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CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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

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CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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Art. I.—OMAR KHAYYAM AND THE STORY OF THE THREE FRIENDS.

ALL who have studied the life of Omar Khayyam are familiar with the story of the three friends. It has been told by Hammer Purgstall, by Mr. Whinfield and by others, and it is such an interesting tale that one feels loath to reject it. The story in brief is that Nizāmu-l-Mulk, Hasan Sabbāh, and Omar Khayyam were schoolfellows in the city of Nishāpur. Their teacher was named Imām Muwāffiq and the report was that his pupils generally rose to high stations. One day the three schoolfellows were discussing their prospects and Hasan remarked that as their teacher had such a reputation for turning out successful pupils, it was probable that one at least of the three would rise to eminence. He therefore proposed that they should agree to share each other's good fortune and that whoever of them attained success should divide it with the other two. His two friends agreed and the three ratified the compact in Eastern fashion by drinking one another's blood. After leaving school Nizāmu-l-Mulk entered into public life, went to Balkh and Kabul and eventually rose to be Grand Vizier of the Seljuk Princes Alp Arslan and his son Malik Shah. The other two heard of his success and presented themselves before him. Nizāmu-l-Mulk remembered the compact and offered to introduce them to his sovereign and to provide them with appointments. Omar Khayyam declined the offer, saying that he was not fitted for a public career and that all he wanted was to follow the bent of his genius and to spend his days in Nishāpur in the pursuit of knowledge. Thereupon Nizāmu-l-Mulk conferred upon him a yearly pension of 1,200 gold-pieces and made it payable from the revenues

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of Nishāpur. Hasan was of a different stamp. When Nizāmu-l-Mulk offered him the charge of a province, he was not satisfied and asked that in fulfilment of the schoolboy-promise Nizāmu-l-Mulk should share his power and position with him. Nizāmu-l-Mulk acquiesced and admitted Hasan to a share in his authority, but he soon found that Hasan was trying to supplant him and to become the sole prime minister. The result was a struggle for supremacy which ended in Hasan's being dismissed from Court in disgrace. There are two accounts of the cause of Hasan's dismissal, and both of them may be read in M. Am. Jourdain's translation of an extract from Mīr-Khwānd's history, *Notices et Extraits*, vol. ix, p. 143. According to the account, ascribed to Nizāmu-l-Mulk himself, the king (Malik Shah) wanted a detailed statement of his revenue and expenditure. Nizāmu-l-Mulk said that His Majesty's dominions were so extensive that the statement could not be prepared under a twelvemonth. Hasan, however, offered to make it out in a tenth of that time. The king allowed him to try, but in spite of his ability Hasan failed in his attempt, and so was dismissed with ignominy. According to the other account, which comes from Hasan's followers and from Daulat Shāh, Hasan undertook to prepare the statement within forty days, and would have succeeded if Nizāmu-l-Mulk had not committed an act of foul treachery. Hasan, we are told, had actually finished the statement on the fortieth day and was about to lay it before the king when Nizāmu-l-Mulk succeeded in getting hold of the papers by deceiving and bribing Hasan's servant. As soon as he got them he flung them down and scattered them to the winds. His servant picked them up again, but in those early days the numbering of pages and the use of catchwords were unknown, and the mischief was irreparable. The time had come for showing the papers to the king, and the servant being afraid to tell his master what had happened, gathered up the sheets any how and put the bundle into his master's hand. The latter went off to his audience, and when the king asked him if the statement was ready he replied in the affirmative. The king proceeded to test him by asking for the financial statement of a particular province; Hasan turned to his papers and

found to his horror that they were all in confusion. He stammered out that someone had disarranged them, but Nizāmu-l-Mulk broke in and said to the king that he had all along foreseen what would happen. Nobody could prepare such a statement so quickly, and it was only because Hasan was mad and envious that he had made such an offer. It was from deference to His Majesty's apparent wishes that he—Nizāmu-l-Mulk—had said nothing at the time of Hasan's proposal. The result was now plain—the pretended statement was a fiasco.

The king at once accepted Nizāmu-l-Mulk's explanation and would not listen to Hasan's protestations. He was driven forth with blows and ignominy and for some time had to remain in hiding in consequence of Nizāmu-l-Mulk's enmity. He thus went off to Egypt and became a religious leader. Then he returned to Persia and captured the fortress of Alamut (Eagle's Nest) south of the Caspian and lived there for many years as head of the Ismailians or Assassins. His first victim was Nizāmu-l-Mulk who was stabbed by Tāhir Afrānī at Sahna near Nahawand in Ramzān 485 A. H.

Such is the story, but the part which relates to the school-friendship presents great chronological difficulties, and is probably false. Nizāmu-l-Mulk was born, it is said, about the beginning of the fifth century of the Hijra, whereas Omar Khayyam and Hasan lived till the second decade of the sixth century. They therefore could hardly have been at school with Nizām. It is true that there is some uncertainty about Nizāmu-l-Mulk's age at the time of his assassination. According to one account he was born in 408 A. H., but Abul Faraj, as quoted by Defrēmery, says he was seventy-three when he was killed, which would make him to have been born in 412. Still there is a consensus of statement that he died an old man, and as there is also no doubt that Hasan lived till 518 there must have been a considerable disparity of years between the two. Omar Khayyam also seems to have lived till 517 A. H.

The story has also been discredited by Prof. Sehmkovski and Denison Ross because it was supposed that it had appeared for the first time in a book called Nizāmu-l-Mulk's Testament, but which seems to have been composed several

centuries after his death. It has, however, been shown by Mr. E. G. Browne, of Cambridge, in an article which appeared in the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal for 1899, that the story of the three friends is at least as old as the first decade of the eighth century of the Hijra (about 1311 A. D.) as it appears in the great work of Raṣḥidu-d-dīn. All who are interested in Omar Khayyam are much indebted to Mr. Browne for this information, and the chief remark that I have to make upon it is that Mr. Browne does not seem to have appreciated the full value of his discovery. I think I can show that it carries the story still further back, and that at the latest it is as old as the middle of the seventh century of the Hijra.

When Mr. Browne tells us at p. 411 of his article that Juvaini is an older and better authority for the history of the Assassins and their founder than Raṣḥidu-d-dīn he has, I think, failed to notice that both those authors drew their information from one and the same source. The foundation of Juvaini's account of Ḥasan Sabbāh is the manuscript biography, the *Sarguzasht*, or *Adventures of Ḥasan*, which was found at Alamūt in 654 A. H. or 1256 A. D., and this is the very book from which Raṣḥidu-d-dīn has taken his narrative! He states this expressly at the beginning of his chapter, p. 290a of the British Museum M. S. Add. 7628, where he says that he has compiled his accounts from the *Sarguzasht* of Ḥasan Sabbāh, whom his followers designate as Saiyidnā, or Our Lord, and that he has made a copy thereof. The only difference between his account and Juvaini's is that his is the fuller of the two. For instance he gives the details of Ḥasan's journey to Egypt whereas Juvaini dismisses them with the remark that they have been recorded in the chronicle, *i.e.*, I presume, the *Sarguzasht*. This shows that Raṣḥidu-d-dīn had access to the original biography, though no doubt he also used Juvaini. The story of the three friends is contained in the chapter of Raṣḥidu-d-dīn which is avowedly based on the *Sarguzasht* and is clearly taken from the same source. It follows without a break Ḥasan's verses about Niẓāmu-l-Mulk's assassination, and Ḥasan, is spoken of in the story of "Our Lord," and once even as Maulāna Saiyidnā, "Our Lord and Master." It is not

likely that Raṣḥidu-d-dīn would use these expressions unless he was copying from a life of Ḥasan by one of his followers. Moreover, we have the conclusive fact that the story of the three friends is told at p. 292b of the M. S. and that after saying much more about Ḥasan Sabbāh and bringing the narrative down to his death the chapter concludes with these words, p. 296b, "Here ends the *Sarguzasht* of Ḥasan Sabbāh and the responsibility is upon the reporter."

It would seem that Raṣḥidu-d-dīn used two books for his history of the Ismailians, one being the *Sarguzasht*, and the other the *Tārīkh-i-Ḥasan Sabbāh*. The latter book he uses for the history of the successor of Ḥasan, and he tells us that it was written in the time of Shihāb Muḥtaṣḥim. I presume that this is the Nāsiru-d-dīn Muḥtaṣḥim, who was governor of Kuhistān under the Ismailians and who in his old age surrendered to Hulāgū Khān in 654 A. H. and died in the beginning of the following year as Governor of Tūn. It was to him that the famous astronomer Nāsiru-d-dīn Tūn dedicated his work on ethics. The *Sarguzasht* was probably written many years before the *Tārīkh* Ḥasan Sabbāh, and may even have been begun in Ḥasan's lifetime, for a good deal of it is autobiographical. Evidently some follower thought of recording Ḥasan's life while the latter was yet alive, for the *Sarguzasht* mentioned that a statement of Ḥasan's genealogy was brought to him in which his origin was traced back to the kings of Yeman and that Ḥasan flung the paper into the water, saying that he would rather be known as the faithful slave of the Imām than as the unworthy son of kings. But even if we suppose that the *Sarguzasht* and the *Tārīkh* are the same work, or written about the same time, the notice of the story is carried back to at least the middle of the thirteenth century A. D. As we are told by Juvaini, the *Sarguzasht* was found by him in the library at Alamūt when that fortress was taken by Hulāgū in 654 A. H. or 1256 A. D. Apparently Juvaini preserved it, for he used it for his history, which was not completed till four years later.

It may be thought that the dates given by Mr. Browne at p. 412 of his paper and the silence of Juvaini make against the truth of the story of the three friends. But this is by no means necessarily the case. Juvaini's account of Ḥasan begins

with 464 A. H., and this is the first date given by Mr. Browne. But if the *Tārīkh Guzīda* is to be trusted, and Mr. Browne has a high opinion of this work, the quarrel and the dismissal of Ḥasan took place before 464 A. H. According to its account, Ḥasan Sabbāh and Nizāmu-l-Mulk were fellow servants at the time of Malik Shāh's father, Alp Arsalan, Ḥasan being Alp Arsalan's chamberlain (*ḥajāb*) and Nizāmu-l-Mulk being his Vizier. It was in consequence of the quarrel and dismissal that Ḥasan went off in 464 H. from the Sultān's Court. It was rather startling to me to find the *Tārīkh Guzīda* making Ḥasan a servant of Alp Arsalan, but when we come to consider the matter it seems evident that, if there is any truth in the story of the three friends, it must have occurred in the time of Alp Arsalan. For Nizāmu-l-Mulk was Alp Arsalan's Vizier for several years, and if there was any school-boy-compact as alleged, the other two would certainly present themselves as soon as they heard of their comrade's promotion and not wait for over ten or twenty years.

We learn from Mr. Browne's valuable edition of *Daulat Shāh*, p. 138, that the latter gives the story on the authority, not of Rashīdu-d-dīn, but of the author of the *Tārīkh Istizāhārī*. His account, too, differs in several minor details from Rashīdu-d-dīn's, *e.g.*, he, in agreement with the *Tārīkh Guzīda*, mentions forty days as the time asked by Ḥasan for the preparation of his financial statement, whereas Rashīdu-d-dīn speaks of a fortnight. Who wrote the *Tārīkh Istizāhārī*, or when it was written, we do not know. Mr. Browne supposes, with great probability, that it is the work called the *Tārīkh-i-Akhbar* of Qāzī Aḥmad of Damaghan. But unfortunately that work has disappeared and we do not know when it was written. It is referred to by Hājī Khalfā and D'Herbelot, but apparently neither of them ever saw it. All we know is that it must be a pretty early work, for it is mentioned by the author of the *Tārīkh Guzīda* as one of his sources. He was a client of Rashīdu-d-dīn and wrote about 1340 A. D. We also may perhaps infer from the fact of the *Tārīkh-i-Akhbar*'s being mentioned in the list of sources before the *Jāmā-ut-tawārīkh* of Rashīdu-d-dīn that it is the earlier of the two, for the list seems to be chronologically arranged. At all events until we

know the date of the *Tārīkh Istizāhārī* we cannot altogether reject the story of the three friends on account of its recent origin.

Though, however, I think that Rashīdu-d-dīn's account enables us to carry back the origin of the story to at least the seventh century A. H., yet I am very doubtful of its truth. It is in fact too good to be true and is just such a story as credulous biographers would narrate. The chronological difficulty is, as we have seen, very great and perhaps is unsurmountable. There is indeed a late statement (in the *Tārīkh Alfī*) that Omar Khayyam died in 505, or twelve years before the accepted date, so that he may have been the school-fellow and pensioner of Nizāmu-l-Mulk. It is of course only in relation to Omar Khayyam that the story of the three friends is worth preserving, and if we can save it in his case we may abandon Ḥasan's share in it. At least there is this to be said. The story seems to have originated with the followers of Ḥasan and not with any admirer of Omar Khayyam. One therefore does not see why Omar Khayyam's name was brought into the story unless he really had been a schoolfellow of Nizāmu-l-Mulk.

H. BEVERIDGE.

Art. II.—AN ALIEN YOKE.

AT the time of the mutiny of the Bengal Army there was a report current among the natives that British rule in Hindustan (or as they called it the Company's Raj), was to come to an end with the centenary of the battle of Plassey, which occurred as we know on the 23rd June 1757. The promise was fulfilled to the ear, if not precisely to the hope; for the dominion of the Company came to an end in consequence of the Mutiny. One who served both before and after that revolution may perhaps be permitted to say a word as to the exact nature of the change, its effects on the people of Hindustan, and its prospect of duration. Of the former indeed there can be but little question; for the introduction of direct Parliamentary control was the beginning of a scientific system of Government, totally different from the somewhat haphazard methods of the earlier men. It is true that soon after the reform of Parliament in 1832 certain reforms were initiated in India by Lord William Bentinck: widow-burning was abolished; the effigy of King William IV. was substituted on the Company's coinage for the superscription of the effete titular of Delhi; although the Mahomedan and Hindu codes continued to be administered in the Company's Courts, yet a Law Commission was set on foot with Macaulay for the President; the statutes obtained the title of "acts" in place of the humbler name "regulations"; and the highway between Bengal and the Punjaub frontier was metalled and planted with wayside trees for the comfort of travellers. Little more, however, was accomplished until the time of Dalhousie, after which the events of '57 swept everything clean for a new departure.

We have next to see the condition and probable destiny of the succeeding administration. The question how it affects the people is one that demands a little more consideration.

It is not likely that our hearty forefathers had any clear notion of reforming or benefitting the people of India: the early agents of the Company resembled a party of sportsmen

who should land on a distant shore and pitch their tents in the ruins of a deserted city; looking forward to pleasure and profit from their stay, and only caring to provide for the subsistence of themselves and their followers so long as their visit lasted. The worth of architects, engineers, and rulers would be left to a more serious and self-conscious generation. But whether the later and more careful operations are or are not beneficial to the original inhabitants of the country must depend partly upon the spirit in which they are carried out, and partly on the spirit in which they are received. The doings of the Spaniards in Mexico and in Peru were not altogether advantageous to the people of those countries: but the example of Japan seems to show that new wine may sometimes be poured into old bottles without danger of explosion; and in the case of India a change in manners and ideals may be brought about in a similar manner.

The question whether an alien yoke is always an evil for a people may seem at first sight almost absurd. We are always accustomed from our childhood to hear of nations groaning under foreign oppression, or nobly struggling to be free: yet a little closer observation will serve to show that almost all races who have made any figure in history have been founded by conquest. Usually indeed the conquerors have disappeared in the process of time: either the climate and other conditions have suited them, and in that case amalgamation has ensued, as when the British inhabitants of these islands were invaded three times between the fifth and eleventh centuries of our era by Saxons, Danes, and Normans successively. All these invaders in their turn exercising a more or less severe discipline, gradually lost their supremacy to unite as members of a new and mingled nationality. In other cases where circumstances were less favourable, the conquerors became extinct, as with the Spaniards and French in Hispaniola. Both processes have been seen in India, which has always lain peculiarly open to the invader, and has in a most peculiar degree possessed the faculty of assimilating the invader to itself. In all the long period over which historic memory can stretch, India has never long produced indigenous systems of government, and when such

have existed they have only exercised a partial and limited jurisdiction. Only once has there been anything like a universal monarchy; and even that was exercised by foreign invaders, and was never permanently established in the southern regions of the Peninsula.

The Moghul Empire, of which Delhi was the capital, was indeed for a short while an object of admiration to the civilized world. Travellers from many European countries visited the Court and the Provinces, and the splendour of the Emperors formed a commonplace of literature, and was twice alluded to by the great English poet John Milton. Originally founded by a fugitive Turkman Chief, the Empire developed extraordinary qualities under his grandson, the famous Akbar. During the reign of this exceptionally conscientious despot, religious toleration—then hardly dreamt of in Europe—became a fixed principle of the State; the Emperor repressed the insolence of his own congenors, employed the native Hindus and Moslems in the highest offices of the State, making fiscal arrangements to provide for the greatest happiness of the greatest number of his subjects. Akbar's grandson in turn, known to us as the Emperor Shah Jahan, though less of a reformer than Akbar, maintained the general system of administration, and may be regarded as exhibiting the Empire in its most prosperous and glorious condition. To illustrate this statement it will be necessary to go into a few technical details, which, however, need not be very wearisome if we can only bear in mind that India belonged, and to a great extent still belongs, to a form of civilization entirely differing from that which has been attained in European countries. It is estimated that at the present day a number of people, amounting to nearly eighty per cent. of the inhabitants, are dependent on the land; and it is natural to suppose that the ratio stood no lower in the days of Shah Jahan. To raise the revenue by taxing people of this sort with no secondary wants, and incomes seldom exceeding the means of subsistence, would have been impossible; in the few cities and commercial centres that then existed something might be realized from house rates and duties on markets; the rest of the direct revenue of the State was derived from the surplus produce of

the soil, paid by the agriculturists through contractors or through official agents of the Government, in either of which cases it can hardly be doubted that a considerable margin remained in the hands of these middlemen. Nevertheless such was the severity of the assessment that the net proceeds which reached the treasury of Shah Jahan are stated by a contemporary to have mounted to a sum of no less than £22,000,000 sterling, which far exceeds that realized by the modern British Government with better administrative skill, and from a far wider area. But besides this direct source of revenue, the military administration was such as to make great inroads on the resources of the land, however favourably it may appear to affect the Imperial Budget. That was because, with the exception of a bodyguard of cadets and a small personal retinue, the Emperor carried on his wars by means of a feudal Militia, recruited by a class of life peers, who received assignments of land which would otherwise have been chargeable to the fisc. The Moslem Church was supported in a similar manner, only that these religious endowments were perpetual, while those of the military leaders were liable to revocation at their death. Such as the administration was, it excited the admiration of European visitors, one of whom said that the Emperor ruled rather as a father over his children than as a monarch over his subjects. But the Imperial family continued to be essentially alien to the country; they spoke the Turkish language among themselves; and Father Manrique, a Spanish Missionary, gives some curious glimpses of their domestic life; noticing especially what he calls the "rutilous" complexion of the royal ladies whom he met.

The more public aspect of the Imperial Court was merely a development of the Tartar encampment of their ancestors. The visitor was conducted through a covered entry bordered by the stalls of goldsmiths, jewellers, drapers etc., before him he found a courtyard on three sides of which were cloisters wherein the members of the public found shelter from the sun: as in the *Place du Carrousel* at the Louvre, or the tilt-yard at Westminster, the space was occupied by shows and sports; on the fourth side stretched a pillared hall, backed

by grated galleries where the Court ladies might witness the proceedings without being seen. Raised above all this was a wide alcove in which stood the throne, and at an appointed hour, with a salvo of great guns and the clamour of kettle-drums and shawms, surrounded by members of his family, and followed by swarthy Amazons, with swords by their sides waving fans of feathers, the Emperor came forth from his private apartments, clad in delicate white muslin, and with a priceless jewel in his cap, he seated himself cross-legged upon the throne to receive petitions from those privileged to approach his presence, an act which if no more than ceremonial was at least a symbolical acknowledgment that a Sovereign is the fountain of justice. The Provinces were governed by Satraps, reproducing the Imperial splendour on a reduced scale.

Such was the condition of India under the best alien yoke that the country has seen till our own times. Her condition under British rule, it is at present much less simple to describe. In all the symptoms which are usually considered indicative of progress and prosperity, the country is in a far more advanced condition than it was under the Moghuls. Great steps have been taken towards unifications. From Cape Comorin to Peshawur beyond the Indus, a uniform criminal law—the Indian Penal Code, with which the name of Macaulay is usually associated—will be found protecting the people against evil-doers; the Urdu language is becoming a *lingua franca* amidst a Babel of conflicting dialects; the extension of railways permits the circulation of the people, and the transmission of merchandise at very low cost; much has been done by the extension of irrigation to ensure against the vicissitudes of climate; the ravages of famine and pestilence are combated; domestic strife and external war are both alike repressed; and the population, freed from all these causes of decrease, appears to be advancing at the rate of about five per cent. in every decade. If therefore it should be said that the public revenue is becoming large in relation to the resources of the country, it must at least be admitted that it is expended in a manner more profitable to the general welfare than in the erection of sculptured palaces for the residence of princes,

and marble monuments in honour of their dead. Even the large sum annually remitted to London cannot fairly be excluded from this category, forming as it does payments for various kinds of services, past and present.

But there is another side to this pleasing picture: educated natives of India and their European sympathisers will tell you of widespread indigence, of a population increasing beyond the means of subsistence, of racial discord due to the hauteur of one side and the discontents of the other: and for all these complaints, too, there is probably substantial ground. Some of these unpleasant symptoms may doubtless be disregarded as the growing-pains of an adolescent community, or the unavoidable inconveniences of a salutary, if unwelcome, discipline. But it would seem that there is a large body of benevolent persons who consider the alien yoke imposed upon India to be something more permanent. They regard the natives as people of like passions with themselves, only differing from Europeans in the colour of their skin: they would like to alter all the immemorial sentiments and usages of a civilization vastly older than their own; and perhaps they take it for granted that when all this has gone on for a certain time, the millions of India's inhabitants will be nothing but so many English men and women, a little different perhaps in colour, but as like in manners and beliefs as if they lived in the Channel Islands. Let it be noted, however, that this was not the ideal of the Anglo-Indian fathers by whom the British Empire in those regions was founded. In their eyes the sceptre of the Sovereign was but the ferrule of the schoolmaster, and there was in their minds a clear perception that whenever the schoolmaster's work was done, the pupils would be set free to live their own life.

Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the famous historian of Mahomedan India, was Governor of Bombay during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and in constant communication with other great Anglo-Indians of the time,—Sir John Malcolm, Sir Thomas Munro, and Sir James Macintosh; and in a letter to the latter of June 1819 he thus expressed his ideas:—

“I am afraid the belief that our Indian Empire will not be long-lived is reason and not prejudice. It is difficult to guess

the death it may die ; but if it escapes the Russians and other foreign attacks, I think the seeds of its ruin will be found in the native army—a delicate and dangerous machine which a little mismanagement may easily turn against us. The most desirable death for us to die of should be the improvement of the natives reaching such a pitch as would render it impossible for a foreign nation to retain the government ; but this seems at an immeasurable distance.” Mr. Elphinstone’s predictions as to the army were so thoroughly made good in 1857 that some of us may be tempted to believe that the rest may be fulfilled in due course.

In conclusion it may be permissible to give a few figures illustrative of the different ideas of the two Governments on the subject of national expenditure. The Emperor Shah Jahan was unquestionably a good financier, and in all probability as conscientious a ruler as any of his royal contemporaries, and although it was believed that he left in his treasury bullion and jewels to the value of £128,000,000 of our money, he must have spent considerable sums in public works of which many remain to the present day. But when we examine the nature of these works, we shall find that their primary object was the enjoyment of the monarch rather than the welfare of the people. Thus, while he took water from the upper Jumna to flow into Delhi by a canal which in modern times has developed into an important system of irrigation, it is evident that the chief, if not the only object of the original undertaking was to bring potable water into the Palace. In like manner the mosques, mausolia, gardens, and palaces were all works whose cost was out of all proportion to their economic value. For example, in the case of the Taj Mahal at Agra which was nothing but the monument of his departed consort we learn from Manrique who saw the architect’s papers, that it was the subject of most lavish expenditure : although the marble was the free gift of Hindu Rajahs, the actual sum allotted for the tomb was 15 millions of dollars. Tavernier—a French Jeweller—who visited Delhi during this reign, estimated the famous Peacock Throne on which the Emperor sat in the ceremonies mentioned above, at a sum equivalent to six millions of modern sterling ; and although lower estimate

have been suggested, this sumptuous piece of furniture was evidently covered with precious stones of enormous value. If, now, we contrast expenditure of this kind with that of the present Government of India, we see that however much educated natives may be disposed to complain of what they consider extravagant outlay, it is at least made conscientiously for the public benefit. The army is relatively small and inexpensive for the protection of an area and a population scarcely inferior to those of the whole continent of Europe, without Russia. Two years ago no less than 14,830,000 acres of cultivable land had been insured against drought by works of irrigation,* while 25,373 miles of railway had been spread like a network over the land, and in favouring circumstances the transport of heavy goods is facilitated by navigable canals. All these things imply considerable expense ; and it may be argued that more is being done than the country is quite prepared for : nevertheless such complaints need hardly be too seriously regarded when we remember that the pressure of taxation pure and simple only represents an average incidence of 1s 10d. per head per annum, and that even of this by far the greater part represents payments which only fall on the consumers of luxuries, and that an ordinary Indian peasant may get through life in the manner of his forefathers with no further contribution for the purposes of Government than the excise on salt, amounting to about 6d. a head yearly. Candour demands the admission that the alien yoke presses lightly on the Indians, and is not one of which it can be their present interest to be rid.

H. G. KEENE.

*From this year onward the annual sum allotted for irrigation will not be far short of £1,000,000 sterling.

Art. III.—NATIONAL EDUCATION IN JAPAN.

IN discussing any of the problems of Japan we start with the great boundary line that inflexibly demarcates modern from mediæval Japan. That boundary line is the "Meiji Era," the designation of the reign of the present Emperor. The "Meiji Era" may be said to be identical with the great Japanese revolution of 1868 by which the Island Empire entered upon her astonishing career of Imperial expansion. The year 1868 is marked by the seclusion of the Shōgun, the world-expansion of commerce, the inauguration of a constitutional government, the disestablishment of Buddhism, and the establishment of a great and most admirable system of national education.

The progress of education in mediæval Europe and in ancient India is similar in a great many ways to that of Japan previous to 1868, the year of reform. In the latter case Buddhist temples were the centres of a "rude scholasticism." While the rulers despised or conveniently forgot the education of the people, the Buddhist priests became the schoolmasters of the nation. The course of instruction was, of course, semi-religious and was based on the Buddhist *sutras*. In the temples throughout the country primary schools were conducted for all classes, sometimes in the midst of fierce civil wars.

The influence of the Buddhist priests is seen in the literature they created—a literature that was the best produced in the sixteenth century. The temples were the repositories of this literature and the priests its guardians. This education and this literature were refined and suited to the national genius, but as is the case with all sacerdotal or semi-sacerdotal teaching, narrow and repressive in its influence.

With the gradual decay of Buddhism as a religious force, and with its final collapse in 1868, Japan entered on her present era of educational progress. The history of the social and religious development of India and Japan, present, I think, very close similarities in some points. In both countries the decay of the ancient religion was primarily due to the rise in

importance and power of the warrior class. In Japan it was the Samurai; in India the Rajput, the Sikh, and the Maharata. Again in both countries, though far more in India than in Japan, invasion played its part in breaking up the social fabric. But with this difference, that whereas in Japan the Samurai had it all their own way, in India the Brahmin was as changeable as the chameleon in the ideas he entertained of his true vocation.

The decay of the old feudal system, the rise of the Samurai, and the gradual entrance of new formative elements in the national life, were the causes of the decay of Buddhism in Japan and therefore of the semi-sacerdotal learning that did duty for education. The growing mind of the people became restive and demanded wider or new outlets for its energies. At this juncture—here again the parallel between India and Japan is almost exact—the influence of the West came in.

To trace the history of Western influence on later Japanese history will demand a separate article. Here it will be sufficient to point out the exact influence exerted on educational ideals. The credit for awakening in Japan a desire for Western learning undoubtedly belongs to Holland whose merchants traded with the Island Empire from 1630. Before long the "*Rangaku*" or "Dutch learning"—note that in Japan the term "learning" takes the place of "education" among us—became famous. The influence of the West was still further increased through commercial treaties with America and England between the years 1853 and 1858. Schools were opened for the study of foreign languages and institutions. Independent academies sprang up like mushrooms. In 1871 the *Mombusho* or Department of Education was created, and is at present one of the most important Ministries in the Japanese Government. In 1872 the Educational Code was promulgated and the Emperor's words uttered on that occasion are worthy of quotation as outlining a policy that India ought to follow :—

"It is intended that henceforth education shall be so diffused, that there may not be a village with an ignorant family or a family with an ignorant member." This has always been the Japanese statesman's ideal, and in its light we can understand

a good deal of that intelligence which the Japanese soldier is said to exhibit in the present war under conditions of great stress. In 1891, twenty years after the promulgation of the first Education Code—there were in the Government schools 3,630,000 pupils. At present 81 per cent. of the total school-going population is at school. Or to put it another way, out of a population of 43,045,906, 4,338,069 are at school. In the United States where primary education is probably at its best, only 68·93 per cent. of the total school-going population are under instruction. Compared with India, the second most advanced Asiatic country, Japan is tremendously ahead. 18,000,000 boys of school-going age ought to be under instruction in India; but of these only a little more than one-sixth are at school.

A great European authority on Japan has said that the genius of the people is essentially imitative. This is seen clearly in the way Japan has freely borrowed from Western nations. President R. Ibuka, of Tokio University, has said that when "Japan reached out after Western ideas, she copied her navy from Great Britain, her army from France, her medical science from Germany, and her educational system from America." That Japan went to America for her educational system, was, I think, due to the influence of the Christian missionary and the old standing friendship between the two countries. An American made possible to English-speaking people, the study of the Japanese language; Americans were largely instrumental in organising the various departments of the Imperial Universities; and an American was for a considerable period the official adviser of the Japanese department of education. A very large number—increasing every year at present—have been trained in American Universities.

The greatest figure in earlier Japanese educational history is Gurdo F. Verbeck, a missionary of the American Board, who laboured in Japan from 1859 to 1896. Dr. Verbeck was a Hollander by birth and training but a naturalised American citizen—then happily uniting in himself the two countries that had done most for Japan. In 1869 Dr. Verbeck assumed control at the invitation of Government, of the national educational system, and was first president of the Imperial University

at Tokio; and "New Japan" is of his creation. Another great educationalist is Joseph Naesima, a Japanese Christian, who founded the "Doshisha," a great Christian University.

But American influence does not penetrate everywhere. The university system was first on an American plan, but was radically changed by German influence. The present organisation of the two Imperial Universities finds no complete counterpart in America. German influence again is seen in the normal school system, in medical education and in the Japanese pharmacopœia. In fact we can notice almost everywhere that Japan has freely borrowed. "When the nation resolved to go to school," says Mr. Lewis, "it also resolved to study at the feet of those who knew. There was boundless admiration for new truth, and reverence for its exponents."

Accordingly, a prominent feature in Japanese educational systems has been the help afforded in the early stages of its organisation, by foreigners—chiefly German, French, and Americans. In spite of a more or less intimate commercial intercourse with England, extending since the sixteenth century and even perhaps earlier, the services of Englishmen have not been requisitioned in Japan. The Medical Colleges were placed at first under German leadership. In matters of law and justice, the French legal Code and the French courses of legal study were followed. The university system was at first based on the American model, but has been radically altered by German influence. The present organisation of the Imperial Universities finds no complete counterpart in America.

Thus it will be seen that the Japanese have followed the policy of adopting that system which seemed to them best or which was most suitable. Of course many causes contributed to this state of things. The great influence of American ideas in Japan, for example, is undoubtedly due to the presence of American missionaries and missions. Verbeck was a great American missionary before he was called upon to organise the Japanese educational system. But as a rule the Japanese have chosen their ideals after careful examination. With our experience of intellectual results in India, following on a system of Western education and training, we may wish to learn how Japan has preserved her national identity,

achieving at the same time supreme success. The answer to this is to be found, I think, in the pronounced tendency among the Japanese, to dispense altogether or as actually possible, with foreign guidance or aid, after a certain stage has been reached. This policy is condemned by Europeans who are known to have a bias towards Japan, as a real impediment to future progress. But Japan knows its own business best and certainly its success proves it right. There were in 1900, 477 foreigners teaching in Japan, of whom 342 were missionaries, leaving only 134 in the Imperial service. This is a great diminution on the number before the China-Japanese War.

Another prominent feature in the Japanese educational system is the control exercised by Government on the policy, the teaching, and the schools. The Minister for Education holds one of the most important of the eight portfolios in the Government. His department has seven administrative subdivisions:—treasury, public documents, compilation, teachers' licenses, teachers' pensions, reports and records. The department controls the appointment, promotion, dismissal, and ranking of public school officials; the proper licensing and classifying of teachers; the compilation and publication of text-books; the adjusting of pensions for teachers or the families of deceased teachers; questions regarding foreigners in the employ of the department; the location and support of Japanese students in foreign lands; and the relation of all these matters to the public financial department.

The Central Government holds a strong hand over the schools and colleges of Japan. Their general policy is not left to local or provincial enterprise or prejudice. "In steadying the over-enthusiasm of his countrymen by inspiring legislation of permanent value and in securing the largest measure of development for the millions of youth under his charge," says Mr. Lewis, "the Educational Minister shapes the future of his country."

But considerable latitude is allowed to private enterprise and public spirit. Local freedom is allowed in the administration of elementary schools. These institutions which constitute the chief department in the Japanese educational system, are supported by the cities, towns, or villages or by groups of villages.

Private individuals may establish schools and support them at their own expense. Each city, town, and village appoints its own school directors and inspectors. This plan is most successful, judging from the way in which contributions for elementary schools are voluntarily paid in. In five years such contributions amounted to £1,700,000, and this amount increases almost each quinquennium.

We may here refer briefly to the place of religious education in Japan. In Japan as in India, prior to the disestablishment of Buddhism, religion was an indissoluble part of the educational curriculum. The Buddhist priests were the teachers of the nation, and their instruction was deeply tinged with religion and Buddhist morality. But after the promulgation of the educational ordinance and the establishment of an educational portfolio in the Japanese Government, the tendency has been towards the absolute secularisation of all instruction. The position in Japan is identical with that in India—with but one difference. It is the native Government that enforces the principle that all instruction should be secular. Various reasons are given for this. But in the opinion of the writer, there are three points which if remembered in the connection, will help us to understand why national education in Japan should be so rigidly divorced from morality and religion. We have first to remember that the genius of Japan has never tended to extreme religiosity. The Japanese have always been a singularly self-contained and warlike nation. Priestcraft has never had the terrible hold on Japan, that it has had for instance on China, or India, or even mediæval Europe. Again the revolution of 1868—the step that broke Japan's fetters—was the work almost entirely of the *Samurai* the warrior class—who were not too much enamoured of Buddhism or Confucianism, to perpetuate a dual educational system where the authority and influence of the priest would neutralise the modernising tendencies of the new era. Thirdly, the presence of foreign Christian missionaries led the Japanese probably to separate education from religion. For the fight for neutrality in matters of religion, and the contest for the inclusion of religion and morality into the educational curriculum revolves entirely around the Christian Church of Japan. The

relationship of religious teaching to State schools and colleges as well as to private institutions, reached its climax in 1899-1900, when the Government decided once for all that "religious instruction must not be given nor religious ceremonies performed at Government schools, public schools, or schools whose curricula are regulated by provisions of law, even outside the regular course of instruction." However a succeeding administration has allowed Christian schools and colleges to teach religion provided their general curricula are satisfactory to the Government.

"At present," writes a critic, "Japanese education is superficial to a degree that is scarcely known in India, and there is one defect in it which may have serious consequences ultimately for the State. The policy of the Government is not professedly or directly hostile to religious instruction, but in the institutions under its own management, religious instruction forms no part of the course, and now, owing to the privileges in connection with conscription which are conceded to students in Government institutions, all the higher education is bound to be non-religious. . . . The policy does not seem to us to be wise from the economic point of view."

The bulk of the nation, however, believes with the Marquis Ito that "science is far above superstition, and what is Buddhism or Christianity but a superstition and therefore a source of weakness." In the elementary grades, however, moral teaching forms part of the curriculum.

But this passion for the absolute secularisation of learning, is often condemned by eminent statesmen. Count Kabayama, Minister of Education, has recognised the necessity of having moral instruction in the colleges of Japan. It seems, therefore, that when the national mind reaches the limit of its extreme rebound from its mediæval ideas prior to 1868, the educational system of the country will include moral training, and that freedom of conscience will be secured to all people. The position of Christian educational institutions will then be placed on a footing in keeping with the great influence they deservedly exert in Japan.

It now remains to give some idea of the national educational system as at present obtaining in Japan. Education

there includes six distinct grades or classes of institutions corresponding roughly to the five classes in the Indian educational system :—

JAPAN.			INDIA.		
1.	Lower Elementary ...	...		Lower Primary.	
2.	Higher Elementary...	...		Upper Primary.	
3.	Middle	...		Lower Secondary	{
				or	
				Middle School.	
4.	Higher	...		High School	{
				or	
				Upper Secondary.	
5.	Colleges of the University	...		F. A. and B. A.	{
				M. B. and B. C. E.	
6.	University	...		Masters' Degrees	{
				and	
				Post Graduate Work.	

The Japanese system is evenly graded and has a continuity in the higher courses that the American and Indian systems lack ; and it also presupposes graduate work in the University, as no degree is conferred until students have completed the Colleges of the University ; and no Doctor's or Master's degree is bestowed until the course in University Hall has been gone through. Residence and a period of study in one of the Imperial Universities are essential.

Japan, with the United States and Germany, leads the world in the matter of its elementary education. Mr. Lewis—a great authority on Japanese education—believes that Japan can give points to the other two countries even. India then, it is needless to add, has much to learn from Japan.

The system of elementary education in Japan is designed to give children the rudiments of moral education, and of education especially adapted to make good citizens, together with "such general knowledge and skill as are necessary for practical life, due attention being paid to their physical development." The Japanese educational ideal is that there shall not be an ignorant family in the Empire. I have already quoted the remarkable words of the Imperial declaration on education. Accordingly there is a compulsory educational

law in Japan, and attendance at school for eight years between the ages of six and fourteen of a Japanese child's life, is insisted on. The only cases excused are where sickness or extreme poverty is pleaded. Elementary agriculture for boys and sewing or needlework for girls are among the principal subjects. I have already quoted statistics to show the extraordinary success of the Japanese elementary system. A very large proportion of the whole number of educational institutions consists of elementary schools. In 1897 there were 26,858 of these with 79,274 teachers and 3,993,898 pupils. The total number of children of school-going age in that same year, was 7,730,441, of whom 7,175,786 were "those whose obligation to attend have already commenced." In 1898, there were 26,824 elementary schools with 83,566 teachers and 4,062,418 pupils. The growth each year in these figures is steadily proving that Japan leads the world in elementary education. The main idea is that the people should be an educated class, and all deficiencies in the fee income are met by voluntary gifts from the people themselves, which are more than one-fifth the amount realised from fees. More than half is met by fees, gifts, and rents; the rest is provided by taxation.

The weak point in the Japanese system of elementary education lies in the education of girls. Statistics show that 31.46 per cent. more girls than boys are absent from schools on some plea or other. There is, however, a steady change for the better. The Minister for Education speaking in 1890 said that "female education is the source from which general education should be diffused over the whole country." The obligations to attend school in the elementary stages, presses equally upon both sexes. Nevertheless the education of women might receive a great deal more attention than at present. During the feudal era no provision was made by the State for the education of women, which largely explains the subordinate position assigned to them.

The last remnants of the old antagonism to the education of women and to their rise in the social scale, are to be yet seen in Japanese educational policy. The influence of Christian missionary education has been the chief and till very lately

the only cause, towards the State recognition of the claims of women to be educated. The Governmental education of women commenced with the organisation of the educational department in 1872. Since then there has been steady progress. Within ten years there were 942,000 girls in the common schools, and in the second decade the number reached 1,500,000. Of the total number of girls who should have been in school in 1890, but 31 per cent. were in attendance; in 1895, the percentage had risen to 44; and in 1896, to 47. But even then, says Mr. Lewis, it included less than half the girls whose attendance the law required. The difficulty of making the people actually appreciate the value of female education is strikingly shown by the fact that after twenty years of experience, 79 per cent. of the boys of school-going age were under instruction, but only 47 per cent. of the girls. The Government has also established facilities for the higher education of Japanese girls. Between 1885 and 1890 the number of private higher schools—almost all Christian missionary institutions—for women greatly increased, but after 1890 decreased owing to the steady advance of State institutions. In 1882 there were 2,500 girls in the 14 women's higher schools, and the number has increased to about 18,000 now. In 1901, an independent Women's University was established—the first of its kind—in this way a great step was taken in the education of women.

The creation of a qualified teaching force for the elementary school system is a matter of very great importance in Japan. There are over 80,000 teachers in Government and private schools, each one placed over a school of about 60 pupils. The average salary of each teacher is about yen 99.14. Almost three-fourths of the teachers are normal-trained and are between the ages of 25 and 40.

Next to the elementary schools, stand the ordinary Middle schools, of which there are about 200 with about 3,000 teachers and 70,000 pupils. It is required that there shall be one Middle school in each *Fu* and *Ken* (i.e., each city and prefecture of which there are 50), but we found more than one in various centres.

Another weak point, in the opinion of many, of the Japanese system lies in the class of Higher Schools, their course of

study extends over five years and the students have to take special branches of study in preparation for their University courses. Special courses are entered upon in too early a stage, a fact which constitutes the weakness alluded to. The Higher Schools have courses of law, medicine, and engineering. Imagine a lower secondary student in India taking up any of these, and you will see the defect. But the Japanese "Higher Schools" system has the advantage of a bifurcated course, allowing a student to take to either technical or literary studies. The first two years have fixed courses which every student has to pass through; but the student can choose his subject in the fourth year. The subjects most insisted on are the English language and gymnastics.

There are two Universities—Tokio and Kyoto—the latter established only in 1899. The Universities are compact institutions supported directly by the *Mombusho*. The students are drawn from all classes of society. It has been calculated that the Universities of Japan claim one student for every 1,000 of the total population. Speaking of the Japanese University system, a great authority says: "One who has been thrown with Japanese University men is impressed with the intense earnestness with which they essay the work before them. The pride which they naturally take in their Universities is augmented by the thought that it is not only the pinnacle of Japanese education, but that it ranks with many of the great seats of learning in other lands. It is interesting to learn that law claims the largest number of students. The law courses have no length of time prescribed. Medicine is the costliest course."

In addition to public Universities under State control, there are a few private foundations, such as the University of Liberal Arts, the Women's University, the famous Doshisha, and others. The State, however, holds a firm hand over these.

K. W. RAMA RAU.

Art. IV.—THE KHASIAS AND THE SYNTENGs.

THE tract of the country bounded on the north by the Assam districts of Kamrup and Nowgong; on the east by the North Cachar Hills, the Naga Hills district and the Kopili river; on the south by the Sylhet district, and on the west by the Garo Hills is known as the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district. This district contains an approximate area of 6,157 square miles, with a population of 202,250 souls. The district is naturally divided into two parts—the Khasi Hills and the Jaintia Hills. The inhabitants of the Khasi Hills are called the Khasias and those of the Jaintia Hills the Syntengs. The greater part of the Khasi Hills consists of the territories of Native Chiefs in subsidiary alliance with the British Government; only a few scattered villages have remained British since the conquest of 1833 or have been ceded or acquired since then under special circumstances. The number of such villages is 34 in all. The Jaintia Hills country which was acquired in 1835, is wholly British.

Little or nothing is known as to the early history of the people inhabiting the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. Whether they are the original inhabitants of these hills or not, it is very difficult to say. If traditions are to be relied upon, they seem to be settlers in their present position and can be described as of Indo-Chinese origin. Some say that about 400 years ago the Khasias were driven up into the hills from Sylhet by the followers of Shah Jelall who went on a proselytising expedition under the auspices of the subadar of Dacca. But this assertion cannot at all be reasonable as within so short a period there can never be so vast a gulf of difference in the language and customs of the people inhabiting the two districts. As a result of much labour and deep research of the philologists, it has, however, been recently ascertained that the Khasias are a branch of the first batch of emigrants (Mon-annam) from North-Western China between the upper waters of the Yang-tse-Kiang and the Ho-ang-ho.

The first British knowledge of the Khasi Hills dates from the time when the East India Company acquired the *Dewani* of Bengal in the year 1765, which also included the adjoining district of Sylhet. But the hillmen had never acknowledged any subjection to the Muhammadans and consequently they remained absolutely independent of the British power till 1826, when Assam was conquered and British enterprise was soon attracted by the necessities of commerce arising from the monopoly of the lime-quarries of the hills, from which Bengal has drawn its supply from time out of mind. The Khasias had previously been known only as fierce tribes who had at different times descended into the plains both of Assam and Sylhet, and ravaged, with fire and sword, the villages which stretched along the base of this lofty region; night was the time almost invariably chosen for these murderous assaults, when neither sex nor age was spared; and long before dawn of day the perpetrators, glutted with slaughter and loaded with plunder were again among the fastnesses of their mountains on the way home. These Khasi ravages were specially severe between 1780 and 1790. The Khasi Chiefs on the Assam side, had since the decay of the Assamese power, established themselves in the plains of Kamrup, from whence the Government of the country was unable to dispossess them, and were accustomed to pay only a nominal allegiance to the Assam kings who fully conscious of their weakness were glad to compound with them for an acknowledgment of supremacy. After the British conquest of Assam, it became an object with Mr. Scott, the then Agent to the Governor-General, to connect the Surma Valley with the Assam Valley, by a road through the hills; and while the new administration of Kamrup had refused to recognise the rights of the Khasi Rulers to encroach upon the plains of Assam, Mr. Scott succeeded in 1826 in persuading certain Khasi Chiefs to permit a road to be made through the hills from Sylhet *via* Cherrapunji, Maoplang, and Nongkhlis to Gauhati. But in 1829 misunderstandings unfortunately arose, and, partly by the insolent talk of some native servants of the Survey Party deputed to the hills to open the proposed communication, the growing discontent and apprehension were fanned

to a flame, and on the 4th of April 1829, the Khasias rose in arms and massacred Lieutenants Beddingfield and Burlton together with about 50 or 60 Sepoys. This event gave rise to a general rising and resistance to the British power throughout the hills which at last necessitated military operations on the part of the British Government, and it was in 1833, that Jirat Sing at last submitted and was imprisoned for life in the Dacca Jail, the other Chiefs having either before made terms with the British Government or did so immediately after. After this a British Officer with an adequate Military Guard was stationed in the midst of the people at Cherrapunji, the then administrative headquarters, which was abandoned in 1866 for Shillong, and the presence of this force proved sufficient to maintain peace throughout the hills.

The portion of the district known as the Jaintia Hills (now the Jowai subdivision) was taken possession of by the British Government in 1835. Jaintia is said to have been attacked by a force under a Major Henniker in 1774 but the causes which led to this step are not known. It is, however, probable that some aggressions on the part of the Khasias of the State against the inhabitants of the adjacent plain of Sylhet must have rendered the chastisement necessary. In 1821, some emissaries of the State were detected and punished in a barbarous attempt to carry off certain British subjects from the Sylhet district for the purpose of immolating them. This time the Raja was given only a threat of an immediate confiscation of his territories in case of a repetition of such an offence. In 1824, the forces of Ava invaded Cachar and information having reached Mr. David Scott of the intention of the Burmese Commander to march through Jaintia, it was felt necessary for the British to take precautionary measures for the security of Sylhet against this Burmese invasion of Jaintia. The Raja of Jaintia succeeded, with the help of the British Government, in repulsing the Burmese troops sent to enter the Jaintia country. In March 1824 the Raja of Jaintia entered into a treaty with Mr. Scott and in this treaty he formally acknowledged his dependence on the British Raj. In 1832, another atrocious crime was perpetrated by the Raja of Goba, one of the petty

chieftains dependent on Jaintia. Four British subjects from Sylhet were seized and carried to a temple within the boundary of Goba and three were barbarously immolated at the shrine of Kali. The fourth, however, providentially effected his escape to give intimation to the British authorities of the horrible sacrifice which had been accomplished. The culprits were demanded from Ram Sing, the Raja of Jaintia, but without success. In November 1835, Ram Sing was succeeded by his nephew Rajendra Sing, upon whom the demand for the surrender of culprits was pressed. But the requisitions of Government were met with the same evasive spirit which had characterised the conduct of his predecessor; and every other minor expedient having been unsuccessfully resorted to, it was finally resolved to annex the plains of Jaintia to the British territory. Accordingly, on the 15th of March 1835, Captain Lister, with two companies of the Sylhet Light Infantry, took formal possession of Jaintiapur, the capital of the country. The Raja having thus been deprived of the plains portion of his territories, declined to continue possession of the hills and the Jaintia Hills were therefore annexed to the British possessions in the hills in 1835. Till 1860, no change was made in the indigenous revenue system which consisted simply of the payment of a he-goat once a year from each village, when, on the repeated recommendations of the local authorities as well as of Messrs. Mill and Allen who were deputed in the fifties of the last century to report upon the affairs in the hills, a house-tax at the rate of Rs. 4. per house was imposed; but as the measure of direct taxation was very obnoxious to the Syntengs they formed here and there irregular gatherings to resist the payment; about the same time, open rebellion broke out in that side of the district, the suppression of which was long and tedious, and it was not till November of 1863, that the pacification of the country could be said to be complete.

SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.—The administration of the country is vested in the Chief Commissioner of Assam, the Deputy Commissioner of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and his Assistants and the Native Chiefs who are variously styled Seims, Wahadars, Sardars, Dalais Pathors, and

Lyngdohs. The word Seim is derived from the Khasi word for "soul, life"; Wahadadar from the Hindu term "Uhdadar," meaning an officer and it is used only in the southern border of the district in the Shella Confederacy, near Sylhet, where Hinduism has some influence; Lyngdoh strictly means a "sacrificial soothsayer," from the Khasi "*oug*" to speak and "*doh*" flesh. The district is divided into three portions—namely, British possession in the Khasi Hills, petty dependent Native States in the Khasi Hills, and the Jaintia Hills country which is wholly British. The British possessions are administered under the "Rules" framed by the Chief Commissioner of Assam for the administration of the Khasi Hills and approved by the Government of India. The principles of the laws which are not in force in the Hills are to be observed in *spirit* by the officers in court in the adjudication of cases, Civil or Criminal. The Deputy Commissioner is the District Judge who also exercises his full powers as Political Officer and the powers of the High Court are vested in the Chief Commissioner who, being the Executive Head, is also the highest authority in all matters Civil or Criminal, in the Hill Districts of Assam. The Khasi dependent States, which are petty democracies, are presided over by the Native Chiefs called Seims who though taken generally from the family, are appointed by election; or by headmen such as Wahadars, Sardars, and Lyngdohs whose offices are absolutely elective. The appointment of all these Chiefs and Headmen by the people is strictly subject to the confirmation by the British Government who also reserves to itself the right to remove them in case of misconduct. The confirmations were formerly made by the Supreme Government and the *Sanads* confirming the appointments were signed by the Governor-General himself; but soon after the formation of the Chief Commissionership of Assam in 1874, these powers, the Government of India were pleased to delegate to the Chief Commissioner and it was not till lately that the decision of a Chief Commissioner in the matter of the appointment of a Seim was reversed by the Supreme Government.

The legal position of these hills is very intricate indeed. The enactments of the British legislature are not in force in the territories of the Khasi Chiefs. Under certain Statutes

the Council of the Governor-General can legislate for British subjects (both European and Native). The territories of the Khasi Chiefs are not British India nor are their subjects British subjects. These Chiefs can, under engagements with the British Government, adjudicate and decide all Civil and Criminal cases not of a heinous kind; all heinous offences are to be reported to the Deputy Commissioner to be dealt with by him; and all Civil and Criminal cases in which the subjects of other States or Europeans or natives of the plains may be concerned, are also to be referred to the Deputy Commissioner for adjudication. After the conquest of 1833, the territories of the Khasi Chiefs were placed under a Political Agent. In 1835, the functionaries appointed to the Political charge were placed by Act vi of that year (Khasi Hills and Cachar Act) under the control of the Sadar Court in Civil and Criminal matters. In 1856 Mr. Allen wrote:—"No public notification has been published, either by the Government or by the local authorities, regarding the transfer of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District to the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Assam, and the public has never been officially informed what laws, rules, and regulations are in force in the hill territory." In 1854 the Government of Bengal transferred the Civil and Political administrations of the country to an Assistant under the Commissioner of Assam, who administered the spirit of the current law in force in Assam and followed the Assam Code of 1837. Act vi of 1835 having given no jurisdiction to the Board of Revenue in revenue matters, the Agency Department had to conduct all revenue as well as political duties of the Government.

I append below the general form of a *Sanad* granted to a new Chief which will show the nature of engagements the Khasi Chiefs enter into with the British Government at the time of their appointment.

You.....having been elected Seim of the State ofin the district of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, this *Sanad*, ratifying your election and appointing you Seim is conferred upon you on the following conditions:—

i.—You shall be subject to the orders and control of the Deputy Commissioner of the district of the Khasi and Jaintia

Hills who will decide any dispute that may arise between yourself and the Chief of any other Khasi State. You shall obey implicitly any lawful orders which the Deputy Commissioner or other officer authorised on that behalf by the Government of India may issue to you.

ii.—You are hereby empowered and required to adjudicate and decide all Civil cases and all Criminal offences except those punishable under the Indian Penal Code with death, transportation, or imprisonment for five years and upwards, which may arise within the limits of the State, in which your subjects alone are concerned. In regard to the offences above excepted, you shall submit an immediate report to the Deputy Commissioner of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, and faithfully carry out the orders he may give concerning their disposal. And you shall refer all Civil and Criminal cases arising within the limits of your State, in which the subjects of other Khasi States, or Europeans or natives of the plains may be concerned, for adjudication by the Deputy Commissioner of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills or by any other officer appointed by him for that purpose.

iii.—The Government of India shall be at liberty to establish Civil and Military Sanitaria Cantonments, and posts in any part of the country under your control and to occupy the lands necessary for that purpose rent-free.

iv.—You hereby confirm the cession to the British Government by your predecessors of all the lime, coal, and other mines, metals and minerals found in the soil of your State, and of all right to hunt and capture elephants within your State on condition that you shall receive half the profits arising from the sale, lease, or other disposal of such lime, coal, or other minerals, or of such right. On the same condition you confirm the cession to the British Government of all waste lands, being lands at the time of cession unoccupied by villages, cultivation, plantations, orchards, etc., which the British Government may wish to sell or lease as waste lands. You also agree to the cession, on the same condition, on the expiration of the existing leases, of such of the lime, coal, or other mines metals and minerals and of such waste lands of the State as may have been leased by any of your predecessors.

v.—You shall not alienate or mortgage to any person any property of the State moveable or immoveable, which you possess or of which you may become possessed, as the Chief of the State.

vi.—You shall cause such areas as may be defined by the British Government for that purpose to be set aside for the growth of trees to supply building timber or firewood to the inhabitants of the State. You shall take efficient measures to secure these areas against destruction by fire and by junning.

vii.—If you violate any of the conditions of this *Sanad*, or in case of your using any oppression or of your acting in a manner opposed to established custom, or in the event of your people having just cause for dissatisfaction with you, you shall be liable to suffer such punishment as the Chief Commissioner of Assam, subject to the orders of the Government of India, may think proper to inflict.

viii.—According to the conditions above enjoined, you are hereby confirmed Seim of the State of.....in the Khasi Hills. In virtue whereof this *Sanad* is granted to you.

An idea of the nature of treaty engagements the Khasi Chiefs first entered into with the British Government can be obtained from the following general form of engagement.

To The Hon'ble Company.

We.....Khasias of.....having, for the protection of our country acknowledge our dependency to the Honourable Company, entered into this deed of agreement to the effect that we placed our territories under the protection of the Company.

Sec. i.—We, in conjunction with those who reside and trade in our territory, shall continue to conduct the business of our territories, keeping the raiyats contented, in conformity to the former rules and customs. This country will have no concern with any of the Courts of Government but should any person who has committed any evil deed come to our country from the territories of the Government, we shall on demand, seize him forthwith and send him back.

Sec. ii.—Should any dispute arise with the Rajas of any other country, and it be considered fit to be investigated we

will accept and submit to the judgment given by Government, and without the consent or permission of the Government we shall not rouse any dispute with the Raja of any other country.

Sec. iii.—Should any battle take place with Government on any hill, we shall immediately proceed with our troops and render assistance to Government.

Sec. iv.—Mr. David Scott, Agent to the Governor-General, promises that should you act according to the aforesaid conditions, your territories will be protected in the proper manner on the part of the Government, and should you have any dispute with the Rajas of other countries the same will be decided, and assistance will be given you in every matter. On these terms this *Ekrar* is executed on both sides.

(To be continued.)

Art. V.—SUN-WORSHIP IN BIHÂR.

IN the infancy of the human race, the two great luminaries of heaven, namely, the sun and the moon, and the lesser ones—the stars—must have inspired men's minds with feelings of awe and wonder at the effulgent light which emanated from them. When "morn, with rosy hands, unbars the gates of light," the sun—the bigger of the two great heavenly luminaries—appears in the horizon, and pours forth his life-giving beams from his perennial fountain of light. At the approach of eventide, the sun disappears from the heavens, and the whole universe is enveloped in darkness for 15 days; and during the remaining fortnight, the moon—the lesser of the two great luminaries—appears and bathes the world in one flood of her silvery beams. All these phenomena which happened daily, led the primitive men to imagine that the sun and the moon are two omnipotent beings who rule the whole universe, and exercise their beneficent or malevolent influences upon the men who dwell upon the earth below. At least, they thought that there must be some omnipotent being "whose dwelling is in the light of setting suns." Thus, primitive men were gradually led to look upon the sun as a deity, whom they thought that they should worship so that they might enjoy his protection—so that they might obtain boons from him. The primitive Aryans, also, experienced similar feelings of awe and wonder at the sight of the sun, and have given expression to the same in one of their hymns, which are preserved in their most sacred books—the Vedas. This hymn, which is addressed to the sun, is as follows :—

"Behold the rays of dawn, like heralds, lead on high
The sun, that men may see the great all-knowing God.
The stars slink off like thieves, in company with Night,
Before the all-seeing eye, whose beams reveal his presence,
Gleaming like brilliant flames, to nation after nation.
With speed beyond the ken of mortals, thou, O Sun,
Dost ever travel on, conspicuous to all.

Thou dost create the light, and with it dost illumine
The universe entire; thou risest in the sight
Of all the race of men, and all the host of heaven.
Light-giving Varuna! thy piercing glance doth scan.
In quick succession all this stirring, active world,
And penetrateth, too, the broad ethereal space,
Measuring our days and nights and spying out all creatures.
Sûrya with flaming locks, clear-sighted, god of day,
Thy seven ruddy mares bear on thy rushing car.
With these thy self-yoked steeds, seven daughters of thy chariot,
Onward thou dost advance. To thy refulgent orb
Beyond this lower gloom and upward to the light —
Would we ascend, O Sun, thou god among the gods."

The primitive Aryans associated with Fire, the sun-deity Sûrya, whom they addressed by such different names with reference to the variety of his functions, as Savitri, Aryaman, Mitra, Varuna, Pushan. They described him, as will appear from the hymn given *supra*, as the spy of the whole world, watching over all men and their good or evil deeds, as the guardian of all that moves and is fixed, and as driving a chariot drawn by seven ruddy horses (representing the seven days of the week), preceded by the Dawn. In the *Rigveda*, he is frequently likened to a bird or eagle flying through space, and is credited with the power of prolonging life, driving away diseases and evil dreams—a belief which still survives at the present day among the Hindus of Northern India, who worship him in his capacity as a healer of cutaneous affections. They had, also, a short prayer addressed to the sun in his capacity of Savitri or the Vivifier, which prayer is the celebrated Gâyatri and is the most sacred of all Vedic texts. Up to this day, this prayer is uttered by every Brâhman throughout India in his daily worship. It occurs in the Rig-Veda and is as follows :—

"Let us meditate on that excellent glory of the divine Vivifier. May he enlighten (or stimulate) our understandings."

It shows that the more enlightened of the primitive Aryans worshipped, under the symbol of the visible sun, that living light which alone could illumine their intellects.

Feelings, similar to those experienced by the primitive Aryans, were also felt by the ancient Chaldeans in the presence of the awe-inspiring sun. These feelings gradually

gave place to those of adoration; and the Chaldeans began to worship the sun. They composed the following hymn addressed to the Sun-god, in which they embodied the feelings inspired in them by the great luminary :—

“O Lord, the illuminator of darkness, thou that openest the face of sorrow, merciful God that liftest up the fallen; thou that supportest the weak, unto thy light look the great gods. The spirits of earth all of them bow before thy face; the language of praise as one word thou directest; the host of their heads bow before the light of the midday sun.

“Yea, thou art their light in the vault of the far-off heaven.

“Of the broad earth the banner art thou. Men far and wide bow before thee and rejoice.”

Among the Babylonians and the Assyrians, the Sun-god was worshipped under the name of Shamas, whose emblem was the four-rayed orb which the king wore round his neck, sometimes alone, sometimes conjointly with the emblem of the new moon.

The ancient Phœnicians worshipped the Sun-god under the name of Adonis-Thammuz whose seat of worship was at Gebal. The lovely Sun-youth was loved by the goddess Baalath—the Phœnician prototype of the Greek goddess Beltis, the Chaldean Ishtar, the Canaanite Ashtoreth, but was taken from her by a sad accident. While he was hunting in the forests of Lebanon, he was gored to death by a savage boar sent by his inveterate enemy, Baal-Moloch, the Fiery. As he came by his death in the month of July in mid-summer, it has been consecrated by the Semitic races to the memory of the beautiful Sun-god. The river, that flows past Gebal, was named Adonis after him; and tradition asserted that it ran red with the blood of the slaughtered god in the month of July. This tradition had its origin in the observation of a phenomenon, which actually happened, namely, that, during the hot weather, the red clay strata, through which the springs of the river Gebal gush out, become dry, crumble away, and are washed down by its waters. This beautiful fable symbolized the victory of the fierce and wicked Sun-god—the Destroyer—over the beneficent Sun—the fair

Spring-god, the bridegroom of Nature in her prime. The festival in honor of Adonis was held in early spring, when the Phœnician maidens mourned for their dead god, tore their hair and dresses, cried out that the god was dead, and called on his name. They made a wooden effigy of the dead god, clothed it in royal robes, anointed it with oil, performed over it the other rites for the dead, and placed it on a bier. They fasted strictly during the mourning period. The bier was, then, carried in procession, followed by an ever-increasing crowd who gave vent to loud lamentations. The dead god came to life again; and the god's resurrection was celebrated with equally extravagant demonstrations of joy.

Among the ancient Egyptians, the sun was, also, worshipped under the designation of Amen-ra. In his temple at Thebes, a service was daily performed for the purpose of protecting his deityship from the attacks of the great serpent Apef or Apep. It was a part of the service to burn a waxen image of the great serpent in the belief that, when the wax would be melted, the serpent's power would, also, be destroyed.

In the Homeric mythology of the ancient Greeks, the Sun-god was represented in the person of Helios.

Among the Romans, Apollo, the son of Jupiter and Latona, called also Phœbus, was believed to be an embodiment of the sun, and was worshipped as such.

The ancient Japanese had their great Sun-goddess Amatera-Su, who is now worshipped at Isè. Once her younger brother Susa offended her by destroying her weaving-loom. In this fit of anger, she retired into a cave and closed its portals, saying that she would not come out therefrom any more. Thereupon, Japan became enveloped in darkness. Dismayed at her disappearance, the other gods soothed her wounded feelings by the performance of a *kagura*, or sacred dance. As she came out to have a peep at the dance, she was held back and prevented from re-entering the cave by the strongest among the gods. Thus, light, once more, shone forth upon this world.

Relics of the prevalence of sun-worship in some of the countries of Europe are still traceable in some of the customs which are current therein at the present day. In England

bottles or decanters are passed at table from right to left, *i.e.*, in the way the sun travels from east to west. In Ireland, the sick peasants sunwise circumambulate the healing spring thrice. The crank of a churn is turned, or eggs are beaten and mixtures stirred, always in the direction of the sun's course across the sky. All these are vestiges of sun-worship. The customs of turning to the East and of lighting bonfires upon the hills on Easter morning, as also the New Fire on Easter Eve, as still observed in the Greek Church, are but survivals of the ancient and widespread rites of sun-worship. The fire-festival at the summer solstice was formerly celebrated throughout the whole of Europe, and was, sometime ago, held in France, where a huge straw wheel, typifying the circular disc of the sun, was lighted with a torch and set rolling adown a hill-top. In Christian times, however, these rites of sun-worship at mid-summer were performed on St. John's Eve. The 25th December, which is observed throughout the whole of Christendom as the festival of Christmas or the anniversary of the birth of Christ, was the day of the winter solstice, on which occasion the Romans worshipped the Sun-god Mithra and which day was, therefore, called by them "Dies Natalis Solis invicti," or "the Birthday of the Unconquered Sun." The Christian festival of Christmas is, therefore, of solar origin.

The orientation of many of the Egyptian temples, pyramids, the Sphinx and the two Colossal statues at Thebes, as also of the solar temple at Peking, and the Stonehenge, has been fixed with reference to the rising or setting of the sun at the summer and winter solstices and at the equinoxes.

Almost all the great nations of antiquity looked upon the setting and the re-rising of the sun as the symbol of the soul's immortality. The ancient poets of India, who composed the Vedas some three thousand years ago, called the sun as the leader and king of the dead, who, as they said, followed whither he had gone first, "showing the way to many." The ancient Egyptians built the whole system of their religious beliefs upon the foundation of the myth of the setting sun, and placed all their cemeteries in the west, amidst or beyond the Libyan hills behind which the sun daily disappeared from the sight of the dwellers in the valley of the Nile, to rise once more

the next morning. The ancient Greeks believed that the bravest and the wisest among them retired, after death, to the "Islands of the Blest" which, they said, were situated in the extreme West amidst the waters of the ocean in which the Sun takes his daily plunge for the purpose of his nocturnal repose.

In India, the sun is worshipped, at the present day, as a godling and not as a god. There are many temples dedicated to the Sun-god, scattered throughout Northern India, among which may be mentioned those at Taxila, Gwalior, Gaya, Multan and Jaypur, at Kanarak in Orissa and at Srinagar in Kashmir. Though the adoration and propitiation of the Sun-god form an essential part of the creed of the Hindu villagers throughout Northern India, still they do not build and specially set apart any shrine or temple for his worship, at the present day.

In Bihâr, every pious Hindu worships the Sun-god on Sundays and observes a strict fast. He breaks his fast before sunset, and partakes of *chapatties*, milk and sweets only, avoiding all kinds of food in the preparation or cooking of which salt has been used. He, also, circumambulates the sun and repeats the *mantra* or incantation given below :—

यानि यानि च पापानि ब्रह्महत्याशतानि च ।

तानि तानि विनश्यति प्रदक्षिणं पदे पदे ॥

Translation.

The circumambulation of the sun atones for all sins as also for all those which are tantamount to the sin of killing one hundred Brâhmans.

This worship is done and fast observed in the belief that he will remain free from diseases and that he will, also, thereby atone for the sins he may have committed, as will appear from the following :—

सूरज के पूजासे बी बरत अतवार करने से बी अतवार की ऊम बी अखीन भोजन करने से निरीम रहने का बी प्रदक्षिण करने से पाप निवृत्त होनेका उभैद होता है ।

People believe that, by performing sun-worship, and by observing fasts on Sundays, and by performing the *Homa* ceremony and partaking of saltless food on those days, they will

remain free from diseases, and that, by circumambulating the sun, their sins will be expiated.

In the United Provinces of Agra and Oude also, the orthodox Hindus worship the sun on Sundays and observe the fast described above. After performing their ablutions on this day, they put on clean loin-cloths, take their seat on the earthen floor freshly plastered with clean clay, burn incense, and read the *Sūrya-Purāna*, or the Holy Scriptures, containing the myths and legends about the Sun-god. They break their fast before sunset by partaking of unleavened griddle-cakes, milk and sweets, as eating after sunset on this day is strictly forbidden to them. They particularly abstain, on this fast-day, from all kinds of food containing salt. Those people, who are attacked with skin-diseases, and particularly with leprosy, also worship the sun in the foregoing way, as is evidenced by the following saying current in those provinces:—

कुछ रोग है जिसके अङ्ग ।
सी नित् करै पुराण प्रसङ्ग ॥

Translation.

Those, who are attacked with leprosy, should, every day, read the *Sūrya-Purāna*.

Persons suffering from chronic diseases, also, worship the sun daily, after taking their morning bath, by reading the *Sūrya-Purāna*. All orthodox Hindus, also, offer libations of water to the sun, after bathing. There are many tanks called *Sūrya-kund*, which are dedicated to the Sun-god, at all the important places of Hindu pilgrimage, where all pious Hindus take their bath in the belief that all their sins will be washed away thereby. Many orthodox Hindus, also, salute the rising and the setting sun daily. On every Sankrānt-day, or the last days of the months of the Hindu calendar, they, also, offer gifts to Brāhmans for propitiating the Sun-god. Of these, the two most important, that are observed in North Bihār and on which occasions the offices of the Hāthwā Rāj used to be closed as holidays, are the *Khichri Sankrānt* and the *Sātuā Sankrānt*, the former coming off on the last day of the Hindu month of Pus, and the latter on the

last day of the month of Chait. On the former day, all orthodox Bihāris partake of *Khichri* or rice and pulse cooked together with spices and *ghee*; and on the latter occasion, they take *sātuā* or pulverized gram or barley kneaded into a paste with water and country treacle.

But the most important festival held in Bihār in honor of the Sun-god, which it is my purpose to describe in this essay, is the *Chhat*. This *vrat* or festival was performed by the goddess Bhagavati or Chatthi Devi in honor of her witness the Sun. The festival commences on the third day of the light half of the Hindu month of Kārtik. On that day, the Bihāri Hindus, who perform this *vrat*, eat rice of unboiled paddy (आरोवा चाउल के भान) and pulse-soup of केरावके दाल, eked out with curry made of the gourd (लाउका). If this vegetable be not available, they eat even a leaf of the gourd-plant along with their rice and pulse-soup. On the next day, i. e., the second day of the festival, the Bihāri women fast during the day-time and, after one *prahar* of nightfall, break their fast by partaking of a meal consisting of griddle-cakes made of wheaten flour, and milk boiled into cream with sugar and rice of unboiled paddy. On the third day of the festival, they fast the whole day, and, in the afternoon, offer अर्घ्य or offerings to the Sun-god and worship him at the same time. This offering consists of fruits, sweetmeats and पूजा or cakes made of wheaten flour and treacle or sugar and fried in oil or *ghee*,—all being arranged on a छप or winnowing-fan. On the morning of the fourth day of the festival, the Bihāri women offer the second and the last अर्घ्य or offering to the Sun-god; and, then, a Brāhman or some one of the fasting women recites, for the edification of the rest, the legend on which the festival is based. This legend narrates the contest, which took place among several of the goddesses of the Hindu Pantheon, as to which of them was superior to the rest. In this contest, the goddess Chatthi Devi or Bhagavati came off with flying colors, as the Sun-god, to whom the dispute was referred for arbitration, adjudged her to be superior to the rest. After hearing the legend or कथा, the celebrant women break their fast.

The social aspect of this festival is of great importance, as great rejoicings are made in Bihâr among the Bihâri Hindus, when it takes place. Women and children are presented with new clothes and dresses on this occasion. The bazars display a lavish supply of fruits of different sorts, which sell very dearly at this time. The gourd, which forms an important article of the meal taken by the persons who perform this *vrat*, also sell very dearly on the first day of this festival. This *vrat* is performed mostly by women, and, sometimes, by men also, especially by those who suffer from such diseases as leprosy, etc. It is believed by the Bihâris that such persons get cured of their diseases by performing this *vrat*.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA. •

Art. VI.—THE INDIAN PENAL CODE.

IT is a trite though not invariably true saying that a coach and four can be driven with ease through any Law entered upon the Statute Book, but I think that an adventurous individual who essayed such an operation upon the Indian Penal Code would probably find himself enmeshed to his own disaster; a work admirable alike for its clearness of codification and perspicuity of diction, it reflects the greatest credit on its compilers and probably stands unique in Criminal literature.

I am led to this opinion by the fact that while enjoying a brief home visit, I entertained the project of instituting a comparison between Criminal Law with grades of punishments, etc., as laid down for England and for India. With this aim in view, I sought the loan of the work in question, or its equivalent, from the library of a friend, a solicitor of high standing. As an initial step I was desired to define what I meant by a Penal Code and, having made myself clear on this point was extremely astonished at being informed that England did not possess such a volume!

I was told that each and every description of crime of conceivable commission was treated of, in English Jurisprudence, under a *separate* ACT of the Legislature, ratified by the sign-manual of the Monarch who reigned when the specific Act was passed. That as these Penal Acts had, of necessity, been introduced, modified or cancelled, throughout the lapse of centuries, many tomes required to be searched in order to acquire a complete knowledge as to the treatment of various offences and ascertainment of the Law at present existent, in addition to oft differing rulings and interpretations by law creating legal luminaries; I could only come to the conclusion that each Judge, Magistrate (or their Clerks), Barrister and Solicitor, must keep an index of his own for personal information, and wonder why such a summary had never been published by Royal authority.

In the Penal Code, I find each such Act condensed into certain Sections, terse and to the point, containing the definition

of the crime and its punishment; illustrations of the former being occasionally added to prevent all possibility of misconception. The classification, codification, and all embracing scope of the Indian Penal Code could not be improved upon, but, as regards its main principles, *i.e.*, apportionment of punishment in ratio to the gravity of the offence, we submit that a fundamental alteration is demanded.

I refer to the distinction which is made as to "offences against the human body," (Chapter xvi), and "offences against property," (Chapter xvii), in which the latter are, in many instances, placed on a par with and, in a few, even more severely punishable than the former. As the Law is avowedly for protection of Life and Property, surely, according to all fact, theory and sentiment, the former is immeasurably more sacred, valuable, and precious than the latter and yet, as I have said, they are commonly treated upon an equality with constant leanings towards superior protection for Property. I will take a few instances. A capital sentence is awardable for two crimes alone, Murder, Section 302, but even in this case I find the alternative of Transportation for life; and Abetment of suicide by a child, etc., Section 305, with, again the alternative of Transportation for life or Imprisonment for 10 years. In all, for offences against the person, sentences of Transportation for life *may* be passed under 11 Sections (in how many instances it *is* so passed, it is beyond my province to enquire or suggest), and, mark their gravity. Section 302, Murder. Section 304, Culpable homicide. Section 305, Abetment of suicide by a child, insane person, etc., etc. Section 307, Attempt to murder. Section 311, Being a Thug. Sections 313 and 314, Causing miscarriage, etc. Section 326, Causing grievous hurt by dangerous weapons. Section 364, Kidnapping for murder. Section 371, Habitually dealing in slaves. Section 376, Rape. Section, 377, Unnatural offences, and in ten of these the sentence is reducible to one of 10 years' imprisonment. Sections 311 and 371 are practically if not entirely obsolete: the sole sentence under Section 303, Murder, by a life convict is, of course, an unavoidable necessity. And how as regards offences against Property which carry with them a life sentence, excluding those which have for

their gravamen, injury to the person. I find 12 such, as follows Sections 388 and 389, Extortion. Section 400, Belonging to a gang of Dacoits. Section 409, Criminal breach of trust by Public Servant, Banker, Merchant, or Agent. Section 412, Receiving property stolen in dacoity. Section 413, Habitually dealing in stolen property. Sections 436 and 438, Mischief by fire, etc. Section 467, Forgery of Will, etc. Section 472, Counterfeiting seal, etc. Section 474, Having in possession forged Will, etc. Section 477, Destroying Will, etc.

I ask any person unbiassed by legal technicality or commercial instinct is there a single crime—in the last given list which can compare for vital gravity with the least serious among the former. Forgery is indeed a grave offence, dangerous too, *financially*, but the loss caused is, at worst, to the pocket and can such loss by any conceivable train of argument be set on a level with the killing of a man, though the act has just fallen short of legally defined Murder: can extortion be put on a par with kidnapping in order to murder or possible, nay probable, maiming for life?

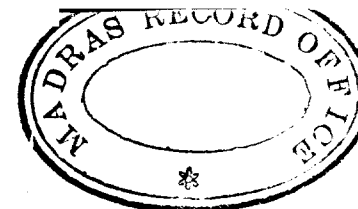
And yet for the last-named permanent brutality the punishment, under Sections 327, 328, 329, 331, or 333, is the same, 10 years as for mere abstraction of or damage to, presumably replaceable property, under Sections 392, 399, 409, 412, 436, 437, 438, 439, 450, 454, with an additional four years if the Robbery be "committed between sunset and sunrise" or the object of night burglary be Theft. Finally, a revolver shot, a sword cut, or a smashing blow from an iron-bound *lathi*, under Section 324 is dealt with in the same manner as a theft of four annas, under Section 379 *viz.*, three years' imprisonment, surely this is a *reductio ad absurdum*!

The labours of the original framers of Act xlv of 1861 would appear to have been so pre-eminently successful as to necessitate, in subsequent years, but few amendments, one of which consisted merely in the addition of Section 304 a, "Causing death by negligence," surely the time has now come as we have already said, for a fundamental alteration in the theory and principle of the Code.

I would hardly go so far as to advocate a return to the stern old Jewish law "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," though even that would appear to be an approximation to fair reprisal, but we do submit most strongly, that, taking offences against the person, and those against property, the former class should be far more rigorously dealt with than the latter; even the slightest wound or hurt may cause permanent disfigurement, incapacitation, or even death, whereas the heaviest possible pecuniary loss leaves life, health, and strength unimpaired, for recuperation.

Perchance forty odd years ago, among orientals, for whose benefit the laws were chiefly framed, human life was held of less value than coin of the realm, but, is it consistent with our civilizing and refining education to suffer such a relic of barbarism to remain existent in direct antagonism to all Western sentiment, ideas, and practice?

F. J. GRAHAM-HATCHELL.



Art. VII.—WESTERN INTERPRETERS OF EASTERN VERSE.

1. *The Garden of Kama, and other Love Lyrics from India.* Laurence Hope. W. Heinemann. 1903.
2. *Indian Poetry.* Edwin Arnold. Trübner Series. 1881.
3. *Hymns of the Atharva Veda.* R. T. H. Griffith. Benares. 1895.
4. *Palm Leaves.* R. Monckton Milnes. Edward Moxon. 1844.
5. *Hafiz of Shiraz.* H. Bicknell. Trübner and Co. 1875.
6. *Literary History of India.* R. W. Frazer. T. Fisher Unwin. 1898.
7. *The Poems of Tulsa Ram.* Edited by V. P. Shastri Pandit. Bombay. 1869.

INDIA has been called by many names, since its connection with the West—"The Land of Friendships," "of Separation," "The Land of Exile." . . . But perhaps none of these things is it so truly, as "The Land of Opportunities."

To how many has it not given the chance of a life-time—Soldier, civilian, writer—a goodly throng seizing their opportunity gloriously, to the advantage of themselves and the country. But, there is one class of writer, who has made "opportunity" of India, in a way we cannot but resent. I refer to those who indulge a taste for the forbidden, and—indecent, by sheltering behind misrepresentation of a country their knowledge of which may be summed up in the bare fact that it is the home of elemental passion.

All the world throbs to one pulse in the East. Men and women take the mystery of God's great Life-gift, as simply as does the flower or animal life around them. The West, with its taint of the "civilized," its cleavage between human and animal and vegetable, its suggestions of the improper—born, of necessity of its highly developed civilization—looks on, and reads into the wondrous work of creation, thoughts of ugliness and ill. Not all the West, of a truth; but this "West" to which I now refer.

God is very close to men, in the land of the sun. Graphic are His commands whether set in the Heavens, or upon the earth "The Heavens declare the Glory of God, and the firmament sheweth His handy work." It was an Eastern who wrote that poem.

Why should "Let there be Light!" with its sudden golden flame across the horizon, its sudden falling back into the darkness whence it was born, why should that be more the command of a Deity, than the "Let there be Life"—which men have besmirched with the illicit?

To the Eastern there is no difference. God dwelling among men, does He see, in both miracles.

We read into the things we see, that which we bring to them. Whence else should the taint come?

"What went ye out for to seek?" That is the crucial question in life. The answer belongs to the seeker, helping or condemning his soul's progress: and it belongs to him alone, except when he poses as *interpreter*.

Then, is it the duty of the interpreter, to deny his imputations: to prove that he speaks in the language of what land he will—in the language of his own heart, perchance—but not in the language of the East.

For, whence come his interpretations, if not from his personality? It is an interesting question.

Certainly the literature of the East, rightly read, does not justify him.

'Tis a case of growth of knowledge robbing imputation of its point. For, could our "interpreter" read the tongues of the East, and the spirit of the East, he would find this out for himself.

Indeed, reliable translations would help him half way there, with no trouble whatever Arnold, Bicknell, the Trübner series—bibliography abounds, within the reach of all. But again, whence comes his justification? Let us seek it, in the land of translation.

There is, first, the great body of Vedic literature. Would it be there, perhaps?

The early bards show no trace of the unlawful. It is Nature holds them spell-bound. Human incidents are so small compared with Heaven's mysteries, with the joyousness of hill or tree or river. The sun, going "in three steps, from the Land of the Living, to the Land of the Fathers,"—*that*, is their theme time and again.

The rush of moving waters, is in the Vedic Hymns—"there, where the rivers run into the sea;" the dancing of sunbeams, the scent of flowers from "the Land of Sweetness."

Even when they condescend to the events of earth, hear how they are described.

This is a hymn for the election of a chieftain to kingship I give it in Griffith's beautiful translation (R.V. X. 173).

"Be with us. I have chosen thee, stand
steadfast and immovable.

"Let all the people wish for thee: let
not thy kingdom fall away.

"Be even here: fall not away: be like
a mountain unremoved.

"Stand steadfast here like Indra's self,
and hold the kingship in thy grasp.

* * * * *
"Firm is the Sky, and firm the Earth, and
steadfast also are these hills.

"Steadfast is all this living world, and steadfast
is the King of men."

The Poet-Priest was a constant quantity in Aryan times. He had to be Priest, note you, for song is God's peculiar gift, and it was a God-blessed voice the Eastern needed,—whether on the battlefield or in the audience chamber, whether in the temple or the theatre, in the rose-garden, or the summer pleasure-house.

Of many things did he sing—of Love, of Death, of Gods, of demons; sometimes of the little lives of men.

Here is an early hymn of Death—a love-song to Dharti-Mai. It throbs with that kinship to the earth-things, which is so characteristic of the East.

"Enter oh! lifeless one the Mother Earth, the widespread earth soft as a maiden. In her arms rest free from sin. Let now the Earth gently close around thee, even as a Mother gently wraps her Infant Child in softest robes. Let now the Fathers

keep safe thy resting-place, and let Yama, the first mortal who passed the portals of Death, prepare for thee, a new abiding place."

But, best-beloved of all those shining ones enmeshed in verse, was the dear Dawn-Maiden—"the ever-glowing ever-welcome light, the first-born daughter of the sky." Gentle is her coming across the sullen night-mists. The powers of darkness bow low before her. The Youth "with ruddy limbs and locks of flame," waits in her train, to do her bidding. As she drives her low-lidded horses across the land of her worshippers, the little birds rise heavenwards, fluttering wings of welcome; and even sin-blind man shakes free from slumber to gaze on her, in wondering adoration.

The Early Vedic hymns are full of this Nature worship. Men caught the whispered earth-secrets as they fell athwart the stillness of the forest—mysterious, solemn. It was to the Gods and Goddesses, to the Spirit of Creation in the world, that these Easterns sang their Love Songs.

"What pathway leadeth to the Gods, who knoweth this of a truth, and who will now declare it?"—*that* is the burden of all their singing. Song was the soul's lament, in its effort to pierce the mystery of the All-knowing, the All-powerful.

"Then there was not Being, and Non-Being

"There was not : there was not
air, nor yet beyond that sky.

"What covered all? What held all safe?

"Where was the deep abyss of waters?

"There was not Death; and Non-Death there was not
and change neither of Day nor Night.

"One alone then breathed, calm and self-contained
naught else beyond, nor other.

"Darkness first was hid in Darkness: all this
was one Universe Unseen.

* * * * *

"Who knows this? Who can here tell whence
all this issued forth?

"The Gods themselves came afterwards.

"Who then knows whence it all became?

"Who knows it all, if it was made or not?

"He who rules it all in the Highest realms,

He indeed knows; or perchance, He knows it not

Go where you will—to the lyric liltings of the Vedas, the mystic inspirations of the Upanishads and Vedantas, you find the same refrain—"To what God shall we now offer up our sacrifice?"—that moaning after the Great Unknowable.

Sometimes in truth, the Poets sing directly of small human earth-loves. Take this Love-Charm from the *Atharva Veda*. (Griffith's translation)—

"Sweet are the glances of our eyes, our
faces are as smooth as balm.

"Within thy bosom harbour me; one spirit
dwell in both of us." *A. V., Bk. VII., 36.*

The restraint of that is in itself condemnation of the exuberance of Laurence Hope.

Or this,—*How to bind the love of a reluctant Maiden.*

"My tongue hath honey at the lip, and
sweetest honey at the root.

"Thou yieldest to my wish and will, and
shalt be mine, and mine alone

"My coming in, is honey sweet; and honey sweet
my going forth;

"My voice and words are sweet: I fain would be like
honey in my look.

* * * * *

"Around thee have I girt a zone of sugarcane
to banish hate,

"That Thou mayst be in love with me
my darling, never to depart."

Atharva Veda, I. 34. (Griffith.)

But the *Radha-Krishna* poetry of the twelfth century, the "Song of Songs" as Arnold calls it, with its hot breath of passion, is a Song of Solomon—the mystic longing of the soul, to find absorption in the Divine.

Ask the pilgrims journeying long ways to the birth-place of Jaya Deva. Ask them what they mean by their murmurings of Krishna's love-songs. They will tell you that the shepherdesses with whom Krishna sported, are the five senses; and that when Radha sits apart, praying in an ecstasy of passion, for her Beloved,—it is the mystic East seeking after God, if haply He might be found.

[A Western parallel may be found in "The life and work of S. Juan de la Cruz" (D. Lewis).]

Was it not this communion with his soul's love,—the Great Unknown—which kept the true Eastern, calm, aloof, unmoved, heedless of kings and principalities, of the tramp of armed conquerors; of the wreck of thrones, of the fight for the high places of the world? Is it not this, still, sadly overlaid, alas!—but still this, which gives him that unconquerable dignity, which even the conditions of servitude can as little touch, as the Master, can as little understand.

"Everything shall perish, except the Face of God"—and for that "freshness of the eye," does the soul seek,—groping blindly, lovingly—in the Morning Land, across the seas.

In the Land of the Sun's Setting, says the casual observer, "This is gross sensualism:" and, when he wishes to indulge his own unpleasant instincts, he wrests the simple vocabulary of this other world to ugly purpose.

And he has the less excuse for so doing, in that, certain also of his own prophets have expounded the truth, in language which is sufficiently intelligible.

Says *Grierson*, in his introduction to the *Satsaya of Lulla Lal Kuvi*, (Calcutta, 1896), talking of Eastern mysticism.

"The Soul's devotion to the Deity, is pictured by Radha's self-abandonment to her beloved Krishna: and all the hot-blood of Oriental passion, is encouraged to pour forth one mighty flood, of prayer and praise to the Infinite Creator, who waits with loving outstretched arms, to receive the worshipper into his bosom, and to convey him safely, to eternal rest across the seemingly shoreless Ocean of Existence."

And again, in commentary—

"I am persuaded that no indecent thought entered their minds, when they wrote these burning words."

So will acquaintance with Eastern Literature, persuade every student of the Eastern Spirit.

"All are sleepers in a night of delusion," said one of those voices of old, "they only are awake, who detach themselves from the material, and are absorbed in the contemplation of the Supreme; nor can any soul be regarded as aroused from slumber, till it has renounced every sensual enjoyment."

Even in the seventeenth century, in the writings for instance of *Tulsa Ram* (1574—1624), the Great Maratha Poet, the note is still—"God is the All-pervading Soul, in every created object." And, that the spirit of devotion still brooded on the face of the waters, we gather from the dying wail of *Sivaji* the warrior—I take a warrior for my test, for to these—East, as West, was ever accorded most license.

"God has been in my heart, yet my darkened eyes have not recognized His Light"—said he.

Let us turn now to the Persian Poets, would perhaps the type represented by *Laurence Hope*, find justification there?

Sufi-ism should surely in itself be an answer to the question—even in these days of ignorance posing as knowledge. Yet there may be Westerns who still mistake Sufi-ism for passion.

The Mahommedan world of the fourteenth century was drunk with desire for God. There is a story told, by an Arabian biographer, of *Rabiah* a holy woman of the period—how at dead of night, she would go out upon the roof of her dwelling and whisper under the starlight.

"Oh! my God, the noise of day is hushed, the lover is with his beloved: but I have Thee for my Lover, and I rejoice with Thee in solitude."

I say not that there were no unrestrained livers, among Easterns, but that they left no record of sensuality in Eastern Literature.

Take even *Hafiz*, a man who lived an exceedingly gay life, was, for his wine drinking and dissipations in disrepute among the Dervishes, who indeed objected to his interment with religious ceremonial, and for a time, forbade the reading of his books——Take him. What things does he write, this epicurean? Odes—mystical, spiritual, full of the charm of Nature, of the scent of roses, of the voices of the stars. Patrons, Kings, minstrels, friends, are the subject of his extravagances. "Extravagances" one says writing in English: but it should be remembered that the extravagances of the West, are the natural every-day language of the East: and mean far less than they seem to mean.

Moreover, as Bicknell points out, it would have been an affront to women, in Mahomedan society, to mention them by name in verse, to betray their sex. And the pronoun "he" is used by Hafiz even in rhapsodies to his own special Egeria—his *Shákhi Nabát*—the "branch of candy."

The instinct of the Eastern, is to draw a veil over the things which really move him. Is there any reservation like the reservation of the frank, of the man of words, the babbler?

Listen any day, in this contemporary India, to the travelling bard as he tells the story of some local tragedy. He hides the very kernel of it, in a meaningless jingle. And very particularly, is the language of love, the language of parable, of metaphor.

Eyes are not eyes, they are "narcissi": red lips are rubies, getting their colour from the sun. [Laurence Hope's eyes, lips, hair, are writ large in blatant invocation . . . One lover, indeed, tells his lady that her hair is *golden*!]

When Hafiz must speak directly, in his verse, to his lady, he hides her in the image of a "box-tree."

Read one of these same *Shákhi-Nabát* verses, and note its restraint.

"Wherefore should pine and cypress adorn
my garden's glade?

"To whom shall yield in stature, my
Box, grown in the shade?

"No kind of ware, save heart-break can
in my street be bought.

"The mart of self-vendition, is elsewhere
to be sought.

"The 'Pain of Love,' one story is told us
o'er and o'er;

"Yet, strange to say by no one 'tis told
us as before."

Ode XXVIII.

Or, this, *Ode xxvii.*

"My breast has its flowers, my palm
has its cup, and my Loved One smiles and is gay,
The Sultan whose sceptre extends o'er the
world, is truly my bondsman to-day.

Or, the charming little ode (*Liv.*) from Solomon to Queen Saba.

"Oh! Lapwing East! To Saba hence,
I send thee,

"Bethink thee well, whither and whence
I send thee.

"Tis sad that in grief's dust such bird should rest:

"Away! To Constancy's true nest,
I send thee.

"My caravan of prayers, at eve, at morn,—

"By North by East wind, are they borne—
I send thee.

"Oh! far from sight, but to my heart most near,

"Praises and benisons from here
I send thee.

"Lest sorrow's army bring my heart's land, dole,

"Take for provisions the sweet soul
I send thee.

"Come Saba! Heaven hath sent me words of calm,

"Be not impatient, for sweet balm
I send thee.

"The Work of God in thine own face behold,

"A Mirror, which can God uphold,
I send thee."

Laurence Hope's "Garden of Kama" is described as "Love Lyrics, from India." And, after this *résumé* of Indian verse, we, of the East, may be forgiven, if we object to the title. Her verses are not Eastern, in the sense of being translations: not Eastern are they either, in their monotonous passion, and unbeautiful suggestion.

Laurence Hope has arrested just one aspect of human love, and that not the highest. Her lyre has one note, and she twangs it, like the insistent maddening call of the brain-fever bird. No half-tones are there, no light and shade in her love-pictures: nothing is there elusive, nothing mysterious, rarely anything really poetical. Plainly are things material written and labelled; gross are the details, ugly the images.

In no sense are lyrics such as these Eastern: in no sense—Sanskritic, Persian, or contemporary.

"The Green old Man" of the East, saith an ancient legend, came one day to Hafiz, bearing in a wondrous goblet the nectar of the Gods, the gift of Song. And, of that nectar Hafiz drinking deeply, was ever after known among the sons of men, as Hafiz—*Lisan-ul-Ghaib*—"The Tongue of the Unseen."

Who was it brought to Laurence Hope her "Tongue of the Seen," the blabant, the illicit? Would she had refused the goblet! For, some things very pretty are there in her verses, when she can turn aside from her unlawful loves. Take (p. 96) this single line: it is charming—

"All the farewells in the world, weep in
the sound of the sea."

Or this—the *Faisulla* verses—p. 82.

"Just in the hush before the Dawn,
 "A little wistful wind is born,
 "A little chilly errant breeze,
 "That thrills the grasses, stirs the trees;
 "And, as it wanders on its way,
 "While yet the night is cool and dark,
 "Ere the first carol of the lark,
 "Its plaintive murmurs seem to say,
 "'I wait the sorrows of the day.'"

Pretty also is the "Song of the Colours," and "This month the almond blooms at Kandahar," or "No rival like the past." But, on the other hand, one turns in disgust from *the Song by Gulbaz*, or the horror of *the Story of Udaipur*, told by Lalji—and many more not quotable.

All Laurence Hope's lovers clamour for one hour of darkness. The glorious Eastern night, with its weird mysteries, its converse with the illimitable, suggests nothing to her, as a rule, but the licentious. Were all these love-songs, one wonders, written, like that one so named—"during fever"?

Long ago Lord Houghton in the introduction to his "Palm Leaves," and Eastern poems, warned the West, against taking its notion of Eastern domesticity, from the ballet. But Laurence Hope goes further still; for the songs put by Easterns even into the mouths of Dancing girls, show more restraint than the songs of her respectable lovers.

Of these nautch-songs Edwin Arnold has an example in one of his translations. It is—the bee-song—and very simple.

"If my love, loved me, he should be a bee,
 "I the yellow Champak—love, the honey of me."

But to Laurence Hope, there seems to be nothing secure from the suggestion of the unpleasant. Has she not heard of the Beast Fable period, in all classical literature? In her own land, methinks, children in the nursery love a "Centaur." Why then talk of the "obscene carvings of the Temple?"

Again, unlike the East is her verse, in its Nature-descriptions on occasions. Her lovers go for shade to a *babul* tree. They might as well sit under a lamp-post, or a cactus!

Her skies overhead are "violet" and "lilac"—a colour rarely seen in India, except along the horizon, and before a

storm. Nor is her observation of men and women quite correct. Eastern men do not discuss their women-folk in public, with other men, yet Mahomed Akram says to his love—

"Often across the banqueting board at nights,
 "Men linger about your name, in careless praise."

There is perhaps no country in the world, where woman has greater respect than in India. The legitimate wife, always: and even the slave-connection when she is ennobled by the blessing of Motherhood. The "Kama" verses show none of that tender reverence and solicitude.

In truth are these things difficult to be known by strangers: but why then write love-lyrics which you call *Indian*? Label them otherwise.

Again, the faithfulness of Indian wives is proverbial. The only apparent wife-song in the volume is *The Regret of the Ranee*; and she, with her husband and brethren lying dead at his hand—thinks forbidden thoughts of the stranger whom they have brought to her for condemnation.

Laurence Hope would have found a model nearer possibility, in Edwin Arnold's "Rajpoot Wife."

As poetry, the verses are uneven.

Take these at random—

"But you desired it, therefore I obey.
 "Your slightest as your utmost wish or will,
 "Whether it please you to caress or slay.
 "It would please me to give obedience still.

p. 153.

Or

"No gift have I of jewels or flowers,
 "My room is poor and bare.

p. 153.

"But now, dear God, I faint with passion
 "For your far eyes and distant hair."

p. 80.

Yet, all is not unworthy, either in form or matter. Laurence Hope shows command over various metres, and at her best, a delicate gift of song: but it is not a gift of Eastern interpretation. And, one may be forgiven the wish, that when she writes again, it might be neither of Love, nor of India—or, at least not of Indian Love.

Art. VIII.—DID ENGLAND TEACH INDIA TO DRINK?

PATRIOTISM no doubt is a virtue and I should be the last to denounce it or to wish to weaken its hold on my countrymen. But I cannot shut my eyes to what I may call its excesses or its aberrations. Love may be blind. But love of one's country need not be so. A studied indifference to facts, or glossing over one's short-comings, is no patriotism. On the other hand, the true patriot is he, who faces facts boldly, however inconvenient and disagreeable they may be. Is it the best way of serving one's country, to seek to throw all the blame for the evils that may obtain, on others' shoulders? Have we been altogether blameless? That is the question that ought to exercise the minds of all to whom patriotism or public spirit is not merely a cloak to conceal selfish ends. Some of the Indian "patriots," no doubt, are men of erudition. But they do not always seem to recognise that the spirit of exaggeration is neither quite harmless nor a source of strength. As I pointed out in my article on *Mr. Dutt and Indian Famines*,* often a good case is spoilt by even a single exaggerated statement. Indian "patriots" seem to delight in exaggerations and thus become great favourites of English faddists, who do not pause to consider the incalculable mischief which results from their injudicious speeches and absurd harangues against the Government of India. As it is, the responsible officials of the Government of India, have their hands quite full without being made to waste their valuable time in disabusing the minds of their less informed countrymen, of the erroneous impressions created by philanthropists, patriots, faddists, *et hoc genus omne*. Take the drink question for example. We all know and readily admit the evils of drink. There is no doubt, that it is the duty of all well-wishers of India to do their best to minimise the evils of drink. But it does not appear to me to be necessary, for this purpose, to try to establish that we were a perfectly sober people before the advent of the British into this country. It would not be honest, besides, truth cannot

* *Indian Review*, Madras, March, 1903.

long be hidden. Long centuries before the British set foot on this soil, long before the Moslem invaders thought of Hindustan, long before Alexander the Great dreamt of the riches of the Gangetic valley, the Indian had been used to the exhilarating effects of drink. The boast is often made, in the columns of newspapers and on public platforms, that we were civilized at a time when some of the foremost nations of to-day were but savages roaming in primeval forests, clothed in beasts' skins and cutting one another's throats. If this is true, it is equally so that while propounding, on the banks of the Ganges, philosophies which still command the admiration of the Western world, we were also indulging in drink as a sort of "religious duty." Wine "which cheereth gods and men"* was used in India from time immemorial. The most notable case where the sacrificial feast had the use of wine as the chief feature, was the ancient *Sômarasa* offering of the old Aryans, when the gods were honoured by bowls of precious draught which "heals the sick, inspires the poet and makes the poor believe that all his wants are satisfied!"

The use of wine is as old as the earliest memory of civilization. In Greece, the introduction of it is ascribed to god Dionysus and in Egypt to god Osiris. The Hebrews give the credit to Noah—the second father of mankind,—while the old Persians say that King Jamshid introduced wine in the Land of Roses. The Old Testament mentions corn and wine as the material basis of life and comfort. Wine was an article of Phœnician commerce. (Ezekiel XXVII. 18.) Wine and olive may be regarded as symbols of settled life in ancient times, for, semi-nomadic people did not stay long enough in one spot to form vineyards. Pliny mentions viticulture, but for drink in India we have a much higher authority—I mean the Rig Veda. To satisfactorily prove the existence of indulgence in strong drinks, we have not to refer to works of doubtful authenticity. There exists perhaps no record in the world that carries us back to a more primitive state of the human family than the Rig Veda. It has been very appropriately said that there is no oasis in the vast desert of ancient Asiatic history as the Rig Veda, the earliest existing

* Judges ix. 13.

literary record of the Aryan race.* The Rig Veda being the earliest history of the Aryan race, is justly called the historical Veda by Professor Roth and other Western savants. It is very difficult to fix the age of the Vedas and even such profound Oriental scholars as Professor Max Müller and Dr. Haug have failed to fix milestones in Vedic literature. All scholars disagree. One tries to measure by the revolution of the heavenly bodies, another by the progress of the human mind. The hymns of the Vedas were, it is said, collected and arranged by Krishna Dvaipāyana Vyāsa.† According to Bentley and Archdeacon Pratt, the date of the compilation is 1181 B. C. Max Müller says that the Rig Veda was composed about a thousand years before Christ, Sir William Jones and Colebrooke assign fifteen hundred years before Christ; while Dr. Haug fixed the Vedic literature 2400 B.C.‡ It is the worshippers of the Devas—the Hindu Aryans—who have composed these hymns, writes Mr. Dutt, which are known as the Rig Veda. Probably there is not another work in the literature of mankind which is so deeply interesting, so unique in the lessons it imparts. The hoary antiquity of this ancient work, the picture it affords of the earliest form of civilization that the Aryans developed in any part of the world, and the flood of light it throws on the origin of the myths and religions of all Aryan nations—make the Rig Veda deeply interesting. It explains how the mind of man in its infancy worships what is bright and glorious in nature, what is powerful and striking. Among less happy nations religion began with the dread of diseases and of evils, as these made the most lasting impression on the mind. *It is the oldest work in the Aryan world.* § Whatever the exact date may be, the Rig Veda is, as everyone admits, the oldest history of the Aryan race. Its contents have always attracted the highest reverence and admiration. || In the Rig Veda there is ample evidence, that from the earliest Vedic period the people of India indulged in drink.

* Max Müller's *Chips from a German Workshop*, I, p. 5. Roth's *Literature and History of the Vedas*, p. 13.

† Lassen's *Indian Antiquities*, I, p. 777.

‡ Haug's *Āitareya—Brahmana*, I, p. 47, and Weber's *History of Indian Literature*.

§ Dutt's *Civilization in Ancient India*.

|| Whitney's *Oriental and Linguistic Studies*, p. 22.

Sōmarasa was their favourite beverage. They worshipped it! Without the *Soma* (*Asclepias-acida*) two important religious ceremonies (*Yajnas*) called *Shautramani* and *Bājpeya* could not be performed. The *Soma* was from the earliest times connected with the religious history of the Indo-Aryans.* The antiquity of the cultus is attested by the references which are made to it in the Zend Avesta. The coincidence between the Vedic *Agnishtoma*, and the *Haoma* ceremony of the followers of Zoroaster, testify to the complete development of the *Soma* ritual before the separation of the Indo-Aryans. †

The *Soma* plant was worshipped as a deity and one entire *māṇḍala* (lit. circle, chapter) of the *Rig Veda* is dedicated to it; and the principal object for which the *Sāma Veda* was composed was the performance of the sacrifices in which *Sōmarasa* was principally required. The exhilarating and inebriating effects of the *Soma* liquor are frequently referred to in the *Rig Veda*. Indra (the great god) drank it to such excess that his stomach used occasionally to get distended! In one of the hymns of the Rig Veda it is mentioned that "the praiseworthy *Soma* has from ancient times been the drink of the gods; he was milked from the hidden recesses of the sky; he was created for Indra and was extolled." Again *Soma* is thus invoked:—"O *Soma*! there is nothing so bright as thou. When poured, thou welcomest all the gods to bestow on them immortality." ‡ The Vedic Aryans gradually found that the mild *Soma juice* did not satisfy them, so they introduced fermentation. No apostle of temperance dare try to show that *Sōmarasa* was not a strong wine. The *Sōmarasa* though literally "the juice of the *Soma* plant" was by no means the juice in its natural state. The drink known as *Sōmarasa* was carefully manufactured. In all the four Vedas, many *mantras* (incantations) are given to be used at every stage of its manufacture. The plants were gathered by the roots on the hills on a moonlight night and after being stripped of their leaves they were

* Windischmann's *Dissertations on the Soma worship of the Arians*; Lassen's *Indian Antiquities*, I, p. 516; and Roth's articles in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society* for 1848 (p. 216 ff.) and 1850 p. 417 ff.)

† Plutarch de Isid et Osir 46 in which the *Soma* or as it is in Zend *Haoma* appears to be referred.

‡ Rig Veda, IX, 110, 8, 108, 3.

carried by rams to the house of the priests. The stalks were then deposited in the hall of oblation and bruised and crushed between stones and placed with the juice in a sieve of goat's hair and were further pressed and squeezed with the priest's ten fingers, one or two of which being ornamented with rings of flattened gold. Finally the juice mixed with barley, wheat, and *ghee* (clarified butter) was allowed to ferment. It was then drawn off in a scoop called *sruch*. The gods had this beverage three times a day and the priests helped themselves with ladlefuls just before offering to the gods. The turn of the ordinary mortal came after the priests. The juice of the *Soma* creeper itself possessed no narcotic property or its keeping quality; but being allowed to ferment with barley or *nivara* (wild paddy, in a jar for nine days, it acquired its inebriating effect. It was preserved in bags of cow-skin, rendered impervious by oil or resinous substances.*

Mr. R. C. Dutt, C. I. E., in his "*Civilization in Ancient India*" says:—The process by which the *Soma* juice was prepared has been fully described in IX., 66, and in other hymns:—"7. O *Soma*! you have been crushed, you flow as a stream to Indra, scattering joy on all sides; you bestow immortal food. 8. Seven women stir thee with their fingers, blending their voices in a song to thee, you remind the sacrificer of his duties at the sacrifice. 9. You mix with water with a pleasing sound and the fingers stir you over a woollen strainer, and filter you. Your particles are thrown up then, and a sound arises from the woollen strainer. 11. The woollen strainer is placed on a vessel and the fingers repeatedly stir the *Soma*, which sends down a sweet stream into the vessel. 13. O *Soma*! you are then mixed with milk. Water runs towards thee with a pleasing sound."

The reference to cow-skin bags need not startle the "religious" Hindu of the twentieth century. I am referring to our forefathers, centuries before the Christian era, when bulls, rams, and buffaloes formed a portion of Hindu food. I am referring to that period of Hindu history when the term "beef-eater" was not an abuse, on the other hand, when a guest was called

a cow-killer (*goghna*), for in his honour the hospitable Hindu matron always killed a cow. The guest in those days was entitled to *Madhuparka* (honeyed meal) and beef. Mr. Dutt says that animal food was largely used by the early Hindus. We have frequent allusions to the sacrifice and to the cooking of cows, buffaloes, and bulls (I. 61, 12; II. 7, 5; V. 29, 7, and 8; VI. 17, 11; VI. 16, 47; VI. 28, 4; X. 27, 2; X. 28, 3, etc.) In X. 89, 14 there is mention of a slaughter-house where cows were killed and in X. 91, 14 there is an allusion to the sacrifice of horses, bulls and rams. A fairly complete account of the sacrifice of the horses such as it prevailed in the Vedic times, is to be found in hymn 162 of the first Mandala of the Rig Veda. The body of the horse was marked with a cane and was then dissected along the lines marked, and the ribs and the different limbs were separated. The meat was roasted and boiled, while the soul of the horse was supposed to go to the gods! Mr. Dutt says that a *Brahmanā* lays down instructions for carving beef and the *Gopatha Brahmanā* tells us who received the different portions. The priest got the tongue, the neck, the shoulder, the rump, the legs, etc., while the master of the house (wisely) appropriated to himself the sirloin, and his wife had to content herself with the pelvis! *Plentiful libations of the Soma beer were taken to wash down the meat!* In III. 1, 2, 21 of the *Satapatha Brahmanā* there is an amusing discussion, says Mr. Dutt, as to the propriety of eating the meat of an ox or cow. The conclusion is not very definite. "Let him (the priest) not eat the flesh of a cow and the ox." Nevertheless *Vajnavalkya* said (taking apparently a very practical view of the matter), "I for one eat it, *provided it is tender!*" Beef was cooked in *Kapala* and broth kept in *Kalasā*. These were earthen pots. In the primitive state of Hindu civilization cow's skin was largely used for making vessels and bottles.†

But let us return to our subject. In the Rig Veda‡ reference is often made to swillers of wine. Besides *Soma* there were in ancient India, other strong drinks which were publicly sold in the shops, without practically any reserve, to all comers.

* Dutt's *Civilization in Ancient India*, p. 41.

† Rig Veda, III, 45, 4.

‡ Rig Veda, III, 45, 1.

* Stevenson's *Sāma Veda*, Haug's *Aitareya Brahmana*, I, p. 6, and Rig Veda, V, 5, 19.

Gradually when drink became the national vice, law makers began to denounce it. We now come to the *Sruti* and the *Smriti*. The *Sruti* means revelation and includes *Mantras*, *Brahmanas*, *Aryanakas* (B.C. 1300), and *Upanishads* (B.C. 1100),—originally the act of sitting down near a teacher and submissively listening to him.* The *Smriti* means recollections and includes *Vedangas* and *Sutras*. The *Smriti* also includes, says Mr. Dutt, works composed by holy personages, the *Dharma Shastras*, and the *Dharma Sutras* of the Rationalistic Period comprising the institutes of civil and religious law. The distinction between the *Sruti* and the *Smriti* was established prior to the rise of Buddhism. The *Smriti* has no claim to an independent authority but derives its sanction from its relation to the *Sruti*. In the *Sruti* and the *Smriti*, drinking was made penal as the killing of a Brahman, for which capital punishment was awarded. But gradually the Brahman began to lose his supreme authority and several centuries before the advent of Buddha, Vishvamitra of the royal caste (Kshatriya) refused to submit to the hierarchical pretensions of the Brahman and succeeded in making the proud priest reasonable and obtained certain privileges. He was followed by King Janaka of Videha in questioning Brahman authority. Gradually when the religion of the Brahman degenerated and the Brahmins were unable to distinguish themselves in theological discussions, Sakya Muni in the sixth century B.C. entered the field of religious investigation and the people accepted Buddhism as a tolerant and comprehensive religion. Crusade against drink was one of the ten stern commandments of the great Buddha. He preached:—"The householder who delights in the law should not indulge in *intoxicating drinks*, should not cause others to drink, should not sanction the acts of those who drink, knowing that it results in insanity. The ignorant commit sins in consequence of drunkenness and also make others to drink. You should avoid this: it is the cause of demerit, insanity and ignorance—though it be pleasing to the ignorant."† Drinking of spirituous liquors was termed *Maha-*

* Muller's *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 319.

† *Buddhism*, by Professor Rhys Davids, pp. 138 and 139.

pataka (heinous sin) by Manu. According to *Manu Samhita** the expiation for a Brahman guilty of drinking was suicide by a draught of boiling hot spirit, water, milk or cow's urine taken in a burning hot metal pot. Another expiatory prescription was a draught of molten silver, copper or lead. The great Hindu Legislator Manu enjoined that the drunkard Brahman was to be branded on his forehead with the mark of a "vintner's flag," to proclaim that he is an outcaste. But latterly the great Manu found that stopping drink was impossible and he was obliged to wink at it. Nay, the great Lawgiver being afraid to denounce it, actually ruled:—"Na mansa bhakshané dosho na madyé," i.e., there is no harm in eating meat or in drinking wine!

The Hindus, like the Greeks, possess two great national epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. The *Ramayana* of Valmiki consists of 24,000 *stokas* or 48,000 lines of 16 syllables and is divided into seven volumes. Whether we accept Dr. A. Holtzmann's views, that the principal features of the *Mahabharata* go back to Indo-Germanic times, or we agree with Lassen, it must be admitted that it is certain that it is an *old* epic, for Dion Chrysostom (80 A.D.) refers to it. According to Mr. Dutt, B.C. 1250 is the date of Kuru-Panchala war, the subject of the *Mahabharata*. The work consists of 100,000 couplets or about eight times the bulk of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* combined. The *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* in their present shape are productions of a later age—or rather of later ages—and in their present forms, the incidents of the wars described are undoubtedly mythical, as the incidents described in the *Iliad* are mythical. The five Pandava brothers and their common wife are myths, as Achilles and Paris and Helen are myths. The *Mahabharata* received its last touches in the Pauranic Age. Though utterly valueless as a narrative of historical events, yet these epics, Mr. Dutt says, *faithfully describe the manners and customs of the ancient Hindus*, as the *Iliad* describes the manners of the ancient Greeks.†

In the *Adiparva* of the *Mahabharata* we find wine flowing like water in Arjuna's feast on the Raivatak hill. Krishna

* (IX pp. 91-96).

† Dutt's *Civilization in Ancient India*, pp. 123, 138.

and Arjuna looked drunk, the Sanskrit words are *madirayat ntra* (drunken eyes). Even Hindu ladies were no teetotalers. In *Mahabharata* we read Súdeshna, queen of Virāta, sending her maid Draupadi to Kichak to procure liquor. Liquor was responsible for the Yadavas not recognising the enemy in the battle-field, and killing each other instead; for we read:—*Bárunin madiram pítva madon-mathita cheta-sam*, etc. Now let us take the other epic—the *Ramayana*. The blue ribbon was not the order of the day. Even great saints (rishis) entertained each other with wines. We find the great Vasistha offering wine to his colleague (rival?) Vishvamitra. Both were honoured by the great King Sudas. When King Bharata, brother of Rāma, visited the great saint Bharadvaj, the escort of the King was entertained by the saint with liquor. The Jataka is full of anecdotes of drunkards. Among Sanskrit authors Kalidasa (A.D. 500) perhaps occupies the highest place. He refers more than once to friends offering wine. Mr. Dutt says:—"We know from Sakuntala that there were grogshops which were frequented by the very lowest castes; while among courtiers of a luxurious court, and among the profligate and the gay, drinking was not unknown. Bharavi (A.D. 550) has a canto on the joys of drinking, and Kalidasa too often speaks of ladies whose mouths were scented with the perfumes of liquor!!!" In *Raghubansa* in the 9th Canto Maharaja Aja in his lamentations refers to his sweetheart's manner of taking wine.

In *Mārkaṇḍeya Chandi* goddess Durga thus addresses Asura:—

"*Tishthā tishthā kshanam mudha madhuyabat piba mya-ham*," i.e., just wait you idiot till I finish my drink. Hinduism now in vogue for the last thirteen hundred years in India, is generally based on the *Tantras*. The *Tantric* doctrine has practically usurped the place of the Vedic creed. The very Vedic *mantras* (incantations) have, in a way, filtered through the *Tantras*. In some ceremonies wine is indispensably necessary. In the *Matrikabheda Tantra*, Mahadeva (the great god) takes his wife goddess Parvati into his confidence and says:—" *Brahmanasya mahamoksham madyapānē priyamvadē*, i.e., great salvation of Brahman depends on drinking wine, O my darling. In another place we read:—*Madyapanam vina devi tatva jnanam*

nalabhyate," i.e., without drink, O goddess, you cannot understand religion. "*Ataebahi biprastu madyapānam samācharet*," therefore a Brahman should drink wine.*

Drink was not confined to the Aryans. The contagion spread and the aborigines developed a taste for liquor. Nay, they actually became drunkards. Let us take the Kols, the aborigines of Bengal. While sober they evidently cannot worship the Deity. To secure salvation they chant:—" *Pitva pítva punah pítva, punah patati bhutale; Utthayacha punah pítva punarjanma navidyate*," i.e. "Drink, drink, drink again, again fall down on the ground and get up, again drink and you shall not be born again." Even at the present day, the *Tantric Yogini* (female devotee) indulges in wine. But instead of an earthen pot, she uses a human skull as her wine glass. More instances may be quoted from Sanskrit authors to show that drink was the prevailing vice among ancient Hindus, but the above extracts ought to suffice.

We now come to India under Moslem rule. Was drink unknown then? We all know that wine of every kind is *strictly* forbidden by the Prophet of Arabia. Muslim law makes no distinction between a drunkard and a temperate wine drinker. If two witnesses testify that a Musalman drank wine, or his breath smells of wine, the punishment is eighty stripes.† But had all this much effect on the Musalman who could afford the luxury? Moslem historians bear testimony to the effect that India under the followers of the Prophet, instead of abolishing the forbidden drink, actually under Royal patronage improved it to make it acceptable to palates used to the delicate wines of Shiraz. Scores of historians may be quoted in support of this statement, but I shall refer to only some of those that enjoy more or less a European reputation. *Tarikh-us-Sabaktgin*, otherwise known as *Tarikh-i-Baihaki* by Khwaja Abul Fazl bin Al Hasan Baihaki is a well-known history. According to Khāki Shirāzi, Baihaki died in 1077 A. D. *Tarikh-i-Baihaki* is referred to in Haji Khalifa's lexicon. Meer Khond, in the preface to his world-renowned work *Rauzat-us-Safā*, says that it contains 30 volumes and that

* Dr. R. L. Mitra's *Indo-Aryans*, Vol. I, page 408.

† *Hidaya* and *Mishkāt*, *Khamr*.

is why it is sometimes called *Mujalladat-i-Baihaki* or volumes of Baihaki. The great Ferishta and Barni have accepted it as authentic history. Akbar's Minister, Abul Fazl Allami, refers to it in his *Ayn-i-Akbari*. In *Tarikh-us-Sabaktgin* we find that Muhammad left Ali Ariyaruk as Governor of the Punjab. The King sent him fifty flagons of wine. Baihaki says that in those days not only the soldiers and officers indulged in drunken brawls but the Sultan Masud himself used to enjoy regular bouts in which he triumphantly saw all his fellow-topers. We read that one of the courtiers easily finished five tankards—each held nearly a pint of wine—but the sixth confused him, the seventh bereft him of his senses and at the eighth he was consigned to his servants. Everyone rolled or was rolled away!! The actual Persian words are *Chūn gūyi shūdah*, i.e., having become cricket balls! Again we find in *Tarikh-us-Sabaktgin*, that in November 1034, just about Muharram, the Sultan fell ill on the banks of Jhelam (Punjab), and in a fit of repentance renounced wine, and the royal cellar was emptied into the river (Jhelam), but this pious resolution did not last long, for we read that the following New Year day was celebrated with great *éclat*—a drinking bout was also held.

Jami-ul-Hikāyat of Maulana Nuruddin Muhammad Ufi is known to Western scholars. Professor John Dowson says that it bears much the same relation to the History of India as "*Memorabilia of Velerius Maximus*" bear to the History of Rome. The author's residence at Delhi under Altamsh in 1211 A. D. gave him facilities for carefully sifting his material which he collected from *Tarikh Yamini*, *Tarikh Nasiri*, *Tarikh-ul-Abbas*, *Sharfun-Nabi*, and *Akhbar-i-Baramika*, etc. Haji Khalifa has referred to *Jami-ul-Hikayat* and a Turkish version is referred to by Hammer Purgstall. Ufi refers to Sultan Mahmud and his courtiers drinking wine and enjoying themselves. *Tarikh-i-Firuz-Shahi* of Ziauddin Barni is the chief source from which the great Ferishta draws his account of the period. Barni says that Sultan Balban was for some time addicted to drink. His example spread and everyone acquired a taste for drink. In time, the thirst for wine became insatiable and drink was responsible for acts which in sober moments seemed impossible. Barni refers to an instance when

a wily courtier took advantage of a King's drunkenness to obtain the sanction for the murder of a prince! Under royal patronage wines improved. Barni says that the wines which Firuz Shah used to drink were of various colours and of different flavours, some were yellow as saffron, some red as rose, while others were white. It appears that in the case of Indian wines no acquired taste was necessary, for the taste of all was like sweet milk. Occasionally a Musalman *Dervish* or Maulavi appeared on the scene and lectured the King on the evils of drink, reciting the holy writs of Islam, advised the King to give up wine. The result was that for a time, reaction set in and the King put wine drinkers and wine sellers in pits and turned out vintners from the city; but found it impossible to wholly suppress the use of wine; and was obliged to wink at a certain amount of drinking till he or his successor reopened the wine shops and all the world drank.

Tuzak-i-Babari, the autobiography of Babar, was originally written in Turkish. It is well known to English readers by the admirable translations of Dr. Leyden and Mr. Erskine. "Babar's memoirs," says Professor John Dowson, M. R. A. S. "form one of the best and most faithful pieces of autobiography extant, they are infinitely superior to the hypocritical revelations of Timur and the pompous declamation of Jehangir—not inferior in any respect to the Expedition of Xenophon and rank but little below the *Commentaries of Cæsar*." Babar entered India in 1526 A. D. In his autobiography he makes the following edifying remark "as at forty I intend to give up drink (and I am now 39). I am drinking hard!" But at forty the pious resolution was not carried out. When he was defeated by the Rajpûts at Sikri (now Fatehpur-Sikri) and was told that drink was the cause of his defeat, he renounced wine and broke his drinking cups. Akbar's reign is considered the brightest period of Moslem rule in India. Volumes have been written showing Akbar's reforms and the *Ayin-i-Akbari* may be regarded as an authentic record of Akbar's reign. In Akbar's time, wine was allowed to be publicly sold. Akbar himself indulged in wine. In *Ayin-i-Akbari* we read:—"When His Majesty is inclined to drink wine, trays of fruit are set before him." The word used by Persian writers is *sharab*

which literally means drink, but commonly used to mean wines and spirits.

Tarikh-i-Salim Shahi is another Persian history known to the Western world. It was translated into English by Major David Price for the Oriental Translation Committee under the title of *Memoirs of Jehangir*. There is another translation by Mr. Jones Anderson published in the Asiatic Miscellany printed at Calcutta in 1785. The difference between these versions has been marked by M. De Sacy in the *Journal-de-Savans* 1830. Jahangir was as fond of liquor as his great-grandfather Babar and drinking bouts were very common. It is notorious that Jahangir's brothers, Murad and Dāniyāl, both died of drink. Jahangir was so much addicted to drink that he made no secret of it. He is the only Moslem Monarch in the world who enjoyed the unique distinction of having, with unblushing effrontery, his image—*wine cup in hand stamped on his gold coins!* *Waqiat-i-Jahangiri* is known to the Western world. "*Reign of Jehangir*" by Gladwin published in 1788 is an extract from this work. In this work Jahangir frankly tells us how much liquor he used to consume every day. He sometimes took twenty cups of double distilled liquor and each cup contained seven tolas of wine. Therefore twenty cups means 140 tolas.

We have quoted Hindu and Musalman authors. Now let us give a few extracts from the writings of disinterested travellers. We will only refer to those who saw things with their own eyes and published *bonâ fide* accounts of their travels before the days of faddists and missionaries.

Megasthenes, says Mr. Dutt, came to India in the fourth century before Christ, and lived in the court of Chandragupta in Pataliputra or ancient Patna. And although his original account is lost, still extracts from his writings are found scattered in many subsequent works. These have been carefully collected by Dr. Schwanbeck of Bonn and translated into English by Dr. MacCrindle and are invaluable for the purposes of Indian History. Pythagoras, Hero dotus and Megasthenes are unimpeachable witnesses to the high civilization of India during three successive centuries which fall within the Rationalistic Period, *viz.*, the sixth, fifth and fourth centuries

before Christ.* Megasthenes thus refers to the use of wine at sacrifices. "The Hindu beverage is a liquor composed from rice instead of barley."

François Bernier's *Travels in the Moghul Empire*, 1656-1668 A. D., is a well-known work. He does not deny the existence of wine in India. He drank some wine at Ahmedabad (Bombay) and Golkonda. The good wine he found in the Moghul Empire was sent by land from Persia to Bandar Abbas, where it embarked for Surat, from which port it reached Delhi in 46 days. Another kind of wine was Imported by the Dutch. He says that these wines taken in moderation were found excellent preservatives against malaria. The liquor peculiar to the country was called *arak*, a spirit drawn from unrefined sugar, and was harsh and burning as that made of corn in Poland. Bernier of course mentions that none but Christians did *openly* drink in those days. Bernier evidently did not come across Jahangir's gold coins. There was another kind of wine called *Bouleponge*, a drink composed of *arak* mixed with lemon juice, water and nutmeg. *Boule* is the German name for punch and allied drinks. The Bengal *arak* was held in great repute in those days. Ovington† says:—"Bengal *arak* is much stronger than that of Goa and both are made use of by Europeans in making punch."

Jean Baptiste Tavernier was perhaps the most renowned traveller of the seventeenth century. In his *Travels* he refers to wine at Lahore (Punjab). Most likely he would have found wine elsewhere too; but as the great traveller carried his own French wines with him, to which he makes frequent reference, he did not take the trouble to find out, or finding the native *arak* harsh to the French palate, he did not condescend to refer to it. Probably the Lahore vintners satisfied the great traveller, and hence prominence is given to Lahore wine.

We may also refer to Captain Hawkins who was with Jahangir from 1608 to 1613. He has described at great length Jahangir's drinking habits.‡ With one or two quotations from official records we shall finish this article. In Wheeler's *Early*

* Dutt's *Civilization in Ancient India* p. 211.

† A voyage to Surat in the year 1686, London, 1696.

‡ Hawkins' *Voyages* by Markham, Hakluyt Society, 1878.

Records of British India is published in *extenso* a letter written by the Rev. Patrick Warner, dated 31st January 1676:—

"It may be for a lamentation to hear and see the horrid swearing and profanation of the name of God, the *woful and abominable drunkenness* and uncleanness that so much reign and rage among the soldiery; and these not secretly or covertly but as it were in the sight of the sun, and men refuse therein to be ashamed neither can they blush." In the *Early Records of British India* importation of wines from Persia is mentioned more than once. The following is taken from Captain Hamilton's accounts:—"Captain Perrin, master of a ship, brought in Bengal good ship-store of Persian wines...Two gentlemen of the council being that season bound for England, coming one day to dine with me I treated them and the rest of my company with that Persian wine which they all praised and asked me where I got it from. I told them knowing that good wines would be scarce that year, I had provided a good quantity, at Surat from whence I had come that season. Everyone begged that I would spare them some chests which I condescended to do as a favour; and next day sent them what they wanted at double the price the owner demanded for it, and so got off above a hundred and twenty chests which enabled Mr. Perrin to satisfy most of his creditors."

So we have now quotations from both sacred and secular Sanskrit literature in support of drink in the Hindu period. Though the Koran *strictly* prohibits the use of wine, we have the unsolicited testimony of Moslem historians to say that not only wine was used but was actually abused during the Muhammadan period of Indian History. If further evidence was wanted we have quoted the three foreign travellers and an Englishman who actually lived with Jahangir and who when writing his account, had not dreamt that his countrymen would be the conquerors of India. It is now clear that Indians from time immemorial, brewed their own wine, used it always, abused it occasionally, and imported it from Persia, whenever they could afford the luxury—*England did not teach India to drink.*

S. M. MITRA.

Hyderabad Deccan.

Art. IX.—THE PERFUMES OF THE MOGHULS.

THE *Ain-i-Akbari*, or annals of the Emperor Akbar, is a monumental work, written in the Persian language, by Abul Fazl Allami, descriptive of the administration and history of the Moghul period. It reviews in careful detail the revenue systems of the country, the geographical boundaries of the Empire, and the art, trade, customs and religions of the people. It gives regulations for the management of the army, the arsenal, the mint, and the imperial treasury, and with equal care it prescribes rules for the upkeep of the royal household, the stables and the kitchen garden.

In the chapters devoted to the discussion of perfumes and flowers there is shown so much of interest to the ordinary reader that has long remained buried, and we are introduced to an aspect of Indian life seldom referred to, that it seems worth while to compare the information with our present state of knowledge. Abul Fazl, in his usual loyal manner, tells us how in many ways the æsthetic taste was introduced into Hindustan by the Moghul rule. Among other innovations he informs us that people formerly planted their gardens without any order, but since the time of the arrival in India of the Emperor Babar a more methodical arrangement of gardens has prevailed, and travellers now always admire the beauties of the palace grounds, the floral terraces and the running fountains.

The chapter on perfumes is introduced in the following words:—"His Majesty is very fond of perfumes, and encourages this department from religious motives. The Court hall is continually scented with ambergris, aloe wood and compositions according to ancient recipes, or mixtures invented by His Majesty, and incense is daily burnt in gold and silver censers of various shapes, whilst sweet-smelling flowers are used in large quantities. Oils are also extracted from flowers, and used for the skin and the hair."

In the following enumeration of the substances used in Moghul perfumery the chief references of interest will be

preserved, and these will be supplemented by remarks on each article as given by later writers and as are known at the present time. The comparison will indicate the profound knowledge of the Emperor and his historian in a subject requiring such intricate research.

Although ambergris was known and used in Eastern perfumery for many ages, its origin was buried in some uncertainty. In the *Ain-i-Akbari* it is supposed to grow at the bottom of the sea, where it is eaten by fishes who die from it, and it is taken from their intestines. Another mythical supposition was that on some mountains where honey was formed in abundance it ran into the sea, the wax rose to the surface, and by the heat of the sun was reduced to a solid state and converted into ambergris; as bees collect honey from sweet-smelling flowers ambergris formed in this phenomenal manner is naturally highly scented. Three kinds are described by Akbar's historian; the best kind, called Ashhab, had a greasy consistence and a yellowish-white colour; the next in quality was called Khashkhashi, of a yellowish-brown colour; the third kind was black and inflammable and was frequently mixed with wax and an odourless substance called mandal. Ambergris is now known to be the faecal matter of the cachelot or sperm whale (*Physeter macrocephalus*), which inhabits the Indian Ocean. Tavernier informs us that the best ambergris came from the coast of Madagascar, and that each Governor of Mozambique returning to Goa after his term of three years' service, brought with him ambergris to the value of £30,000. Weight for weight it was worth more than gold in the estimation of the Portuguese; it was valued by Abul Fazl at one to three gold mohurs per tola.

Ladan is accurately described as a substance taken from a tree growing in Cyprus and Chios. It is a resinous juice that settles on the leaves and branches of shrubs of various species of *Cistus*, and is collected by means of an instrument resembling a rake, with leather thongs instead of teeth, which is drawn over the plant. Ladanum or labdanum is also obtained from the beards of goats which have browsed upon the leaves of the *Cistus* shrubs, and it is gathered from sheep and goats whose fleeces have become loaded with the resin while pasturing.

In olden times it was frequently confounded with ambergris. Ladan mixed with goats' hair and having a greenish colour and a strong odour was considered the best. It is purified by boiling with water, and is afterwards made into cakes; these gradually harden on exposure to air, possess a peculiar balsamic odour, and burn with a clear flame.

The article devoted to the discussion of camphor, although of great interest, is not without many purely legendary statements. The tree is said to grow in the ghauts of Hindustan and China, and is of such magnitude that more than a hundred horsemen may rest in its shade. Serpents wind themselves around the tree, and leopards lodge in the branches, on account of their partiality for the camphor. If an arrow be shot into the tree in summer time, the exuding camphor may be collected during the ensuing winter. Earthquakes and similar cosmical disturbances facilitate the flow of camphor from the stems and enable large quantities to be collected. Several vernacular names are given to camphor, of which that called Ribahi or Quicuri is the best, as it is as white as snow, and the worst camphor, dark coloured and mixed with pieces of wood, went under the name of Balus. It is said that camphor was first found by the king of a country not far from the Island of Ceylon. Abul Fazl concludes his article by describing the preparation of a mixture of white stones and wax, powdered and made into a paste, and flavoured with camphor and spices. When cold and dry it had the appearance of camphor, and, says the historian, "unprincipled men profit in this manner by the loss of others."

It is now generally admitted that while the Laurel camphor from China and Japan forms the bulk of this article used in commerce at the present time, Borneo camphor derived from the *Dryobalanops aromatica* was the only kind known in Europe in the middle ages. Garcia d'Orta, who wrote at Goa about the middle of the sixteenth century, was well acquainted with both kinds of camphor, and mentioned that the China camphor was then being exported to Europe. Borneo camphor is obtained by splitting the trunk of the tree when it is found in whitish flakes, situated in irregular veins near the centre of the stem. The author of the *Makhzan-el-Adwiyah* mentions

the fact of several pieces of the timber having been brought up the Hooghly which when cut up into planks yielded a quantity of camphor. Referring to the supposed action of earthquakes in producing a yield of camphor, it is interesting to notice that in some trees the concrete oil is secreted under such pressure that the trunk gives way at the least shock. Sir Spencer St. John, British Consul in Borneo, in his "Life in the Forests of the Far East," speaks of a strange sound being occasionally heard in the oldest forests occasioned by the splitting asunder of the tree on account of the accumulation of camphor in some particular portion.

Bhimsini, or Borneo camphor, sold in Akbar's time at the high price of Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 per tola. Bazar dealers have the peculiar custom, probably derived from Malaya, of giving a few pepper corns along with every piece of camphor purchased in accordance with the idea that in contact with black pepper, or surkh danahs, it will not so readily evaporate. Camphor is used very largely as an insectifuge, as an offering at the temples, and the Jains employ it to prepare an Abir, or sacrificial powder.

The description of Civet and its preparation occupies a special article in the *Ain*, from which we gather that it was considered a valuable perfume. Zabad and Shakh are the vernacular names for civet, which is a moist substance secreted by an animal resembling a cat. The Zabad brought from the ports of Sumatra and from the territory of Achin, going by the name of Sumatra Zabad, was most esteemed. The moist substance is yellowish-white, and is contained in a bag of the size of a hazel nut below the tail of the animal. The bag may be emptied every week or fortnight, and yields from half a tola to eight mashas. When removed, the Zabad is washed several times, first in cold water, then in warm water, to remove impurities, in lime juice to remove the unpleasant smell, and finally in rose water, it is then dried by exposing it in a cup covered with a piece of white cloth, to the rays of the sun, until all moisture is removed. It has a most persistent odour when applied either to the skin or the clothes.

Civet was imported in small cups, leather bottles or horns. Bernier relates how an ambassador from Ethiopia, named Murat, brought to India for presentation to the Emperor

Aurangzeb the horn of an ox filled with civet. Unfortunately the horn was emptied of its contents in Surat, by soldiers of Sivaji's army, and the ambassador arrived at Delhi with the empty receptacle. Bernier, however, was struck with admiration at the huge horn which had contained so precious a gift, and measuring its mouth, he found that it exceeded half a French foot in diameter.

At the time of Akbar the price of a civet cat varied from Rs. 300 to Rs. 500. Abul Fazl records that an inferior perfume, named Gaurah, of a greyish-white colour, was obtained from an animal like the civet cat, but somewhat larger. It was brought from the confines of Achin, and the price of the animal varied from Rs. 100 to Rs. 200. A third animal is alluded to which yielded a substance named Mid. The animal was found in various countries and old for only five or six dams. Mid was said to be an inferior substance to civet and was sold mixed with other ingredients; others said that Mid was the dried bag of the civet pounded and boiled in water, and the greasy substance which rose to the surface was the essence.

This perfume is afforded by the large Indian civet, the Malabar civet cat, the Burmese civet and the small Indian civet. The last named, the *Viverricula malaccensis* of zoologists is still occasionally caged as a producer of civet. Not long ago in Travancore an establishment was maintained by Government for keeping civet cats for collecting the unctuous secretion, but is now abolished. Civet is said to have a disagreeable ammoniacal odour and an acrid and pungent taste. It is still collected by the Abyssinians who put the civet in small cattle horns which are packed in cases. It is sold at prices ranging from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 per ounce, according to purity and colour. There is produced annually from 250 to 300 pounds of the article, about one-half of which is shipped to New York, a considerable amount goes to France, and the balance is used by the natives in its natural state.

Lignum aloes, or wood of aloes, called in Arabic Ud and in Hindustani Agar, is said to be the root of a tree. The wood is cut up and buried in the earth, the inferior portion decomposes and the remainder containing the oleo-resin is pure aloe wood. There are several kinds of this wood, the best is called Mandalli

and the second Jabali or Hindi. Of the other kinds the Samandure is grey, hard and juicy and burns for a long time; the Kemari is inferior to it; the Kakuli comes next in rank; the Barri, the Qiti or Cathay, the Chinese, also called Kemoory, which is moist (oily) and sweet. Still inferior are the Jalali, the Mayataky, the Lemaki and the Ritali. As at the present time the best kind of aloe wood is that which is dark and heavy and sinks in water; the light-coloured fibrous wood which floats is regarded as worthless.

The source of the Agar is the *Aquilaria Agallocha*, a tree which grows in Sylhet and Assam and in the Mergui Islands of Burma. Abul Fazl states that former kings transplanted the tree to Gujrat and that in his time it was growing in Chanpanir. He disposes of the absurd statement of former writers that the habitat of the tree was in Central India, at the same time he informs us that the supply of the Indian market was mostly from Achin and Dahnsari. It was brought to India by Dutch merchants from Batavia.

Aloe wood is often used in compound perfumes. When taken internally as a medicine it is exhilarating. The aroma of the wood is a preventive against fleas, and in the form of a powder is rubbed into the skin and clothes. It is generally employed as an incense and for making the Fatelah tapers, as it readily burns and communicates a peculiar and grateful fragrance to an apartment.

Chuwah is the name given to the oil or otto distilled from aloe wood. The wood in small pieces and soaked in water is placed in a small clay bottle or alembic, the neck of which is united to a second vessel containing water in a cup. A gentle fire is lighted below the first vessel containing the chips of wood, and an oily substance condenses in the cup of water in the receiver. This oil is washed with water to remove the odour of smoke; and it is said that the oftener it is washed and the longer it is kept, the better will be the scent. One seer of aloe wood will yield from two to fifteen tolas of chuwah, and the price is annas 2 to one rupee a tola. Chuwah is naturally of a dark colour, but sometimes it is sold as a thick white liquid. Akbar's historian deploras the sophistication of this perfume when he says: "Some avaricious dealers mix sandalwood or almonds with it, trying thereby to cheat people."

Agar-attar, or otto of aloe wood, is still made by the inhabitants of Sylhet by a rude form of distillation, and sells for Rs. 3 per tola.

Sandalwood, called in Hindustani Chandan, is of three kinds—the white, the yellow, and the red. The best is that which is yellow and oily, and goes by the name of Makasary. Abul Fazl in writing on this article informs us that the tree grows in China, and that during the reign of Akbar it was successfully planted in India. Abul Fazl quotes no authority for his statements, but we are inclined to believe that sandalwood was obtained from the Mysore Province much earlier than the Moghul dynasty, as historians relate that Indian imports were received in Oman in the Persian Gulf at an early date, and it was known to the Greeks from the time of Alexander.

Sandalwood was used in the form of powder and rubbed over the skin as a cosmetic; it also entered into the preparation of compound perfumes. The art of distilling the wood for its essential oil was not practised at this time, as most of the perfumed oils were prepared by steeping aromatic flowers, woods and leaves in ordinary sesamum oil until it became impregnated with the scent. The art of distillation was discovered by the Arabs, and one of the first essential oils, namely, otto of roses, as we shall see later, was brought from Persia.

Storax is called in Hindustani Silaras and in Arabic Miah. "It is the gum of a tree that grows in Turkey. The kind which is clear is Miah-i-sailah (liquid); the other kind, Miah-i-yabisah (dry). The best is that which spontaneously flows out of the trunk; it is yellowish." Here is described the balsamic resin known as Oriental Storax, derived from *Liquidambar orientalis*, a tree forming forests in the South-Western part of Asia Minor. It is remarkable how ancient is the use of Storax and how widely it is commercially distributed; its export to India by way of the Red Sea in the first century is authenticated by the author of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea. Between 300 and 800 cwts. are imported annually in Bombay, and a large quantity re-shipped to China. It enjoys a wide reputation as medicine, a perfume and incense.

Kalanbak, or calambic, is said to be the wood of a tree brought from Zirbad, on the east coast of Sumatra. It is heavy

and full of veins and when powdered, it has a greyish colour. It is used for compound perfumes, and rosaries are made of it. Kalanbak is one of the names for the aloe wood of Malaya, and is a fragrant wood probably derived from *Aquilaria malaccensis*.

The Malagir is a tree resembling the previous one, only that the wood is lighter and not veined. When reduced to powder it has a light reddish colour.

Luban, or Frankincense, is gum benzoin obtained from trees growing in Sumatra, Java, and Siam. Benzoin is first mentioned by the Arabian traveller Ibn Batuta, who visited Sumatra between 1325 and 1349. He calls it Luban Javi, or Java Luban, Java being a general term among the Arabs and Persians for the Eastern Archipelago. Mir Muhamad Husain must have been well acquainted with it, as it was in common use in India before his time. Barbosa also when visiting Calicut in 1511 found *Benzui* one of the most valuable items of export. When exposed to the fire luban evaporates like camphor and should leave very little earthy residue. As an incense it is much used by all classes even to the present day, the imports into Bombay averaging 6,000 cwts. per annum.

One of the most remarkable of all the perfumes of the Moghul Court was that called Azfar-uttib, or "scented finger nails." The origin of this substance has for many years given rise to great speculation, so that as the description in the *Ain* is given with some apparent knowledge of the subject; it is reproduced according to Blochmann's translation. "Azfar-uttib, or scented finger nails, are called in Hindustani Nak'h, and in Persian Nakhun-i-boya. It is the house of an animal, consisting, like a shell of two parts. They have a good smell as the animal feeds on sumbuls, and are found in the large rivers of Hindustan, Bacrah, and Bahrain, the latter being considered the best. They are also found in the Red Sea, and many prefer them to other kinds. They warm them in butter; others expose them afterwards to the fire, pound them, and mix them with other perfumes." There seems to be no doubt that the substance referred to is the Onycha of the ancients, and consists of the opercula of certain univalve molluscs. The operculum is a horny substance found in certain shell fish and is used as a shield to close the orifice of

the shell. Some specimens are about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch long and one inch broad, and about $\frac{1}{20}$ inch thick, and have attached to the inner surface a piece of the dried flesh of the animal. The odour is said to be fishy and disagreeable and recalls that of castoreum, and in olden time required purifying by means of soap of Carsina and wine of Cyprus. The Chief Rabbi, Dr. H. Adler, states that Onycha was a constituent of the incense used by the Jews prior to the destruction of the second temple. The Hebrew name Shéchéleth is in all probability derived from a root signifying "to peel off," on account of its resemblance to a human nail. Scented nails are still used for fumigating purposes, and they form an article of commerce at the ports of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

Rose water prepared from the Gulab or Gul-i-sarkh (*Rosa damascena*) was a favourite perfume in the Moghul Court, and is extensively used throughout India. Persian settlers in former times introduced the flowers and the distilled water into the country, and a considerable quantity of the latter is annually imported from Persia, where whole fields of roses are cultivated near Basra for the purpose of making the water. Besides being used as a perfume, rose water is used by Muhammadans and Parsis as a domestic remedy in almost every kind of ailment. Gulab-ka-attar, or Otto of Roses, is said to have been first discovered in India in 1612 by Nur-i-Jehan Begum. Dr. Ainslie quotes the story from M. Langlés in his "Recherches sur la decouverte de l'Essence de Rose." On the occasion of her marriage with the Emperor Jehangir, the Queen is said to have observed a scum upon the surface of the rose water, with which the canals in the gardens of the palace had been filled, and ordering it to be collected, found that it had a delicious fragrance. This fashionable lady, combining the graces of an amiable wife, gave the name Atr-i-Jehangiri to this essence. Rose water and Otto of Roses are manufactured in Bengal and the Punjab, but not in sufficient quantity to supply the Indian market. Rose water to the extent of 20,000 to 30,000 gallons is annually imported into Bombay from the Persian Gulf. Two qualities are met with, Yak-atishi (once distilled), and Du-atishi (twice distilled). The value is Rs. 4 to Rs. 4-8 per carboy of 20lbs. The Otto of Roses

is imported from Persia and Turkey, and a small quantity is made at Ghazipur. The value is Rs. 50 to Rs. 90 per ounce, or Rs. 16 per tola, an amount which is calculated to be yielded by one hundred pounds of rose petals or one hundred thousand roses.

Distilled waters, named *araq* in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, were prepared from other flowers, such as the orange and jasmine. One of some importance was the essence of Baid-mishk made from the flowers of the broad-leaved willow (*Salix Caprea*) growing in Persia. Bernier narrates the visit of a Persian Ambassador to the court of Aurungzeb, who brought boxes containing excellent rose water, and another distilled water called *beid mekh*, "a cordial held in the highest estimation." It is used medicinally as well as a perfume by the upper classes of Muhammadans, its virtue being enhanced by the consideration that in Persia and China the tree is regarded as symbolic of immortality. Dr. Aitchison in his travels in West Afghanistan and North-East Persia found the tree being cultivated at Herat for the scent distilled from its flowers. At the time of Akbar the price of the water was four times higher than that of rose water.

A peculiar perfume, the use of which is now apparently obsolete, is that known in Hindustani as Charela, and called by the Arabs Ushnah, or "rock scab." This is a kind of lichen of the *Parmelia* species, which grows on oak and pine. In Persia it grows upon oak, cypress, and other trees. That which is lightest in colour is preferred, and it should have a sweet and agreeable odour. This was used by Akbar in preparing an incense called "Ruhafza," composed of Aloe wood, Sandal, Ladan, Iksir, Luban, Dhup, Violet root and Ushnah. The mucilaginous lichen had the property of combining with the other ingredients and retaining the various aromas, until the incense was required for the censer. The burning of Ruhafza is said to have produced a delightful fragrance in the palace.

Chhar or Sumbul-uttib is the root of *Nardostachys Jatamansi*. Arabic and Persian writers describe it under the name of Sumbul-i-Hindi, or "Indian spike," to distinguish it from Sumbul-i-Rumi or Ikliti (*Valeriana celtica*), the root of which is used in Egypt and Turkey as a perfume. Sumbul-uttib resembles the tail of the sable in shape and the long

black hairs that cover it. From the law of signatures the popular opinion prevails that preparations of the root cause the growth and blackness of the hair. It is used in the present day with these expectations by men and women throughout India. Akbar employed it as an ingredient in "Opatnah," or scented soap, a preparation devoid of alkali and oil, and quite different to soap of the present day.

Motha or Suad, another ingredient of the scented soap, is the root of *Cyperus rotundus*. It is a sweet-smelling root, round, black and hard. Arabian and Persian physicians describe the drug. In former times the best kind came from Kuta in Chaldea. The Indian kind, called Nagarmotha in the Central Provinces, is considered inferior. Heroditus notices it as an aromatic plant used by the Scythians for embalming the dead.

In the recipe for "Abir Izkhir," one of the many perfumed powders used for marking the body during worship and as a cosmetic, we are introduced to the grass oils of India. The well-known Khas-khas grass is the odorous root of the *Andropogon muricatus*. This is a kind of Izkhir called Izkhir-i-Jami, and by Persians as Bikh-i-Wala. The Sanskrit names Sugandhi Nulaka and Sita Mulaka mean "having sweet-smelling root," and "having cool roots." It is used chiefly in this country for making tatties, which when well watered keep the approaches to the houses agreeably cool. In Europe the plant is distilled, and the essential oil is the origin of such favourite perfumes as "Mousseline des Indes," "Maréchal," and "Bouquet du Roi."

Rusa grass is known in the vernacular as Sugandeh, and botanically as *Andropogon Schænanthus*. Mir Muhammad Husain gives Rus as an Indian name for Izkhir. The author of *Tuhfat-el-Muminin* mentions a distilled water prepared from Izkhir, and also an oil made by macerating the grass in sweet oil exposed to the sun; it is therefore probable that in his time (1669) the essential oil was not made from this plant. The industry probably commenced in the eighteenth century whilst Khandesh was in a flourishing condition under Muhammadan rulers. There is another interesting fact relating to Rusa grass. It was first brought to the notice of Europeans by General Claude Martin, whose name is perpetuated in two large schools—one in Calcutta, the other in Lucknow. General Martin

collected the seeds in the Balaghat during the war with Tippu Sultan, and cultivated the plant in Lucknow, whence he sent seeds to Dr. Roxburgh in Calcutta. Two kinds of grass are distinguished by the oil distillers of Khandesh, *Motiya* when the inflorescence is young and of a bluish-white colour, and *Sonfiya* after it has ripened and become red. The *Motiya* oil is considered to have a more delicate odour, and is the source of a popular perfume now sold in Calcutta.

The *Izkhir* of the Arabs, used by Akbar in the preparation of the *Abir*, is, according to Dr. Dymock, *Andropogon laniger*, a grass found in Northern India, Tibet, Arabia, and North Africa. The plant was known as *Juncus odoratus* to the Romans who prepared a perfume from it. The meaning of the Arabic names are "Mecca grass," "the Arab's perfume," and "Mamun's tooth-pick." Akbar used it in the preparation of *Ghasal*, a liquid soap, combined with sandalwood, musk, camphor, and otto of aloe wood. It is interesting to notice in this connection that in Arabia, under the name of *Ghusal*, the powdered grass is still used as a perfume for the bath.

We have now nearly exhausted the list of Moghul perfumes, except a few of minor importance, which may be disposed of in a few words, and a few which on account of the vacillating nomenclature of the Arabians and Persians must be omitted for want of identity.

Musk from China and Bhutan was a valuable ingredient in perfumed powders (*Abirs*), scented soap and incense. Violet root or orris root was supplied from Persia and Kashmir in some abundance; it was the sweet costus of the Arabs, derived from *Iris* or *Issa* which had flowers of varied colours like the rainbow. "Dhup" from Kashmir was the root of a *Jurinea*, which is still exported from the Himalayas, and is offered to Rajahs and burnt at shrines. Zedoary or Zerumbad was a cosmetic, and called the camphor root of the Arabians. Barbosa speaks of Zerubad as an article of trade in Cannanore in 1516, and it is now obtained from Ceylon and Chittagong. Sugandh gugala, one of the bdellium gums or frankincense, said by Abul Fazl to be collected from a plant very common in India, was probably the gum-resin of *Boswellia serrata*. And, finally, the Pachah leaves were no doubt from

an odoriferous labiate plant which is known in modern times as Patchouli.

On reviewing this list of perfumes, used during the reign of the Great Moghul at the end of the sixteenth century, we have some indication of the extent of the trade routes of the country. Persia supplied many of the materials, not only from within her own borders, but also because that country afforded a caravan route for regions beyond. The Red Sea ports sent spices from Arabia, Egypt, and Ethiopia. Patna was a large emporium in the kingdom of Bengal for despatching to Delhi products received from Bhutan, Tibet, and Assam. Goa imported goods from the Portuguese possessions on the Mozambique coast, and the Dutch in Surat supplied second-hand articles collected in Batavia from the Malayan Islands and China. In addition to the perfumes imported from foreign countries, Akbar employed the essences of many indigenous flowers, the beauty and fragrance of which were sung by Hindu poets long before the Moghul rule.

We may be inclined to unjustly criticise the Emperor Akbar for placing so much importance upon the preparation and use of perfumes. Some are apt to consider substances of this nature merely as an adjunct to a lady's boudoir, and as articles of luxury, but in former times they had a much more extensive application. In the absence of soap and toilet requisites which we enjoy, several of the perfumes were the chief detergents and emollients necessary for personal sanitation. When our modern disinfectants, antiseptics and deodorizers were not available, perfumes and incenses were essential for public health. The reason why so many of the perfumes were administered as medicine was that they were considered to act both internally and externally as preventives against contagion. There were certain beautiful flowers which were termed by Sanskrit writers *Anganapriya*, or "dear to women," but Akbar, in recording the description and value of perfumes from all parts of the world, and in combining them in the best manner for purposes of the bath or the censer, not only surrounded himself with exhilarating and refreshing odours, but he had at heart the interests of his court and people.

DAVID HOOPER.

Art. X.—THE NATIONAL EPIC OF IRAN.*

VESTIGES IN THE AVESTA.

WE know the epic material of ancient Iranians partly through their own sacred books and partly through the medium of Greek authors. The Avesta mentions a number of mythical personages who meet us again in the Arabic recension of Persian legends and in Firdausi's Book of Kings. After preceding scholars had already explained several legendary figures of the Avesta in the light of the statements of the *Shah-nāmé*, Fr. Spiegel has proved that here we have not only to deal with isolated instances, but that the authors of the sacred documents were cognisant of the legendary persons and tales from the beginning of the world down to the time when Zoroaster gave his law, and this in a connected shape and substantially in the same order as posterity was acquainted with. Some of these figures were, as is testified by their presence in the *Rig Veda*, already known to the common ancestors of the Indians and the Iranians ("Aryans"), or they were at least in their essence ingredients of the Aryan or the common Indo-European mythology, such as for instance *Azidahaka* (modern Persian *Azdaha* or *Dahak*, Arabicised into *Zahhak*), on the other hand there were others that grew especially on the soil of Iran. Of particular interest is what Darmesteter proves, namely, that even a few subordinate and insignificant figures of the aboriginal history of the *Shah-nāmé* appear in the Avesta, and that too precisely in the same connection as in the Book of Kings. The same holds good of a few circumstances of minor import.

The authors of the Avesta then were aware of a system of mythical history, which, however, they regarded as a chain of actual occurrences; and Spiegel has shown it to be probable that even through this system there runs a chronology which can again be re-recognised in its main lines. Assuredly the Avesta makes mention of many more names of mythical

beings which we never come across again, but that is not surprising.

It is easy to assume that at the time the Avesta saw the light there already existed in a crystallized form, and, perhaps, also in a written shape, an account of the mythical history of Iran. But this supposition is not necessary. It is conceivable that among the priesthood there sprang up a brief system of this history, alongside of which, among them or in another stratum of the people, more exhaustive narratives were current. Whether it was in an epic form or at least in a metrical style complete and coherent,—this we can never know; still we must reiterate the fact that the allusions in the Holy Scriptures of the Parsis are in accord with the rounded mythical history with which we are acquainted in much posterior times. It must be observed that the theatre of this history according to all available indications lies just in the North-East of Iran, where the home of the Avesta is looked for with the greatest probability.

GREEK WRITERS.

2. Exhaustive epic narratives of the events of the past, and indeed, not of a very remote antiquity were heard by some Greeks of the time of the Achæmenides from Persians or Medes (consequently West Iranians). Before all we have to name Ktesias, quondam physician to king Artaxerxes II, who wrote in the beginning of the 4th Christian century. Had we before us more than excerpts and small fragments of him we should have preserved to us even in this respect quite a treasure. Certainly in matters of history we can charge this writer with prolixity, arbitrariness, nay with a lack of love of truth, and it is not to be presumed that in case of less historical material he has reproduced his sources with absolute fidelity. But as for the most important of these narratives, that relating to the youth and insurrection of Cyrus, the authenticity of the principal points has been vindicated by the discoveries of Gutschmid. The main features thereof were latterly transferred in Persia proper, to Ardashir the founder of the second Persian empire. The legend must, therefore, have so long remained alive in that country. From this it is as good as certain that this account is of a Persian and not of a Median origin.

* Translated from the German of Prof. Th. Nöldeke, with the permission of the author by G. K. Nariman.

Still, however, the account, as Ktesias gives it, is not fundamentally very favourable to the Persians, while it places the Median king in a more acceptable light. So we must assume that he has communicated it as it was "travestied by Median hands." The early history of the Persian empire in Ktesias, of which Diodorus in particular has preserved us a good deal, gives us together with all manner of Semitic myths and legends essentially Median traditions. A pretty epical narrative, I had almost said romance, is that of the Queen Zarinæa and her adorer Stryangaus. The fragments of the latter indicate, it may be remarked in passing, that Ktesias very vividly describes what is absent in the extracts of Photius who gives the main facts in a general way. How far the authority or authorities of Ktesias drew upon written materials we cannot determine but the epic character is here unmistakable.

3. The account of the youth of Cyrus in Herodotus so far diverges from the relation of Ktesias that it has long been looked upon as mythical. The rearing of the exposed boys by the bitch has been given a rational turn by Herodotus or by the person from whom he heard the story. But this favourite mythical feature shows that here we have to deal with a genuine popular legend. For the rest Herodotus' account is in touch with the Iranian heroic legend as known to us from subsequent times. The foreign king Astyages (Afrasiyab) commands the Persian king Cyrus (Kai Khosrau) the son of his daughter Mandana (Firangis) to be slain; but he is saved and grows up among shepherds. Later on he overthrows his grandfather (so Dinavari 16; TABARI 1501 while in the Shah-nâmé the king allows the child to remain alive). Perhaps we may compare the position of Harpagus, though his personality is as historical as that of Cyrus, with that of Piran. Originally it would seem the story made Kaikhushrau also nourished by a bitch. The mythical king is in all probability by much the earlier centre of this story than the historical founder of the empire; but the Persian version of his life we possess only in a very posterior form. This bringing up by a beast has again its parallel in Moses of Choren, according to whom Ardeshir was suckled by a goat. A further mythical trait is the horse oracle in Herodotus which announced the

exaltation of Darius. Let it be remarked that the shrewd master of the horse Oibaras, on this occasion, plays a part analogous to the councillor of Cyrus of the same name in Ktesias. So also the account of Zopyrus possibly belongs to this place.

4. Aelian reports on the basis of unknown sources that Achaemenes, the founder of the most illustrious Persian dynasty, was reared by an eagle. Spiegel holds that in the Persian heroic legend Zal was reared by a Simurgh, the marvellous bird. It is possible, however, that the Persian account answering to a well-known Persian popular belief, in fact recounts that the shadow of the Huma, a kind of eagle-like bird, fell upon Achaemenes as a presage of the future royal grandeur of his progeny just as the shadow of the eagle, to follow Moses of Choren, fell upon Ardeshir.

Besides, Athenæus has preserved us a Persian narrative which Chares of Mitylene, one time chamberlain of Alexander the Great, had incorporated in his history of this king. It was long known that the account of Zariadre, brother of Hystaspes, and of Odatis the daughter of the king is fundamentally identical with the romance presented in the Shah-nâmé of Gushtasp's brother Zarer and the daughter of the Roman emperor. But in Chares the story points throughout to a more ancient and original form. He relates that this story was a great favourite with the Asiatics and scenes from it were portrayed in temples, imperial palaces, and private mansions. But even here we are unable to determine whether it had already been cast into a set mould and was composed in metre. It is by no means certain that the Hystaspes mentioned here was identical with his namesake Vishtasp or Gushtasp, the champion of Zoroaster, as he is represented to be in the Shah-nâmé. Such a story is in keeping with every age, and the name Hystaspes occurs repeatedly.

FORMATION OF NATIONAL TRADITION

Hiatus in tradition.

5. There is no trace of the material for an Iranian epic throughout the long ensuing centuries. And yet such material must have remained unperished all the while. From the latter half of the 5th century B. C. we come upon many names of the heroic tradition in the royal house of Persia: Zariv, Kavadh,

Jamasp, Jam, Kaos, Khosrau, which point to the continuity or the renaissance of the ancient narratives.

THE BOOK OF ZARER.

6. About 500 B. C. or not much later must have been written the small "Book of Thoughts," composed in Pahlavi and relating to the hero Zarer. It is indeed the most archaic genuine heroic tale which has been transmitted to us in an Iranian language. Here we have a solitary but rounded and complete piece from the cycle of heroes. It is regarded as wholly epic and possesses already the highflown hyperboles of the later epochs; although to all appearance it is not cast in metrical language. The narrator throughout presupposes that the reader is acquainted with the persons and the general course of events. It is presumed to be a matter of common knowledge that at the time of the small but particularly important section which is here fashioned in an epic shape the chief protagonist on the side of Iran was Spandedat or Isfandiyar. We have here, unless we are totally mistaken, a phenomenon which appears in the epic poetry of various nations. The crude material is universally known and separate fragments of it are artistically worked up. From such material, at a subsequent date springs up complete and more or less rounded epos through the process of unification, harmonising, omission, and transformation.

The gist of the tale of Zarer is found in the short Arabic account in Tabari and it is wholly in unison and partly literally the same as the corresponding chapter in the Shah-nāmé. It must consequently have been assimilated with the old general narrative which is the basis of the Shah-nāmé. There is only one instance of a wide deviation. In the book of Zarer, which presents only an episode, the hostile king Arjasp is taken prisoner right in the main battle and is sent back to his kingdom mutilated. In Tabari and the Shah-nāmé on the contrary the war endures much longer. In the process of incorporation with the great general work the end of the memoirs of Zarer must have suffered retrenchment.

THE KARNAMAK.

7. Another work, at least a semi-epic piece, dating from the Sasanides and which has its reflex in the Arab chronicles

and the Shah-nāmé is the Pahlavi book of the acts of king Ardashir and in part of his son and grandson. But these tales are to the last degree popular. We saw above that the principal features of the story of Cyrus are transferred to Ardashir. The corresponding section in the Shah-nāmé goes back to this original work, a fact in which a fresh comparison has once more confirmed me, though the possibility of an intermediate variant text between the original Pahlavi and the Shah-nāmé is not precluded. Only one important passage—that relating to the wild ass—is wanting in the Shah-nāmé. Otherwise we miss nothing of this ancient work in Firdausi's epic save minor things of little consequence like names and such matters in the ancient religion as were too repulsive for the Muslim reader to be retained. Here and there the narrative is somewhat curtailed, for instance in the beginning of the fight with the serpent. On the other hand, Firdausi produces three additional important passages. The marvellous account of the winged serpent which develops itself the apple, the account of Kombabus at the birth of Shapur, the play with the ball in the story of Shapur. Of these no doubt the first is original and the two latter, since Tabari too has them, must have been interpolated at a tolerably ancient period. Whether, however, the Karnamak was early embodied in the general narrative of the history of Iran seems open to doubt, for the Arabic chronicles reproduce but a few lineaments of it. Tabari has two varying but entirely colourless versions of the story of the dragon. But the Arab writers at the same time present much historical information drawn from old authentic sources.

INFLUENCE OF THE HISTORIC HOUSE OF SASAN ON THE STORY OF THE PRECEDING EPOCHS.

8. The ancient heroic chronicle must have undergone manifold changes till the close of the Sasanide empire. A large portion of it had perished: there is no trace in the secular literature of several mythical personages named in the Avesta. Essentially new material, one might think, could hardly have found its way into the old narrative. Nevertheless two very important extraneous elements in the tales of the heroes were introduced in the times of the Parthians or the Sasanides. The first of these is in a measure

historical. In Tabârî as well as Firdausî some of the ancient heroes go by names which we again meet with among the Arsacide princes. In the first place we have here to deal with Godharz and his son Gev, originally Vev who correspond with the king Gotarez and his father. Several Parthian kings were so named, among others being the rival King of Gotarez, who already appears in his earlier form of Meherdates in Tacitus. To the list of the Arsacides, as given by the Arabs this name is not alien. Next we have in Firdausi among the veteran warriors of the time of Kaos a Faradh, that is, Phraates or Frahat, a name borne by quite a series of Parthian rulers. Whether it is permissible to recognise in Ashkash a corruption of Askh that is, of Arshak or Arsakes is undecided. But considering the lists of the Arsacides as adduced by the Arabs and Firdausi we encounter several names which come up in the heroic tales. No doubt, these catalogues have to be used with caution; but we have no warrant to regard the names cited there as fictitious. Here, to be sure for the most part, the collateral branches of the reigning dynasty are treated of, and we know certainly that there were more branches than one. There we have, first of all one of the protagonists of the Shah-nâmê, Bezan or Vajan, son of Gev and grandson of Godharz; next, Shabur and Bahram, son of Godharz. The secondary personages are named, by Firdausi somewhat arbitrarily, and we can instance the well-known royal names of Bahram and Shabur, but a crowd of resemblances indicate that accident has played no great part in them. Besides all those men are allocated to the same period and the same reign, namely, that of Kaos, and consequently they go to make a group. We might suppose that members of the house of the Arsacides were named after the heroes of the epic, as was consequently the case with the Sasanides, and again with, for example, the Seljuks of Asia Minor. But the circumstance that in the epic Godharz, Gev, and Bezan, who alone play a prominent part, are never mentioned as Kings, to speak nothing of Farhadh and others, militates against the assumption. That, however, princes of imperial houses were called after the secondary actors in the epopee, and, indeed, after altogether insignificant ones is quite improbable. I believe, therefore, we may conjecture that

through the influence of illustrious families of Arsacide descent, who maintained their princely dignity and might throughout the time of the Sasanides, the names of their ancestors found a place, in the national epochs. With reference to the rulers they occupy almost the same position as the premier noblemen in respect of the great kings of the lines of the Arsacides or even the Sasanides. Did we know the genealogy of this dynasty we should find an explanation of sundry passages in the epic.

In the contrast between Tos, son of King Nodhar (Av. Naotara) and Godharz in which the former is placed in a somewhat unfavourable light, we have possibly a reflex of the rivalries of two great families. At all events the nobility of Tos is of a far anterior date, for he is the Tos of the Avesta, and son of Naotara, and his name is falsely pronounced with a long vowel with a view to indentifying it with Firdausi's birthplace alleged to have been denominated after him. If this surmise be correct, that portion of the epic in which Godharz grows into a model of all virtues—doubtless as a strong contrast against Gotarez, the Parthian king—has preserved his figure in the sphere of a family which was derived from him. To those whom, notwithstanding all the instances of coincidence enumerated above, the transplantation of historical names—we are left not much more than names—to remote antiquity appear incredible, I would remind them that the Karen, the representative of the flourishing family of that name from the times of the Arsacides and Sasanides down to the Abbasides is assigned a still older period as brother of Kave the Smith. No doubt, this is again nothing more than a name inasmuch as it has acquired no concrete shape.

From this I draw the conclusion that, unless I am greatly mistaken, quite a series of events of the expiring 5th century after Christ is mirrored back in the story of the heroes, King Peroz in 484, in a battle against the Northern Haitals not far from Dehistan, was irrevocably lost, no trace of him being left behind. The empire was inundated with the barbarians, but a chieftain of the house of Karen, to follow the extenuating tradition, restored the honor of Iran, and the enemy were compelled to sue for peace. Now in a prior epoch a similar

rôle is assigned to a Karen, when King Nodhar, in a battle against the northern foes at Dehistan, was taken prisoner and slain, while the barbarians overran Iran. The striking similarity of the incidents on both occasions can scarcely be adventitious. Should my hypothesis be correct it would follow that such was the influence of the mighty house of Karen even in posterior times that, in accord with national vanity, the achievements of a brilliant historical personage were not only glorified beyond measure, but were still more transferred to a mythical situation.

ZAL AND RUSTOM ARE LATTER-DAY IMPORTATIONS.

Of much greater consequence, however, than all this for the Iranian heroic poem is another new element, to all appearance a mythical one. The greatest hero of the Shah-nāmē Rustom, is as little mentioned in the Avesta as his father Zal or Dastan. Spiegel assumes that the Avesta was cognisant of, but that it ignores them because they were personages not acceptable to the priesthood. But this is highly improbable. If the authors of the holy scriptures regarded Rustom as an infidel they could as well have spoken unfavourably of him; for now and then they do advert to the shady side of the heroes they extol. Because Rustom is brought into genealogical relation with Sam and Keresaspa, it does not follow that he originally belonged to the circle of the Avesta heroes. This genealogy is an artificial fabrication. In the Avesta, Keresaspa is enumerated among the kings, and as such he figures in the Shah-nāmē and other works. Rustom's grandfather Sam is a vassal, and equally so is his ancestor Karshasp who properly speaking is identical with Sam. Keresaspa, therefore, is divided into two personalities to satisfy genealogy. In the Gershasp-nāmē again Ithric or Itrict is made an ancestor of Rustom as father of Karshasp. This at all event is Thritha, one of the Sams of the Avesta. But here we have a genuine learned transcription, so that authentic tradition is not to be expected here. But now Zal and Rustom are decidedly located in Sistan (Drangiana) and Zabul (Arachosia), a province which is not unknown to the Avesta, but lies far removed from its sphere. From this place of their nativity we can see that they belong to a stratum of legends other than that of the ordinary

heroes. Add to this their extremely peculiar lives which are depicted in a much more fabulous fashion than the lives of the rest. Zal-i-Zar, that is the aged old man properly called Dastan, is born with white hair and being exposed was reared by a Simurgh, the gigantic bird which stands in close relation with his son also. Rustom, a titan of altogether supernatural strength, is characterised the elephant-bodied. According to Moses of Chorene (2, 8) he had the vigour of 120 elephants. He overcomes the gigantic white Dev and numerous other demons in their dens. Particularly remarkable is his adventure with the Akvandev. Inseparable from him is his monstrous steed Raksh. The manner of Rustom's death is very striking. His wicked brother brings it about that he is precipitated together with Raksh into a hollow, filled with javelins and swords, and though dying he shoots his brother right through a tree. He is introduced to us in the portion looked upon as historical as an extraordinary hero excelling all the others as did Achilles his rival combatants. The inordinate longevity of Rustom and Zal is in unison with the prolonged wars of the kings whose times were separated from each other by a long interval. I am consequently of opinion that both the colossal figures have been imported into the heroic cycle in which they are so prominent, only as an afterthought. Whether they belong to the legends of the Drangians and the Arachosians, the primæval dwellers of Iran, whether they were first introduced from their northern *habitat* by the Sākians in their irruption into this land which is, after them, denominated Sakistan or Sigistan, the modern Sistan—this indeed it is hard to ascertain. At any rate, the absorption of both the heroes into the national epic of Iran is of tolerably early date. The achievements of Isfandiyar which have been modelled upon those of Rustom had already a place in the body of the history obtaining in the Sasanide times and which is the basis on the one hand of the Arab chroniclers and of the Shah-nāmē on the other. This is in keeping with the fact that Nadir ibn al Harith, a tradesman of Mecca, learnt about the year 620 in Hira on the South-West Frontier of the Persian empire the recital of the conflict of Rustom and Isfandiyar, which narrative much

more delighted his countrymen than the stories of the prophets in the Koran. It follows then that the historiographs had long since been acquainted with Rustam. It is not inconceivable that in the situation of Zal and Rustam, as almost independent sovereigns we have a reflex of the rival dynasty of the Arsacides which held sway just over this territory in the first century after Christ. Moses of Choren, who according to the latest researches appears to have written in the 7th or 8th century knows more of Rustam's heroic deeds than have been imparted to us by the Persians. And again when the Arab conquerors in the middle of the 7th century came to Sistan there they found "the stall of Rustam's steed." The name Rustam was borne in 632 by a considerable number of the most powerful nobles in the Persian empire and soon after simple monks gloried in this heroic appellation. Rustam therefore was the most widely renowned of the heroes.

ALIEN ELEMENTS.

11. Moreover in the course of centuries a variety of foreign ingredients may have found their way into the sacerdotal and the national tradition of Iran. It were worth while to search for Jewish influence, though not with a pre-conceived bias. The transportation of the mythical traits of Solomon as a world-king to Jamshed has already suggested itself to Spiegel. The tomb of Kaikhushru in Susa of which Sebeos the Armenian, of the 7th century, relates and which was held to be that of Darius by the exponents of occidental erudition and that of the prophet Daniel by some Christians, witnesses to the continuity of the mythical kings among the people. Hubschmann has ere now called attention to the popular legend which in contradiction to the story of Kaikhushru's tomb speaks of his mysterious disappearance. And if the Syriac text of the romance of Alexander sets down throughout, Khosrav for Xerxes, the same fanciful paragon of a prince hovers before the vision of the Pahlavi translator who follows in the wake of the Syrian.

AUTOCHTHONOUS RECORDS.

12. In the preface which Baisanghar, the grandson of Taimur prepared to the Shah-nāmē in 1425-6 it is stated that the Persians and especially the sovereigns of the house of

Sasan Khosrau I. 531-579 A. D. exerted themselves to collect the records of the preceding potentates. This source is not wholly reliable and the report is besides vague so that I do not now lay so much stress on the name of Khosrau as before; but it is obvious that in his reign and long before him there were records relating to the story of the kings or at least catalogues of the names of the rulers with the periods of their respective reigns and other particulars in brief. These lists commenced with Gayo-mard because thus only we could be enabled to appreciate the definitiveness of the series of rulers and other details. The Sasanides were universally regarded as the legitimate successors and scions of the aboriginal monarchs. To differentiate between the mythical and the historical times, was farther from the Persians than the Athenians of the 4th century before Christ, who looked upon the recently invented struggles of their forebears against the amazons to be quite as real as the prodigies of valor performed at Marathon and Salamis. As good as nothing was known of the Achaemenides. All that was transmitted was that a Darius or Dara was slain by the miscreant Alexander and that another Darius had preceded him in the sovereignty. The first Dara was made to coincide with Bahman the last of the mythical kings and grandson of Vishtasp or Gushtasp. It may be noted, in passing, that no positive pronouncement can be given as to whether Vishtasp, the patron of Zoroaster, was really a historical personage. The great king Artaxerxes-Artakhshathra or Ardeshar—was known only from some Syrian author who had drawn upon Greek writers. But this name had again come into universal vogue after the establishment of the Sasanides and was straightway identified with the Bahman mentioned above. Ibn Kalbi is the first to bear testimony to this identification but the accord between Firdausi and the Arab authors conducts us much higher up. The soubriquet of the "Long-armed," *machrocheir* was likewise adopted though it does not occur in the Shah-nāmē but is to be met with in the Arab texts. The nickname was derived by the chroniclers from Dinon. Biruni met with the Greek form in the Persian *makroshir* to which he appended the literal interpretation of *tawil-al-yadain* or the long-armed. Other Arab authorities, Tabari,

Hamza, and Mafateh present the version *tawil-al-bagh* or one possessed of wide comprehension, which latter perhaps more closely approximates to the original sense of the Greek *machrocheir*. Here we are not dealing with a genuine Persian legend. That however people did not proceed altogether recklessly in the matter of giving a concatenated shape to the chronicle or chronicles is exhibited by the total ignorance of the Arsacide period of which we are furnished with little more besides names and figures. No extensive tradition had accreted round this dynasty; and the same is true of a few mythical kings of old.

We are unable to aver to what extent exhaustive accounts were conjoined with these lists of monarchs, especially the rulers of mythical Iran. At all events we learn from Agathias that at the time of Khushraul there were extant carefully preserved *persikoi bibloi* and *basilikoi diphtherai* in which the kings of the house of Sasan were noted down in chronological order. We can judge of the accuracy of the accounts embodied in this writing of writings from the information supplied by Agathias to his learned friend Sergius. There is no question but that these annals also supplied the reigns of the pre-Sasanide sovereigns.

THE PROTOTYPE OF THE SHAH-NAME.

13. Baisanghar's prolegomena contain the definite information that under the last Yezdegird a complete history of the Persian kings from Gayomard down to Khushraul II. was compiled by the *dehkan* Daneshvar with the help of extant earlier copies of the same. The *dehkans* were, as we know, an inferior class of landed nobility and passed for the proper custodians of the national tradition. The brief introduction in prose to the *Shah-nāmé* mentions among several sources of Persian history one Ferrukhan or Ferrukhani the grand mobed of king Yezdegird and Ramin "the servant of the kings." Both the introductory discourses abound in untruths and are an entangled mass of confusion, though, notwithstanding, I am inclined to hold that some remote veracity underlies the unintelligible information which has come down to us through we know not how many hands. The consonance between the Arabic versions and the *Shah-nāmé* runs down to the demise of Khushraul II. and

definitely demonstrates that their common original was composed a short time previously. The patriotic and severely legitimistic tendency which we unmistakably discover, as well as sundry peculiarities point out that the prototype of our narrative took its rise in the vicinity of the throne and was anterior to the disintegration of the empire. With the coronation of the youthful Yezdagird in the ancient sacrosanct Istakhar or Persepolis under the auspices of the redoubtable Rustam it might be expected that the disastrous chaos had come to an end and that a new era of prosperity was inaugurated for the realm. The compilation of a canonical history of the empire is not inconsistent with the trend of those times. The battle of Kadiyiya in 636 or 637 A. D. terribly terminated this blissful dream; and no one after the catastrophe could bestow a thought upon an enterprise of this nature. The time of Ardeshar is further indicated by the circumstance that his grandfather Khushraul II. is glorified in this book, or at least as much as possible exonerated, while his son who had slain his father and his brothers, including Yezdagird's father Shahariyar, is without measure denounced. The concord so often adverted to and which subsisted mainly in the history of the Sasanides between the reports of the Arab annalists, concise as those are, and the story of the *Shah-nāmé* enables us to form a tolerably accurate conception of the import and the general method of that original work. The epic tone which is revealed in the book of Zarer, substantially incorporated with the general history, is not infrequently conspicuously prominent in the Arabic compilations. In the original work were collected the national tradition not of the proletariat but naturally of the aristocracy and of the spiritual sect so closely bound up with it. These classes were obviously considered the most powerful under the Sasanide domination. Characteristic are also the coronation orations with which the rulers commenced their reigns. The work would seem to have been designed for entertainment not merely in the section devoted to the tales of the heroes but in the subsequent chapters as well. The Persians ever prized ethical dissertations (not however that these homilies could effectually leaven their moral character.) At all

events there were numerous speeches in the history. They testified to Persian loquacity and to the Persian passion for rhetoric.

As for the language of this primitive volume it was the Pehlavi which was the only one then employed in writing. We are all but certain that its title was *Khvatāinamak* pronounced Khodai-name in the younger dialect. It signified the "Book of the Lords," answering to the latter Shah-nāmé or the Book of Kings. The Khodai-name is referred to as a Pahlavi work by Arab authorities of credit and as embodying a history of the Persian princes. Now this production found its way into the Arabic literature as a translation by Ibn Mukaffa in the middle of the eighth century. With this rendering, the most important figures of the heroic age of the Persians as well as the historic epoch of the Sasanides, were made known to the learned Musalman world even beyond the bounds of Iran so that we encounter allusions to them in the Arab poets. Unfortunately, however, not only the Pahlavi original but the Arabic version, too, have long since been irrevocably lost. And the same remark applies to other renderings and compilations based on the Pahlavi prototype. A sort of substitute, by no means adequate, is afforded by the extracts and fragments of Arab annalists and partly in sundry Arabic anthologies. But I need not enter further into the history of these materials found in the Arabic literature. Suffice it to observe that Ibn Mukaffa omitted in his translation such matters, as were too revolting either to the religious susceptibilities or to the reasoning of the Arabs.

The Khodai-name would appear to have been mutilated in manifold ways owing to the supineness of the transcribers and on account of capricious emendations. The ambiguous Pahlavi script, which was no doubt but imperfectly understood by the readers as well as the copyists, lent itself easily to such corruption; and the old Pahlavi transcribers were not more conscientious with regard to their texts than modern Persians. The mobed Bahram laid under contribution more than twenty copies with a view, as he thought, to drawing up correct chronology; and this can only mean that the copies greatly deviated from each other respecting numbers and figures.

PRODUCTIONS COGNATE WITH THE KHODAI-NAME.

14. Besides the Khodai-name there were indubitably divers other narratives of at least the story of the Sasanides which were not based on that book alone; and this accounts for the very material discrepancies which we notice between the Arab writers and the Shah-nāmé even with reference to integral portions which can be traced with certainty or at least considerable probability to the Khodai-name. Thus for instance Ibn Mukaffa's version of the end of Piroz, which can be restored almost literally from various Arabic sources, is essentially different from that of the Shah-nāmé, which latter consequently could hardly have been derived from the Khodai-name. On the other hand it furnishes historical information of high value about, to give an example, Ardeshar I. and the last of the Sasanides which must have originated from ancient Pahlavi records, but which had no place in the Khodai-name. Further there were all manner of romances and tales in Pahlavi which were perhaps incorporated with the general narrative only after the composition of the Khodai-name. Perhaps this holds good likewise of the book of Ardeshar, still preserved to us, and probably also of the more or less voluminous historical romance of Bahram Chobin, the contents of which can be reconstructed from Arabic histories, from the Persian Tabari, and the Shah-nāmé. The entire romance was early translated into Arabic by Jabal-ibn Salim and hence probably the celebrity enjoyed by this hero.

15. The account in Baisanghar's preface touching the further vicissitudes of the Pahlavi Book of Kings, composed under Yezdegird is on the whole silly rigmarole. But on the other hand the information in the other prolegomenon on the restoration of the work in prose, which forms the groundwork of Firdausi's Shah-nāmé is of great importance; and it is partly in accord with Baisanghar's introduction. It relates that in the year 346 of the Hijira (957-8 A. D.) a high dignitary, Mansur al Maamari, directed the compilation of the prose Shah-nāmé for Abu Mansur son of Abdar Razzak the then ruler of Tos, the undertaking being entrusted to Sah, son of Khorasan of Hare or Herat, Yazdandad, son of Shapur of Sistan, Mahoi Khorshed, son of Bahram of

Shapur, Shazan, son of Burzin of Tos. There is no Muslim in these names; unquestionably all the four were Zoroastrians. For only Zoroastrians were in a position to decipher the volume in Pahlavi which was to serve them as their principal source. Now the fact that a Shah-nāmē was compiled for Abu Mansur, son of Abdar Razzak of Tos is attested by al-Beruni a historian as erudite as accurate, who flourished at no distant date. This Abu Mansur we must identify with Muhammad, son of Abdar Razzak who was actually the ruler of Tos and of whom we hear so many stories during the years 945 and 960. Beruni states that Mansur had forged a fictitious genealogical tree; and the assertion is supported by the circumstance that the shorter introduction does supply a genealogical tree of Abu Mansur mounting up to Gashvadh father of Godharz. Moreover a literary enterprise of this nature is perfectly in harmony with the prevailing tendency in Khorasan to enrich the young neo-Persian literature by translations and adaptations of important works; facts which place in a clear light a passage in Firdausi's own preface to his great epic, according to which a powerful governor, a descendant of the old nobility summoned from all sides aged priests of the Parsis in order to compile a work from the accounts they furnished concerning the ancient kings, and which later became the foundation of a poem. There is no mistaking one of the above-mentioned learned men whom he cites by name, Shazan son of Burzin, as an authority on the history of the migration of the fables of Kalila va Dimna from India into Iran. The further account of this Indian production, at the end of the section, may have been derived from the same person. Kalila va Dimna was, he proceeds to say, translated into Arabic at the instance of Mamun, and that this Arabic version was again done into modern Persian by the order of Abul Fazl the Vizier of Nasr ibn Ahmad the Samanide (914-943 A. D.) Both these assertions of which the first is incorrect, the Arabic translation having been undertaken half a century later, and the second may be right, may have been independently inserted by Firdausi himself. No positive contradiction is involved by the manner in which Firdausi speaks as if the narrative he recites on his authority

was directly heard by himself. The poet often speaks as though he had heard what in reality he had only read. There were no longer any *marzbans* to be found either in the age of Firdausi or in the time of Abu Mansur. The boast about his lineage connecting him with a governor of the Sasanide times was perhaps not without a warrant.

... We can reconstruct the contents of the Book of Kings, as written in prose with tolerable exactitude from its poetic imitation before us.

It was an exposition of the story of Iran from primæval time down to the destruction of the national empire, interspersed with diverse episodes. For the body of the narrative no doubt the author drew upon a general work then extant, either the Khodai-name itself or a kindred compilation. However there were, throughout, inserted all varieties of stories such as most of the anecdotes touching Bahram Ghor of which the original work on which the old Arab versions are founded could have contained but few. Besides, a good deal of "wisdom" was laid under contribution—parenetic writings, collections of enigmas, etc. A remnant of the extensive literature made use of here is still to be seen in small Pahlavi and neo-Persian documents. An opusculé, treating of the introduction of the Indian game of chess into Iran, a book extant in its Pahlavi original which sprang only in Islamic times was also incorporated with the Book of Kings. It forms a parallel to the history of the importation of the Indian tale of Kalila va Dimna (both under the times of Khushraul.) Probably the Diaskeuasts interpolated the extremely singular but doubtless immaterial account of the death of Rustam, which was totally different from the version given in the original work inasmuch, as, so far as we can determine, in the latter work it was Bahman who slew Rustam as the avenger of his father entirely in conformity with the legitimistic and equitable tendency of the book. This account was to be found in the book of Azad Sarv or simply Sarv who derived his lineage from Sam Nariman and consequently believed himself to be related to Rustam and who lived in Merv under Ahmad ibn Sahal. Now this Ahmad ibn Sahal is mentioned. He died in 919 or 920 the governor of Merv. It is indeed possible that

Firdausi borrowed from this book the version which so well accorded with his portrayal of Rustam. But in the latter case we must pre-suppose that Sarv had written, not in Pahlavi but in modern Persian. As regards the romance of Bahram Chobin, as already indicated, it was probably worked up into the historical narrative at a prior date, for it stands also in the Arabic chronicles.

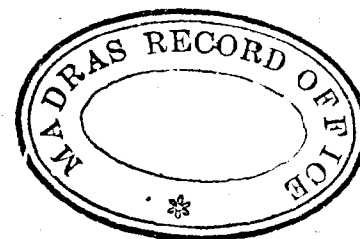
Naturally we are by no means in a position to discriminate in detail whether a given originally independent fragment had already taken place in the Khodai-name or similar general history, or was introduced only by the scholars whom Abu Mansur employed. This is impossible to decide in the case of the solitary and large chapter which is altogether of alien origin—the history of Alexander. The Khodai-name, in all conscience, said but little of the great Emathian conqueror and that little was as unfavourable to him as the allusions to him in the literature of the priests. A Pahlavi recension, however, of the romance of Alexander originally in Greek, the so-called Pseudo-Kallisthenes, had already been made. We possess a tolerably correct reflex of the same in the Syriac translation, while at the same time the epitomes of Alexander in Arabic works are traceable to it for the most part. This romance has been subjected, in the usual manner, to all manner of modifications; the most important of them being the one which makes the destroyer of the ancient Persian monarchy, an offspring of a Persian princess, thus making him a semi-Persian who is by consequence elevated into welcome prominence in the eyes of the Iranian world. Hence it was that Alexander could enter the rank of the glorified rulers of Persia. The story of Alexander, it would appear, like the book of Kalila va Dimna, passed through an Arabic transformation before it was once more received into Persian. We can in no other way explain that in the Shah-nāmé as well as in the Arabic histories the Greek conqueror is made to visit the Kaaba of Arabia.

The four men—there were perhaps more—encompassed what they were set to perform. How they proceeded in detail, who redacted the whole—this eludes our investigation. Here and there they seem to have mentioned their sources. As

regards the language, the bulk of their material was in Pahlavi, for which they required the assistance of the professors of the old creed. If there existed a large history of the kings written in neo-Persian there was no call for this commission. As for the sources in Arabic they were scarcely tapped direct, Arabic literature being as foreign to learned Zoroastrians as Pahlavi, was to the Muslims. They, however, had some recourse to works in the modern tongue, *e.g.*, in the narrative of Alexander. This accounts for the Arabic way of writing some purely Persian names in the Shah-nāmé. But it is conceivable that this way of spelling was introduced in the final redaction by the Muslims.

The work was composed in modern Persian and was accordingly accessible to every literate Iranian. Its enormous compass was the only obstacle in its way to a wide diffusion. That it early perished is palpable from the unheard of approbation which was accorded to its poetic version made not long after by the immortal Firdausi.

S. K. NARIMAN.



ART. XI.—THE ART CULTURE OF THE ARYANS.

IT is a fashion with the apologists of oriental Art to exaggerate the antiquity of the art culture of the Aryans—India being acknowledged as one of the poles from which the civilization of the world has radiated. Indeed it cannot be gainsaid that India has been one of the ancient reservoirs from which every nation has more or less drawn and drunk. If we compare the culture and civilization of the Indo-Aryans with that of the Greeks of the same period we find the genius of the Hindus is on a level equal to and in some respects on a stratum higher than that of the Greek talent. The Hindus evolved and elaborated a system of mental philosophy which no production of the Greeks with all their refined culture, with all their practical and rational knowledge of things could ever equal. Further, the Hindu system of religion and morality has no parallel in Greece. The Greeks boasted of a more comprehensive and many-sided intellect, but the Hindus were equally versatile. They have touched upon a variety of subjects—such as Music, Astronomy, Medicine, Mathematics, Poetry, and Literature, and in many cases they have adorned what they have touched. Yet it is with a feeling of regret that the student of Indian civilization notices the comparative lack of artistic activity even in the most brilliant period of Hindu culture and civilization. The Hindus were a nation of philosophers and it was in philosophy only that the mind of the speculative Hindu shone forth in its greatest splendour. With all their abstruse speculations and subtle and profound researches in philosophy the Hindus never could reach a fraction of that perfection which the Greek races had attained in the Fine Arts. The labours of Greece in the cause of elegant arts cannot but be the pride of modern Europe. By a cruel irony of fate the Hindus were denied the glory of success in the realm of art. Indeed it would appear, it is not given to the same nation to excel in all things. There has been a Kapila but no Phædrias—a Goutama but no Michael Angelo—a Buddha but no Giotto. What might be the secret cause of

this curious phenomenon? Was the soil of the Ganges and the Indus unfavourable to the growth of art? It has been suggested the Hindu mind lacked all capability of artistic efforts. Even such a learned antiquarian as Dr. Fergusson has had no scruples to assert that “the Aryans were essentially a non-artistic race.” In the absence of materials and historical data to prove that the Hindus ever successfully cultivated the æsthetic Arts, we shall have to put up with, if we are not disposed to accept, a thousand and one ridiculous theories to account for the dearth of Fine Arts in India. In the present stage of our knowledge theory seems indispensable to understand and explain the phenomenon of the archæological history of India. But in constructing such theories we must take into consideration not only what the Aryan intellect has actually done; but also what it might have attained. Some writers unwilling to admit the inferiority of Indian Art to the Greek productions, are apt to over-estimate the quality and character of Aryan art activities and to ascribe their origin to a remote period in prehistoric times, and cite, in support, stray passages in the great epics and other religious literature. The Mahabharata and the Ramayana contain frequent allusions to storied towers, galleries of picture and casts of painters, not to speak of the golden statue of a heroine, and the magnificence of personal adornments. Of course it goes without saying “that descriptive literature concerning the forms of gods and other heroic characters means correlative attempts at plastic actualisation.” But the pity of it is that we cannot judge from these passages the exact quality or amount of perfection or the nature and character of these works of art. For this we have to depend on such scanty relics as have survived the defacing hand of time and the ruthless hand of vandalism. The archæologist of India has therefore to labour under greater disadvantages than the historian of Hindu civilization.

Indian Art, we shall see, is identical and synonymous with Buddhist Art in India. Up to the present the researches of antiquarians have failed to discover in any part of India any traces of sculpture or architecture long previous to the Buddhist era. The oldest stone buildings still extant are the Baithak

of Jorasandha, the Walls of Bajagriha in Behar (attributed to the 5th century B. C.) and the Buddhist caves like those of Khandagiri and Udayagiri in Orissa attributed to the 3rd century B. C. The archæological history of India, therefore, commences from the 3rd century B. C., and the period of art development may be fairly fixed between 3rd century B. C., and 6th or 7th century A. D. This is further confirmed by the fact that temple and image worship were not a part of Hindu religion till after the death of Goutama Buddha. The gods of the Aryans in the Vedic and the Epic age were personified natural forces of an unusually vague form. The world of gods merged into nature and artistic representations were not required. Their mythology was necessarily of an elementary and unplastic character.

It is in the Post Asokan Period that we find Buddhist Art in all its activity and splendour. The message of Buddha was a message of the Freedom of the soul. The art pursuits of India entered into a new life and found scope in freer forms and a wider range of subjects. It was the age of Buddha or the Enlightened One. Buddhism was the Renaissance of the East—it was the return of light after ages of eclipse. If Indian Art ever attained any sort of development or perfection it was in this age: that is to say, the climax of Indian Art activity is to be judged by the best specimens that belong to this period. And specimens, fortunately are not wanting. The fine frescoes on mouldering walls of Ajanta and Bagh, the finished sculptures of the Ellora Caves, the faultless architecture at Bhubaneswar may be taken to represent the best attempts of Aryan genius in the field.

The highest excellence in architecture and sculpture was attained in India before and immediately after the birth of Christ. The rude caves in Orissa and Behar mark the elementary stage—the noblest monuments were constructed in the 3rd century B. C., and the 1st century A. D. The richly sculptured rails of Bharhut and Sanchi belong to 200 B. C., and 100 A. D., and the finest Chaitya Caves (The Karli)—that have come down to us in their original perfection belong also to the 1st century B. C. The Ajanta, Vihars and Amravati rails (attributed to the 4th and 5th century A. D.) also represent the

highest point which art has reached in India. Taking the *chef d'œuvres* of Buddhist Art as a whole, we are struck by the titanic labours and the superb industry expended in these works rather than by subtleness or refinement in their execution, we miss in these gigantic works of faith that high order of æsthetic merit that characterises Roman and Greek productions. They display what Dr. Fergusson calls "a lack of pure intellects," "we shall in vain seek for that high order of intellectual conception which marks the marbles of Greece and Rome."

Tired in our vain search after works of fine art throughout India, we snatch (with a feeling of relief) at these more or less perfect examples of Buddhist Art and are inclined to exaggerate and over-estimate their true quality. Art in India surely attained but partial development. Hindu minds never aspired to the heights which Greek genius has reached. Even if we compare the artistic culture of the Aryans with their studies of other branches of knowledge we are forced to admit their æsthetic attempts are far inferior to the successes they have achieved in Philosophy, Grammar, Astronomy, Music, Drama, in fact in every other sphere of intellectual activity. India does not possess an art worthy of the land of Kapila and Arjavatta. Their very success in these spheres creates in us a longing for and an exacting demand from them of a higher quality of art than those bequeathed to us in Buddhistic remains and it would be an insult to the Aryan genius to judge its art productions from a lower standard. Buddhist Art can never represent all that our ancestors were capable of—it was merely their first rude attempt in a branch of science never seriously studied and never brought to perfection. The poverty of India in the sphere of art must always be viewed in this light by her true admirer.

It is curious to notice how this problem has also occurred to Prof. Max Müller: "The idea of the beautiful in nature" he says "did not exist in the Hindu mind— . . . They describe what they saw, they praise certain features, they compare them with other features in nature, but the beautiful as such does not exist for them. They never excelled either in sculpture or painting. It is strange, nevertheless, that a

people so fond of the highest abstractions as the Hindu should never have summarised their conceptions of the beautiful . . . I wish I could have given you a more satisfactory answer."

This absence of fine art in India is sometimes attributed to the enervating influence of the Indian climate leading to a general aversion to all manual labour. But if we cast a glance at the innumerable rock-cut temples and the gigantic—almost Herculean labours bestowed on them, we cannot lay much stress on the climate theory. Indeed the solution of the problem is to be found in the metaphysical rather than the physical conditions of the Hindus.

It is not that the Hindus were devoid of the sense of beauty—or incapable of any high order of æsthetic culture—they never paid any serious attention to the cultivation of the Fine Arts. They had not the time nor the inclination to do so. The exclusive caste system of India has much to answer for. It was impossible for the Brahmans, busy with their religious rites and intellectual pursuits, to carve or to paint: the fine arts were therefore left to the lower classes and were consequently looked upon as dishonourable. Hence it is we notice in their works the utter lack of intellectual conception which alone could have lent excellence to Indian sculpture and architecture. The Arts of India were thus for ever divorced from the benefit of the Aryan intellect. The men who cultivated the fine arts in India were not the men who thought out India's Philosophy and Religion. Further the burden of Hindu religious Philosophy is that the World is a Maya or illusion constructed by our own senses, and the redemption of the soul lies in the complete annihilation of the senses. In this view of life the Hindus probably had forsaken the culture of the æsthetic as soon as they came to perceive the necessary sensual basis of the Fine Arts. All Fine Arts, we know, address the intellect through the medium of the senses. As John Ruskin puts it:—"Art is the product of human happiness; it is contrary to asceticism; it is the expression of pleasure." The ideal of Hindu life has been the renunciation of pleasure. This sort of things could not be calculated to promote the growth of a powerful national Art. The lofty aims attributed to the

Fine Arts by modern philosophers (we may argue) ought to have recommended to our forefathers the culture of the æsthetic faculty. But we find they reached the same ends by other means and the Fine Arts were not necessary for them. "All Arts have for their object either the support or exaltation of human life." "The highest thing Art can do is to set before you the true image of the presence of a noble human being. It has never done more than this and it ought not to do less." The Aryans arrived at the same thing by other methods and means. The be-all and end-all of all the culture of the Hindus has been the knowledge and realisation of the absolute. They would know God through logic, through music, through astronomy. What is the aim of all Fine Arts? To hold forth relative beauty leading up to absolute beauty. He who has attained the higher has no need of the lower.

It is an error to assume therefore that the sense of beauty was dead in the Hindu mind. It only slumbered and lay dormant and never awoke to consciousness. Even in the Buddhist age when "the lion of Sakya in shaking his mane had dispersed the dust of Maya"—we notice purely artistic execution never found scope in the existence of schools, but only in sporadic instances. Art has ever been in India the handmaid of religion. It has worked always at the bidding of the Buddha monk and never had an independent life. It therefore never lived to attain its full growth and perished with the decline of Buddhism.

Yet the Buddhist Art is not without its lessons. In the walls of Ajanta, in the temples of the different schools, in the bas-reliefs of Ellora there are materials which it is incumbent on the present generation to polish, refine and perfect and to work out into a living school of painting, a living school of sculpture—and a living school of architecture. They are the very sign posts to lead others bent upon advancing in the same field. The delicate and graceful drawings of the Ajanta frescoes, the excellent ornamental design of its ceilings will ever form the heritage of our future Burne-Jones, Morris, or Walter Crane.

ORDHENDRA COOMAR GANGOPADHYAY.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

REPORT ON ARCHÆOLOGICAL WORK IN BURMA FOR THE YEAR 1903. Government Press, Rangoon.

PROGRESS REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF WESTERN INDIA. Thacker and Co., Bombay.

MR. TAW SEIN KO is the Burma Government Archæologist, and from his Report we discover that during the year under review the sum of Rs. 41,184 has been spent on archæological work. Of this amount Rs. 28,970 was devoted to carrying out the Viceroy's orders in respect of the preservation and restoration of the Palace and other buildings at Mandalay. This Palace, which was built originally by Shwe Bo Min in 1845, is unique in its architecture and recalls its prototypes in Nepaul, Magadha, and Cambodia.

During the year Notes have been compiled on (a) Burmese Buddhism, (b) Panthays, (c) Burmese Sects, (d) Chinese Dialects spoken in Burma, and on (e) the origin of the word Burma.

Two articles on the "Origin of the Burmese Race" and the "Introduction of Buddhism into Burma" were prepared for incorporation in the Journal of Indian Archæology. A memorandum on the "Antiquities of Rangoon" was also compiled at the request of the Deputy Commissioner, Rangoon Town Lands.

The maps and plans acquired for the Archæological Library were as follows:—(1) History of Kale: (2) History of Tharrawaddy: (3) Ancient History of Pagan in the Pali language: (4) Life of Dhammaceti, King of Pegu, in the 15th century A. D.: (5) Map of Ancient Prome showing the pagodas, sites of Palaces, and other localities of historic interest. In the List of Buildings of Archæological, Historical or Architectural interest to be maintained by the Public Works Department, there is a short history of each Fort and tomb and monastery which is interesting and valuable. An excellent Plan

of the Palace Platform at Mandalay, showing the Buildings dismantled and vacated accompanies this Report.

The Bombay Report is a statement of work done in Berar, Central India, Rajputana and the Central Provinces. Mr. H. Cousens is the Superintendent Archæological Survey, Bombay Circle. The actual expenditure incurred in the conservation of ancient monuments during the financial year is Rs. 16,821. Mr. Cousens notes with strong disapproval, and rightly so, the order to re-paint certain slabs and figures in the Kārli Caves. This is what he says:—"Later on, I received an estimate for repairs to the different groups of caves in which one item set down was for *repainting the figures* in the Kārli Cave, which at some remote period had been daubed with colour by some vandals! One can almost hear these fine old caves crying out 'Save us from our friends.' But surely there must be some mistake here. Yet within the last year I have received two proposals from two different Executive Engineers to paint inscribed slabs by way of preserving them, and another entered in his estimate the whitewashing of an old carved black stone temple for the same purpose! Sometimes such things are done without our knowledge, such as the recent whitewashing of the old tomb of Ghulām Shāh Kalhorā at Hyderabad, Sind, and the excavation of unsightly trenches around the base of the old Bhuddhist *stūpa* Thūl Mir Rukhan, near Moro, in order to throw up a ramp around the Thūl to preserve it. And *we* have to bear the execration of the public. I would be glad if it could be made a hard and fast rule that nothing whatsoever, however insignificant a measure it may seem, should be done to these old remains without a previous reference to our Department. It would now and again save a building from some well-meaning but disastrous protective measures."

On 30th January the Superintendent visited and inspected the Fort at Karmala in the Sholapur district, and there he noticed a very unusual thing in connection with the temple of Ambabai,—the *sikhara* or tower was surmounted by the Union Jack!

At Mandu, in Central India, there are many magnificent buildings, some in an almost perfect state of repair,—Mandu once being the home of the Malva Kings when a Mahommedan

dynasty prevailed. The Viceroy had given a special order requesting the Director-General to visit Dhar and Mandu and draw up a scheme for the repairs and conservation of these fine old buildings. "We hardly know what is in Mandu yet," writes Mr. Cousens, "the place is so thoroughly overgrown with thick jungle and undergrowth. It would be a delightful piece of work to explore the hill completely, and I hope it may fall to my lot some day to do it. Even in our short visit we found many things that were new to us, both in constructive and decorative detail: for example, circular window frames, circular shafted columns, and a completely new design in finials." Indeed all the country to the south and west of Dhar, within the Central India Agency, is practically unknown so far as antiquarian remains are concerned and afford an interesting field for future explorers.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE POLICE ADMINISTRATION OF THE TOWN OF CALCUTTA AND ITS SUBURBS FOR THE YEAR 1903. By R. A. D'O Bignell, Esq., Commissioner of Police, Calcutta. Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1904.

THE one thing to be remarked on in this Report—as it is in the Government Resolution—is the large number of vacancies in the ranks of the constables at the end of the year. Mr. Bignell ascribes this, partly to the fact that a constable's present pay compares unfavourably with what he can earn as a *darwan* in private employ, and partly to more strict supervision of the force which has led to more work being required of them simultaneously with a decrease of illicit gains. Out of the 162 men dismissed, five were European constables for drunkenness and absence without leave. The whole strength of the force is 8 Superintendents, 55 Inspectors, 12 Sub-Inspectors, 16 European Sergeants, 48 European Constables, 11 Darogas, 80 Native Sergeants, 185 Corporals, 7 Head Constables, 35 sowars, and 2,866 constables, including 130 boatmen.

The total number of suicides during the year was 110, twenty-four less than in the previous year. Of these 94 were Hindus, 8 Mahommedans, 5 Christians, and 3 of "other

persuasions." In 48·3 per cent opium was the medium used, and of the total number of suicides, 42 were women.

The total number of accidental deaths was 371. During the year 47 European vagrants were received into the work-house. Of these 11 obtained employment and 10 ran away!

The number of persons confined in the Police Lock-up were 675 Europeans, and 3,896 Natives, a total of 4,571, and a decrease of 938 over the previous year. 749 old offenders were re-convicted during the year. The total number of children missing was 1,210, and of this number 1,198 were found again. There were said to be 30 bogus firms in existence against 28 in 1902. These people by advertisements induce people living at a distance to purchase articles of inferior value, and they also order articles from up-country, take delivery, but do not pay for them. The number of persons convicted by the Presidency Magistrate under the Penal Code were: Hindus, 3,396, Mahommedans 2,077, Christians 109, Jews 8, and others 8.

The amount of property stolen was Rs. 3,52,233-14-9 and the amount recovered only Rs. 1,12,574-10-0, a very small percentage.

The officers mentioned for good work done during the year are:—Mr. F. L. Halliday, the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. F. C. T. Halliday: Superintendents—Ellis, Robertson, Aldridge, and Haultain: Inspectors—Bowen, Frizoni and Purna Chanda Lahiri. Mr. Clare, Chief Engineer of the Fire Brigade, and Engineers Holmes and Chase.

ANNUAL RETURNS OF THE CHARITABLE DISPENSARIES UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL AND THE CALCUTTA MEDICAL INSTITUTIONS FOR THE YEAR 1903. By Colonel Browne, M.D., C.I.E., I.M.S., Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, Bengal, Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1904.

THE triennial Report on the Charitable Hospitals and Dispensaries of Bengal is not due until next year, and on the present occasion therefore Colonel Browne has confined himself to brief remarks explanatory of the statistics. These notes fall under two heads, (1) Calcutta Medical Institutions, (2) Charitable Dispensaries.

Under the former we find recorded that there are 17 public Hospitals and Dispensaries in operation. In these 27,178 indoor and 260,910 out-door patients were treated. This is a decrease in the number of in-patients, and the cause was evidently an improvement in the public health of Calcutta and its suburbs during the past year. The statistics for the year furnish further evidence of the improvement in the public health seeing that there was a marked decrease in the number of cases of malarial fever,—an exception, however, must be made in the case of venereal disease as there is an increase of 1,244 admissions over the numbers in 1902.

The record of surgical work done in the Hospitals during the year is a fairly satisfactory one, the total number of operations performed having risen from 18,185 in 1902 to 29,475 in 1903. The increase occurred chiefly at the Medical College Hospital.

The attendance of women at the Hospitals was larger than in the previous year by 1,617—the largest on record during the past eleven years. When we turn to finance we find that the total income of the hospitals was Rs. 9,59,759 against Rs. 12,23,967 in 1902—the decrease is owing to the fact that last year a large sum from Government was allotted for building operations at the Presidency General Hospital. Receipts from paying patients amounted to Rs. 83,739 as compared with Rs. 78,699 in 1902—the increase occurring chiefly at the Presidency General Hospital where the income from this source exceeded that during the previous year by Rs. 5,554. Private subscriptions were received in three Hospitals only, *viz.*, the Mayo Institutions (Rs. 6,566), the Sambhu Nath Pandit Hospital (Rs. 35), and the Howrah General Hospital. The larger sum in the case of the last named is owing to the subscriptions paid by private Firms in support of their employés whilst sick.

Colonel Browne says on this point,—“It can scarcely be said that the Calcutta public contribute generously towards the support of the hospitals.” Are not the generous subscriptions to the Hospital Nurses and the many entertainments,—the proceeds of which are given to them an answer to this statement?

When we turn to the Charitable Dispensaries we find that there are 597, excluding the Calcutta Institutions. During the year, 29 new ones were opened. Two were closed, and 4 were withdrawn from Government supervision. The total number of patients treated during the year was 4,411,355, an increase of 248,579, whilst the daily average attendance increased by 595.21. These figures include only the patients treated in Charitable Dispensaries under Government supervision, but in addition 356,678 were treated in private dispensaries from which returns have been received: 169,569 in Railway Hospitals, 8,427 by travelling railway medical officers, 16,397 in temporary hospitals connected with outbreaks of epidemic disease, so that altogether 4,962,426 persons received medical relief in this way as compared with 4,607,356 in the previous year. The total number of surgical operations performed in the Dispensaries during the year was 184,429 as compared with 171,647 in 1902, an increase of 12,773.

It may be remarked that the attendance of women at the dispensaries, although slightly larger than in the preceding year is still considerably behind that in some other Provinces, notably Madras, the United Provinces, and the Punjab, where the percentages of women in the total daily attendance during 1902 were 23.89, 22.59, and 20.97 respectively, as compared with 17.88 in Bengal. A great deal has recently been done towards improving the accommodation for female patients, and arrangements securing their privacy are now provided in the great majority of institutions.

The net income for the year was Rs. 13,61,520, against Rs. 11,79,284 in the previous year: an increase of Rs. 1,82,236. This, however, is principally due to the inclusion of a sum of Rs. 1,27,000 spent on the construction of a new hospital at Hathwa by Her Highness the Maharani.

Subscriptions and donations from natives increased by Rs. 1,42,212, whilst those from Europeans diminished by Rs. 3,793. During the past year much active sympathy with hospital work has been shown by native gentlemen in the form of large contributions. The following are some of the most important contributions during the year:—Rs. 20,000 by Babu Dhana Krishna Goswami, for the

construction and maintenance of a dispensary at Chella in Birbhum: Rs. 40,000 bequeathed by the late Kumar Srish Chander Singh of Kandi to the Kandi dispensary: Rs. 15,000 by Babu Dhanpat Singh, Nowlakha, for dispensary building at Azimgan: Rs. 10,000 by Babu Chogmull Sookhani towards the construction of the Victoria Memorial Dispensary at Darjeeling: Rs. 15,000 by Babu Lall Nakphopha Gayawal of Gaya to Elgin Zenana Hospital: Rs. 1, 27,000 by Her Highness the Maharani of Hathwa for a new dispensary building at Chapra, and for the construction of a Victoria Hospital at Hathwa: Rs. 20,000 by Babu Romoni Mohan Sing, for a new Dispensary in the Bhagulpur Fort: Rs. 10,000 by Babu Thakur Das for two wards at the Ranchi Hospital: and Rs. 15,000 by Babu Rajendra Narayan Bhanja for a female ward in the Cuttack General Hospital. On these donations, the Lieutenant-Governor says that "he has perused with much pleasure the long list of important donations made to the Hospitals during the year. Nineteen donations of an aggregate value of Rs. 3,19,500 are included in the list, and they constitute a record of which the Province has no reason to be ashamed. The thanks of the Lieutenant-Governor have already been conveyed to the donors separately, but His Honour avails himself of this opportunity to thank them again for their liberality."

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE HOSPITALS AND CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS OF THE UNITED PROVINCES FOR 1903. By R. D. Murray, M. B., Colonel, I.M.S., Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, United Provinces, Government Press, Allahabad, 1904.

FROM this Report we learn that there has been an increase in the number of surgical operations performed and also in the number of cures. The total income of hospitals and dispensaries has also increased, but the increase in the total expenditure, makes the whole increase but some Rs. 16,000. Unlike the Report on the Calcutta Medical Institutions we have here a decrease in the amount of native subscriptions and an increase in that of European subscriptions. The Lieutenant-Governor remarks on this:—"While gratefully acknowledging the

generosity of several humane and public-spirited gentlemen in these Provinces, His Honour is constrained to think that more might be done by those who have the means to relieve the sufferings of the poor."

REPORT ON EMIGRATION FROM THE PORT OF CALCUTTA TO BRITISH AND FOREIGN COLONIES, 1903. By C. Banks, Esq., M.D., C.M., D.P.H., Protector of Emigrants, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1904.

THIS is an interesting Report. Mr. R. W. S. Mitchell, C. M. G., was the Emigration Agent for British Guiana and Natal. Mr. A. C. Stuart, the Agent for Trinidad, died during the year, and was succeeded by Mr. R. P. Gibbes. Mr. L. Grommers acted as the Agent for Surinam, and Mons. C. Jambon for the French Colonies. Of the seven Colonies importing Indian labourers, Demerara received the most, *viz.*, 2,800. Of the 12,403 emigrants recruited, 719 or 5.80 per cent. were recruited in Bengal: 692 or 5.57 per cent. in Behar: 7,663 or 61.78 per cent. in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh: 260 or 2.09 per cent. in Ajmere: 2,117 or 17.67 per cent. in the Punjab. The largest number of registrations were again effected in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. As in the previous year Fyzabad and Basti took the lead in supplying the largest number of emigrants.

Of the 11,161 emigrants accommodated in the several depôts in Calcutta in the year under report, there were 7,500 men, 2,878 women, 323 children, boys, 269 girls, and 191 infants of both sexes. Out of these 17 men, 5 women, 1 boy and 6 infants died.

The number of emigrants who actually embarked for the Colonies was 9,084, as against 10,882 in the previous year, and of these 2,500 were women. Of the vessels engaged 11 were sailing ships and 6 steamers.

The following tables are interesting,—the first shows the number of emigrants that returned to India from the several Colonies during the year and the amount of their savings,—and the second the number and amount of remittances made

to India by money-order, etc., by resident immigrants in the Colonies during the past two years:—

COLONIES.	Number of souls embarked at Colony.	SAVINGS.	
		Aggregate.	Average amount on the number embarked.
		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Demerara ...	2,385	3,07,423 10 5	128 14 5
Trinidad ...	750	1,45,680 9 3	194 3 10
Jamaica ...	359	48,486 5 0	135 0 11
Mauritius ...	201	3,699 0 0	18 6 5
Natal ...	409	97,537 8 0	238 7 7
Fiji ...	579	1,78,816 13 0	308 13 6
Reunion ...	3	...	...
Total ...	4,686	7,81,643 13 8	166 12 10

Name of Colony.	1902.				1903.			
	Population.	Number of money-order.	Amount of remittances.	Average.	Population.	Number of money-order.	Amount of remittances.	Average.
			Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.			Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Demerara ..	130,756	1,226	30,850 2 0	0 3 9	..	1,302	32,617 13 0	0 4 0
Trinidad ..	86,357	848	37,238 0 0	0 6 10	..	959	38,421 1 0	0 7 1
Mauritius ..	..	3,267	1,29,654 6 0	0 7 11	..	1,495	63,866 14 0	..
Natal ..	78,004	15,513	15,87,888 4 0	21 12 2	..	15,594	15,16,302 5 0	19 7 0
Fiji ..	20,076	416	31,656 1 10	2 2 2	..	453	34,293 12 0	1 11 3
Jamaica ..	11,832	80	3,336 9 0	0 3 6	..	87	3,368 0 0	0 4 6
St. Lucia ..	..	11	498 7 0	0 9 11	..	8	291 0 0	..
Seychelles ..	..	..	..	..	..	454	27,034 14 0	..
Surinam ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Guadeloupe ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Reunion ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Does not exchange money-orders with this country.

Ditto

Ditto

THIRTY-SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SANITARY COMMISSIONER FOR BENGAL, YEAR 1903.—By Major F. C. Clarkson, I. M. S. Bengal Secretariat Press, 1904.

THE Government Resolution on this Report is a little critical and severe. "The Sanitary Commissioner's Report for 1903 deals for the most part with figures only, his remarks under the several headings consisting mainly of comparisons between the statistics of the year under review with those of the preceding year, and to speculations regarding the causes for these variations. Information as to local conditions, the special causes and prevalence of disease, and the progress of sanitation during the year is somewhat scanty."

Altogether 2,903,191 births and 2,481,149 deaths were registered in Bengal during 1903, and as compared with 1902 there has been a falling off in both the number of births and deaths, amounting to 84,609 and 7,279 respectively. As regards deaths the difference is small, but this would have been nearly thirteen times as large but for the severe prevalence of cholera and plague which were responsible for over 85,000 more deaths than in 1902.

In comparing Bengal statistics with those of other provinces, we find the highest birth-rate during the year, *viz.* 46·13 per mille was recorded by the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, while the Central Provinces which last year occupied first place now stands second. As regards deaths, the highest rate, *viz.*, 49·01 per mille was again returned by the Punjab, Bengal being the lowest with a ratio of 33·33. The unusually high death-rate returned by the Punjab was chiefly due to the heavy mortality from plague which amounted to over 20 per cent. of the total deaths registered in the Province. With regard to details of birth registration in Bengal we find that the highest birth-rate, *viz.*, 50·91, was recorded in the district of Gaya, while of towns, Jamalpur, in the Monghyr district, which usually records the highest birth-rate had to yield the place of honour to Tikari which showed a ratio of 53·90. Jhalakati, in the Backergunge district, recorded, as usual, the smallest birth-rate, *viz.*, 4·01 and must continue to do so on account of the unduly large proportion in the sexes of its inhabitants, there being 4,708 males to only 526 females. With regard to the details of death registration it may be noticed that Revelganj heads the list with 78·23, but this is much smaller than the corresponding figures of the two preceding years, *viz.*, 105·72 and 152·38.

Of the rural areas Jamalpur returned the highest, *viz.* 124·80.

The mortality according to sex, class and age are worth studying. More males died than females, the ratios being 34·87 and 31·80 per mille respectively, and as compared with the preceding year the mortality was higher among Hindus and Buddhists and lower among the other races. The higher death-rate among Hindus was mainly due to the greater

unhealthiness of the greater portion of Bihar and Orissa where the Hindu element in the population greatly predominates, while the severe prevalence of malarial fever in Chittagong and Darjeeling, where most of the Buddhists in this province reside, helped to swell the death-rate among them.

The mortality among European seamen in the Port of Calcutta was less than half of the previous year. In 1903 there were 10 deaths, in 1902, 23, while in 1899 the number was 52. Altogether 20,253 European seamen arrived in the Port of Calcutta during 1903—the daily average population of them being 1,145.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

LINGUISTIC AND ORIENTAL ESSAYS, written from the year 1840 to 1903, Seventh Series, by Robert Needham Cust, LL.D., Barrister-at-Law. London, Luzac and Co., 46, Great Russell Street. 1904.

THIS volume of 237 pages is, to use the author's own words, "The last scratch of an Octogenarian Pen, which has been in "ceaseless motion since 1840, when he was Captain of the "Oppidans at Eton College," and it is written in his 84th year. The title pages bear the beautiful inscription "Domine, "Oculos, Dextram Linguam, Meditationes, dirige et cohibe ; "Illumina Mentem, et Cerebrum ut (A) Videam clarè, (B) "Meditar fideliter, (C) Legam diligenter, (D) Loquar modestè, " (E) Auscultem submissè, (F) Scribam caute et veraciter ; "Et omnia cum Te, pro Te, sub Te, in Te" and the very last page "Vale Æternum Vale. February, 24 1904, Anno Vitæ 84."

The history of the Book, which is a valuable collection of essays, is as follows. In November 1901 Dr. Cust wrote the Preface to the Sixth Series of Linguistic and Oriental essays, commencing with the words: "Vocat labor ultimus." In February 1898, he wrote the Preface to the Fifth Series of the same Essays commencing with the words: "Ecce iterum Crispinus! I really ought not to have done it:" and that Series consisted of 1,075 pages: "the Chronological List of my printed writings, at page 369 of this volume, gives a total of my separate writings in the courses of seventy years since my Eton days as 1,270. I can assure my readers that it was by an entire accident that this volume has seen the light, and at the age of 82 it was no joke to get it through the press. I wished to bid farewell to my missionary labours: this led to Essay 2, and my having been present at three coronations in Westminster Abbey made the compiling of Essay 7 a matter of necessity. The reprint of two small volumes was suggested for the purpose of saving their lives by being incorporated in

a long serial, which can be found in so many libraries of Europe, Asia, and America; and some of the Essays in the Table of Contents are the outcome of senile gratitude to that kind Power, which has lengthened my life while Bishops and Statesmen and Warriors have fallen at a younger age, and prolonging the use of my faculties beyond the normal age of man."

There is much in this Book which is of the greatest interest and value to us whose life work is in India, and especially to those who think their duty and care for the many nations of this vast Empire is a light one, particularly in Essay number 3,—“The Attitude of the White Man to his Coloured Fellow Creatures.” A reference is made to this Essay later on. We learn that “In the year 1843 Daniel Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta, taught me my first lesson on the Duty, and the Methods, of this great cause, (*i.e.*, the Cause of the Evangelization of the World) of which I was at the age of 22 totally ignorant. May blessings rest on his memory and may all Indian Bishops follow his example. It has been the joy of my life for sixty years, and no one will doubt that it has been a blessing. At any rate it has kept me in perfect Peace to have my mind stayed on this work.”

Dr. Cust is right when he says: “Let me allude to the servants of the Indian Government, who, after a long and prosperous career, shielded in war, peace and time of disease, have been permitted to return home for an happy old age, when so many of their comrades sleep in the Indian graveyards. What shall they render unto the Lord? Have they not service to render for themselves and their comrades? My dead friends seem to cry out to me.

I feel that these are my dying words, and I know that some may say that I had better died before I wrote them; but I look round on some of my Indian contemporaries with despair. Their lives have been saved, they come home, but they seem to have no sense of their duty to do something for their fellow-creatures. Eat their dinner, go to their club and tailor, kill little birds, that is the sum and substance of their gratitude to God. How many of their fellow-labourers moulder

in Indian graveyards, while they have the bliss of returning home!”

One of the most elaborate articles in this volume is “Common Features which appear in all Forms of Religious Belief”—and this Essay shows great research and industry. One Essay on “The Languages and Religions of India” is reprinted here in its Greek translation.

The concluding pages consist of Poems in English, Greek, Latin and Sanskrit, some of especial Indian interest.

One of the most suggestive papers and the one which should be laid to heart by many whose lot is cast in this country is “On the Attitude of the White Man to his Coloured Fellow-Creature all over the world”. In this paper the following questions are asked and answered:—

“ (1) Are not the Coloured Races the Children of God and Inheritors of His Grace through our Saviour, as much as the White Men? Can we doubt it?

(2) Was not our Lord one of the dark Races? See *Song of Solomon*, I, 5, 6.

(3) Are some of the Coloured Races in any way inferior in intellectual qualities, if they receive the same culture as the White Men? What were the White Men of Great Britain in the time of Julius Cæsar? This very year the first on the list of the candidates for the Civil Service of India *by competition* is a native of India. This has happened more than once.

(4) Are they in any other qualities inferior? Certainly not. The Indian soldier is as brave as the Englishman; the Indian Judge and administrator is as capable, and honest, as the Englishman. I have had constant experience of this. The educated Indian is a *gentleman* in demeanour and conversation down to the ground, which is more than can be said of the low white man in Calcutta.”

Perhaps in this last paragraph Dr. Cust allows his enthusiasm to go beyond the bonds of strict truth. We have personally known at least two educated Indian princes who were or are slaves to drink,—one we knew, killed himself by drinking too much,—and the low white man in Calcutta is no worse, perhaps, than the low black man of the same city,

The great point surely in all these contrasts is that the white man, as the child of Christian parents, and brought up among Christian surroundings ought to be a better man than his brother black man of a heathen faith and surrounded by heathen influences?

STUDIES. By B. C. Mahtab. Calcutta, Newman and Co.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJ-ADHIRAJ BAHADUR OF BURDWAN is the author of these Studies of certain Social and Religious matters concerning the People of Bengal,—and they are “dedicated to the Respected Memory of my late kind and esteemed friend, Sir John Woodburn, K.C.S.I.”

The object of the book is stated in the “Author’s Note,” which is unnecessarily apologetic; in it, he says that he has endeavoured to describe the effect of British Rule on certain classes of people in Bengal, and the results of present-day education; and, above all, to point out certain social defects which are found more or less everywhere in Bengal, and which, unless checked, will bring her people to “a pretty pass.”

The Maharaja speaks plainly and to the point, and it is a great thing to find a man in his position able and ready to devote his pen to the furtherance of patriotic and religious principles.

The loyalty of the author to England and English institutions is pre-eminent throughout the book, and his admiration of Lord Curzon unbounded. “Though every friend of Lord Curzon saw that he had makings of a great man in him, yet the success of his Indian administration has far surpassed the wildest dreams of his most sanguine admirer.” I am afraid the Maharaja’s admiration will not meet with the approval of the Bengal native press!

The author is a zealous religious Reformer and spares neither Brahmo nor Christian in what he says. He speaks of “the evil the Missionaries had been in Bengal (or rather India) by converting ignorant people to Christianity by means that were not always straight forward and worthy of the godliness of Christ. Rammohan (the founder of Brahmoism) being a good Hindu had no intention of denouncing Christianity,

for like all true believers in the one universal religion of God, he saw true Hinduism in the pure, simple, yet grand teachings of the Prophet of Nazareth. But as a real well-wisher of his country he saw the evil that Christianity would bring upon the masses who were wholly ignorant of the true religion of the Vedas and pitiful idolators, and, sweating under the dead-weight of ceremonies which were meaningless to them, betook themselves to Christianity, not indeed for its vivifying teachings, but simply to escape from an oppressive ritualism, and to enjoy all the different comforts of the Western world.”

On the other hand, the Maharaja confesses “Not that I am at all against Christianity, for like every true Hindu, I serve Jesus Christ as I do Lords Buddha and Sankara, and I would never object to any of my countrymen adopting Christianity if he did so with full faith and in the belief that it was a better and truer religion than true Hinduism.

The chapters on Early Marriage in Bengal; Widow Marriage; Female Education in Bengal; and Defects in Modern Education in Bengal are sound and practical, without being untrue to the best Hindu ideals.

We notice, with interest, that the author of these *Studies* puts down all the evil results of a bad education—by bad is meant the system of cram and superficial knowledge, to the fact that the present system of education is purely secular—and he advocates that in all private Hindu colleges the work of the day should begin with a *Stava* or *Prarthana*, the prayer or hymn selected being so simple and catholic as to be intelligible and suitable to Hindu children of “all denominations—and even to Mahommedans. This is a step in advance.

The concluding chapter of this truly thoughtful book deals some heavy blows at the modern Vernacular Press of Bengal, which “is daily getting more and more offensive and extremely vicious in its unprincipled attacks on individuals and the Government.” “It is high time,” says the writer, “that all good people of Bengal should protest against the modern press rowdiness and convince our rulers that we are no friends of these fire-eaters.”

We lay this book down with a feeling of thankfulness that one in high position among the Indian princes of Bengal should be inspired with such helpful principles, and that he should not be afraid to put them before his fellow-countrymen—they are, we trust, an earnest of labour in the future both for his own State and for India.

THE EXPLORATION OF TIBET, ITS HISTORY AND PARTICULARS FROM 1623 TO 1904. By Graham Sandberg, B.A. Calcutta, Thacker, Spink and Co.

A SHORT time ago we read a little book by Annie R. Taylor called *Pioneering in Tibet*, and in it this lady, who is a very devoted worker and who, during this last expedition to Tibet, has acted as nurse at Chumbi and done much to cheer our wounded and sick soldiers, describes her work as "The Tibet Pioneer Mission," and in an account from the *Christian*, which gives the story of Miss Taylor's first journey into Tibet in 1888, we come across the following statement:—"We are aware that certain travellers have crossed Tibet in various directions, but few indeed have penetrated Inner Tibet: and of those known to have reached Lhasa, only two have returned to tell the tale." It is no doubt news to Miss Taylor and her friends of the Pioneer Mission to be told that in the year 1708 four Capuchin Friars reached Lhasa, and for 38 years this Mission remained, off and on, in the capital city of Tibet, building a church and making converts. Mr. Sandberg's Book gives full details of this Mission and his account is the only accurate one put forth. The detailed and curious narrative there of one of these Missionaries, Cassiano Beligatti da Mecerata, now appears in English for the first time. This important recital, discovered recently in manuscript in a provincial library in Italy, was issued two years ago in an Italian scientific periodical. Another relation of Tibetan adventure, now first given in English dress, is that of the remarkable expedition and tragical death of the French traveller, Mons. Dutreuil de Rhins.

So early as the year 1701 the Order of Minorite Observants of St. Francis, pushing their mission through North China to

the westward, at length founded a settlement not very far from the borders of north-east Tibet, stationing themselves at Si-nagan-fu, about 40 miles east of the Ambo region. On arrival they found a few native Christians in the place, but whether these were descendants of Nestorian Christians or converts from other parts of China does not seem certain. Seven years later Tibet was attacked from a diametrically opposite quarter, *viz.*, the south. Four Capuchin Friars started from Kathmandu and crossing the Pango Pass (19,000 feet) journeyed without molestation to Kirong and Dengri and thence to Gyantse and Palte, at length in two months reaching Lhasa. They were not at all unfavourably received. These four priests, whose names are Father Domenico da Fano, Prefect of the Mission, Father Guiseppe da Ascoli, Father Francis Maria Da Tours and Father Francesco Olivero della Penna, were the first Europeans to stay, for any length of time, in Lhasa, and but for the flying visit of Grueber and D'Orville, 50 years before, the first to set foot in that unknown city. These worthy men said their daily Mass, learnt the Tibetan language and instructed any who wished to know their beliefs and purposes. They maintained communication with the Mission settlement in Nepal and the whole chain of the Capuchin Mission stations from Chandernagore to Lhasa was called "the Tibetan Mission."

The authorities at home, however, looked coldly on the Mission, only £100 per annum was sent out to support eight or nine Missionaries, and this by exchange, etc., was reduced by one-third before it could be used. Things reached such a pass that, at the close of 1710, they had to suspend operations and quit both Nepal and Tibet. During ten years the result of this Mission had been as follows:—"The Fathers, of whom 15 had gone out at various times, had in ten years succoured 380 dying infants and had administered baptism to only two adults, making them children of God." Later, on we find another entry concerning the work of a further eight years, and from that we learn that "Holy Baptism had been administered in Tibet, Bekpal and Patna to no more than 2,587." It seems to have been a curious custom of these Roman Fathers to get permission from heathen parents to baptise newly born

infants that were about to die, which ceremony the parents seem readily to have acquiesced in, perhaps thinking it some charm which might cause the infants to recover. In 1712 it was decided to despatch Domenico da Fano to Rome, and he succeeded so well in his advocacy of the cause that in 1714 he returned, having obtained the promise that the Tibetan Mission should henceforth consist of 12 priests with an annual allowance of 1,000 scudi. The Mission had now been suspended for more than four years, but early in 1715 three of the brethren once again found their way to Lhasa. How the Missionaries received a grant of land and on it built a Church and Mission house at whose opening eleven Christians, mostly natives of Nepal, were present; how various translations into Tibetan were made, Cardinal Belluga having had a large fount of Tibetan type cast at his own expense; how the Mission suffered from the interference and jealousy of the Jesuits; how the Mission was abandoned for at least seven years, from 1733 to 1740, and how the representations of the Prefect of the Mission, Father Orazio della Penna, proved marvellously successful with the authorities at the Vatican and procured a third return of the Capuchin Mission with nine clergy, including Cassiano Beligatti da Mecerata, who afterwards approved himself the most capable and most literary of the whole: and how at last, on 20th April 1745, after seven more years of the re-occupation of the Mission, the three remaining Missionaries (three having left 2½ years before) the prematurely aged Prefect and his faithful subordinates bade good-bye for ever to the capital of Tibet, and set out on the return journey to Nepal, we must refer our readers to Mr. Sandberg's fascinating account.

In conclusion, this is a book to be read, especially at the present moment. It contains much that is new on the country now opened, as well as much that is most valuable.

LES ANGLAIS DANS L'INDE. WARREN HASTINGS. By A. Bioves. Paris. 1904.

THIS Life of Warren Hastings is not based on new material, but nevertheless is something of an achievement from

the scrupulous fairness with which it is written. It requires some boldness to abandon the ancient tradition of the English Verres, the bandit chief, and so forth, which still holds on the continent of Europe, especially in Germany.

DIE HEIMAT DER INDO-GERMANEN IM LICHT DER URGESCHICHTLICHEN FORSCHUNG. By M. Much (2nd edit.) Berlin. 1904.

THE output of books dealing with the origin of the Indo-Germanic race is reaching remarkable proportions, and most of it tends to corroborate the once heretical opinion that the home of the race has to be sought in Europe itself.

The present work endeavours to show that Indo-Germanic culture originated in a tract of country reaching on the west to the North Sea, on the south to the Hartz mountains and the Riesengebirge, and on the east to the Oder or perhaps the Weser. These boundaries, Dr. Much thinks, were overstepped in the later Stone Age by migrants to Italy, the Balkans, Great Britain, and to the Black Sea and the Ægean.

The subject-matter of Dr. Much's investigations is formed by the archæological remains of the oldest prehistoric inhabitants of the tract above indicated, which have to be investigated with a view to ascertain how far they point to the existence of a uniform and primitive culture unconnected with other parts of the world, and how far their occurrence coincides with the spread of the Indo-Germanic races. "To this end," he says, "attention must be directed to the extant tools and weapons of stone, especially those of nephrite and jade, to the geometrical patterns on pottery, especially the trade in amber, to the Great Grave mounds, the cultivated plants, domestic animals, and to the geographical and physical conformation of the country and its influence on its inhabitants."

THE QUEEN'S QUAIR. By Maurice Hewlett. Macmillan and Co.

FROM the author of *Richard Yea-and-Nay* we expect a great book here and we have it. It is a book to buy, and a book

to keep. The foam and spray of Mr. Hewlett's style of romantic writing is well suited to the tragedy of Mary Stuart's life. If he is not always wholly intelligible we forgive him for the wealth of words in which the difficulty is whelmed. His main conclusions are always luminant enough. Like Carlyle he paints a picture in which even the minor characters are so sharply defined that for the moment they fill the stage. The actors in this drama are marked with a vividness that makes them live and move. The terrible dourness of the Scotch character that drove the Queen almost by natural reaction into unpardonable excesses, the splendid loyalty of Huntly, the cynical masterfulness of Bothwell, the glittering meanness of King Henry Darnley, the honest devotion of Mary Livingstone which retired broken-hearted from a hopeless task, these are only some of the strong realities that give life to this book. Plain spoken and pitiless as he is, we feel our author to be remorselessly just. His sympathy has not blunted his judgment, nor his indignation darkened his perception. Mr. Hewlett is a great literary artist in a field in which at present he works alone. At his touch the bones must be dry indeed which do not spring up clad again in sinew and flesh. From a critical point of view we may occasionally catch our breath at the pace at which we are made to travel, and sigh for a trifle more restraint, but we are forced to admit that stirring times must be breathlessly followed, and that a tale of intrigue, passion, and the wrecking of a royal soul marches well to a crash of trumpets.

THE DESCENT OF MAN, ETC. By Edith Wharton. Macmillan and Co.

THIS book consists of several stories, mainly dealing with phases of modern American life. The stories as a rule end abruptly, and can be safely recommended to readers who enjoy guessing at obscure conclusions. While thoroughly up to date, sometimes unpleasingly so, they are essentially ephemeral, and their interest can hardly be said to justify their publication in book form.

CECILIA, OR MEMOIRS OF AN HEIRESS. By Fanny Burney. 2 vols. London: George Bell and Co.

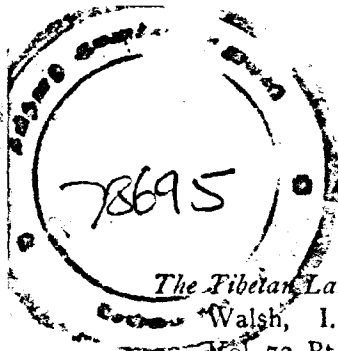
THE first edition of *Cecilia* was published in 1782; the present edition, with a preface and notes by Annie Raine Ellis, Editor of the early Diary of Fanny Burney, was first published in Bohn's Novelist Library in 1882 and is now re-issued in the York Library, 1904.

THE WORKS OF RALPH WALDO EMERSON, IN FOUR VOLUMES.
 Vols. 1 & 2. VOL. 1, ESSAYS AND REPRESENTATIVE MEN.
 VOL. 2, ENGLISH TRAITS. THE CONDUCT OF LIFE. NATURE.
 London: George Bell and Sons. 1904.

THE text of this edition has been carefully collated and revised by George Sampson. *English Traits* was first published in 1856; *The Conduct of Life* in 1860; *Nature* in 1836; *Essays* in 1841, and *Representative Men* in 1850. These volumes are now reprinted in the York Library. In noticing these reprints in the York Library we have nothing to add to our comments in the last number of the *Calcutta Review*,—the paper is excellent, the type clear and the binding all that could be desired. We might, however, add that the price of these books is 2s. per volume.

SAINT ANDREW'S COLONIAL HOMES MAGAZINE. Vol. 4, Nos. 3 & 4.

WE have received two numbers of this excellent little Magazine, which tells of the good work done at Kalimpong, and are much pleased with what the Editor says under the heading of "Church Connection." We learn from that paragraph that great care is taken that the children, who are inmates of these Homes, should be instructed in their own Church belief, and Mr. Graham has arranged directly with the Bishop of Calcutta himself for the instruction of the Church of England children now in the Homes. This is as it should be, and we are glad to find this benevolent Institution established on such lines. It deserves the support of all those, of whatever denomination, calling themselves "Christians."



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

The Tibetan Language and Recent Dictionaries. By E. H. C. Walsh, I. C. S. Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. 72, Pt. 1, No. 21903.

The Queen's Quair; or, The Six Years' Tragedy. By Maurice Hewlett. London: Macmillan and Co.

The Descent of Man and Other Stories. By Edith Wharton. London: Macmillan and Co.

The Exploration of Tibet: Its History and Particulars from 1622 to 1904. By Graham Sandberg, B. A. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co.

Industrial India. By Glyn Barlow, M. A. Madras: G. A. Natesan and Co.

The Quatrains of Hali. (Maulavi Saiyid Altaf Husain Ausari Panipati), edited in the Roman character. By G. E. Ward, M. A., of Wadham College, Oxford, B. C. S., retired. London: Henry Froude. 1904.

Kshatriyas and Would-be Kshatriyas. By Kumar Cheda Singh Varma, B. A., of Lucknow, Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. Allahabad: "Pioneer" Press.

The Son-in-Law Abroad and other Indian Folk Tales. By P. Ramchandra Row, B. L.

Rudyard Kipling: A Criticism. By John M. Robertson.

Maitreyi—A Vedic Story. By Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhushan.

Spencer's Economics: An Exposition. By Dr. Guglielmo Salvadori. Madras: G. A. Natesan and Co. 1904.

The English Diary of an Indian Student. By Rakhal Das Haldar. Dacca: The Asutosh Library.

Studies. By B. C. Mahtab. Calcutta: Newman and Co.

Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioners of the United Provinces for the year ending 31st December 1903, and the Ninth Report of the Sanitary Engineers for the year ending 31st March 1904. Allahabad: Government Press.