the identification of Michael with Mithra. But the subject of my paper is not the identification of the Michael of the Jews with the Mithra of the Persians, but the identification of the St. Michael of the Christians with the Mithra of the ancient Persians. Though it is true that Christian Books are indebted to the Jewish scriptures for their original ideas about St. Michael, still some of the views about St. Michael in all the phases of his representation—both in the later Christian Books and in the Christian Sacred and Legendary Art,—had to look to some other sources. So I beg to show in this paper that St. Michael in all the phases of his character, as presented by the Books and by the Sacred and Legendary Art, can be identified with the Mithra of the Parsee Books.

A perusal of Mrs. Jameson's Sacred and Legendary Art has suggested to me this identification. Before going into the details of this identification, I will give here a picture of St. Michael's attributes and works.

According to the Bible, St. Michael was a prince, and one of the Chief princes and he helped Daniel against the Prince of Persia (Daniel x. 13, 21). The general Epistle of Jude speaks of him as an Archangel (Jude 9). He is the deliverer of the Israel from their troubles (Daniel xii. 1). In the New Testament, he is represented as fighting against the dragon in heaven (Revelation xii. 7). That dragon is the "Old serpent called the Devil and Satan" (*Ibid.* xii. 9).

Mrs. Jameson in her "Sacred and Legendary Art" thus sums up the attributes of Michael as represented both in the Scriptures and in the Sacred Art.

"It is difficult to clothe in adequate language the divine attributes with which painting and poetry have invested this

illustrious Archangel. Jews and Christians are agreed in giving him the pre-eminence over all created spirits. All the might, the majesty, the radiance, of Thrones, Dominations, Principalities, Virtues, Powers, are centred in him. In him God put forth His strength when he exalted him chief over the celestial host, when angels warred with angels in heaven; and in him God showed forth His glory, when he made him conquer over the power of sin and 'over the great dragon that deceived the world'. . . . The legends which have grown out of a few mystical texts of Scriptures, amplified by the fanciful disquisitions of the theological writers, place St. Michael before us in three great characters:—(1) As captain of the heavenly host, and conqueror of the powers of hell. (2) As lord of souls, conductor and guardian of the spirits of the dead. (3) As patron saint and prince of the Church Militant.

"When Lucifer, possessed by the spirit of pride and ingratitude, refused to fall down and worship the Son of man, Michael was deputed to punish his insolence, and to cast him out from heaven. . . . To him it was given

to bid sound th' Archangel trumpet

and exalt the banner of the Cross in the day of judgment; and to him likewise was assigned the reception of the immortal spirits when released by death. It was his task to weigh them in a balance: those whose good works exceeded their demerits, he presented before the throne of God; but those who were found wanting, he gave up to be tortured in purgatory, until their souls from being 'as crimson, should become as white as snow'. . . . Lastly when it pleased the Almighty to select from among the nations of the earth one people to become peculiarly his own, He appointed St. Michael to be president and leader over that chosen people."²

I will now give a short outline of the attributes of the Zoroastrian Mithra in the words of Dr. Geiger.³

¹ "Thou art weighed in the balances and art found wanting." Daniel v. 27.

² Mrs. Jameson's Sacred and Legendary Art (4th edition, 1863), Vol. I, pp. 94-96.

³ Civilization of the Ancient Iranians, by Dr. Geiger. Translated by Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana, Vol. I. Introduction, pp. LV-LVIII.

"Mithra has his physical and his moral side. The latter is founded on the former and proceeds from it. The two should be distinctly distinguished. Physically, Mithra is the *Yazata* of the rising sun, or more accurately, probably the *Yazata* of the light radiating from the sun. . . . On the *Hara barzati*, the mountain over which the sun rises, Ahura Mazada has created for Mithra a dwelling. . . .

. . . . As the *Yazata* of sun and light, Mithra is called 'the lord over wide fields.' He is also named 'the prince of the countries.' For the sun is the king of the heavens, and he looks at the same time over all the dominions of the earth.

"The light is the symbol of truth. Hence the sun is called the eye of Ahura, because with it he surveys the whole world and perceives everything right and wrong. When once such ideas exist, it cannot surprise us that also Mithra, the *Yazata* of the sun-light, should himself become a guardian of truth and justice. If we look more closely into the entire character of the Avesta religion, we shall find it intelligible that this ethical part of the nature of Mithra occupies a far wider space than his physical importance. Mithra is the guardian of truth, the *Yazata* of oaths and promises. As such, Mithra is 'the infallible' and 'the undeceived one'. . . . a warlike courageous youth who drives in a chariot through the spaces of the heavens. . . . In this chariot Mithra drives into the battle in order to support his adherents and to annihilate the 'betrayers of Mithra'. . . .

"With his club he slays his opponents, the men and horses together. He is, therefore, invoked by warriors, both of strength for their teams and health for their bodies."

We will now proceed to point out in details the points of similarity between Mithra, the *Yazata* of the Zoroastrians and Michael the Saint of the Christians.

Firstly, the very meaning of the name Michael is "one who is like unto God." "In him God sent forth His strength when he exalted him chief over the celestial host." So we read of Mithra in the Meher Yasht that God created him "worthy

by other angels in this task. So it is not he personally who holds the balance. It is Rashna, who standing by his side, holds the balance. "Every one whose good works are three Srôshô-Charanâm¹ more than his sins, goes to heaven; they whose sin is more, go to hell; they in whom both are equal remain among these Hamastagân till the future body."²

(b) In the sacred pictures of St. Michael with the balance in his hand, we see a demon "grasping at the descending scale."³ "He (Michael) holds the balance; the scale with the good rests on earth, but that with the souls which are found wanting, mounts into air. A demon stands ready to receive them, and towards this scale St. Michael points with the end of a black staff which he holds in his right hand."⁴ Similarly we find demons standing before the Zoroastrian Mithra when he judges the actions of men in the balance. We read in the Minô Kherad, "And many opponents have watched there, with the desire of evil of Aeshm, the impetuous assailant, and of Astô-Vidâd, who devours creatures of every kind and knows no satiety."⁵

(c) In the case of Christian Michael, he is clothed in golden armour⁶: In the case of the Zoroastrian Mithra, it is the balance that is golden.⁷

Eighthly.—In some representations of the last judgment, St. Michael is accompanied by several angels. Four hover over his head and three are below him.⁸ In Zoroastrian books, Mithra is represented as accompanied by other angels, especially Rashna, the good angel of justice, and Srosh, the angel of obedience.⁹

Let us note in passing that there is a good deal common among the ancient Egyptians and the ancient Persians in the matter of the belief about the future of the soul. So, we find

¹ The name of a small weight.

² Ardai Viraf Nâmeh. Haug, p. 157, Ch. VI. 9-11.

³ Mrs. Jameson's Sacred and Legendary Art., Vol. I., p. 112, Fig. 40.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 113-114.

⁵ S. B. E. XXIV, West Ch. II, 116-17.

⁶ Mrs. Jameson's Sacred and Legendary Art, Vol. I., p. 113.

⁷ Viraf-Nameh, Ch. V, 5.

⁸ Mrs. Jameson's Sacred and Legendary Art, Vol. I., p. 113.

⁹ Meher Yasht, 41. Viraf-Nameh Ch. V.

among the ancient Egyptians also several angels judging and weighing the actions of men after death.¹

Ninthly.—In his third character, "As patron Saint and prince of the Church Militant," St. Michael is represented as being appointed by God, the president and leader of the chosen people, the Hebrews. "At that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people" (Daniel XII. 1). "When the power of the Synagogue was supposed to cease, and to be replaced by the power of the Church, so that the Christians became the people of God, then Michael, who had been the great prince of the Hebrew people, became the prince and leader of the Church Militant in Christendom, and the guardian of redeemed souls, against his old adversary of the Prince of Hell. (Revelation XII. 6-7)." (Mrs. Jameson I, p. 96).

Now just as Michael as an Archangel is the guardian of the Hebrews, and as a Saint is the guardian of the Christians, so is Mithra the protector of the Iranians. He is invoked for granting them all pleasure and happiness (Meher Nyaish 13) He is the protector, not only of the Iranians, but of the whole world. We read in the Meher Yasht that God appointed him the protector of the whole world.²

It must be noted, that Michael is represented in the old Testament, as helping Daniel against the prince of that very kingdom of Persia, where Mithra was held in esteem for helping the Persians in war against their enemies. (Daniel x. 13).

Tenthly.—Michael is represented as a warrior. "In all representations of St. Michael, the leading idea, well or ill expressed, is the same. He is young and beautiful, but 'severe in youthful beauty,' as one who carries on a perpetual contest with the powers of evil. In the earlier works of art he is robed in white, with ample many-coloured wings, and bears merely the sceptre or the lance surmounted by a cross, as one who conquered by spiritual might alone. But in the later representations, those coloured by the spirit of chivalry, he is

¹ Vide my paper before the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society on "The belief about the Future of the Soul among the ancient Egyptians and Iranians." (Journal Vol. XIX, No. 53).

² Meher Yasht, 103.

the angelic Paladin, armed in a dazzling coat of mail, with sword, and spear, and shield."¹

Mithra is also represented as a warrior (*rathâshtâr*) with a silver helmet, golden armour, and a dagger.² Bows and arrows, lances, hurling wheels, swords, sticks, and clubs are his weapons of war.³ Like Michael he is represented to be as beautiful and as resplendent as the sun.⁴

Eleventhly.—As a warrior St. Michael is specially represented as fighting with the dragon or Satan. "He stands armed, setting his foot on Lucifer, either in the half-human or the dragon form, and is about to transfix him with his lance, or to chain him down in the infernal abyss. . . . It is the visible palpable reflection of that great truth stamped into our very souls, and shadowed forth in every form of ancient belief—the final triumph of the spiritual over the animal and earthly part of our nature . . . we have always the leading *motif* distinct and true, the winged virtue is always victorious above and the bestial vice is always prostrate below."⁵

Now we have the same idea in the Avesta, in the fight of Mithra and other angels against Angra-Mainyu and his accomplices—the idea that in the end Spenta-Mainyu will be successful and Angra-Mainyu defeated, that virtue will win and vice will be crushed. In that very story, which explains the foundation of the *Jashan-i-Meherangan*, *i.e.*, the Feast of Mithra, it is the young warrior Faridun, who typifies all the virtuous attributes of Mithra, that defeats and subdues Azi-dahâka or the serpent Dahâka. It is virtue triumphing over vice.

It is said that "St. Michael owes his widespread popularity in the middle ages to three famous visions."⁶ I will describe here, in the words of Mrs. Jameson,⁷ one of these three visions, because it presents several points of similarity between the

¹ Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, Vol. I., p. 100, fig. 37, p. 106.

² *Meher Yasht*, 112.

³ *Ibid.*, 129-132.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 143.

⁵ Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, Vol. I., pp. 100-1001.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.

Christian ideas about St. Michael and the Zoroastrian ideas about Mithra.

"In the fifth century, in the city of Siponte, in Apulia (now Manfredonia,) dwelt a man named Galgano or Garganus, very rich in cattle, sheep and beasts; and as they pastured on the sides of the mountain, it happened that a bull strayed and came not home: then the rich man took a multitude of servants and sought the bull, and found him at the entrance of a cave on the very summit of the mountain, and, being wroth with the bull, the master ordered him to be slain; but when the arrow was sent from the bow it returned to the bosom of him who sent it, and he fell dead on the ground: then the master and his servants were troubled, and they sent to inquire of the bishop what should be done. The bishop having fasted and prayed three days, beheld in a vision the glorious Archangel Michael, who descended on the mountain, and told him that the servant had been slain because he had violated a spot peculiarly sacred to him, and he commanded that a church should be erected and sanctified there to his honour. And when they entered the cavern they found there three altars already erected, one of them covered with a rich embroidered altar-cloth of crimson and gold, and a stream of limpid water springing from the rock, which healed all diseases. So the church was built."

Now in this story of this vision, there are several ideas which are common both to St. Michael and to Mithra.

1. From the story of this vision and other two visions, we find that the summit of a mountain is the favourite place of St. Michael. We find the same in the case of Mithra. The *Meher Yasht* (50) says that "God created the mansion of Mithra on the mountain Hara-berezaiti," *i.e.*, Elbourz.

2. We see in the story of the vision that St. Michael was the protector of the bull that had lost his way and strayed. Mithra is similarly the protector of the cattle, that have lost their way and strayed. In the *Meher Yasht* (86) the cow that has lost her way and is looking for her stables, invokes the help of Mithra, in the following words:—

"When will the brave Mithra, the lord of broad pastures put us into our right track and make us reach our folds?"

Again it is said that the cattle of those people, who offend Mithra by committing Mithra-druji, *i.e.*, by saying untruths, breaking their promises and making a breach of trust, generally go astray.¹

We said above, that in the artistic representations of St. Michael, what is intended to be shown as an emblem, is the final victory of good over evil. In the Meher Yasht, in the picture of Mithra protecting the cattle that have gone astray, the same idea is allegorically conceived. This appears from the very next passage where the reader prays : "When will he (Mithra, the angel of Truth) take us back to the path of Righteousness from the mistaken path of the demon."² It is worth noting here that in the Vedas also Mitra, who corresponds to a certain extent, to Mithra, is the protector of the cattle. So also among the Romans, who had taken their Mithraic worship from the East, Mithra was the protector of cows (*abactorem boum*).

3. The third point which strikes us in the abovementioned vision of St. Michael is that the arrow aimed against the bull was rejected, and killed the very man who aimed it, because Michael was displeased with his conduct.

We find the same thing in the case of Mithra. When he is displeased against those, who commit Mithra-druji, *i.e.*, who break their promises and make breaches of trust, he makes their instruments, miss their aim. He rejects their arrows. We read in the Meher Yasht (20) "That arrows, which the man, who lies unto Mithra, throws, turn back."³

4. The altar of St. Michael is represented in the story of the vision to be in a cave of the mountain. We know that the Mithraic rites among the Romans, borrowed from the Persians, were performed secretly in the hidden chambers of the cave.

We find one or two points of striking resemblance in the second vision of St. Michael which spread his popularity in the West. Mrs. Jameson thus describes the vision⁴ :—

"When Rome was nearly depopulated by a pestilence in the sixth century, St. Gregory, afterwards Pope, advised that

¹ Meher Yasht, 38.

² Meher Yasht, 86.

³ Meher Yasht, 20.

⁴ Mrs. Jameson's Sacred and Legendary Art, Vol. I., p. 98.

a procession should be made through the streets of the city, singing the service since called the Great Litanies. He placed himself at the head of the faithful, and during three days they perambulated the city ; and on the third day, when they had arrived opposite to the mole of Hadrian, Gregory beheld the Archangel Michael alight on the summit of that monument, and sheath his sword bedropped with blood. Then Gregory knew that the plague was stayed, and a church was there dedicated to the honour of the Archangel : and the tomb of Hadrian has since been called the castle of Sant' Angelo¹ to this day."

We find from the above story that St. Michael had a hand in arresting the course of a pestilence. He alighted in the place and the pestilence stopped. We learn from the Meher Yasht, that Mithra had similarly the power of preventing plague. There where the mansion of Mithra is situated we find no plague.²

There was another legend about St. Michael : "In the Gulf of Avranches, in Normandy, stands a lofty isolated rock, inaccessible from the land at high water, and for ages past celebrated as one of the strongest fortresses and state prisons in France. In the reign of Childebert II., St. Aubert, Bishop of Avranches, had a vision, in which the Archangel Michael commanded him to repair to this rock, then the terror of mariners, and erect a church to his honour on the highest point, where a bull would be found concealed, and it was to cover as much space as the bull had trampled with his hoofs : he also discovered to the Bishop a well-spring of pure water which had before been unknown. As the bishop treated this command as a dream, the Archangel appeared to him a second and a third time ; and at length, to impress it on his waking memory, he touched his head with his thumb, and made a mark or hole in his skull, which he carried to the grave. This time the Bishop obeyed, and a small church was built on the spot indicated ; afterwards replaced by the magnificent Abbey Church, which was begun by Richard Duke of Normandy, in 966, and finished by William the Conqueror."³

¹ I had the pleasure of seeing this Castle of St. Angelo on the 2nd of August 1889. I was then told this story of the vision of St. Michael and was told the pestilence was that of cholera.

² Meher Yasht, 50.

³ Mrs. Jameson's Sacred and Legendary Art, Vol. I., p. 99.

In this legend, as in the first, we find that the bull plays a prominent part. This fact can be easily explained, if one were to trace the origin of the worship of St. Michael to ancient Persia through the intermediary of Mithraic rites, that had spread in Rome and other western regions. In the bas-reliefs, sculptures, monuments, &c., which have been discovered in some of the caverns at Rome, and which refer to the ancient rites used at the celebration of Mithraic mysteries, figures of bulls with Mithra have been found and have been variously explained.¹

It is worth noting here that the word "Mitre" by which the head-dress which the Christian Bishops put on, in their religious services, is known, is derived by Maurice from Mithra. He says, "possibly the name of *Mitre* may be primarily derived from this high conical cap worn in the rites of Mithra, which was also covered with rays and painted with various devices."²

We find that in all the above three legends of St. Michael, the number three plays a prominent part. In the first legend, the Bishop fasted and prayed for three days, before he beheld St. Michael in a vision. In the second, St. Gregory perambulated in the city of Rome for three days before he saw the Archangel descend on the summit of the hill. In the third legend the Archangel appeared to Bishop St. Aubert three times before he could make the Bishop properly understand his message.

The number three plays a prominent part in the ritual of the Zoroastrians. The fire-temple, where the sacred religious rites are performed, is called the *Dar-i-Meher*, *i.e.*, the door or the gateway of Meher or Mithra. The ceremonies for the consecration of these temples or the Gateways of Mithra are performed for three days. Again the departed souls have to remain in this world for three days before being judged by Mithra.

We have so far seen, that there are many points of similarity between St. Michael of the Christians and Mithra of the Zoroastrians. As said in the beginning, it is not very difficult to account for this similarity. The Iranian Angelology had some influence over the Jewish and Christian Angelology. It was more so in the case of Mithra. There was direct as well as indirect influence; direct from the Persians themselves and

¹ *Vide* K. R. Cama's "A Discourse on the Mithraic Worship."

² *Indian Antiquities or Dissertations*, Vol. V., pp. 994.

indirect from the Mithraic rites and worship that had at one time spread in Rome and in other adjoining countries.

Mrs. Jameson says on this point¹:—

"To the origin of the worship paid to the great Archangel I dare not do more than allude, lest I stray wide from my subject, and lose myself and my readers too, in labyrinths of Orientalism. But in considering the artistic representations, it is interesting to call to mind that the glorification of St. Michael may be traced back to that primitive Eastern dogma, the perpetual antagonism between the Spirit of Good and the Spirit of Evil, mixed up with the Chaldaic belief in angels and their influence over the destinies of man. It was subsequent to the Captivity that the active Spirit of Good, under the name of Michael, came to be regarded as the special protector of the Hebrew nation: the veneration paid to him by the Jews was adopted, or rather retained by the Oriental Christians and though suppressed for a time was revived and spread over the West where we find it popular and almost universal from the eighth century."

The Good Spirit referred to above is the Spentâ-Mainyu of the Avesta as opposed to the Evil-Spirit, the Angrâ-Mainyu of the Avesta. He had as it were a celestial council of Seven on his side. These seven were the Ameshâ-Spentas corresponding to the seven Archangels of the Hebrews and Christians, the seven Immortal Powers of the Neo-Platonists and the seven Great Angels of the Gnostics. Besides the Ameshâ-Spentas he had several other Yazatas or angels on his side. Mithra was one of the foremost of these.

Now Michael as originally conceived by the Hebrews and the early Christians may be one of the Seven Archangels, but as represented in the later Christian writings and in the Sacred Art, he seems to have been conceived rather in the picture of Mithra as presented directly by the Zoroastrian books and indirectly by the Mithraic rites and worship of the Romans and of the other adjoining nations.

SHUMS-UL-ULMA JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A.

¹ Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, Vol. I., pp. 94-95.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

ANNUAL PROGRESS REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY CIRCLE, UNITED PROVINCES, FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST MARCH 1903. Government Press, United Provinces.

DURING the year under review Munshi Ghulam Rasul Beg, Head Draftsman, held charge of the current duties of the office of the Archæological Surveyor, United Provinces.

His Excellency the Viceroy, when he visited Agra in April 1902, gave detailed instructions as to certain works which have now, nearly all of them been completed.

The total expenditure on restoration and conservation in these Provinces during the last year was Rs. 1,58,541.

Under the head *Inscriptions* we find the following interesting notes (p. 2):—

Inscriptions.—The late Mr. E. W. Smith supplied Dr. E. Hultzsch, Government Epigraphist, Madras, with some impressions of copper plates, which are deposited in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow. Three out of these have been published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, volume VII, parts III and V. These are—

(a) *Two Lar plates of Govinda Chandra of Kanauj, dated (Vikrama) Samvat 1202.*—These copper plates were found at the village of Lar in the Gorakhpur district, United Provinces. They were handed over to Dr. W. Hoey by Babu Ram Saran Singh and Babu Mahadeo Singh, and presented by him to the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, in September 1898. The inscription is one of the Parambhattaraka Maharajadhiraja Parmesvara Govinda Chandradeva. The King records in it that when in residence at Mudgagiri (Monghyr), after bathing in the Ganges on the occasion of the *Akshaya-Tritiya* festival, on Monday, the third *tithi* of the bright half of the month *Vaisakha* in the year 1202, he granted the village Pôtachavada to the Thakur Sridhara.*

(b) *Madhuban plate of Harsha; the year 25.*—This plate was discovered in January 1888, in a field near the village of Madhuban in Pargana Nathupur of the tahsil Sagri, in the Azamgarh district of the Benares Division of United Provinces, and is now in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow. The inscription is a character of the well-known

King Harsha or Harshavardhana, the hero of Bana's *Harsha-charita*, who ruled part of Northern India at the commencement of the 7th century A.D., by which the village of Sômakundaka, which had been previously held by a Brahman on the strength of a forged charter, was granted to two other Brahmans.*

The work during the year comprised operations at Akbar's Tomb at Sikandra—the Fort, Agra,—the Taj—Itimâd-ud-daulah's tomb and buildings at Fathpur-Sikrî.

At Sikandra the plinth and spandrils on the east and west sides of the southern gate were restored—also the east gate of the Mausoleum, and the conservation of the north false gate at Sikandra.

At the Fort the upper front wall of the Jahângir Mahal facing the river was restored—the archæological building known as the Salimgarh—and the kiosk on the south-east angle of the Jahângir Mahal.

The cloisters in the Dewân-i-Am quadrangle were also taken in hand. These cloisters have for many years been used for military purposes and were entirely hidden by modern additions, in which gun carriages, etc., were housed—and repairs done to the inlay work of panels and niches in the walls of the Moti Masjid. The handsome old carved, so-called Somnath Gates, which had been roughly patched from time to time with mango wood, were repaired in 1901 with deodar, the wood of which they are made, but the effect of the patches of new wood against the original, to which time has imparted a dark reddish brown colour, is very glaring.

Over Rs. 20,000 has been spent on the Taj alone—and the restorations comprise special repairs to the Mosque attached to the Taj—restoration of the east and west central causeway—red sandstone flagging to the platform of the Saheliburj.

The tomb of Itimâd-ud-daulah has had the missing marble balustrade supplied at a cost of Rs. 14,500—also the inlay work. The repairs here consisted in replacing some 10,000 pieces of marble and other stones of numerous kinds and sizes which had disappeared or become badly shattered.

* Abstracted from Dr. F. Kielhorn's paper in the *Epigraphia Indica*, volume VII, part V. This inscription has been already edited by the late Professor Bühler in *Epigraphia Indica* volume I, page 67 ff.

* Abstracted from Dr. F. Kielhorn's paper in the *Epigraphia Indica*, volume VII, part III.*

In the Lucknow District some Rs. 23,000 has been expended on the restoration and renovation of the Jama Masjid—special repairs to the Nawabi bridge—and the construction of a marble stone hall and floor in front of Saiyed Sâlâr Masûd's shrine, Bahraich District.

In the Allahabad District iron gates have been provided for the enclosure round Asoka's pillar and the tombs in Khushru Bagh thoroughly restored.

In the Banda District the approaches to Kalinjar Fort have been put in order and "several pieces of the stone statue of Vishnu lying on the Nag have been put together." Minor repairs and restorations have taken place in Ghazipur, Jaunpur, Benares and Manipur Districts—in the latter a sum of Rs. 1,485 was spent on the conservation of the Chunar Hill Fort.

During the year under review the Government of India had under consideration the desirability of commemorating with suitable tablets the houses or dwellings in which distinguished public men have resided at different portions of their career; and, on the recommendation of the Local Government, approval was conveyed to the erection of the following tablets with inscriptions engraved thereon:—

Inscriptions.

- | | | |
|--------------|-----|---|
| I.—Chunar | ... | This house was occupied in 1781 by Warren Hastings, first Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal. |
| II.—Benares | ... | In the garden (Madho Das) within this wall were the quarters occupied by Warren Hastings, first Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal, in the autumn of 1781. |
| III.—Banda | ... | In a house on this site lived Tulsi Das, the author of the Ramayan, about the beginning of the 17th century. |
| IV.—Azamgarh | ... | (Mr. Thomason's House.) The house was occupied from 1832-37 by James Thomason, the first Magistrate and Collector of Azamgarh, and afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces. |

All the restorations and censervations spoken of in this annual Report are beautifully illustrated in a series of photographs and drawings, issued as a supplementary volume.

ANNUAL PROGRESS REPORT OF FOREST ADMINISTRATION IN THE CENTRAL, OUDH, AND SCHOOL CIRCLES OF THE UNITED PROVINCES for the Forest year 1902-1903. Allahabad: Government Press.

THIS volume practically consists of three Reports—that of (1) the Central Circle, (2) Oudh Circle, (3) School Circle.

The following statement shows the changes in the forest area of the Central Circle during the year:—

The area of reserved, protected, unclaimed, and leased forests in the United Provinces was increased during the year by the reservation of the abandoned Khurpa Tal Cantonment and of a few acres in Gharwal. On the other hand, there was a loss of one square mile in the School Circle owing to the exclusion of cultivation and of temple sites. No settlement work of any importance was undertaken during the year, but in the Jaunsar Division some 400 acres were disforested as being better suited for cultivation.

Omitting the Dehra Dun Division and the district forests, there are now only 3,379 square miles of forests in the Provinces, for which no working plans have been prepared; of this area 303 square miles are in Bundelkhand, for which a rough working scheme has been adopted.

On new roads nearly Rs. 20,000 was spent and Rs. 32,000 on repairs; more money will, however, have to be found if the forests are to be properly exploited, as communications are not in a satisfactory condition.

Rs. 39,070 were spent on new buildings and much was done to provide proper quarters for the subordinate staff. Here also more liberal expenditure is required, as life in the forests is hard, and the climate is often unhealthy. Without proper accommodation it is quite impossible for the staff to keep in health and to work properly.

Breaches of Forest rules were fewer than last year, and the punishments inflicted do not appear to have been excessive.

With regard to fire conservancy the measure of success attained was not so great as last year. The results in the Central Circle were good except in the Bundelkhand Division, which was responsible for three-quarters of the total area (10,660 acres) burned. The damage is attributed mainly to the

carelessness of the ranger in the Lalitpur Range, who has been reduced. The Oudh Circle was most unfortunate, 58,896 acres being burned as compared with 15,156 last year. The damage was practically confined to the Pilibhit and Kheri Divisions. In the latter division the results would have been good but for one most disastrous fire, which overran nearly 21,000 acres. The originator of this fire was convicted and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. In Pilibhit there were no less than 23 fires, of which ten were intentional and seven were due to carelessness. Out of eight prosecutions only four were successful. The people in this division are particularly hostile to forest protection, and in order to stop incendiarism Government has been compelled to suspend the rights enjoyed by the inhabitants in 17 of the villages most concerned. The School Circle showed better results, and the area successfully protected amounted to over 98 per cent. of the area attempted. No cases were ascribed to malice, though one in the Dehra Dun Division was suspicious. For the whole Provinces the area over which protection failed rose from 27,877 to 76,874 acres, and the cost from Rs. 63,751 to Rs. 64,125.

The areas under grazing were practically unchanged. Excessive illicit grazing is suspected in the School Circle, where the situation of portions of the forest area renders efficient supervision and correct enumeration difficult. Wandering Gujar graziers continue to give trouble, and in some forests special steps have to be taken against them.

The total outturn of timber, fuel and minor produce was largely in excess of that of the two preceding years. The increase was mainly in the School and Oudh Circles and the credit of the increase in the former is chiefly due to Mr. Tulloch, the Divisional Officer of Jaunsar. In the latter circle there was a striking fall in the outturn of timber from the Pilibhit Division. The forests of this division are most inaccessible, but with the transfer of the head-quarters from Bareilly to Pilibhit the management should become more easy.

The financial results of the year are most satisfactory. The total receipts have risen from Rs. 17,61,090 to Rs. 21,66,528, and the surplus from Rs. 7,68,012 to Rs. 11,43,367, the largest on

record. All three circles have contributed to this result, but the largest increase was in the School Circle, where the successful management of the Jaunsar Division by Mr. Tulloch raised the revenue from Rs. 4,90,497 to Rs. 7,02,933. The deaths during the year are those of Mr. Dickinson, who had brought the work of the Central Circle up to a high level, and Mr. French, who succumbed to enteric a few months after he had taken over charge.

Among Deputy Conservators, Government especially thanks Mr. Tulloch for his efficient administration of the Jaunsar Division, Mr. Leete for his work in connection with the trans-Sarda working plan, and Mr. Billson, who held charge of the Oudh Circle after the death of Mr. French.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION FOR THE YEAR 1902. VOL. I. Washington, Government Printing Office.

AN exhaustive report—1,176 pages—issued by the Bureau of Education. Education in Canada, in British South Africa, in France, in Italy, and in Great Britain and Ireland, is discussed. Special articles are written on "Child Study," "Universities," and Correspondence Schools. We have only mentioned some of the features of the report which we think will be of interest to educationalists in India, and with this object we strongly advise them to read the pages devoted to "Francis Wayland Parker and his work for Education." With reference to Composition he says :—

The idea of experimentation and the deduction of principles from it is the chief idea in his philosophy of education. He would have "natural and mechanic history" taught, because deductions might be made which would improve agriculture and mechanics. He would have composition taught in his ideal school because "writing one's own language well is the next necessary accomplishment after good speaking. It is the writing master's business to take care that the boys make fair characters, and place them straight and even in the line; but to form their style and even to take care that the stops and capitals are properly disposed is the part of the English master. The boys should be put on writing letters to each other on any common occurrences and on various subjects, imaginary business, etc., containing little stories, accounts of their late reading, what parts of authors please them, and why: letters of congratulation, of compliment, of request, of thanks, of recommendation, of admonition, of consolation

of expostulation, excuse, etc. In these they should be taught to express themselves clearly, concisely, and naturally, without affected words or highflown phrases. All their letters to pass through the master's hand, who is to point out the faults, advise the corrections, and commend what he finds right. Some of the best letters published in our own language, as Sir William Temple's, those of Pope and his friends, and some others, might be set before the youth as models, their beauties pointed out and explained by the master, the letters themselves transcribed by the scholar."

Such notes as these are valuable alike to the teacher and student, and very apt as far as Indian students are concerned. And again, Indian students might take to heart that—

Mere learning is not and cannot be education. All that acquisition of facts to which so many hours of youth are given by force of our common system of public and, indeed, of private education contributes little to the education of the Platonic kind. Acquisition of facts may supplant training; it may utterly fail to teach a man "how rightly to rule and how to obey."

The chapters dealing with the negro question are full of interest. The question—"Are you hopeful for the future of the negro in this country?"—was sent to the heads of educational establishments. The answers we have selected have such a general application that we offer no apology for including them. They can be applied with equal force in this country:—

"Sometimes I am hopeful, sometimes I am not. In this part of the country negroes do not seem to embrace opportunities. Too much talent is wasted in politics and in office holding."

"When we look at the masses of our people and see on the one hand ignorance and on the other careless indifference, it is difficult to feel very hopeful for the future. We see so many of our young people who seem to have no thought of the future, no ideas beyond having a good time in the present, who seem able to have no enthusiasm over anything higher than a ball or like entertainment."

"I would suggest that we be honest with ourselves, not try to lay the blame upon some one else; stop whining and try by individual effort and accomplishment to prove our claim and right to American citizenship."

"My suggestion is that he make good use of the opportunities at hand; develop that which is best in himself. Don't strive to be other people, but make himself the equal, and if possible the superior, of other people."

Chapter X is a collection of notices on some early English writers on Education—Lupset, Palgrave, Ascham, Bacon and.

Sir Thomas More. This part of the report is full of good things. In these days of Rifle Clubs it is curious to note the Mulcaster advocate's archery as the best form of exercise.

"Archery" he says—"Hath a great deal better place in our fields for welfare [than hunting] and therefore the more, because it consisteth both of the best exercises, and the best effects of the best exercises. For he that shooteth in the free and open fields may choose, whether between his marks he will run or walk, dance or leap, hallo or sing, or do somewhat else, which belongeth to the other, either vehement or gentle exercises * * * This exercise [of Archery] do I like best generally * * * upon the causes before alleged, which if I did not, that worthy man our late and learned countryman master Askam would be half angry with me, though he were of a mild disposition, who both for training the Archer to his bow, and the scholar to his book, hath showed himself a cunning Archer and a skilful master."

Bacon is quoted with good effect, but we have only space for a brief extract:—

A godly and diligent schoolmaster shall gather such flowers out of the holy Bible for his scholars, from time to time, as occasion shall serve, with the sweet and strong savor whereof they may repel and put away the pestiferous and mortal odors of the errors and heresies, not only of the papists, but also of all other sectaries. *And then, the schoolmaster's duty is "to teach good letters," not as mates but as handmaids of God's Word.*

[Teach] poets, orators, historiographers, philosophers, etc., not that they should be mates with God's Word, but rather handmaids unto it, and serve to set forth the honor and glory thereof. For unto this end ought all liberal sciences to be studied and learned even that they might not depress, but advance, the true religion of God. For eloquence without godliness is as a ring in a swine's snout; yea, all arts and sciences, not coupled with the love of religion, are rather instruments of wickedness than of godliness; and, as Tully saith, "To give to a lewd man eloquence without wisdom is none other thing than to give unto him armors to destroy the commonweal."

We pass on to "Educational Tendencies," and here again there is much which has a local application. For instance, in an article in which he laments the unpreparedness of the American teaching force, he says:—

"To produce anything equivalent to the teaching staff from whose guidance I benefited in my boyhood, no one ought to be allowed to teach in a grammar school who has not passed through a college or a good normal school; no one ought to teach in a high school who has not worked after his college course at least two years in the graduate school of a good university; no one ought to teach in a college who has

not taken his doctor's degree in one of the best universities; and no one ought to teach in a graduate school who has not shown his mastery of methods by powerful scientific publications."

And

Children are put to studying things they have never been prepared for and cannot grasp, things which are laborious and unhealthful now, but which they would get easily and naturally enough in time if there should ever be occasion for it. It makes them artificial and conceited.

Correspondence Schools and classes have received due attention, and we think some of the warnings are worth reproducing:—

Certain advertisers pretend to teach professions by correspondence in a few weeks which in the very nature of things can be learned only by years of practice and observation of practical work, in addition to the study of books.

There is still another class of persons who may or may not be honest in intention, but who undoubtedly give very little in return for the tuition fees paid them. The instruction given by some of the so-called schools of caricature, designing, and illustration is exceedingly meagre. One "complete course" consists of thirty sheets, each showing one or more pictures to be copied, specimens of lettering, examples of "tints," and a few paragraphs of instruction which are utterly inadequate to do the subject justice. The charge for the course is \$25 cash, and more if paid in instalments, and great claims are made in the advertising matter of the "school" for its efficiency. But it is difficult to understand how such a course can be of material benefit, to say nothing of its ability to develop first-class illustrators, as the statements to prospective students seem to imply.

There are several correspondence schools of music which are advertised more or less extensively, and which claim to have many students. Undoubtedly there is much in the science of music that can be taught by mail as easily as any other subject can be taught by that method, and there are teachers of high reputation engaged in such instruction; but to teach the art, as distinguished from the science, in that way is quite another matter. It would certainly be difficult to accomplish it satisfactorily.

These instances represent the darker side of the picture, and they arise from the condition of affairs that exists in this country which makes it possible for a man to undertake any business he wishes so long as he does not actually violate the ordinary criminal laws. There is no supervision whatever on the part of any public officer over the work of correspondence schools. In most States they may with apparent ease even secure charters enabling them to grant degrees without restriction.

And we reproduce this warning because American literature of this nature is finding a great reception in this country.

and bogus degrees are not unknown. Rhodes scholarships and Carnegie's gifts are discussed at length and are interesting reading. An account of Oxford University and the Rhodes scholarships, and also a History of the University, occupy considerable space and are worthy of notice. The report concludes with some excellent articles on Education in England, dealing with the Education Bill, the Clergy and the Education Act, and the New Education Act at work.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

A PRIMER OF ENGLISH GRAMMAR with Exercises. The Christian Literature Society.

THE fact that this little book has reached the 16th edition and 460th thousand is sufficient comment on its usefulness. We can recommend the book as concise, clear, and accurate, suitable for junior classes.

MANUAL OF ENGLISH GRAMMAR. New Edition. Christian Literature Society.

THIS volume is a revision of the New Manual of Grammar, which for the last twenty-five years has enjoyed such popularity in Indian schools that annual editions of 40,000 copies have been called for. Care has been taken to avoid loading the pages with non-essential matter, and we congratulate the author in producing a book which, if mastered, gives the student a thorough and practical knowledge of the grammar of the language. We venture the opinion, however, that it is a mistake to require a pupil to correct sentences containing false grammar. If he has a sound knowledge of the language and of proper constructions such exercises are superfluous and model sentences *how* to use the words instead of *how not* to use them are preferable. The University Examiners we know favour this kind of exercise and ask candidates to correct such sentences as "He was ruined by dirt, losses, mischiefs, and others." We think it is a mistake to encourage them.

RULES ON ENGLISH PROSE COMPOSITION, by M. W. Jennings (Longmans, Green and Co.)

THE book market is already overcrowded with books of this nature and hence the only claim such a book can have on the approval of educationalists must rest entirely on its originality. The only originality the book under review can boast of is its Exercises, which number one hundred. But

these exercises are purely mechanical puzzles of so slender an ingenuity that it would be an insult to present them for solution to a kindergarten class. The promised key is a work of supererogation.

We note, with regret, the usual definitions of the parts of speech. No definition, which it is in the power of man to compass, can possibly hold good in all cases. For example we are told that a pronoun is a word used instead of, or for, (what is the difference between "instead of" and "for"?) a noun or its equivalent. "Do the following words—'I,' 'thou,' 'none,' 'nobody,' 'nought,' 'neither,' 'many,' 'few'—come under this definition? According to this book they do. Again Gender is said to be a form of a noun and so is Number. Can this be so? Gender and number are abstract ideas, whereas the form of a noun is necessarily concrete. Once again, 'Case' is defined as "that form of a noun which shows its relation to other words in the sentence." This is not only meaningless but wrong. Consider the sentence. "The strong *man* killed the weak *man*." Here there is no difference in the *form* of the noun and yet the two words *man* are in different cases.

The style is simple; but there is a bewildering over-elaboration of detail. Fifteen pages are devoted to "the use of 'a' and 'the';" thirty-four pages deal with prepositions, and there are nine classes of interjections. Prepositions are 'simples' if of one syllable, 'compound' if of two or more. Among the latter we find 'ere,' 'near,' 'but,' 'since,' 'save,'—which is stimulating. But why not have Complex prepositions of three syllables, and Compound-complex of four? There is nothing like thoroughness. The formation of rules to cover all possible cases seems to be the main object of the author, and some words are dragged in, suffering severely in the process, to conform to some arbitrary rule, *e.g.*, 'mistress' is formed from 'master' by adding 'ess' after omitting or inflecting the final syllable, and 'vixen' is got from 'fox' by adding 'en'! What need, too, of the Conditional Mood, when the tendency to do without the Subjunctive grows more pronounced every day? If there is any point in having a Conditional Mood ('I can love') why say that 'love' in 'I

can love' is infinitive?" There are thirty-two pages of conjugation, mostly like this :—

I may, can, shall or will love.
Thou mayst, canst, shalt or wilt love.
He may, can, shall or will love.
We may, can, shall or will love.
You may, can, shall or will love.
They may, can, shall or will love.

Occasionally varied by

May, can or shall I have?
Mayst, canst, shalt or wilt thou have?
May, can shall or will he have?
May, can or shall we have?
May, can shall or will you have?
May, can shall or will they have?

Is all this necessary? Is the elaborate paradigm on page 110 (21' x 7') useful or needful? Is it anything but bewildering? The sentence "I will drown, nobody shall save me" will be found of far more practical utility. Does the phrase "a conditional or hypothetical subordinate adverbial clause" convey any meaning to anyone? Can it?

No! the difficulties of the English language are not to be overcome or lessened by increasing the number of rules. The author would have been far better employed in placing before his prospective readers some good specimen extracts and model essays. He may reply that there are many such books already in existence. Well! this is not the first book on English we have met.

We are not prejudiced against this book, except in so far as it fails to justify its existence. As a reference book it might prove of use.—the Appendix especially so.

SAKUNTALA by R. Vasuveda Row, B. A. Published by G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras.

THE basis of this poem is the celebrated Sanskrit drama *Abhijnana-Sakuntalam* by Kalidasa, the Shakespeare of India. The object of the author in writing it, as he tells us in the preface, is a laudable one, namely, to bring to light the hidden treasures of Sanskrit literature. But he has been forestalled, as far as this book is concerned by men like Sir William Jones

and Monier Williams. Still a work like this has its uses. In translating a master work such as that by Kalidasa, a foreigner is doubly handicapped. His knowledge of the original language must necessarily be limited, and his acquaintance with the habit of thought must be still more so. That the translators alluded to were Sanskrit scholars of very high standing cannot be denied, but they cannot claim to have had a thorough insight into the spirit of Eastern thought. When therefore an educated Indian undertakes such a task, we naturally look for a better result in this respect. And we regret we cannot say the author has been successful. There is, again, another difficulty in his path. To him the English language is a foreign one and his style is apt to be somewhat unfinished. The defects of the present poem arise chiefly out of this. We come across expressions which no English translator would have employed. Thus we find

"Or the moon fair in her spotty majesty"

and

"Of every day proportioned to her lot."

Again he tells of "sweet juiced like nectar" and "iron clad sentinels" of "when the blossoms blowed" and of a "foe compelling sceptre." There are a large number of queer expressions such as these.

In some places we find the author totally disregarding facts and laws of nature. He describes "antelopes with round eyes" and "dew-drop blaring with the flame of noon." Antelopes are proverbially known to have long arched eyes (शङ्खनासिका) and one can hardly expect to see a dew-drop at noon.

We cannot refrain from adding that there are some passages in the book which might have been omitted. These occur in connection with the birth of Sakuntala and her meeting with Dusyanta at the hermitage. Kalidasa, in the original, is discreetly silent beyond a certain point, and Mr. Vasuveda would have done well to have followed his example.

Against these shortcomings there are, however, some really good things in the poem. We would draw the reader's attention to the parting scene between Sakuntala and Kanwa. In the keen observation of Nature Kalidasa has been equalled

by few and probably surpassed by none, and one will find some of his finest thoughts in the poem. It is unfortunate that at times they are so badly expressed.

RANADE AND TELANG: An Appreciation by the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C.I.E. (Member of the Imperial Legislative Council) and Mr. Dinshaw Edulji Wacha (President of the 17th Indian National Congress) with portraits. Published by G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras.

THIS booklet contains the full text of the anniversary address delivered by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale on "The late Mr. Justice Ranade" at the Hindu Club in Bombay, and also that of Mr. Dinshaw Edulji Wacha on "The late Mr. Justice Telang" delivered before the same body. We have no doubt that a perusal of the accounts herein given of the lives of these two eminent Indian worthies will be stimulating and inspiring and will enable the reader to understand how under British rule it is possible now for all good and true sons of India to combine loyal service to the State with patriotic endeavours for the advancement of their own people.

THE FAUNA OF BRITISH INDIA: Including Ceylon and Burma. Published under the authority of the Secretary of State for India in Council. Edited by W. T. Blanford. Rhynchota—Vol. II. (Heteroptera) by W. L. Distant.

THE first volume of Heteropterous Rhynchota containing the families Pentatomidæ, Coreidæ and Berytidæ was issued in June 1902. The present volume will comprise all, or nearly all, the remaining families of the division Gymnocerata. At the time of writing we have only received Part I of this volume and we have not seen a better arranged treatise. The book is a concordance, well illustrated and well written.

BUDDHA UND CHRISTUS. EINE BUDDHISTISCHE APOLOGETIK. Von Bruno Freydank. Leipzig; Buddhistischer Missionsverlag. 1903.

THE author of this work, as might be gathered from the name he has been pleased to adopt, takes his Buddhism very seriously. He has already, it appears, spent much labour on propagandist compositions designed for the benefit of Christian

Europe, that "Great Madhouse" as it appears to his serene intellect. Herr Freydank will hardly, we fear, "acquire merit" for mildness. His treatment of vivisection, missionaries, and meat-eaters is truculent indeed.

We had always thought that the prospect of extinction in Nirvana was the bait that attracted a weary generation to Buddhism, but if Herr Freydank is to be believed, Nirvana is existence, though of an etherealised variety.

CONTRIBUTIONS À L'ÉTUDE DU BLASON EN ORIENT. Par Yacoub Artin Pacha. Cairo, 1903.

WE have had the pleasure of perusing a copy, perhaps the only one that has reached India, of a very curious and interesting work on the origin of armorial bearings in the East, of which only 300 copies have been printed in Cairo. It will be a matter of surprise to many that heraldic symbols have been in use in the Orient, and that not among Hindus, but image-hating Mussulmen. The use of symbols, however, to which man has recourse "to protect his past from the frailty of his memory," as Artin Pasha ingeniously puts it, makes such an appeal to human nature that even the stern tenets of Islam have not prevailed against it, the Arabs taking to themselves the lore of the nations they conquered, became inevitably tinged with symbolism.

Among the developments of this tendency was the use of armorial bearings, if indeed we may give this name to symbols that rarely had an hereditary application. The policy of Mohammedan rulers has generally lain in a jealous degradation of the sons of the great and the erection of the low-born to places of power, so that hereditary distinction has been seldom found except in dynasties.

A strange collection of these symbols, drawn from plants and animals, conventional ornaments, and articles of domestic use, are figured in the plates of Artin Pasha's sumptuous work. He traces for instance the use of heraldic flowers, and of the fish-symbol, to Chinese sources, but does not seem to be aware of the connection of the latter with the royal house of Oudh. We find the cup, symbol perhaps of the boon-companion of a monarch; dice, of the leader of a victorious army; targets, of mighty archers.

A special chapter is devoted to the marks known as *wesm* (وسم), which were, and indeed still are, used among the Arabs as symbols of tribes and families, and chiefly appear as brands upon camels, horses, and sheep. Should an animal pass, by bequest into the possession of a family allied to his masters, he is branded with a second *wesm*, and *painfully* furnishes an example of rudimentary quartering.

Nothing is said about India in the present work. We believe, however, that heraldry was unknown in ancient India, and has only crept in by imitation of Europe in quite recent times.

THE REFORM OF INDIAN CURRENCY. *Die indische Währungs reform.*
Von Dr. O. Heyn. Berlin, 1903.

THE existence of this book of nearly four hundred pages is a striking testimony to the commercial importance of India. It would be perhaps tedious to detail the arguments of the writer, but his conclusions are (1) that the fixing of the rupee did more or less harm to producers and landowners at the time of its adoption, by weakening India's capacity to compete with foreign nations; that it also injured the owners of uncoined silver, and was responsible for the gold-crises of 1896-97 and 1897-98, but that (2) it will have a favourable effect in future, as it gives the country a firm basis for its trade with the gold-using countries, facilitates the influx of capital, and saves the State additional outlay in paying Home Charges.

Dr. Heyn, however, thinks it would have been better to fix the value of the rupee at 15 pence.

He is further of opinion that in unfavourable times European investors may lose confidence in the Government, which would bring about a fall in exchange, and recommends an increase of the gold reserve to meet this contingency.

BUDDHIST INDIA. STORY OF THE NATIONS. By T. W. L. Rhys Davids, LL.D., Ph.D., London, 1903. T. Fisher Unwin, 5s.

MESSRS. FISHER UNWIN'S "Story of the Nations" series are a collection of histories of very uneven value: but the latest addition to the series is from the pen of one of the greatest living authorities on the subject of Buddhist India. Professor

Rhys Davids has here made an important attempt to get behind the Brahmin traditional view of Indian History to the point of view of the Rajput. So the present work has been not merely written to the publisher's order to fill a place in an attractive series of popular books, but is in reality a solid contribution to pioneer historical science. Readers of the Professor's book will do well to procure Colonel Waddell's Report on the excavations at Pataliputra, which shows in detail how, while a few years ago not a trace of Asoka's great capital was supposed to remain, some of the oldest sculptures and evidences of ancient Western art have been recovered by the skill of the modern explorers, and how the old city and palace boundaries have been actually defined by the vestiges of the ancient team-palisade described by Megasthenes. We trust that our present Viceroy's distinguished zeal for the historical remains of India will lead the Government to undertake a less fitful system of investigation than has hitherto been undertaken. The illustrations to the present volume have evidently been carefully chosen, not only to make the book attractive, but to assist the student to enter into the author's meaning.

TALKS ON HEALTH—A BOOK FOR INDIAN HOUSEWIVES. By Mrs. Brander.

WE have, in reading this book come across much useful information. The authoress has apparently spared no pains in endeavouring to bring her work up-to-date. The style is simple and the illustrations are good. At the same time we fail to see what useful purpose the first six chapters can serve in a work presumably intended to be of practical use to Indian housewives. We regret to notice, too, that the all-important question of the "Prevention of Malaria" is mentioned and dismissed in *two* lines. Any modern book on Indian Hygiene must be considered as incomplete when it fails to deal with such an important subject.

PRIMER OF GEOGRAPHY—GEOGRAPHY OF THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY—OUTLINES OF GEOGRAPHY. (Christian Literature Society.)

THESE three works are excellent little manuals in every way. They are designed for Indian students and they fulfil

their object. They are instructive, useful and interesting. The maps are well drawn, up-to-date, well coloured and accurate. We refer particularly to those illustrating India. These we have carefully tested, and after a diligent search can only record that among well-known places, Mussoorie alone is missing. We consoled ourselves with Landour. The diagrams are simple and the explanations are clear. In the "Outlines of Geography" the political and physical features of each province are treated in a rational manner, and we congratulate the author in avoiding the long string of names which is the schoolboy's idea of Geography. The more important towns are mentioned and a short note is appended to each. In a few cases this is a little too vague. For instance, Mirzapur is "a place of some trade" and Hyderabad is "noted for its manufactures."

A Geography of Bengal on the same lines as the Geography of the Madras Presidency would be welcomed by junior students. We can heartily recommend the books.

LORD CURZON IN INDIAN CARICATURE. Edited by H. A. Talcherkar.
Published by Babajee Sakham and Co.

THIS is a collection of cartoons reproduced in miniature, illustrating the career of His Excellency Lord Curzon. They are selected from the illustrated comic journals of India and arranged in chronological order, with an explanatory text. The book is offered "as a humble souvenir of the Delhi Durbar," with which it has little or no connection. Caricatures teach us many things and we cannot help thinking that the author has only selected those wherein Lord Curzon figures as "the idol of the people and speaks, where possible, in his own words—outspoken but breathing love and sympathy—noble utterances worth treasuring up." Quite so. Such pictures are worth reproducing, but there *are* others.

It is a book illustrating "his Lordship's sympathetic and righteous rule."

The cartoonist's craft is practically new in India and is a trifle crude in execution at times. The explanatory text however, solves some apparent mysteries. We have only one suggestion to make, and that is, that it would help the reader if the

cartoon referred to, immediately followed the description. As it stands at present it is a little difficult to connect the two.

"The New Mahut," "Crushing Kalia," "The Slaying of Mahisasur" and "Pacifying the Troubled Waters" are the best. His Excellency is shown as a mali, a gowli, a bangle-seller, a Kali, and as an angel!

The *Hindu Punch* represents the Viceroy as "A Colossus of Words." This might be reproduced and presented to the Senate, as a companion picture to "The Physician."

The explanatory text, as we have said, is interesting and at times a little quaint. We are told, for instance, that "in the Viceroy's brief exposition of the eleventh reform one hears a faint echo of that voice which later on so sweetly and touchingly appealed to the noble instincts of the soldier." And again "Lord Curzon is shown in the act of driving home the outspoken advice to the Khans and Sirdars assembled at the Quetta Durbar—advice thrust not with the sudden shocks of the proverbial time worn, nail hit hard, but with the slow and gentle, and withal enduring, turn of the modern screw, worming deep down into the hearts of the turbulent tribesmen." This, to say the least, must be an uncomfortable method of receiving advice.

We have said enough to show that the book is interesting, both as affording a glimpse of the manner in which native artists cartoon events and also as showing Lord Curzon in his *bahurupi*.

ENGLAND. By J. Nelson Fraser, M. A. (pp. 184. The Christian Literature Society for India).

THIS book is not written as an eulogy of England, but to place before the educated Indian reader an account of England in the present day. We say at once that it succeeds. And it is of interest to the Englishman in that he may herein learn something of his character as portrayed for the Indian reader. We regret the author did not revise some parts of the text, instead of adding notes to correct those portions which were out of date. It is unfair to select isolated passages for criticism. We agree to differ and pass on. The picture of Windsor Castle should be omitted. For the rest we congratulate the author.

Nothing of importance has been omitted in his survey and the various subjects, from Climate to Amusements, Education to Political Institutions, Liberalism to English Morals, receive their due proportionate treatment. There are some obvious mistakes in fact, but apart from these, Mr. Fraser has written an excellent treatise and one we can cordially recommend.

A FOREST HEARTH. By Charles Major. (pp. 354. Macmillan and Co.)

A NOVEL by the author of "Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall" is taken up with anticipated pleasure. That anticipation is realised on reading the opening chapter and the interest is sustained right through the book. It is never allowed to flag, and he who can put this book down without finishing it at one sitting is hard to please. The story is a love tale of the "Blue River" in Indiana, with no heroes, no palaces, no grand people, nothing but human nature, the forests and a few simple country folk. Your reviewer will not spoil so good a tale by giving a bare outline. The portrait of the mother may be a trifle overdrawn, but he is in love with Rita and all his sympathy goes out to Billy—an old bachelor whose love for Rita is the means of working out all the difficulties Rita and Dic encounter. The tale is full of incident,—breathing with life, vivid and realistic—its descriptive passages are real, and its only fault, which is at once a recommendation, is that it is all too short.

A PASSAGE PERILOUS. By Rosa Nouchette Carey (pp. 455. Macmillan and Co.)

A REVIEW of this book is already written in the quotation at the head of Chapter IX.

"Judicious silence is far preferable to the truth roughly told."

McTODD. By Cutcliffe Hyne. (pp. 325. Macmillan and Co., London.)

A COLLECTION of stories concerning Mr. McTodd, whose "father was Free Kirk minister at Scotland," while he was "a miserable understrapper on third-rate ships." The ingredients are "the mother at home to be provided for;" whaling

steamers, hidden treasure, Esquimaux, "an occasional fling of whiskey," and the usual details of this class of story. But they are dealt with in such a way that the yarns are full of interest, and we hope we have not heard the last of Mr. Mc-Todd, engineer, explorer, and humorist.

THE CHILDREN WHO RAN AWAY. By Evelyn Sharp. (pp. 319. Macmillan and Co.)

THIS is a story to read and enjoy. There is no problem involved and the reader is spared anxiety: there is no crime to unravel and the reader is spared annoyance: there is no mystery and the reader is spared irritation. But the reader will be interested and amused and follow with keenness the adventures of the children who ran away. Although a book of children it is not only for children, and it is more than a relief for a grown-up to read such a book—which follows out the workings of a child's mind in so interesting a manner. It is a "story book" full of delightful things, and we thank Miss Sharp for giving us so much pleasure. If a reviewer *must* criticise it, he can only say—read it.

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