

A

TRIVENI

A JOURNAL OF THE INDIAN RENAISSANCE

EDITED BY
K. RAMAKOTISWARA RAO

*Adore enthusiasm, the dreams of the virgin soul,
and the visions of early youth, for, they are a
perfume of Paradise which the soul retains in
issuing from the hands of its Creator.*

MAZZINI.

Vol. 1. No. 2



'Malabari House'
Vepery
MADRAS

MARCH
1928

Now Ready!

Just Published!!

The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara

1542 - 1614—Rs. 10.

Vol. I. By the Rev. Henry Heras, S. J., M.A., Professor, Indian History, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, with a Preface by Sir R. C. Temple, Editor, 'Indian Antiquary.'

THE HISTORY OF THE ARAVIDU DYNASTY OF VIJAYANAGARA could properly be entitled 'The Forgotten Dynasty of the old Forgotten Empire'. Mr. Robert Sewell devoted three chapters to the history of this dynasty and Fr. Heras promises three big volumes of which this is the first. From the time of Mr. Sewell's publication it has often been repeated that the Empire of Vijayanagara met its end on the field of Talikota, in 1565. The present work discloses that the Empire continued in its splendour for several years. The author shows moreover that this period marked the climax of the Telugu domination over the most southern part of the peninsula of India.

DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., Ph.D., University Professor of Madras, writes as follows:—

"THE ARAVIDU DYNASTY OF VIJAYANAGARA by the Rev. Henry Heras of Bombay, is a work of great importance bearing as it does, upon an obscure period of Vijayanagara history. Father Heras has had access to new material and I look forward to finding much new information. I shall be glad to give a detailed review in due course."

The book is printed on Antique Paper and contains 720 pages in Demy Size with 17 Plates all printed on Art Paper.

As we have printed a limited number of copies please apply early to save disappointment.

Lok. Tilak's Githarabasya— or The Philosophy of Action By V. Mangalvedkar (3rd Edn.)	2 0
Dialogue Divine and Dramatic— By Gitananda Brahmachari	1 0
Life of Barrister Savarkar— By Chitra Gupta	1 8
Hindu-Pad-Padashahi— A critical Review of the Hindu Empire of Maharashtra by V. D. Savarkar	3 0
Hindutva— By V. D. Savarkar	1 4
An Echo from the Andamans— By V. D. Savarkar	1 0
England's Educational Policy in India— By V. V. Oak, B.A.	2 0
Economic Development— By Prof. B. K. Sarkar, M.A.	8 0

B. G. PAUL & Co., PUBLISHERS
FRANCIS JOSEPH STREET, MADRAS

[March 1928]

Your Health "Below Par" WHY?

On account of
OVER-WORK, WORRY & HEAT
and it is these that
cripple the Energy & Injure the Nervous System.

The results of diminished Nerve-power
comprise head-ache, loss of sleep, indigestion,
easily induced fatigue, disinclination for
bodily and mental exertion, loss of memory,
lack of vigour, constipation, etc., etc.

TO OVERCOME THESE

An excellent Nerve Invigorator is necessary
and VAIDYARATNA PANDIT D. GOPALA-
CHARLU the pioneer to bring reputation to
Ayurvedic System has invented

JEEVAMRUTHAM
(REGISTERED)

out of his advanced Researches into Indian
Medical Science.

It dispels all ills arising from diminished Nerve-power

and makes you { Feel
Look
Keep **Strong**

Price Rs. 3-4-0 per bottle

Sole Manufacturers:
AYURVEDASRAMAM
(Registered)
151, Govindappa Naick St., P. B. 287, MADRAS

Lovers of the Beautiful and the True!

Subscribe to-day for

The 'TRIVENI'

A JOURNAL ^{the} -c THE INDIAN RENAISSANCE

A Girl Poet.

G. Venker.

DEVOTED TO
ART. LITERATURE, HISTORY

Published on the 15th day of
**January, March, May,
July, September, November**

	Indian	Foreign
Annual Subscription	Rs. 5 (Postage Re. 1)	12 S or \$ 3
Single Copy	Re. 1 (Postage As. 3)	2½ S or 75c

All Communications should be Addressed to:—
The EDITOR, 'Triveni'

MADRAS

READY TO SERVE YOU

We carry one of the largest and most complete stock of Diamonds and other precious stones.

OUR ONE

1. Relieves you from anxiety and worry involved in bargaining.
2. It gives you full value for your money.
3. It is the lowest wholesale rate in retail.
4. It is accompanied by OUR GUARANTEE

SURAJMAL LALLUBHAI & Co.

The Dominant Jewellers of India & Burma

313, ESPLANADE, MADRAS

BOMBAY:
359, Kalbadevi Road

CALCUTTA:

12, Lal Bazar Street

TRICHY:

135, Big Bazaar Street

RANGOON:

Moghal Street

CONTENTS

PAGES

The Hindu Home: Re-discovered <i>By B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya</i>	...	1
The Hindu-Muslim Problem <i>By A. Ramaswami Mudaliar</i>	...	17
Reserve Bank Bill and After <i>By the Hon. V. Ramadas Pantulu</i>	...	33
Padmavathi: A Girl Poet <i>By G. Venkatachalam</i>	...	41
From the Bottom Rung <i>By K. S. Venkataramani</i>	...	47
South Indian Portraits: III, IV. <i>By T. G. Aravamuthan</i>	...	49
Youth to the Rescue <i>By Bhagat Ram Kumar</i>	...	73
The South Indian Stage <i>By V. Bhaskaran</i>	...	77
The Problem of Franchise <i>By N. G. Ranga</i>	...	83
Indian Women in Conference <i>By Mrs. T. Coatman</i>	...	97
India: Federal or Unitary? <i>By N. S. Srinivasan</i>	...	101
The Tamils and the Andhras <i>By Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar</i>	...	109
Current Topics	...	119

CONTENTS

Poems :

'He will Appear'—Translated from Tamil ... 128
By T. G. Aravamuthan

'The Tiny Grass-Flower' ... 129
From Telugu by the Poet
Kavukondala Venkata Rao

Reviews ... 130

ILLUSTRATIONS

Playmates—BY T. KESAVA RAO *Frontispiece*

Simhavishnu and his Queens

A King

Rajaraja-Chola I

Sola-ma-deviyar

Vishnuvardhana and Santale

A Chief

Lokabharana-deva

Gorakh-Nath

SKETCHES

Gandar-Aditya

Bhira-Rauthu

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

T. KESAVA RAO *alias* Sundaramurthi-Swami—the name given him by his great teacher Promode Kumar Chatterjee—is one of the rising artists of Andhradesa. He worked with Mr. Chatterjee in the Andhra Jatheeya Kalasala, Masulipatam. One of his pictures, the 'Goats', was purchased by Abanindranath and lent to the *Modern Review* for reproduction. A shy young man, yet in his teens and all unconscious of his worth.

B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA, B.A., M.B., C.M.: Editor, the *Janmabhumi*, Masulipatam. One of the founders of the Andhra Jatheeya Kalasala : prominent member of the All India Congress Committee: A brilliant debater, mainly responsible for the carving out of Congress provinces on a linguistic basis. Intimately associated with all progressive public movements in Andhra.

A. RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR, B.A., B.L.: Editor, the *Justice*, Madras. A finished speaker and writer, greatly interested in Art and Literature. President of the First All-India Non-Brahman Congress. Representative of the South Indian Liberal Federation at the All-Parties Conference recently held at Delhi. A close observer of political institutions in all lands.

THE HON. V. RAMADAS PANTULU, B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Madras: eminent Andhra publicist. Leader of the Swarajist party in the Council of State. President, The Madras Central Urban Bank, and Vice-President, the Madras Economic Association. An authority on economic questions.

G. VENKATACHALAM. A young Theosophist of Bangalore. A student, and latterly fellow-worker, of Dr. James H. Cousins. Organiser of Art Exhibitions. Contributes frequently to the press, his special subject being the modern artists and poets of India.

K. S. VENKATARAMANI, M.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Madras. Has won a European reputation as the author of those delicate pen-pictures of South Indian life, *Paper Boats*, *On the Sand Dune* and *Murugan, the Tiller*. One of the dreamers of the Future that is ours.

T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN, M.A., L.T., B.L., High Court Vakil, Madras. Sometime Lecturer in English, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras. Devotes his leisure to a study of the evolution of South Indian culture. His work on the *Maragam Age* (published by the University of Madras) has placed him in the first rank of authorities on South Indian History.

HAGAT RAM KUMAR, M.A. (Oxon). Lecturer, Theosophical College, Bangalore. A leading member of the Senate of the Andhra University. A son of the soil by birth, but an Andhra by adoption and marriage.

V. BHASKARAN, Sub-Editor, the *Swarajya*. An ardent student of Telugu and Tamil culture, more especially of the Drama.

N. G. RANGA, B. Litt (Oxon). Professor of Economics, Pachaiyappa's

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

College, Madras. Author of the *Andhra Economic Studies*. Has made a special study of rural conditions.

MRS. T. COATMAN, B. A., Secretary of the Delhi and the Panjab Women Graduates Union. Takes keen interest in the advancement of Indian Women.

N. S. SRINIVASAN, M. A., B. L., Vakil, High Court, Madras. Had a brilliant academic career. Has specialised in the study of constitutional questions. Sometime member of the All-India Congress Committee.

PANDIT M. RAGHAVA AIYANGAR, Assistant Editor of the *Tamil Lexicon*, University of Madras, is in the front rank of Tamil scholars. His works, such as *Velir Varalaru*, *Seran Sem-Kuttuvan* and *History of the Alvars*, are monuments to his unrivalled scholarship and keen historical instinct. His numerous articles in the *Sen-Tamil* are the un-acknowledged sources of much of the raw-material and most of the theories of some writers on South Indian history.

K. VENKATA RAO. One of the harbingers of the Andhra renaissance in literature. A favourite student of Mr. O. J. Couldrey, formerly Principal of the Government College, Rajahmundry, who dedicated his *South Indian Hours* to him and A. Bapiraju and D. Venkata Rao.

V. NARAYANAN, M. A., M. L., Advocate, Madras. A versatile scholar, equally at home in Law, Mathematics and the literatures of Sanskrit, Tamil and English.

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, M. A., Ph. D. Lecturer in History, the Christian College, Madras. Won the Ph. D., of Madras University with a thesis on the *Origin of the South Indian Temple*.

Page No
1

The Hindu Home: Re-discovered

BY B. PATTABHI SITARAMAYYA

SO engrossed is India in her politics and so enraged is she at her slavery, that she has little time left to examine her own social laws and domestic institutions. Indian newspapers do not devote a line to the study of the Indian Home as do the English papers. But what is infinitely worse, the educated Indians have accepted the ready-made appraisements of their customs and manners by globe-trotters, missionary sojourners, civilian critics and interested political opponents of their country. Their discontent with their own homes has been little concealed and it is Sir George Birdwood that had the vision to see and the frankness to declare that the English-educated Indian is disgusted with his own home and hearth, his mother and sister, and his wife. If that is the result of our education, we cannot be very proud of it. But that is also the result of the silent influence exercised by one civilization over another, more especially when the two meet on unequal terms. The civilization of the ruling race is always bound to set the pace for the subject people and the latter are apt to imagine that the fashions and fancies of their rulers must be accepted.

THE KING—THE SOCIAL HEAD, ABSENT

In a self-governing country, the king is not merely the political head of the State but the leader of society. The king's subjects imitate the court dresses, and the court manners. When a custom has to be changed, all that has to be done is for the king and queen to inaugurate the change, and this one example puts the royal imprimatur upon innovations in age-long customs and makes them current in society. Likewise the tone of morals, the code of ethics, and the sense of *amour propre* which must guide,

direct and control society, always owe their origin to the monarchs that sway the hearts of people as much as they rule the destinies of the nation. In a country like England where the political powers of the king are altogether curtailed, the value and importance of kingship lies in the compensating increase in the status and position of the king and the queen as the heads of society. The court is the means of bringing them into touch with the aristocrats of the land, and from the aristocrats, alike of culture and wealth, ideas and ideals filter to the populace. In India, unfortunately, there is neither king nor queen who are of a piece with the people, who think out their social problems, share with them their domestic embarrassments, and strive in common with them for the solution of the numerous social and domestic questions that confront them from day to day.

RELIGIOUS HEADS—DISCREDITED

While the hold of the political head of the country on matters relating to society has disappeared, that of the religious heads has—considerably been discredited and weakened—and this for obvious reasons. A purely secular education imparted by avowed antagonists of Hindu society and religion, or agencies who have taken up an equally avowed attitude of neutrality towards these problems, has helped to shift attention from them altogether and left them to suffer either by default or under misrepresentation, cavil and abuse. I would now plead for a little attention to these seemingly trivial problems of home and society.

HOME SUFFERED MORE THAN SOCIETY

As between home and society, it is perhaps difficult to draw a fine line of demarkation. It is the multitude of homes that make up society. Yet it is not impossible to distinguish affairs social from those purely domestic. In the domain of society, we have given a little attention, chiefly under the helpful criticism of some of the earlier Christian

THE HINDU HOME: RE-DISCOVERED

missionaries to questions like the abolition of caste, widow-marriage and women's education. But we have left the home severely alone. It has been left either to take care of itself or no care has been taken of it at all. Boys who spend the formative period of their lives in hostels or hotels and colleges are divorced from the domestic environment, where alone there is room for the cultivation of emotions. They spend their time in towns and are seldom anxious to return to their village homes during the vacation. They have no theatres or cinemas there, nor have they restaurants and clubs. The lime-light of towns yields place to little castor-oil lamps, and in place of the motor bus and car, one comes across the village labourer plodding his weary way home with his plough and his team of lean oxen. Our boys feel as strangers in their own homes. They are out of tune with the celebration of the national festivals, and the gods and goddesses worshipped by their mothers and sisters do not appeal to their imagination. The ceremonies, the religious rites, the annual observances, are all Latin and Greek to them. Most of our young men have no grounding in Sanskrit and cannot therefore follow the significance of the religious outlook which the Hindu home always strives to cultivate. The fact is that nations having self-government are proud of their kings and statutes, their religion and philosophy, their culture and civilization, their customs and manners, their art and ethics. We who have no kingdom of our own, have no country, have no society, have no homes. We have to rediscover them, reinterpret them and to recover them.

OUTSTANDING FEATURES OF THE HOME

To the observant eye, the cardinal features of the Hindu Home are its quadrangular house, its joint family, its intense domestic affections, its religious basis, the high status accorded to its women, the equity with which its laws of heritage work, and the spirit of hospitality that pervades the home. None of these is a perfection

in itself. The reasons for it may be many. For instance 'arrested development' and 'disuse atrophy' may be two potent causes for the imperfections noticeable in respect of these attributes. For more than ten centuries, foreigners have been ruling the country. And India is sharply divided into two sections,—the one directly under alien rule, and the other indirectly so, being under the rule of titular Indian sovereigns who preserve some of the effete ancient customs, but have neither personality nor power left to them and are themselves aping western ways and fashions. Nevertheless, the contrast between Indian India and British India is not only noticeable but glaring in many respects. Both have albeit come under the blighting influence of a new age, and the innovations worked out in the home and society have the unfortunate character of being haphazard, ill thought-out and unorganized. They are not as if a new *sadachara* has been inaugurated by the wisdom and example of good men and true, but they are the outgrowths or tubers that disfigure the trunk of the national civilization and sap its strength. A careful examination of each of the attributes enumerated would show that the changes,—call them the reforms, if you please—introduced into home and society are more the result of recklessness than reason, and in either case, lack that spontaneous character of changes worked out under the unobtrusive influence of recognized heads of society, and appealing to the popular mind as much through instinct as through reason.

THE QUADRANGULAR HOUSE

Let us start with a model Hindu house. It is a quadrangular enclosure, admitting light and air into the very centre of the house, and placing the inmates in constant touch with the star-spangled Heavens and the blue firmament. They are enabled to lead an open air life. A house so constituted is expansive and bound to be hospitable. The ideal is to accomodate a thousand people at dinner in the four verandahs around the quadrangle.

That is an ambitious ideal to be sure, but all ideals are ambitious. Their value lies in the principles they embody. The Hindu home is unprepossessing at the entrance, except for the magnificent threshold richly carved. The craftsman seldom stipulates the charges for executing it. His is the choice to prepare one that will be in keeping with the rest of the house. A common gateway is at first fixed by the family carpenter, and some day, after or before *grihapravesam*, he brings the permanent, artistic one and fixes it and takes his present,—not price—and goes his way. No one may dictate to the carpenter or the mason. They do their work in accordance with the *shasthras* and these may be relied, upon alike for sanitation and engineering, for comfort and beauty. No naked and unadorned beam is allowed. The western portion is reserved for the dining-hall. To its south is the kitchen well-lighted and aired. The house simply expands and brightens as you go from the drawing-room to the dining-hall. It is commodious where it ought to be. The deeper you enter, the more hospitable does it prove, even as a good householder would show, only when you study him deeper and deeper, how he conceals a capacious heart behind perhaps a crude exterior. Suites of rooms are constructed on either side of the inner quadrangle. (There are two such quadrangles in the better class of houses). If to-day, the quadrangles have become contracted and even closed, they only show how the spirit suffers behind the letter, and how in the modern age, men's hearts and openness are contracting and becoming cribbed. When Keir Hardie came to India, he was taken to the kitchen of an Ayangar home. He was struck by the marvellous cleanliness of the culinary apartments, the bright shining brass and bell-metal ware, the perfect orderliness of the store-room, the sacred niche in the wall for the family god, and the composite and clean character of the whole structure. Nor could he see a heap of debris—feathers of birds, jills of fish, and bones of animals, and caked-up gore, just behind the kitchen, as he did in the

European bungalows, which are clean and beautiful and artistic at the exterior, but betray few of these attributes either at the kitchen or in the backyard. It is the first morning duty of the Hindu mother or wife to sweep the whole house,—frontage, rooms and courtyard, sprinkle water mixed with cow-dung and allay the dust, and make artistic kolams (*Muggulu*) with a mixture of chunam and fine paddy-husk. Day in, day out, the ideal of cleanliness and beauty is borne in upon the children of the home by the elders of the family.

THE JOINT FAMILY

The plan of the Hindu house has been designed for the joint family. Just as the joint family has been broken up by modern conditions of life, even so the quadrangular house has yielded place to houses of the bungalow style. Really the Hindu household is a co-operative society of credit, production and consumption. The male adults divide the functions equally or equitably. While one member looks after cattle, another attends to agriculture, a third manages the household affairs, and a fourth looks to money matters and, in the latter days, litigation. No one ever robs another, and all place implicit faith in one another. Unfortunately this co-operative unit has been broken up by the non-co-operation of the brothers that have received an un-co-operative English education. The graduate in Arts and Medicine, or Arts and Law, sets up his practice, hoards his earnings and conceals them, and claims a share in the patrimony. The elder brothers that slave and toil the whole day have to share the spoils with the younger brother, who however reserves the 'gains of his learning' unto himself and his town-bred wife. On the women's side, the ideal of corporate life is still preserved. The supreme ideal of the mother is to tend the children, manage the household, and look after the dairy, the kitchen and the children. The educated brother and his wife, however, live apart and live for themselves and maintain little contact with his brothers beyond drawing them into litigation for statement of family accounts. The old ideals of

village life have disappeared. When a marriage is celebrated, yarn and ghee from the whole village used to be placed at the disposal of the family most needing them, on the implied understanding that these amenities would be returned to others during their need in turn. All this is a chapter of past history. We do not know how our relations are, much less do we know or care for our neighbour. The ideal of the individual has displaced that of the corporate, separatist interests have prevailed over those of the joint. Rights have supplanted duties. The old saying that every Englishman's house is a castle, which merely means every individual's home is the citadel of his rights, is really a fort through which society protects him and those rights of his,—this has conquered the hearts of educated men in India, whose homes, besides being homes for the family, were never citadels, but guest-houses, shelters for the poor, orphanages and centres of philanthropic interest.

THE IDEAL OF MARRIAGE

The outstanding feature of the Hindu home is the intense domestic affections prevailing amongst the members of the family, and even near relations outside the family. The Hindu husband and wife, the Hindu father and mother, the Hindu brother and sister, son-in-law and daughter-in-law, mother-in-law and father-in-law, each deserves a chapter for himself or herself. It is true that the system of marriage, which is the basis of the family, does not centre round that principle of wooing in the limelight. This is virtually unknown to the Hindu family, and if any wooing takes place at all, it is the wooing of the bride's family with the bridegroom's. The whole principle is the principle of engrafting,—engrafting one twig on another tree, one girl on to another family, and if the graft is to take, it must be engrafted while yet it is tender and its individuality is undeveloped. The choice of husband and wife is made by the parents who think out the best measures and methods for effecting a union, not merely between two individuals, but between two families. Society thus becomes a group of corporate families, knit together by

ties of close relationship, with the utmost spirit of democracy prevailing within each group, but each group preserving its integrity, individuality and purity, by a kind of isolation so far as inter-marriages are concerned, and a less rigid isolation so far as inter-dining is concerned. These groups are analogous to the bundles of nerve fibres and muscular fibres held together by connective tissue and membrane, but all responding to one common impulse emanating from a common centre. Thus constituted, the Hindu home, while rigidly safeguarding its integrity, individuality and purity, extends its hospitality alike to the Moslem brother, and to the panchama farm-servant, and treats them with the utmost tenderness and consideration. It represents really a series of concentric circles, with love radiating from the centre to every circumference. In order, therefore, to understand the spirit of Hindu marriage, you must view it as a sacrament rather than as a contract, yea, rather than even as a sentiment. We are not unaware of the high ideals of love, love at first sight, love sedulously cultivated and nurtured, which is supposed to be at the root of the marriage ideal in the West. But dispassionate observers will agree that, alike in the West and in the East, marriage is both a success and a failure, and if percentages are at all a guidance to us, there is as much to be said in favour of the Indian system as of the western. If marriage is a business proposition, then the Hindu system has nothing to be ashamed of. If it is a love-affair, the half-an-hour halt of a railway train at Indianapolis in U. S. A. for divorce at the railway station, perhaps over the quarrels picked up on the way; the one year, two year, and three year experimental marriages that have recently come into vogue in America; the challenging of the marital tie in Soviet Russia; the French laws that declare a child legitimate if born within six months after marriage; the English system that compels, and very rightly, a man of whatever nationality to marry a maid that has been betrayed by him,—all these must make us think twice before we deliver our verdict in favour of the western system. If the tug of war is between love and ethics, then

we have nothing to recant in enforcing ethics, even at the expense of love, but broadly speaking, we have accepted Goldsmith's ideal of marriage being the best for the average man and average woman, yea for every man and woman, in preference to that other ideal of men choosing to remain single and claiming the right to remain a bachelor and to speak ill of society. When once this ideal is accepted, child-marriage, or at any rate, parental choice follows. I hold no brief for either. In modern conditions, we may have to change, and social reformers have been at pains to reorganise society and to infuse into it new life and vigour. We wish all success to them. But institutions of standing must be understood, reinterpreted, and if necessary regained. After all, child-marriages in India are the rule only with a community which forms barely three per-cent of the population, and even there, provinces have their own exceptions.

INTENSE DOMESTIC AFFECTIONS

We have digressed into the question of marriage, as it is the key to the family, and family ties and affections. Dealing with the question of affections itself, the first point to notice is that the married son is not constituted at once *ipso facto* as a separate unit of society, is not sent out and turned adrift. He is as much a part of the family as ever before, while his wife is a daughter newly acquired, who is treated with all the tenderness and the care due to such an acquisition. Doubtless, differences spring up between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law, but they are the inevitable off-shoots of that jealousy between the mother and the wife for the attentions of the son. The mother feels that the boy, who is her own begotten son, whom she nursed and tended, whom she brought up and educated, whom she married and settled in life, has slipped out of her hands, no more cares for her company, seldom consults her in domestic affairs, and is enslaved by a new queen of his heart. Soon, that child whom she looked up for months for the son before his marriage, whose family she wooed, whom her son wedded, who was a daughter unto her when her own

daughters had left her home, on whom she hoped to rest in her old age, has become a rival that has stolen the heart of her son, an enemy in the home. I have painted this picture in lurid colours. But there is nothing untrue in the criticism. While this is so, let us see how modern conditions have disrupted the intimate ties of the inmates of the Hindu family. When the young man returns from the college to his village home after the close of his studies, he finds himself a stranger in a strange land. Town life and hostel life have this distinct disadvantage, namely, that they estrange him from his sister and brother. He has nothing in common with his brother whose interests and outlook are rural; while perhaps it is some years since he ever saw his married sister, his nephews he has not seen at all, and probably he was absent in the stress of college life from the marriage of his sister and brother, nephew or niece. He has perchance not seen his aunt after his uncle's death, and does not know how many sons and daughters his uncles or aunts, maternal or paternal, have or where they have married or how they are situated. After the close of the college career, the young man has to rediscover all these relationships, and very soon the affections dormant in him for so long become rekindled. They flame forth ere long in all their brightness and beauty, and until he begets his own daughter, his little nephew and niece engage his affections; for, in the Hindu home, the grandson and the grand-daughter grow as often and as much on the lap of the grand-mother or the grandfather, as in the arms of the mother and the father. We might go on unfolding the working of the young man's heart, its daily expansive growth, its ever-widening receptivity, but sufficient unto the day is the description thereof. I would only ask, 'where is the Hindu home where a few boys outside the family circle, nephews or cousins, distant relations or unconnected urchins, are not brought up with care and concern', and it behoves the young men of the day when they settle down in life, to copy the noble example of a passing generation.

THE WOMAN'S STATUS

This naturally leads us to a consideration of the status of the woman in the Hindu home. How often have we not heard the hackneyed phrase that the Hindu woman is chattel and goods, having no personality or position! Yet, a more perverse reading of truth we have not come across. If the transport of the woman from the father's house to the husband's makes woman chattel and goods, then all countries are equally guilty of sending such consignments. But in India more than in any other civilized country exists, notably amongst certain well-to-do non-brahman communities, and in Kerala, the system of husbands going to their wives. Amongst the *kammās* of Andhradesa, the daughter remains with her mother and the husband goes to her until she bears two or three children, when she and her children will join the father-in-law's home. Apparently the idea is that she must acquire status before she joins the new home. The period of probation, usually spent by the girls in a large section of the Hindus with the mother-in-law, is abridged in this case. Only, it is the son-in-law that undergoes the probation. In the south, the son-in-law of the family is the 'son-in-law' or 'Mapilai' of the village. 'Has Mapilai come', 'when will Mapilai go', 'what is Mapilai doing', is the popular way of friendly enquiries. Amongst the *kshathriyas* of the Andhradesa, the son-in-law is so much revered by the village that it is the duty of the first *kshathriya* house-holder who sights him at the village boundary, to invite the incoming son-in-law, and he should accept the invitation and may not go straight to the father-in-law's place. Whether it is the son-in-law or the daughter-in-law that undergoes probation, the process itself is passed through by all people in life, men and women, tradesmen, journeymen, lawyers and politicians. And why not by housewives? Even a member of the Servants of India Society has to pass through a period of unquestioning obedience to the First Member during the first five years of his career, and during that time, talk nothing, write nothing, say nothing, except under control

and supervision. We all know how a young lawyer begins his career while devilling for a senior, how a clerk having in him the potentialities of a Collector remains humble, self-repressing and obedient, and bides his time. All the while, his faculties are developing and his emotions are being kindled. So is the young Hindu daughter-in-law. For a time she is tended with the affection due to a daughter. Then she becomes an object of jealousy. Finally, she establishes herself as the queen of the house. Institutions are devised by which, through *vrathams* and ceremonies, she is introduced to the mother-in-law's village, relations, and friends. She controls the servants ere long, handles the finances of the family, supervises the dairy, secures the crops, and manages the farm and domestic servants. When her daughters and sons are to be married, it is her will that rules and her voice that prevails. The husband, the nominal head of the family, is really its major domo. He has to slave all day long, earn and provide for the home, till and sow, build and furnish. The queen of the home is busy in her own way. She may not go out in the sun, but she is tied up to the hearth. We seldom know what a toil it is to get ready things for the kitchen. The rice has to be cleared of stones, the vegetables washed of their sand, little insects have to be weeded out from green leaves. To separate the grit from the common salt of the sea is a job for the housewife. To sift the particles of sand from condiments and spices, such as mustard and anatheis is a task for which I would easily exchange the lifting of a hundred-weight load or the walking of a twenty-mile distance. Women take their part in life equally with men, and in recognition of it, the Hindu woman is soon installed in the position of the head of the family. She is not a suffragette. But equality is a disrupting force, not a uniting one. That is how the French Revolution has virtually failed and the shibboleths of the 18th century have yielded place to the cementing forces of Nationalism in the 19th. Love is a quality that implies regard behind it, and mutual regard only springs from a sense of mutual subordination.

It is this sentiment that lies at the root of the success of the Hindu home. Where a husband takes a false view of life and accounts himself the superior of his spouse, he becomes either a brute or figures in society as a failure. Most of you may have seen the picture of a couple before marriage and that after marriage in the stereoscope. For the old nursery song, after all, embodies a truth when it says,

When tabors played their best
With lamps above and laughs below,
'Love me', sounded like a jest
Fit for 'yes' or fit for 'no'.

And it takes a little time to discover that colors seen by candle light are not the same by day.

EMOTIONS KINDLED

The Hindu home is the training ground alike for intellect and emotions. The carefulness with which the emotions are nurtured surpasses all expectation. From the dawn of childhood to the onset of old age, lessons in emotional training are being constantly imparted. Folk-tales and stories of epic and historic interest are narrated by old women to children day in, day out, and help to brighten their imagination. Almost the first experience that opens out the hearts of children is the system, prevalent in the poorest of homes,—but alas! fast beginning to disappear from the richer ones,—of distributing alms every day. Attention is thus called to the poor and their unenviable lot, and when one child of five was taught the meaning of a Telugu verse extolling the virtues of mercy and truth, and was roughly told that it meant the cultivation of the instinct of helpfulness to the poor, he at once confronted the father who was turning away the beggar in the street empty-handed: 'Is this your *Daya* (mercy) and your *satyam* (truth)? It is thus that the child is taught to be kind, hospitable and generous. The attention and respect accorded to the guests in the Hindu home is something marvellous. Most elaborate rules have been formulated and even most unreasonable concessions are allowed, in

the matter of honoring guests. The master of the house must go out to see before dinner whether any one is waiting, and the guests themselves are classified into those that come in time and those coming out of time. Both are alike entitled to the householder's *sathkaram*. We have been taunted because we do not organize our charity. True, our civilization is not an organization. It is an ingrowth, spontaneous and deep-rooted, not an outgrowth, artificial and superficial. Nature's bounties in the Orient, the indulgences permitted by a tropical climate, and the spiritual bent of the national tradition, have minimized our wants as well as our endeavours. And we need suffer neither from that militarism which is organization for war, or that industrialism which is organization in peace, which really constitute the bones of life in the west. Thank Providence that we are left free to develop our intellect and emotions as befits the human mind and the human soul!

RELIGIOUS ATMOSPHERE

If religion is the development of the emotions in man so as to advance him in his march Godward, then surely the Hindu home is the best training ground that can be thought of in order to evolve a religious bias in the child's mind. The whole scheme of social life, both for boys and girls, is attuned to a religious key. You may not worship the idols at home in your new iconoclasm, but the celebration of festivals, so assiduously attended to by the Hindu mother, has the inescapable effect of making the children devotional and religious. These festivals, whether seasonal or historic, or astronomical, enjoin on the Hindu youth the admiring worship of Nature, the reverential praise of ancestors (heroes, martyrs and saints), and the devotional prayer to the avatars of the Almighty. Our gods and goddesses have been described and even decreed as monsters, but the standpoint of judging Religious Art apart, it must be admitted that gods have never been intended as statues of beauty, and substitutes in the temple

of the home, for the dainty girls of the drawing-room or the promenade. An atmosphere is created for worship, and the scheme of worship—with its fasts and prayers, its songs and vigils, its *bhajans* and *sankeerthan*, its *vratham*s and ceremonies, its festivals and enjoyments, has been admirably designed to draw out all that is best in the child-mind,—the boy-mind and the girl-mind, in the adult-mind, and in the mind of middle age and advanced life.

SUMMARY

The Hindu home is what it is, because of the equities observed between brother and brother in the distribution of property, of the tender regard for woman and the delicacy with which she is handled and engrafted on to a new family, of the intimate domestic affections sedulously nurtured, of the ever-widening circle of relations admitted to charity, of the early care bestowed on the development of emotions and the cultivation of a religious outlook. To me, the Hindu home is a fine economic unit and an embryonic co-operative society. It is a model hygienic abode, a cultural and emotional centre, a miniature philanthropic organization and a perfect temple of Praise and Prayer. It is hard to reconcile oneself to the policy of detaching the young boys and the young girls from its sobering, elevating, chastening and purifying impulses. The school and the college may supplement the culture and training of the home, but may not supplant them. But for the conservatism of the Hindu home, Indian Nationalism would have been dead and buried ten centuries ago, and clean forgotten long before the battle of Plassey. We are free to own the numerous drawbacks of the home, both domestic and social. In an age of transition, we cannot be blind to the changing requirements of the times. The lot of the widow, however austere conceived, cries out to the hearts of all living beings for sympathy, and amelioration and adequate provision in that behalf—educational, economic and hymeneal, may yet help to bring out child-

marriages in their brighter side. And too, it is necessary to provide better laws of heritage so as to make the girls participants in patrimony in a measure—at least in the measure in which our Moslem brothers have conceived and planned out. It is not, however, the purpose of this article to embrace or traverse the wide sphere of Hindu Social Reform. The writer's purpose is served if it directs attention to the ancient ideals of the Hindu home and the virtue that still dwells in it despite the stagnation of centuries, and he will feel rewarded if the young men who may have chanced to read these pages will cultivate a higher regard for Hindu womanhood and a greater sympathy for her in the discharge of her many arduous duties as sister, wife and mother, as the repository of National culture, and as the conservator of the rich and inestimable treasures of Indian Nationalism.

The Hindu-Muslim Problem

By A. RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR

It is but a trite saying that the future of India depends upon the proper solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem. The question has been prominently before the attention of the public for the last few years and a whole volume of literature has grown around it. The result has however been to confuse the issues more than ever and to leave the ordinary citizen more puzzled than before. I do not feel competent to offer a solution to this great and vastly complicated problem, but if in the course of this article, I have succeeded in clarifying the issues and presenting some of the arguments on either side, I feel that a valuable purpose would have been served. The Hindu-Muslim question has a two-fold aspect, the one mainly political, the other mainly social and religious. It is to a certain extent true that the two aspects cannot entirely be separated from each other, each impinging on the other, and to a large extent affecting the consideration of the other. But while the connection between the two aspects may be admitted, their essential difference also has to be recognized. The political aspect of the Hindu-Muslim problem relates to administrative questions. It deals with the problem of the relative shares which Hindus and Muhammadans should have in the government of the country. At one time, the question of representation in Legislative Councils may be emphasized. At another, the importance of the two interests being adequately safe-guarded in local bodies may come to the forefront. Again the issue may be directed particularly to recruitment to the public services, how it can be so regulated as to associate in the actual administration of the country members of both the communities. These are the principal issues on which conflict has risen and to a solution of which the best brains of the

country are now dedicated. One factor regarding the political aspect of the Hindu-Muslim problem is that it is a problem which is capable of solution by the intellects of either community. It is the intelligentsia that is mainly concerned with this problem and it is they that should find the solution for it.

The question of representation of Muhammadans in the Legislative Councils is over two decades old. The need for special representation of Muslims has been recognized at one stage or other by the Government, by the Muslims and by the Hindu public. The Minto-Morley reforms brought to the forefront the need of recognizing the importance of Muslims as an important minority community in the country. At that time the claim of the Muslims was based not merely on the fact that they were an important minority, that by habits, religion and customs they were distinguished from the Hindus, but also on the ground that by their historical past, Muslims had a claim for special consideration. To-day the claim based on a historical past has practically been given up and leaders of public opinion, both Hindus and Muslims, should recognize this fact so that they may realize the advance that has been made in progressive thought during the last two decades. The next event of importance in the history of this question is the Lucknow pact, whereby representatives of Hindus and Muslims, sitting at a Round Table Conference, decided that Muhammadans should be returned to the future councils of the land through separate electorates and in certain proportions. This was a land-mark in the history of the political relationship between the two parties. Whatever opinions may now be held as to the wisdom of the Lucknow pact, whatever criticism be levelled at the agreement either by Muslim extremists on the one side, or by Hindu extremists on the other, the fact cannot be ignored that, by the free will of both the communities, a settlement such as that was come to and has been in force for the last decade.

After the introduction of the Reforms of 1920 and the system of dyarchic Government in the provinces, the question of representation in councils has come more seriously before the consideration of the public than ever. On the one hand, extreme Muslim opinion has been urging that the system of separate electorates should be perpetuated but that the numbers should be so fixed as to enable Muslims to be returned wherever they are in a majority, on the population basis, and wherever they are in a minority, in excess of their population and in conformity with their importance, as a separate religious community. Hindu opinion, particularly in Northern India, has on the other hand been entirely opposed to the system of separate electorates during the last quinquennium and no more severe condemnation has been uttered from platforms, either entirely Hindu or dominated by Hindu opinion, than the censure of the system of separate electorates. The unhappy fights and factions, riots and communal struggles between Hindus and Muslims in North India has given point to the Hindu demand, that unless separate electorates are abolished, there can be no communal peace in the land. The Hindu Maha Sabha, the militant Hindu organization brought into being largely to safeguard what were considered as the jeopardised Hindu interests in North India, took up this question of joint electorates and through the persistent vigorous propaganda of its leading members, has brought its members to consider as an axiomatic truth in politics that separate electorates are inconsistent with the establishment of democracy. Such a statement, reiterated on every occasion and uncontradicted seriously, has engendered in the people the honest and sincere belief that there can be no democratic advancement in the country unless the system of separate electorates goes and is replaced by a system of joint electorates. This volume of Hindu opinion against separate electorates became so great that Sir Sankaran Nair, a Hindu, moved a resolution in the Council of State that there should be no further political advance till Hindus and Muslims come to an

agreement and give the go-bye to the system of separate electorates.

It is at this stage in the evolution of the consideration of the question that the all-parties conference met to frame a constitution for the future self-government of India. The question naturally arose, what should be the attitude of the all-parties conference with reference to Muslim representation in the future councils of the land. It is not my purpose to go into the details of the discussion that took place at that conference, especially as the veil of secrecy has been drawn, and quite rightly, over the discussions. It is however desirable that we should examine as dispassionately as possible, on its own merits, the question of separate and joint electorates for Muslims. Is the system of separate electorates the unmitigated evil that it has been suggested to be? Is the system of joint electorates a panacea for all the ills which the body politic is suffering from? Have separate electorates created hatred and bitterness? Is there justification for the criticism that men returned through separate electorates are militant Muslims unmindful of the feelings or the wishes of the Hindu public, or that Hindus similarly returned are contemptuous and unmindful of the interests of the Muslims? And how far is it really true that democratic institutions are incompatible with the system of separate electorates? One has only to go through the proceedings either of the Legislative Assembly or of the Provincial Councils to realize how far from truth is the charge that representatives of Hindus and Muslims returned by a system of separate electorates are ranged in opposing and armed camps against each other. Men of light and leading from either community have worked in harmonious co-operation for the good of both the communities and the advancement of the country. Men like Mahammad Ali Jinnah, Mr. Mahammad Yakoob, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. Jayakar, may be returned through a joint or a separate electorate, but they will never cease to be Indians first and last. Neither will certain

individuals, howsoever returned, cease to ally themselves with the forces of reaction and work against the real interests of the country. In the Provincial Councils, practically in all provinces, Muslims have not remained aloof as a party, but have mixed their votes freely with those of the Hindus, except on exceedingly rare occasions. The proceedings of the Assembly and the Councils reveal the extraordinary fact that, whatever may be happening outside, however much bitterness may be given expression to, whether at the meetings of the Muslim League or of the Hindu Maha Sabha, within the Councils there has been no indication of animosity between the two communities. It seems to me therefore rather beside the mark to charge the system of separate electorates with the evil of inducing or promoting communal antagonism, nor is there any point in suggesting that democracies are incompatible with the system of separate electorates. *A priori* reasons and theoretical opinions cannot stand the test of practical experience and do not lead us very far in the solution of constitutional problems. The question of Government, the mechanism of Government, is a very human question and requires not the fantastic theories of the arm-chair politician and the dry-as-dust professor of political science, but it requires the sympathetic understanding of men of the world. Nor have democracies developed at various times and in different countries exactly in the same manner. Constitutions, they say, cannot be shaped after a pattern and patented for the use of different nations. The obvious fallacy of the statement that there are certain fundamental principles which must be accepted by democracies is revealed when one studies the nature of the constitutions of the different democratic countries. Great Britain and France, America and Italy, furnish examples of how democracies can differ from each other.

Nor am I convinced that joint electorates will be the boon to the harassed Indian politician that it is claimed to be. If one may speak from experience, I should like to

point out the unhappy experience of the province of Madras. In Madras, so far as the Local Legislative Council is concerned, both the systems are working: the system of separate electorates for Muhammadans and Christians, and the system of joint electorates for Brahmins and non-brahmins. It is a patent fact, as instructive as it is true, that separate electorates for these two communities have not resulted in any adverse effects. The Muhammadan representatives are divided into political groups in the Council, and each group has attached itself to a larger body of Hindus having the same political opinion. There is absolutely no indication within the Council that Muslims have entered through a special and separate electorate. The general condition in the province also shows that separate electorates do not breed communal discord or lead to communal riots. The only serious trouble in this province during the last decade was the unhappy Mopla rebellion, and whatever else may have been the reason for that rebellion, none would seriously suggest that the system of electorates had anything to do with that conflagration. If one turns one's attention to the separate electorates for Christians, one finds that the case against such electorates is even poorer than in the case of Muslims. Indian Christians, and Hindus and Muslims, have lived and are living in this province in the utmost amity and friendship and there has never been an occasion in the Legislative Council or elsewhere when the fact has been discordantly brought to the notice of the public that Indian Christians are the representatives of their own community and not of the general public.

On the other hand, what a picture is offered to us of the results of the working of joint electorates! I have no desire to go into the question of Brahmin and Non-brahmin difficulties on this occasion, to throw blame either on the one or on the other section, or even to examine the nature of the conflict that is dividing two sections of the same Hindu population. It may be

based on social grounds. It may have its roots in religious antagonisms. It may be even due solely to the unhealthy competition for the loaves and fishes of office. But whatever its nature, none may gainsay the fact that to-day, after nearly 10 years of joint electorates, Brahmins and Non-brahmins, instead of being thrown together so as to realise, by understanding, their ambitions and profiting by their joint experience, are farther apart from each other than at the beginning of the decade. It is only the blind person, impervious to the voice of reason, that can say that the two communities have a happier and a better understanding now than in 1918, when Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford declaimed against communal electorates. It is not suggested that joint electorates are the cause of the increasing friction, though it must be confessed that there is a school of thought which thinks that such is indeed the case. It is however sufficient for the purpose of this article to state as a matter of historical fact that in Madras, while separate electorates have not tended to increase the racial or religious or creedal animosities, joint electorates have equally failed to bring about sectarian harmony and communal fellow-feeling.

If, therefore, separate electorates do not militate against democratic forms of Government, and if they are not calculated either to induce or to increase communal bitterness, there is no case made out for their abolition. The advantages of joint electorates, with reservation of seats for Muslims, are not so great as to make the creation of joint electorates a fetish and a necessary preliminary to the introduction of full Responsible Government. The ideal state of affairs is undoubtedly where there are no communal differences, no creedal distinctions and religious animosities of any kind. In such a state of affairs, there will be no room either for separate electorates or even for joint electorates with reservation of seats to certain communities. The very fact that there is none in this country who is prepared to suggest at present, as a matter of practical politics, the establishment of free

electorates on identical electoral qualifications to all persons, and the abolition of all special electorates and every kind of class representation—which is the only logical position that can be maintained—this very fact completely proves the need for taking into consideration the practical difficulties that lie in the way of the solution of constitutional problems. I feel that Hindus need not insist on the abolition of separate electorates and need not force joint electorates on those communities which are unwilling to come into the scheme of joint electorates, but must leave those classes which are at present returned by separate electorates free to make their choice, and I feel fairly sanguine that the time is not far off when, in their own interests, these classes would come forward with a proposal for the abolition of separate electorates. It will then be possible to discuss the question on freer and more equal terms than it seems to be possible at present. I have learnt from my tour in North India and from my experience, specially in the two southern provinces, that the Muslims are not really prepared to give up the system of separate electorates. They feel that if they have to give it up, it must be only because of the extreme pressure of Hindu opinion against these electorates. It is owing to the feeling that the Muslims are not really convinced of the evils of separate electorates, that the proposal for the abolition of separate electorates has been coupled by the most reasonable of Muhammadans with certain 'conditions'. If Hindus recognize this essential factor, they will not question the genuineness of those who suggest these conditions and will be in a better frame of mind to discuss the need for accepting these conditions. Even a leader like Mr. Máhammad Ali Jinnah frankly confessed that he had not been converted to the view that separate electorates are an evil in themselves, and that, if Hindu opinion insists on joint electorates, they ought to accept certain concomitant conditions which should form a feature of such joint electorates. It does not advance the case very far if we turn round and say that Hindus are being asked

to pay a price for the abolition of separate electorates, or that Muslims are laying down 'conditions' which are unreasonable in their nature. The plain position is merely this: Muslims have at present separate electorates; they feel no need for a change in that direction. Hindus want that they should give them up in favour of joint electorates. Are they merely to accept what the Hindus want, or should they try to get some advantage in view of what they conceive to be a disadvantage involved in the giving up of separate electorates?

Having seen the position taken up by the Muslims, let us try and examine those conditions which the Muslims have put forward as a necessary preliminary to the abandonment of separate electorates. The proposals of the Calcutta Muslim League are (1) that the same system of Government should be introduced in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan as is prevailing in other parts of India (2) That Sindh should be made a separate province and should come under the general scheme of reforms granted to all provinces and (3) that the reservation of seats in joint electorates should be proportional to the population of the two communities, provided that representation over the population basis may be given to minority communities on a mutually understood basis, in those provinces in which any of the two communities is in a minority. It seems to me that these so-called conditions, if examined apart from the fact that they are put forward as preliminaries to the acceptance of the scheme of joint electorates, are in themselves unexceptional. On what ground, I ask, can reforms be withheld from the Frontier Province? Every Indian politician of any shade of politics has agitated for the abolition of the system of classifying tracts as agency tracts, of classifying areas as scheduled districts, and of classifying provinces as backward provinces. It is unfortunately true that in 1923 the Legislative Assembly vetoed the proposal for the introduction of reforms in the North-West Frontier Province, an indefensible and undefended decision of the House, but last year the same Assembly passed without any dissentient

the proposal that the Frontier Province should come under the scheme of reforms. How does it lie to-day within the mouth of anyone, Hindu or Muslim, who claims any political caga ityoradherence to political democratdic principles, to state that the Frontier Provinces should be treated as backward provinces? On what basis does the Hindu Maha Sabha justify its opinion that the reforms should not be introduced into these provinces? It may be possible for a non-political body which is obsessed by a Muslim invasion and conjures up a bloody vision of a Muslim corridor from Constantinople to Karachi, it may be possible for such a body to raise these objections. But no one with an iota of political sagacity could seriously take exception to the proposition that reforms ought to be introduced into the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan.

Let us take again the second condition which has been put forward by the Muslim League—the separation of Sindh from the rest of the Bombay Presidency. The agitation for the separation of this province has gone on for the last 15 years at least, and it is clear that at one stage the protagonists in this agitation were Hindus and not Muslims. The very fact that the Congress has treated Sindh as a separate province, and in its constitution recognized it as a separate province and given it a special representative, proves beyond all doubt that an All India Political body which is predominantly Hindu so far from taking objection to the separation of Sindh, wanted such a separation and gave effect to it in the only manner in which it could possibly give effect to such a decision, that is by recognizing such separation in its constitution. Geographically speaking, the case for the separation of Sindh is complete and irrefutable. Following the ordinary canons of all democratic institutions, it is equally clear, that the Muslim population, the overwhelmingly predominant population of Sindh, being in favour of such separation, an impregnable case is made out for the carving out of Sindh as a separate province. The only objection that has been urged against separation is that financially Sindh cannot bear the burden. It seems to me that this is too thin an argument,

particularly when the vast majority of the population are willing to undertake the burden and insist on such separation, and we must conclude that this is equally a condition which on its merits is acceptable to all reasonable men.

The third condition requires a little more careful consideration, and I am not at all certain whether that condition is really justified on its merits. The position stated by the third condition is that in any province where the Muhammadans are in a majority, they ought to have reservation of seats in joint electorates in proportion to their population. There does not seem to me any objection to reservation of seats in a province where the community is numerically larger than the community of Hindus. Such a position can be defended on two grounds. In the first place, except on the basis of adult franchise, it is obvious that the criterion of the strength of the population has no bearing on the relative proportion of the two communities in an electorate constituted on the basis of property qualifications. It is urged that the Muslims as a community are poorer than the Hindus and that, therefore, in any electorate where property qualifications form a test, their numbers cannot be in proportion to their population. Even if adult franchise were to form the basis of the electorates, it is obvious, having regard to the special customs and manners of the Muslims, particularly the Purdah, that where men and women are equally enfranchised, as we trust they will be in all provinces, the Muslims are under a handicap in as much as the women voters of that community cannot be expected to poll in as large numbers as those of other communities. Apart from this, there is the allegation which has been repeatedly made by different communities at different times and which must weigh in the consideration of the question, that many of the Muslims in the Majority provinces are under the control of landlords or money-lenders who are in most cases Hindus. I am therefore willing to recognize the need for reservation even in Majority provinces. Then the question arises whether such reservation should be in proportion to the population. I understand by

reservation of seats for a community the safeguarding of a minimum strength to a community, and not the acquisition of the maximum strength by means of such reservation. If in the Punjab, for example, the population of the two communities were in the proportion of 55 to 45, and if reservation of seats is granted to Muslims, the idea that would naturally occur to one's mind is that the Muslims will be guaranteed 40 or 45 seats out of every 100 seats, and that thereafter they should contest and get as many more seats as possible through joint electorates. But the reservation on the population basis means that they ought to get at least 55 seats which they are entitled to on a population basis. It seems to me that such a position cannot be entirely fair to the other communities. It will lead to an obvious anomaly unless the system of reservation is not merely granted to the Muslim community but is also forced against its desire on the Hindu Community. If the reservation is granted only to the Muslims in the Punjab, the anomaly may arise that not only are Muslims guaranteed 55 seats but they are entitled to fight for and obtain even more seats. There is no corresponding privilege to the Hindus. This seems to me the really fundamental weak point in the case of the Muslims. To give a permanent majority to any community, as a community, is not essentially sound. But having said that, I must again express my opinion that it is essentially a case for mutual negotiations and mutual adjustments, and that Hindu leaders and Muslim leaders should sit together and calmly consider this particular aspect of the proposition, and either induce Muslims to revise their views on this question or find some *via media* acceptable to both parties. If an agreement is otherwise possible on essential points, if this is the only obstacle in the way of drawing up an agreed constitution for the country, I am prepared to suggest that any sacrifice may be made for arriving at such a consummation. The question of mutual adjustments between the communities where either the Muslims or Hindus are in a minority, does not raise many difficulties. It is obvious that

such mutual adjustments as between the provinces cannot be based merely on an arithmetical ratio. The scope that the minority community will have on the extended basis to influence the decision of the council, and the manner in which reasonable adjustments are made in different provinces, will all be considered in settling the question of a how minority should be treated.

Having so far dealt with the question of representation in the councils, I should like to just mention that the Muslim proposal includes the reservation of seats in the Legislative Assembly to the extent of a third of the total strength of the Assembly. It is not necessary to dilate on this point. The only question that may arise is whether the proportion is not unduly high, and I am certain that if the question of provincial reservations is satisfactorily settled, the other question will not lead to a dead-lock.

I should like to refer to one question which has caused not a little searching of heart and misapprehension among the leaders of both Hindus and Muslims. Supposing an agreement is reached, whereby in provinces where the majority of the people are Muslims, representation is given to the two communities on the basis of population and through joint electorates, the Hindu fear seems to be that in such a case there is a danger of the interests of the Hindus being disregarded and the Hindu population being subjected to unfair treatment. It is urged that a Muslim majority in the Legislative Council will lead to a purely Muslim ministry which will play into the hands of extreme Muslims and harass the Hindu portion of the population. That is the danger which some of the Hindu leaders in Sindh are afraid of. It is the same fear that is given expression to by Hindus or Sikhs in the Punjab and, though less frequently, by the Hindus of Bengal. On the other hand, Muslims in most provinces where they are in a minority and where the Hindus are bound to be in a majority, are equally apprehensive that their interests will be jeopardized and their community will be penalized in many ways by the coming into existence of councils with full power and with a preponderating Hindu

element. There is no purpose gained in ignoring the fact that these apprehensions do exist in the minds of the members of either community. The only question now is how these apprehensions sometimes lead the foremost leaders among the two communities with undoubted political bias in favour of progress and reform, to take a somewhat reactionary view and give expression to opinions which they would never otherwise have countenanced. It was when he was obsessed with some such feeling that Lala Lajpat Rai, one of the most advanced Indian politicians, exclaimed that he would have the present system rather than further political advancement in the Punjab. There are Hindu and Muslim leaders who have occasionally given public expression to these counsels of despair. It seems to me that, far from being frightened by these possible difficulties, it is our duty to take this into consideration and find ways and means by which we can remove such difficulties.

Taking the Hindu and Muslim communities as the two communities in practically all the provinces, important not merely on account of their population or political status but also on account of the possibilities of religious and social conflicts between the two, we can well devise a means by which both the Hindus and the Muslims, wherever they are in a minority, may feel perfectly safe. Whatever power is granted to the legislature, there should be an unwritten convention clearly and definitely established, that in all these provinces a certain number of ministerships ought to go to the representatives of the minority community. What that number should be depends on the conditions of each province. An important consideration will be the relative strength of the two communities. But this can be firmly stated, that in every province there ought to be some representatives on the Government body—the cabinet—of the Minority community, whether it is Hindu or Muslim. The result of it will be that the principle of joint responsibility in the cabinet being recognized, there will be an inevitable tendency for the cabinet not to play into the hands of the extreme section of the other party.

Such a position in no way offends constitutional proprieties, as such arrangements are accepted and practised in other dominions and countries. Taking the case of Canada which has full responsible Government, we find that in forming the new cabinet and in making recommendations to the Governor-General for appointments to ministerial office, the Premier has much less freedom of choice than is the case at Westminster. Mr. Edward Porritt in his book 'Evolution of the Dominion of Canada' says: "In considering the claims of the leaders of the political party at Ottawa and at the provincial capitals, the new Premier must also regard (1) the claims of French Canada; (2) the claims of the other eight provinces; (3) the claims of the English-speaking population of Quebec; and (4) the claims of the Roman Catholic population of the Dominion that is not French. Three Cabinet or Ministerial offices are usually assigned to French Canada. The same number as a rule go to Ontario. At least one cabinet office must, by usage, be assigned to each of the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia; and since the appointment of Edward Kenny of Nova Scotia, in 1869, as representative of the English-speaking Catholics, no cabinet has been long without a representative of the English-speaking Roman Catholic church. Distribution of cabinet offices based on geographical considerations, and on claims of race, religion, and special financial and material interests, is an innovation on the usages and traditions of cabinets at Westminster. The innovation has been developed by the differing conditions of Canada and the United Kingdom; by the operation of the federal principle; and by the need for conciliating assertive interests—racial and religious—which is as old in Canadian politics as the ill-assorted legislative union of Upper and Lower Canada of 1841-1867."

It is unnecessary to go into further details as to how racial and religious antagonism in Canada has been attempted to be conciliated. In the appointment of the speaker and the deputy speaker of the House of

Parliament and in many other ways, the principle is followed of trying to give to the two races, Anglo-Saxon and French, a certain balance of power which goes to the working of a smooth and harmonious constitution. The *Tribune* of Winnipeg in the year 1927 remarked: "Sir Wilfred Laurier is not the only sinner. Practically every party leader in Canada managed Quebec as Sir Wilfred has managed that province. A little more than an equal division of the spoils of office, concessions here and concessions there to race and creed, and there you have the statesmanship of Canadian premiers of both Conservative and Liberal stripe". That is the way, as good as anything thought of, for solving the Hindu-Muslim problem in India on the political side. The article has extended to such lengths already that it is impossible to examine the social and religious side of the problem. I hope to have the pleasure, in a subsequent issue, of dealing with them.

Reserve Bank Bill and After

By THE HON. V. RAMADAS PANTULU

WHAT is the nature of the Central Bank which Sir Basil Blackett proposed to give to India, and why was the passage of the Reserve Bank Bill through the Central Legislature successfully obstructed? In answer to the Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance, the Governor of the Bank of England gave the following description of the essential features of a Reserve Bank:—

"It should have the sole right of note issue; it should be the channel, and the sole channel, for the output and intake of legal tender currency. It should be the holder of all Government balances; the holder of all the reserves of the other banks and branches of banks in the country. It should be the agent, so to speak, through which the financial operations at home and abroad of the Government would be performed. It would further be the duty of a Central Bank to effect, so far as it could, suitable contraction and suitable expansion, in addition to aiming generally at stability, and to maintain that stability within as well as without. When necessary it would be the ultimate source from which emergency credit might be obtained in the form of rediscounting of approved bills, or advances on approved short securities, or Government paper."

It must be familiar to students of the constitutions of Central Banks, that while all or many of these Central Banking functions are discharged by most of the Central Banks, they do not all conform to a single type and differ in the character and scope of some of their business aspects. The divergence between the several types mainly turns on the relations between the Central Bank, Commercial Banks and the money market. The three chief

types are the American Federal Reserve Banks, the Continental Bank of Europe and the Bank of England. The American type of banks are called pure Central Banks. They do little besides controlling currency and credit. They act as bankers for the banks and the Government, and "do no regular private business at all beyond the open market dealings in bills, notes and securities, permitted by their charters and dictated by the monetary policy they happen to be pursuing at any particular moment. It is true they have dealings with other Central Banks, but those are incidental to the international obligations of the times in which we live and are in no sense to be linked to the domestic private business of Central Banks of the continental type." The Continental Central Bank is a mixed type combining the central and ordinary commercial banking functions. "Apart from its duties as a Central Bank, this type of institution conducts a substantial private business in more or less direct competition with the Commercial Banks. The Reichs Bank has 450 branches all over Germany, while the Bank of France operates through more than 250 offices scattered throughout the country. Deposits are accepted from the Public as distinguished from Banks and Government; and discounting and loan facilities are granted to customers generally". The Bank of England is a peculiar institution. It virtually stands by itself and represents its own type. It also conducts a class of important private business in addition to its central banking functions. It does not however carry on its private business by means of loan or re-discounting operations directly with the Joint Stock Banks; and it has no branches. On what may be termed the assets side of its business, the Bank of England has no direct relation with the Joint Stock Banks. "The Joint Stock Banks, the Commercial Banks proper, never borrow or re-discount bills with the Bank of England, though they maintain large balances there. Consequently, they are not the direct medium through which the Bank's monetary policy

makes itself immediately felt. That role is filled by the money market, consisting of the bill brokers and discount houses, who borrow from the Joint Stock Banks when possible, and from the Bank of England when necessary. It is primarily through this agency that restrictive and expansive measures adopted by the Bank of England exert their influence." So the control over credit which is secured to Central Banks elsewhere by direct loan and re-discount relations with commercial banks, is secured to the Bank of England through its "direct dealings with the money market coupled with its open market sales and purchases of bills and securities."

It now remains to be seen to which of these types the proposed Reserve Bank for India approximates. Its structure is largely based on the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance, who undoubtedly show a partiality to the American type, and this spirit is carried out by the Bill. The proposed Bank's power of competition with the commercial banks and its open market operations are circumscribed like those of the Federal Reserve Banks. The Bill restricts to the scheduled banks the facilities afforded by the Reserve Bank in the matter of the sale, purchase, and re-discount of bills of exchange and promissory notes and the like. These scheduled banks are placed under statutory obligation to maintain compulsory deposits, free of interest, in the Reserve Bank and are in turn accorded preferential treatment. When the Reserve Bank may trench on these privileges of the scheduled banks, it is only under conditions and safeguards. The Bank may open accounts with, or act as agents of, only central banks which are the principal currency authorities in their countries (including the Federal Reserve Banks of America). It cannot do so with ordinary commercial banks. In order to assist central banks in providing necessary credit facilities to finance industry and movement of crops, which are at present effected by cash credits, the Reserve Bank is authorised to advance money against promissory notes of the scheduled banks, but only subject to limitations

and for a limited period of five years. The Reserve Bank has to borrow both in London and in India—in London to keep the Secretary of State for India in funds, and in India to facilitate the control of credit. This borrowing power is so restricted as to prevent the Reserve Bank competing with other banks for fixed deposits. The open market operations of the Bank are restricted in two ways: firstly the purposes of the operations are restricted to those which are necessary in the interests of Indian trade or commerce or for the performance by the Bank of its functions under the Act; and secondly any action taken in this manner must be with the approval of the Board of the Bank. It is therefore clear that the power of the Bank to compete with other banks and to go into the open market, are more restricted than those of the Reichs Bank in Berlin or the Bank of France in Paris and resemble more closely those of the Federal Reserve Banks of America.

An examination of the detailed provisions of the now defunct bill will be of little interest, if not out of place. It is enough to state some of its features which led to its being wrecked on the shoals of the Assembly. The question of its constitution was naturally the chief bone of contention. The Joint Select Committee of both Chambers of the Legislature, which sat on the first bill, definitely turned down the shareholders' scheme and voted for a State Bank. When the Bill was proceeded with in the Assembly up to the stage when the clause relating to the composition of the directorate was reached, the Assembly affirmed the Select Committee's decision and voted for a State Bank. The comparative merits of a State Bank and a Shareholders' Bank were fully debated upon both inside and outside the Central Legislature. In the second bill the revised scheme of shareholders, no doubt, showed a real improvement over the earlier one and made it as innocuous as possible. Nevertheless those of us who believed that, under present conditions in India, a State Bank was to be preferred to a shareholders' bank, adhere to our view, and our convictions in the matter remain unshaken to-day. The Government were however pre-

pared to yield on this deadlock over the constitution, and waive their adherence to the shareholders' scheme, provided that an independent directorate which is absolutely free from political influences can be agreed upon to the satisfaction of the Government. The question of the directorate was therefore the second great stumbling block in the way of the measure. The popular representatives stood pledged to secure a directorate with a *substantial, elected, Indian* majority, with a clear emphasis on all the three adjectives. For want of a better alternative, if not on its own merits, representation through the Central and Provincial Legislatures was advocated by the Joint Select Committee to secure the end in view. Any mention of representation through the legislatures, direct or indirect, was however an anathema to the Government. They would not touch any such proposal with the longest stick. There were subsidiary differences, also of a vital nature, between the Government and the people's spokesmen in the Assembly, which contributed in no small measure to the feeling that the measure was not after all worth having. The Bill adhered to the decisions which the Government carried through the Legislature in March 1927 against strenuous popular opposition, by a mere snatch vote, with the help of the official and nominated block, on what is popularly known as the Ratio Act. In pursuance of those decisions, the Bill ignored the popular demand to establish gold currency in India by minting gold mohurs for circulation, in the country. On the other hand, the sovereign was demonitised. The 18 d. ratio was also stuck to with religious faith in its potentialities for the good of India. Provisions relating to the concentration and management of reserves which have a bearing on the gold currency problem were also considered unsatisfactory by the popular side. The statutory maximum of the proportion of the gold bullion and gold coin in the total amount of reserves was fixed at 25% or one quarter, the rest being permitted to be held in gold securities, rupee coin and rupee securities. The gold securities may be of any gold standard country, as may be notified by

the Governor-General. The popular representatives had not much faith in those securities except those of Great Britain and America, for the experience of the Great War Finance served as a warning against placing any faith in the value of the securities of continental countries during times of crisis. Again 85% of the gold coins and bullion alone need be kept in India. In the result only $21\frac{1}{4}$ of the total reserves will be in India in the shape of gold bullion or gold coin. This was considered not safe or sound in the interests of India. How could the Bill have a smooth sailing in the face of such grave defects?

What was the measure that India wanted? An American critic, who was no doubt appreciatively disposed to Sir Basil's Bill, laid down the following test of what constituted a suitable institution for India: "Any one can concoct a Bill based on standard occidental principles and call it a project for a Central Bank for India. Devising an Indian Central Bank is quite another matter—an institution which will fit in with Indian life, is adapted to Indian practices, and adjusted to the diverse needs of the population. An imported *European* or *American* Central Bank of *either standard type* would no doubt offer some advantage over the present system. But the Central Bank that India needs must be *Indian*—it must be as Indian as the Ganges". Any assertion that the Bill concocted by Sir Basil with the concurrence of the Financial advisers at Whitehall who unquestionably control the currency, credit, and exchange policy of India, satisfied this test must be characterised as being extravagant. Concentration and management of reserves in the interests on India, development of indigenous banking and creating adequate facilities for rural credit, are our most important needs. Did the Bill satisfy them?

The preamble to the Bill stated that the Bank was constituted to control the working of the gold standard and to regulate the issue of bank notes and the keeping of reserves with a view to securing stability in the monetary system of British India. There is nothing in this statement to assure us

that the needs of India are specially kept in view in the constitution of the Bank. The words 'control' and 'regulate' do not provide against the chances of the currency being manipulated by the Bank in the objectionable manner to which we have been long familiarised by the State in this country. It all depended upon how the Bank was to be actually controlled and worked, and the fight therefore naturally turned on the clauses relating to the controlling authority of the Bank. As for the development of the commercial banking of the country and encouraging the growth of the indigenous banking houses, it depended upon how the active entry of the Imperial Bank in its new commercial role into the field of 'wholesome' competition with other banks reacted on indigenous banking. The revised conditions of Imperial Bank's services to the State, as an agent of the Reserve Bank, were considered by some to be far too generous; they were certainly not illiberal in any case. It therefore remained to be tested whether its competition with Indian Banks would have proved 'wholesome', in the language of the Royal Commission, or whether it would have handicapped the weaker banks, while giving points to their stronger rival, the Imperial Bank. Again a claim that the Bank was specially suited to Indian conditions could not be substantiated, unless it provided adequate facilities for rural credit. The Bill did not touch, as a matter of fact, even the fringe of the problem of rural credit. The right of the Provincial Co-operative Banks to elect one director to represent agricultural interests, and a few halting provisions for the re-discount of some agricultural paper countersigned by Provincial Co-operative Banks, the latter having been exempted from liability to maintain free balances with the Reserve Bank, practically exhausted all the provisions relating to the promotion of agricultural interests. There was nowhere in the Bill any indication of the recognition of the fact that financing agriculture, in a predominantly agricultural country like India, was the primary duty of the State and the Central Banking Institution set up by it.

Even in self-governing countries, Central Banks have not yet worked financial and economic wonders. One of the main objects of the scheme according to the preamble is 'securing of the stability of the monetary system of India.' If it means the keeping of the currency of the country at par with gold, it will not be out of place to ask whether well-established Central Banks elsewhere in the world succeeded

in doing it? Has France achieved this goal even to-day, with its renowned Bank of France? If by stability of monetary system it is also intended to comprehend the stability of prices, all that can be attempted is that prices in India, in terms of gold, are kept at the same level as prices in other countries, in terms of gold. This result can be brought about by the maintenance of the gold standard, whether by the Central Bank or by any other agencies dealing with currency. No Central Bank can maintain internal prices at a particular level. It was therefore meaningless to have raised extravagant expectations and credited the Reserve Bank with all possible and impossible things. There was much less reason to do so in the case of the ill-starred Bill of Sir Basil over whose fate some are inclined to deeply lament. One journal indeed went so far as to proclaim that with the proposed Bank, an era of financial millenium had already dawned on India and that the retiring Finance Member was an instrument in the hands of Providence in laying the foundation of constitutional autonomy for India on the financial freedom supposed to be vouchsafed by the Bill. Surely all such verbal extravagance is utterly uncalled for. Indeed I have said enough to show that there were many features in the Bill with which the popular representatives in the Central legislature were genuinely dissatisfied. Their action in impeding the further progress of the Bill in its present objectionable form was neither hasty nor ill-advised. It was deliberate and was amply justified.

The scheme for the establishment of a Reserve Bank for India will however be revived at no distant date, especially in view of the circumstance that the operation of the Imperial Bank Act will cease with the 31st day of December 1930. Sometime before that date arrives, the question of placing the Banking and Currency system of India on a more satisfactory basis than it is to-day, is bound to engage the attention of the Government and the people. In the meantime, we will be well-advised to devote some time and attention to the study of the Central Banking Problem and decide upon a suitable type of Reserve Bank for India which will promote our agricultural, commercial, and industrial interests. With the establishment of a sound Central Banking Institution, a new era will undoubtedly commence in our banking and monetary history. But the making of that history lies in our hands. Let us be wide awake to our legitimate rights.

Padmavathi : A Girl Poet

By G. VENKATACHALAM

SLENDER and of delicate build, pale of expression but with sparkling eyes, lively yet tenderly modest, refined and graceful, Padmavathi was the most winsome girl of her days in her college. There was a radiant simplicity about her manners that made her natural and most welcome in any society she moved in, and the childish innocence of her nature made her to be trusted and loved by all people, young or old, man or woman. She was very popular among her college-mates, and her professors universally regarded her as the brightest pupil and the best girl in the whole institution; and a few of them took great delight in inviting her to their rooms and entertaining her to talk and tea. Though reserved by nature and reticent in conversation, yet she could rise at times to brilliant heights in thought-provoking discussions either on religion or literature. The sad smiles playing about her mouth, and the melancholy expression in her wistful eyes, were but the inarticulate indications of the deep sufferings of her soul. What sadness was hers, none of us were able to understand or discover; even her father could not say why she was so moody and why she took such a pessimistic view of life. There was one long-drawn strain of sadness in all her songs, and the one background she had for all her poetic themes was the steely grey sky and the dark rolling clouds. Death, Pain and Suffering—it is about these she sang the most:

"The flower will bloom, the birds will sing,
The sun will shine all bright,
And every year its joy will bring,
And every star will shed its light,
But woe, for my moon-less night".

"Oft in sleepless nights I wake
To think of joyless, key-cold death,
To shudder as a trembling lake
When passes cold wind's breath,
And to feel life as worse than death".

"A day may come when these days
As lightning that hath pierced the clouds
May perish ere I know the peace I seek.
Then, one word may I ask of thee
When they lay me in my shroud,
One word, oh, one word, wilt thou say?
'I knew her just one short day,
She is now dead, *but she knew me*".

"Far, far from the world would I go,
Far to friendless hill-tops high,
To pastures green where rivers flow,
There a lonely death to die.
No more there cares will pursue,
But there will I meditate all alone,
To think of God and my duty to do,
And to die, when my task is done".

Yet a brave heart was hers; she fought her battles lonely in the innermost recess of her heart and kept a serene and smiling face to her friends. Few knew the strugglings of her soul, and the brave fight this young, tender, fragile girl was putting up within herself. I recall most vividly to my mind, as I write this, the evening she, her friend Seeta, and myself sat on the sands of the beach near her college, watching the magical play of colours on the monsoon clouds played by the last long-streaks of the setting sun, when, seeing her deeply absorbed in intense gloominess; I asked her why she was so sad? She woke up as if from a deep slumber and replied me in a slow and quiet tone: "What else could I be? The vast, deep, mysterious sea before me is calling out to me, and I am here imprisoned in the flesh. It is the 'Call of Freedom' and 'My Captivity' that make me so sad". It was in moods of this kind that she really revealed her soul. The

Poet in her craved for more freedom, for more free-expression, more sympathy and more understanding. Her early bringing-up as a Theist limited her poetic vision and clipped the soaring wings of her imagination, and she had to struggle hard between the intellectual beliefs of her mind in which she was brought up, and the true expression of her real self. She was Pantheistic by nature, and the Theism in which she was nurtured left her cold in moments of true inspiration. She said to me one day, half jocularly and half in seriousness: "Your influence on me is pernicious. You want to lure me away from my present safe moorings of a simple faith to the spacious expanse of speculative philosophy and Pantheistic creed. My soul wants to soar into those regions, but my mind has vowed allegiance to the Theistic creed". It was in moments like these that she became eloquent, persuasive and interesting. "I like Shelley", she told me one day, "because he was a rebel, and I want to be a rebel; he was a philosophical anarchist, and I want to be one; he was mystical, and mysticism appeals to me". But her intellectual spoon-feeding both at home and in the college famished, instead of nourishing, her growing soul, and the sadness of her short life and of her sweet songs was due to this dualistic nature in her, fighting for supremacy and expression.

Padmavathi had all the instincts of a true poet. She was sensitive, dreamy and imaginative. She had not perfected the language in which she expressed her thoughts and ideas, and she had not mastered the technique of versification. Prosody, as such, was a sealed book to her. Yet she was bold and wrote vigorously and well. There are flaws in her rhymings; her metres are often faulty, and at times her grammar is bad, but the themes of her poems are lofty, noble, inspiring and sincere. What she would have achieved in this art through the medium of her mother-tongue, I will not speculate. The bravery of Rajput women ever fascinated her, and in the old legends and in the heroic deeds of this picturesque race, she sought her inspiration. Her two long poems of nearly 250 lines each, *The Bride of Padshah*

and *Neelavathi*, are noble attempts to recall the wonderful chivalry of the Rajputs and the bravery of the Rajputnis. Her favourite English poets were Shelley, Wordsworth and Scott. Scott inspired her with his narrative ballads, and Padmavathi made a bold attempt to imitate him in her long poem of 600 lines, *The Lay of the Staniks*. It is a halting, straggling attempt, but nevertheless a daring venture for a girl of her age. Of Shelley, her Master, she wrote :

" Amidst the breaking waves
Upon the frowning rocks,
O, Master, I see thee.
Furious as thine struggling soul
Rages the stormy sea.
As lightning that flashes
Across the cloudy air,
Flash thine eyes
Through thy clustering hair.
What thoughts dwell in eyes of thine ?
In thy heart, what unbidden pain ?"

Shakespeare, she was very fond of, and never missed seeing any good play of Shakespeare in Madras. I remember I took her and her two other friends to see the famous Raghavachar act 'Hamlet,' at the Victoria Public Hall, Madras, and I noticed how she thrilled with every fibre of her being at the psychological situations in the play, and especially with the soliloquies of the hero as enacted by Ragavachar. " He is a great actor," she said. That revealed the discerning critic in her.

Her life-story is shortly told. Born of cultured, middle-class *Saraswat* parents, she spent her childhood in South Canara, where she was educated as a child. Being Brahmos, her parents were attracted to the noble and selfless service rendered for the cause of the poor widows in India by that noble soul, Veerasalingam Pantulu, and they moved on to Rajahmundry to share in his great work. Her father Mr. Ramachandra Row, who is still alive, is an educationist, a visionary and a philanthropist. He gave his all, property and money, for the cause

he has championed,—the emancipation of the depressed classes. Padmavathi had her High School education there, and came to Madras to join the Queen Mary's College in 1918, where she studied till 1920 when she passed her Intermediate in first class. She was married in April 1920, and after ten days' serious illness, she passed away on the lap of her mother. She had courted death from infancy and the Lord of Death was compassionate to her. Her premature death cast a deep gloom on her friends, and I was the most affected of all. I was her 'new-found brother', as she used to call me, and discovering the genius in her, I encouraged her in her art and gave publicity to her poems. She often used to say to me, in a soft, sad tone, " Why do you want to make so much of me ?" I ever evaded her query ; I only knew that she was a genius ; a quiet, unobtrusive, simple-minded child-genius.

A few months before she left Madras for Rajahmundry, she thrust into my hands a sheaf of hand-written manuscripts and said : " Now, choose, what you like best in these poems." I selected the poem *A Lament* which was so characteristic of her mood, and she smiled and said : " Yes, I like that too". I got it immediately published in *Shama'a*, an International Art Quarterly, edited by Miss Chattopadhyaya, who was also her friend. Little did I then realise that that poem, though written a year ago, was a prophetic utterance of her impending death, and in selecting that for publication, I was, albeit unconsciously, recording her obituary notice in an Art Journal, for that magazine came out of the press almost on the day of her death. A strange but sad coincidence !

A LAMENT

" Stars of midnight, sing my dirge
In stillness of the lonely sky.
Sad be the strain of life's fare-well,
Yet mourn not long but gently sigh.
" Silent stars, through darkest night
With death's pale seal so swift I fly ;
The mourning wind my wail doth bear,
Yet weep not stars that see me die.

"Folded in the wings of solemn fate,
I flit, a phantom in the breeze,
Yet, stars, weep not,
Since from earth's care I pass to ease".

Hers was a short life, but rich with sweet fragrant friendship. The young, tender, lotus-bud (Padma) that blossomed and enlivened us with such grace and beauty is no more with us, but the subtle aroma of her life still lingers with us to chasten and purify our little lives. Great Friend, sweet soul, when may we see you again!

From the Bottom Rung

BY K. S. VENKATARAMANI

WE owe our primacy in the scheme of things to our own daring and enterprise, the courage to tread new paths. But very few show it, and often only when the chances for their full application have passed. The fruits are therefore necessarily poor. Our progress has been very slow and intrinsic development pathetically snail-like. The cause for this terrible waste of a fecund energy is the defective, and almost blind and cruel, training which the young receive in schools and colleges the world over and now particularly in India.

The education of the young, everybody agrees, is vital to our welfare. Theoretically the impulse is to do it on the most liberal lines. But the lower instinct to conventionalise, arising out of Fear, the yet unshed heritage of the jungle, to walk the same path with the blessings of the herd, has yet a very strong hold. In proportion to the great energy put forth, no intrinsic progress is therefore really made, from generation to generation. We take the same track to the water's edge and drink at the same pool, even though the splendid and vitalising river rolls on majestically, scarcely a yard ahead.

We standardise everything, crushing out individuality, artistic diversity. Success is purely quantitative, and mass production the sole aim of the University. So the chemistry of the nature of man is still a great mystery. There is no refining process going on in his composition, subtly changing him from generation to generation,—no lowering of the bestial and no enhancing of the divine elements in him. The same passion, the same hatred, greed, jealousy, cruelty, love of power and exploitation, still express themselves in the same destructive tendencies, shouts and deeds. All our progress has but implemented better the modes of execution, but

the objects and ideals are still as low as ever. A fatal law of eternal recurrence seems to hold humanity in its death-grip.

A drastic change in the methods will alone save us. Allow utmost freedom to the mind of the young. Give its energy the joy of spontaneous movement. Look a little more to the present and the future, and far less to the past.

We now cling like a limpet to the ageless rocks, blind and motionless, pinning our faith to a pious treading of the dead past, the mechanical portions of History, to its dates and battles, without ever seeking to convey its emotion for the enrichment of our future. Our schools and colleges are erected on a sandy waste, strewn with the bones and the skeletons of a nightmarish past. And we cheerfully ask our youngmen to draw nourishment from this. Even saw-dust is kinder food.

Only a drastic change in school and college curricula will put us on the way to achieve a future for the race worthy of its own inner prophecies and angelic tendencies.

The science of Agriculture is vastly more important for our well-being than the soul-blasting science of Economics; Geography and Astronomy than History; Biology, Sociology and Eugenics than Mathematics; Philosophy and Poetry than Philology and Indo-Germanic. The pandit-like and pathetic passion for texts, rules and books, chalk and slate, should yield to the subtler and more pervasive joys of inculcating, by the magic word, in the mind of the young, the spirit of love, enquiry and conviction, not for cribs and annotated editions, but for that larger thing called life which includes in one plane the teacher and the taught. The cry everywhere should be for less of books and more of life, the beaming life of the present and the radiant life of the future, rather than the sickly and broken things of the past. And above all, produce the teacher who would or could keep himself younger than the youngest boy in the class.

Then some sure steps would have been taken from the bottom rung of the ladder, which we are now decorating with tinsel and gold, while the God-enshrined top is far away, invisible to us in the mists of a brilliant and strange sky.

South Indian Portraits

By T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN

III

MEDIÆVAL SCULPTURE

THE general oblivion which has come over the history of south India from the decline of the Pallavas to the rise of the Cholas of the Vijayalaya line (about the close of the 9th century A.D.) envelops also the history of this branch of sculpture in that period. The revival of the Cholas under the kings of the dynasty founded by Vijayalaya leads also to a renaissance of art and from this period we have sculptural material enough to base reliable conclusions upon.

A fine 'seated figure, about 3 feet high, with a bared head' [Fig. 9], in the temple at Nandi,¹ the finest and the most ornate of the Dravidian temples in the province, is probably the earliest known example of post-Pallava portraiture. The statue which is 'decorated with ornaments and is in the posture of meditation' is said by tradition to represent a Chola king.² Whatever view we may hold of the possibility of its being a portrait of a Chola king there can be no doubt but that it is a fine specimen of the sculptor's art. It is now found in the oldest portion of the temple,— a portion attributable to the close of the eighth century A. D.³ Were it not that it is a moveable figure and that additions were made to the temple in the 11th century and later, we could have little doubt about the date of the sculpture.

Perhaps to this same period we have to attribute the sculptures in a rock-cut shrine at the foot of the hill at Kunnakudi⁴ among which are found figures of the king and queen who had the caves constructed.⁵

In a niche of a rock-cut cave in the Siva temple at

¹Chickballapur Tq., Kolar Dt., Mysore State.

²MysAS. AR. 1914: 12: 20.

⁴Sivaganga Tq., Ramnad Dt.

³Jb. 1914: 15: 23.

⁵MER. 1924: 2: 5.

Tirumalai¹ is 'a standing figure in relief of a king (?) about 6 feet in height flanked on either side by an attendant. The one on his left stands with folded arms while the other—a dwarf—holds a huge umbrella over his masters' head. Below this group is an ornamental flower vase with a goat on its right and a peacock on the left.'² The figure in the centre of the group is perhaps Skanda, and not a king; the person who stands at one side with arms folded across the breast is, more probably, a king who was a devotee of Skanda. His attitude recalls that of the Pallava at Kunnandarkoyil. The figures are cut out of the rock but show a coat of lime appropriately painted over. If we may judge from the present appearance of the figures, the sculptures must be attributed to a period somewhat later than those at Kunnakkudi mentioned above.

At Vallimalai³—a place which is in the heart of the country once ruled over by the Banas,—we have an image carved in relief on a rock not far from a Jaina *basti* which was constructed by the Western Ganga king Rajamalla (c. 870 A. D.) on his wresting the country round about from a Bana king. An inscription below the relief states that it is an image of Devasena, the pupil of the Bana king's Jain preceptor, Bhavanandin, and that it was set up by another Jain *guru*, Aryanandin.⁴

Another early example is a figure, about a foot in height, carved in relief on the south wall of the central shrine of the Siva temple at Tiruvaduturai.⁵ Beside the figure is

¹Tiruppattur Tq., Ramnad Dt.

²Chittoor Tq. and Dt.

³ASI.S.A.R. 1911: 52.

⁴MER. 1895: 3-4: 10, *El.* iv. 140-2 and plate xi. 236-7. It has been thought that numerous other images at various other Jain centres are portraits (MER. 1909: 69: 5, 1909: 70: 8, 1910: 76-9: 1-4), but I have ascertained by an examination of the inscriptions themselves (nos. 67-74, 691-705 and 722-31 of 1905, 330-2 of 1908, 62-8 and 75 of 1910),—estampages of which were kindly shown to me by the Madras Epigraphist,—that they have no title to be called such, except perhaps the image below which the name Ajja-nandi is engraved (54 of 1910; see MER. 1910: 76: 1). Perhaps it may be pointed out here that later sculptures are known which seem to represent some Jaina preceptors (see, for instance, MER. 1921: 8: 4 e and pl. I (2), 1924: 5: 7, and MysAS. AR. 1925: 51: no. 44), but we have no justification for considering them portraits.

⁵Mayavaram Tq., Tanjore Dt.

engraved a name showing that the figure represents Tiruk-karralip-Pichchar,¹ a contemporary of the Chola king, Parantaka I (c. 907-945 A. D.).² The figure holds the hands joined in the usual attitude of salutation.

How popular the practice of carving the figure of a devotee or a temple-builder was may be seen in this temple. On one wall is executed the relief of a standing figure worshipping a *linga*, and it is identified, in an inscription beside it, as that of one Daman Amalan.³ Beside a similar relief on another wall runs an inscription which says that the figure is that of a devotee, Ambalavan Tiruvisaluran Tiru-Navukku-Araiyan.⁴ Beside a standing figure, 'in a worshipping attitude with palms raised above the head,' on the same wall, is found a similar inscription which says that it represents a devotee named Ilaiya⁵ Tiru-Navukku-Araiyan,⁶ who was perhaps a younger brother or a son or a grandson of the person mentioned above. On this same wall is the relief of Karrali-Pichchar which has been already noticed. On another wall a relief shows two figures, one standing behind the other in front of a *linga*, and beside them runs an inscription to say that the first person is Eluvan Sandaradittan who constructed a tier of the temple and that the other is Nakkann Vannattadigal, a maid servant of the palace.⁷ We do not know how the man and the woman were related to each other but they seem to have both contributed to the building of the tier. Thus, on the various walls of one temple are found carved five separate reliefs of devotees and it is very doubtful if more than two of them were in any way related to each other.

Below an image on the wall of a *mandapa* in the Siva

¹Was he a brother or other relation of Adittan-Karralip-Piratti, a queen of Parantaka I? (See MER. 1919: 94: 9).

²MER. 1925: 80-1, and *Ib.* 1925: 132 of 1925.

³MER. 1925: 141 of 1925. Mr. G. V. Srinivasa Rao, Chief Assistant of the Madras Epigraphist, had the kindness to examine for their palaeography this and the three inscriptions referred to below.

⁴*Ib.* 1925: 133 of 1925.

⁵That is, 'junior'.

⁶MER. 1925: 131 of 1925.

⁷*Ib.* 1925: 106 of 1925.



GANDAR-ADITYA

temple at Tirukkurugavur¹ is inscribed the name of an ascetic, Venayil-udaiyan Ilatangilai Aruran².

In the Siva temple at Kadambarkoyil³ is a bas-relief below which is engraved, in characters of about the 10th century A.D., an inscription which says that that stone temple was built by one Arulperra-devar.⁴

Another example of the same century is to be found in the Siva temple at Kuhur⁵ where an inscription records that that temple, also of stone, was built by one Madam-udaiyar Varaguna-tondar, and his likeness is sculptured above the inscription.⁶

In the Siva temple at Konerirajapuram,⁷ there is a group of figures carved in rather low relief and below it runs an inscription to the effect that the temple was raised in the reign of Uttama-Chola (c. 969-985 A. D.) by his mother Sembiyan-ma-deviyar, in the name of her husband, Gandar-Aditya. The inscription proceeds: 'This is (the image of) the glorious Gandar-Aditya-deva which was (caused to be) made in this sacred stone-temple in the posture of worshipping the sacred feet of the lord.'⁸ In the group, Gandar-Aditya sits squatting before a *linga*, his hands joined

¹Shiyali Tq., Tanjore Dt.

²MER. 1919: 44 of 1918

³Kulittalai Tq., Trichinopoly Dt.

⁴MER. 1918: 37 of 1918

⁵Kumbhakonam Tq., Tanjore Dt.

⁶MER. 1918: 298 of 1917

⁷Kumbhakonam Tq., Tanjore Dt.

⁸SII. iii. no. 146.

in salutation, and behind him are his attendants, the first of them holding a sword in one hand and a fly-whisk in the other and the second bearing an umbrella,— all which are emblems of sovereignty.¹

A bronze statue found in this temple [Fig. 10] is attributable to this period. Though we are not able to decide whom it represents, it has all the individuality of a portrait.

Another relief in the same temple has appended to it an inscription to say that the relief represents one Sattan Guna-battan who built a shrine in that temple at the instance of Udaiya-Pirattiyar, *alias* Sembiyan-ma-deviyar, the mother of Uttama-Chola.² In this instance, we have a portrait of the agent of the person who caused the temple to be built and not of the principal.

A shrine was raised to Chandessvara in this temple in 1085 A. D. by a private individual who had his own figure and that of Chandessvara cut on the west wall of the shrine.³ It is curious that it should have been thought necessary to figure the god on the outside of the wall of his own shrine.

At this place, Konerirajapuram, we find, therefore, that a practice has obtained, from the time when the temple was begun, about 975 A. D., of placing in it likenesses representing the person in whose name the temple was built, the person who built it and the person who had the actual conduct of the work of construction.

On a wall of the Siva temple at Tiruvisalur⁴ is carved in low relief the figure of a worshipper [Fig. 11] and close by runs an inscription⁵ recording the construction of the *mandapa* by one Ananta-Sivan; perhaps we may take the relief and the inscription together and infer that the relief is a representation of Ananta-Sivan, the builder of the

¹The editor of the inscription in SII. has gone completely astray in his identifications.

²SII. iii. no. 147.

³MER. 1910: 81: 24.

⁴Kumbhakonam Tq., Tanjore Dt.

⁵MER. 1907: 50 of 1907.

mandapa. The worshipper is shown not with hands joined in *anjali* but stretched out soliciting boons.

We have already seen how the memory of Gandar-Aditya was perpetuated by Sembian-ma-devi, his queen. Her memory in turn seems to have been perpetuated in a statue set up to her in a temple to Siva which she had herself built at Sembian-ma-devi, a village¹ which she re-named after herself and made a gift of to the temple. Grants of land too seem to have been by made the assembly of the village for the offering of food to her image.²

Gandar-Aditya's brother, Arimjaya, reigned for some time and died at Arrur and, years afterwards, his grand-son, Rajaraja I (of whom we shall presently have to say more) erected a temple in his honour as a *palli-padai* at Melpadi and named it Arimjiga-Isvara.³

When Arimjaya's son, Sundara-Chola, or Parantaka II, died after a distinguished reign his queen put an end to herself by committing *sati*. Kundavai, the daughter of this couple, had such regard for her parents that when her brother Rajaraja I built the great temple at Tanjore, she installed in it images of her father and mother,—that is of Parantaka II⁴ and his queen,⁵—and made ample provision for worship being offered to each of them.⁶

In the last days of Rajaraja I (985-1013 A. D.), the great Chola king who built the famous Brihad-Isvara temple at Tanjore,⁷ the manager of the temple seems to have set up a solid image of Rajaraja along with a similar one of his queen, Loka-maha-devi, in the temple to the building of which that king devoted the treasures he acquired in his numerous conquests. An inscription in the temple does not seem to be susceptible of any other interpretation.⁸ The

¹Negapatam Tq., Tanjore Dt.

²MER. 1926: 481 of 1295.

³SII. iii. p. 23, no. 15, line 1; p. 25, no. 16, line 1; p. 26, no. 17, lines 10-11.

⁴Ib. ii. no. 6, paras 1, 13-14.

⁵Ib. ii. no. 6, paras 1, 3-5.

⁶Ib. iii. no. 6, paras 13-18 for the king, and *Ib.*, paras. 19-21 for the queen.

⁷Tanjore Tq. and Dt.

⁸SII. ii. no. 38, paras 14, 17, 44, 47; see also *Ib.* ii. (40), 152.

measurements of the two images and the pedestals are given in the inscription: the image of the king was 'one *mulam*, four *viral* and a half in height from the feet to the hair,' and that of the queen was 'twenty-two *viral* and two *torai* in height.' Among the jewels with which the statues were decked were 'sacred arm-rings' and 'sacred ear-rings.' It is also worth noting that a lamp was kept burning in the presence of the king's statue, just as if it were an image of the deity.¹ No image now in that temple is identifiable with that of the queen. Loka-maha-devi: her statue seems to have disappeared. A king's statue [Fig. 12] is found among the images now in the temple, but it is exceedingly doubtful if it is the statue to which the above-mentioned inscription relates. All that we know of this statue has been summarised thus: 'In the Brihadisvara temple at Tanjore is a metallic image with the label, *Rajarajendra-chola-rajā of the big temple*, engraved on the pedestal in the modern Tamil alphabet. The king is represented as standing with both his palms joined together in a worshipping pose. As a work of art, it is only a second-rate specimen, not to be compared favourably with the image of Krishna-rama at Tirumalai. It is said that this image receives all the honours in the temple and when the god is taken out in procession, this royal image escorts the deity. The name as given on the image evidently refers to the Chola king Rajaraja I, for it was he who was intimately connected with the construction and the upkeep of this temple. It should be a later work done to perpetuate the memory of the founder of the great temple. The tradition locally current about this image also corroborates this view.'² Onelook at this bronze is enough to show that compared with the many icons in the same temple which were set up in the days of Rajaraja I it is of far inferior quality, especially in regard to the moulding of the figure. The fine idealism and the vigorous freedom of those icons do not animate this figure which is very wooden and unspeakably rigid. Further, the height of the statue of

¹SII. ii. no. 41, para 2.

²MER. 1925: 81.

Rajaraja I which was set up in his times is known to us from the inscription in the temple; this height does not tally with the height of the image which now passes for Rajaraja's.¹ The characters on the pedestal are attributable to the seventeenth century: at any rate, they do not belong to Rajaraja's times. From all that we know of Rajaraja we cannot but hold it extremely probable that the manager of the temple acted on Rajaraja's wishes in setting up the two statues and providing that the king's image should accompany the *utsava-vigraha* of the god in the processions of the great festivals. Perhaps we have to suppose that the original statues were lost and that the present statue was substituted much later when the metal worker's art had degenerated greatly in this part of the country. Had the original bronzes survived they would have been of unique artistic value, for they are not merely the very earliest portrait statues of metal the date of which is indisputable,—though we have many specimens of icons of metal of much earlier date,—but they are also specimens of a period to which some of the very best south Indian bronzes belong.

An image of even the priest who officiated in the temple seems to have been set up in the time of Rajaraja I and another priest,² Isana-Siva-pandita, made provision for the burning of a lamp before that image.³

At Kalahasti,⁴ in the Siva temple stands a bronze about 2½ feet in height, [Fig.13] on the pedestal of which runs an inscription stating that it is a likeness of Sola-ma-deviyar and was cast under the orders of Rajendra-chola-deva.⁵ Evidently this Sola-ma-deviyar is one of the queens of the great Rajaraja I and her statue was set up under the orders of her step-son Rajarajendra I.

To about this time belongs a piece of sculpture in the Siva temple at Olagapuram⁶ showing a king worshipping a *linga*.

¹I took the measurements in June 1925.

²I am not satisfied that 'priest' is a correct rendering of the word in the text, *Gurukkal*.

³SJI. ii. no. 96, para 82.

⁴MER. 1922: 168-b of 1922.

⁵Kalahasti Tq., Chittoor Dt.

⁶Tindivanam Tq., South Arcot Dt.



56-A



3

Simhavishnu and his Queens

MEDIAEVAL SCULPTURE

57

A devotee gave to the Siva temple at Annur,¹ in 1031 A. D., some gold for a twilight lamp, assigned over some of his servants for service in the temple and also presented metallic statues of himself and his wife. We have here the first instance of a donor to a temple accompanying his gifts with statues of himself and of his wife.²

In the Siva temple at Srimushnam³ the reciter of the *Tirup-padiyam* or 'the Sacred Decad' (a hymn in ten stanzas to the god of that temple) was, for long, one Tambiran-tolan Manakkanjaram, and on his death an image of him was set up in one of the *gopuras* of the temple⁴

In the Siva temple at Kalahasti stands a pair of bronze figures, each with hands joined in the attitude of worship. One of the figures is a male and the other is a female [Fig. 14]. At one end of the pedestal of each statue is a projection from which springs a post the top of which, where it reaches almost the height of the joined hands, is shaped into a cup-like lamp. As an inscription on a wall of the same temple, dated in 1119 A. D., says that a lady made a gift of 96 sheep to the temple out of the yield of which was to be burnt a perpetual light in a lamp-stand cast after the form of her deceased brother, Kettan-Adittan, a servant of a Chola captain,⁵ we may conclude that the male figure represents Kettan-Adittan and that it was set up after his death by a relation of his. The other statue, which represents a woman, resembles the former so closely in the features that the suggestion may be ventured that it represents the sister and that it was set up by either herself for her own merit or after her death by her relations as a memorial. The two bronzes would seem, therefore, to be statues of a brother and sister. They are very fine specimens of the metal-worker's art and have all the marks of individualised portraits. Statues holding lamps in their hands are common, but these bronzes are

¹Avanasi Tq., Coimbatore Dt.

²Chidambaram Tq., South Arcot Dt.

³MER. 1916: 235 of 1916. Palæographically this inscription is assignable to the 11th century A.D.

⁴Ib. 1922: 95 of 1922.

⁵MER. 1923: 594 of 1922.



13
Sola-ma-deviyar

MEDIAEVAL SCULPTURE

59

A Brahman made in 1128 A.D., 'a gift of 20 *kalanju* of gold of 9½ fineness for burning daily a twilight lamp, with *ghee* and camphor both morning and evening, in the Vishnu temple at Tirukkannapuram.'¹ The inscription recording this gift goes on to state that he 'presented for the purpose a bronze lamp-stand made after his own image,' and assures us that 'the gift was accepted by the Sri Vaishnavas of the village and those versed in the sacred lore.'² This gives us an instance of lamps being held in temples not only by figures of females in the form of *dipa-lakshmis* but also by figures of men.

A relief in the Sathakopa *mandapa* of the famous temple of Srirangam³ is popularly said to represent the great Tamil poet, Kamban (12th century), who, according to tradition, recited his version of the *Ramayana* in that hall and obtained the approval of the learned Vaishnavas of the place.

Beside a sculpture on the wall of the Siva temple at Tiruvidaimarudur,⁴ picturing a *linga*, a worshipper, an attendant and a lamp-stand, is an inscription mentioning two names which perhaps were those of the worshipper and the attendant.⁵

In the Siva temple at Tirumalai⁶ is placed a figure carved in stone [Fig. 17] which is probably to be assigned to this century. That it represents a chief seems to be indisputable, but we are unable to identify him.

Inside the Siva temple at Kurudumale,⁷ 'stand opposite to the *linga*, three statues which are said to represent the later Chola chief Ilavanji Vasudeva Raja and his consorts [Fig. 18] The chief, who belongs to the 13th century,

said that for the first time the image was taken out of the dark corner of the *garbhagriha* and shown to an outsider. On examination of the register in the Taluk office at Belur, an entry of a metallic image of Vishnuvardhana among other things was found.'

¹Nannilam Tq., Tanjore Dt. ²MER. 1923: 509 of 1922.

³Trichinopoly Dt. ⁴Kumbhakonam Tq., Tanjore Dt.

⁵MER. 1908: 267 of 1907, referable paleographically to the 12th century A.D.

⁶Sivaganga Tq., Ramnad Dt. ⁷Mulbagal Tq., Kolar Dt., Mysore State

unique in that a special support is provided for each lamp and the hands are left unencumbered so that they might be fully joined in salutation. These statues present a combination of the two common *motifs*,— a devotee standing in the attitude of salutation with hands joined in *anjali*, and his holding in his hands a lamp for a light kept perpetually burning for his merit.

In a niche of the famous Kesava temple at Belur¹ stand two figures whom tradition identifies as Vishnuvardhana,² the great Hoysala king, (1104-1141 A. D.) and his queen Santale [Fig. 15]. This Vishnuvardhana is famous in south Indian history as the great king who was converted to Vaishnavism by Ramanuja and as the builder of magnificent temples. The figures are carefully sculptured and were doubtless good likenesses.

Among the metallic images in this temple is one of the same king, Vishnuvardhana. The image is about a foot and a half in height standing on a pedestal [Fig. 16]. The hair is wound into a knot behind the head. (Not visible in the photo). This is a Vaishnavite custom. It is not however positively known whether Vishnu-wardhana kept his hair in such a style. The figure is highly adorned with ear-rings, necklace and ornaments. A sheathed sword is suspended from the girdle on the left side and a dagger on the right side. On the image, discus, conch and certain lines and circles are drawn on the palm of the hand, fingers and legs indicating great fortune. These are not visible in the photo.”

¹Belur Tq., Hassan Dt., Mysore State.

²R. A. Narasimhachariar, *Monograph on the Kesava Temple, Belur*, 2.

³*MysASAR*. 1926: 7: 58. In a kind letter to me, dated July 13, 1927, Dr. R. Sharma Sastri, Director of Archaeological Researches, Mysore, wrote thus: 'When Mr. Rama Rao, Assistant, Mysore Archaeological Department, visited the Kesava temple at Belur last year, the Archak named Mutubhatta informed him of the existence of a metallic image of Vishnuvardhana in the *garbhagriha*, unknown to outsiders. It was neither worshipped nor taken out in procession. Mr. Rama Rao prevailed upon the Archak to show the image and allow it to be photographed. When questioned as to the reasons for identifying it with Vishnuvardhana, the Archak referred to a register of the images and other article of the temple kept in the Taluk Office and said that the image was traditionally handed down from Archak to Archak as that of king Vishnuvardhana. Also he



58-A

IV

MODERN ART

From about the fifteenth century period we discern a change in sculptural methods and technique which seems to indicate the early beginnings of modern art.

'On a beam of the tower called Nayudu-mandapa in the middle' of the village of Karempudi,¹ an inscription of 1445 A. D. 'records the erection of the tower by Jivaraksha Timana, son of a Macherla Chennudu, at the spot where Chilama Nayudu planted his spear.' These persons and some others of this family 'are all figured on the beam, some holding spears and others standing in a worshipping posture.'² These sculptures are altogether devoid of artistic merit.

'On the wall of what is known as the Penugonda Gate' of the Siva temple at Devarayadurga³ 'is sculptured a figure holding a *vina* or lute in the right hand with a label in characters of about the 15th century stating that the figure represents the musician Virupanna.'⁴ This musician was perhaps attached to the temple.

Standing figures, each about a foot in height and wearing a cloak and leaning on a staff, are found in the *mandapas* of the Siva temple at Hoskote;⁵ these are said to be statues of Tamme Gauda, who built that temple and built the fort of Hoskote about the close of the 15th century.⁶ Similar figures are found in other temples such as those at Magadi, Rampura, Kempesagara⁷ and Vijayanagar (Hampi), and they are believed to represent generally the builders of the respective temples.⁸

¹Palnad Tq., Guntur Dt.

²MER. 1910: 555 of 1909; 1910: 109-10: 49.

³Tumkur Tq. and Dt., Mysore State.

⁴MysAS. AR. 1918: 3: II.

⁵Hoskote Tq., Bangalore Dt., Mysore State.

⁶MysAS. AR., 1919: 5: 17.

⁷All these places are in the Mysore State.

⁸MysAS. AR. 1915: 2: 8, 1915: 5: 11 and 1918: 14.

is said to have built or renovated the temple.¹ He wears a beard and all the three figures hold their hands joined in salutation. As sculptures they are not satisfactory, though they are not wanting in expression.

A man is accompanied by his wife and by three attendants in a sculptured group in the *mandapa* of the Mallikarjuna temple at Kuruvatti.² The sculpture is remarkable for its showing the man in a unique pose,—that of reading a palm-leaf book [Fig. 19]. Perhaps the conjecture may be hazarded that he was the king's preceptor, Lokabharana-deva (c. 1200 A. D.), who is known to have been connected with the village and the temple.³

A bronze, about two feet in height, recovered as 'treasure-trove' at the village of Gandar-kottai,⁴ seems to be a statue of a local chief [Fig. 20]. In hands folded in *anjali* he holds a rosary.

Two stone-figures at the entrance into the central shrine of the Lakshmi-Narasimha temple at Korukonda,⁵ perhaps representing respectively Lakshmi-dasi, a courtesan, and Mummadi-Nayaka, a local chief, seem to have their story told in a long Sanskrit inscription in that temple.⁶ 'The temple on the hill came into existence' during this chief's reign, in 1363 A. D., 'under very peculiar circumstances. A Vaishnava teacher, Bhattari, of whom Mummadi was the devoted disciple, told the chief one day that he had reached the last of his human births and as soon as the mortal frame was given up, he would appear in the form of Lakshmi-Narasimha on the hill at Korukonda. Soon after this revelation the teacher died and all about his re-birth as God Narasimha was apparently forgotten. A dancing girl of that village saw the teacher in her dream and was told by him of his manifestation on the Parasara-saila. The king being informed of this was at once reminded of what the teacher had told him and

¹MysAS. AR. 1914: 21: 31.

²MER. 1919: 220 of 1918.

³Rajahmundry Tq., Godavari Dt.

⁴Harapanahalle Tq., Bellari Dt.

⁵Cuddalore Tq., South Arcot Dt.

⁶MER. 1913: 44 of 1912.

permitted the dancing girl to build a temple. She wandered in rags begging for money, pledged her daughter, earned the amount required, built a temple and consecrated therein Parasara-Narasimha, presenting at the time of consecration two villages for the maintenance of worship and offerings. Mummadi may have also substantially helped the dancing girl in building the temple.¹

Perhaps to about this period belongs a statue [Fig. 21] which is said to have stood on the principal sepulchre in the famous *mutt* at Kadri.² The statue is locally known as Gorakh-nath's. The Kadri *mutt* is, in all probability, an out-post of the famous Gorakh-nath sect of north India and the founder of the local *mutt* was himself, perhaps, called Gorakh-nath. To judge from its appearance and the technique, it belongs to about this century and was probably placed over the tomb of the founder of the *mutt*. The statue having been broken some years back,³ it has been replaced on the sepulchre by one newly carved.⁴

¹MER. 1912: 87: 68.

²South Canara Dt.

³It will be noticed that the staff which the figure leant on is now broken.

⁴Father H. Herra, S.J., Professor of Indian History at St. Xavier's College, Bombay, discovered the pieces and put them together and had the kindness to take a photograph for me.



17
A. Chet



15
Vishnuvardhana and Santala

On one of the faces of a tall *garuda-stambha* in the Vishnu temple at Ummattur¹ is carved 'a male figure, about 3 feet high, standing with folded arms and wearing a garland, a dagger and large ear-rings, which probably represents some Ummattur chief who built or renovated the temple' during the period (about the 16th century) when they held sway over the neighbourhood.²

'On the floor' of a portion of the temple at Nandi 'are a few prostrating figures with labels over them, one of them representing the Avati chief Bayirappa,' who belonged to the 16th century. 'Similar figures are also found on the *navaranga* floor of the north shrine.'³

A copper statue of the renowned Vijayanagara king, Krishna-deva-raya (1509-39 A. D.) is found in the famous temple of Tirumalai⁴ where it must have been placed by him in token of his great devotion to the deity of that place. His statue is one of a group of three figures; he stands in the centre and a queen, Chinna-devi, stands on one side of him, and another queen, Tirumala-devi, stands on the other⁵ [Fig.22]. The identity of each figure is placed beyond all doubt by the label incised prominently on a shoulder of each statue. All the three statues are made of copper and they are excellent examples of repousse-work. Each statue is made in two hollow sections, a frontal and a rear one, and the sections are put together so as to give the appearance of a solid statue and are kept in position by rivets. They are exceedingly well-proportioned without exception and are executed with considerable skill—the workmanship being very delicate in places. The king's statue is about four feet in height, but the statues of the queens have been made to a proportionately smaller scale, in deference, in all probability, to the Indian artistic tradition of figuring the minor members of a group to a smaller size than that of the principal figure.

¹Chamrajnagar Tq., Mysore Dt., Mysore State.

²Mys.AS.A.R. 1917: 13: 28.

³Ib. 1914: 15: 23.

⁴Chandragiri Tq., Chittoor Dt.

64-A



19
Lokabharana-deva

MODERN ART

65

merit of his king, Achuta-deva-raya, of the Vijayanagar dynasty, in the temple of Kalahasti, and he made a gift of two copper images, one of himself and the other of one Timmaya, so that they might hold lamps before the god. The inscription alone survives;¹ the images have disappeared.

A figure of Bhira-rauthu, son of Mukunda-rauthu, a servant of (Aliya) Rama-raya,² with characteristic head-dress and a sword, is pictured in what may be called a line-drawing on a slab on the way to Upper Ahobilam³.

Statues of two successors of Krishna-raya, one of them standing by himself, and the other in the company of his consort, are also found in the Tirumalai temple along with the group of Krishna-raya and his queens. These successors of his were also great devotees of the god of Tirumalai and demonstrated their devotion by numerous and costly gifts. The group of a king and queen [Fig. 24] is carved in stone. No names are incised and tradition is silent about their identity, but 'they may represent . . . king Tirumala' (1569-72 A. D.) 'and his queen Vengalamba.'⁴ The single statue [Fig. 25] is about 4½ feet in height and is of repousse work in copper. A name, Venkatapathi-raya, being engraved on it, we may take it to be a statue of Venkata I (1586-1614 A. D.), the son of Tirumala.⁵ This is undoubtedly a much better piece of work than the Krishna-raya group and has all the marks of individuality which mark a true portrait.

In the *Pudu-Mandapam*, in front of the famous Sundara

¹MER, 1924: 160 of 1924.

²He died at the battle of Talikota, 1565 A.D. Gousins, in his *Bijapur and its Architectural Remains* (ASI. Imperial Series, vol. 37) 9, fig. 4, illustrates a sculptural piece which he says is a likeness of the head of Rama-raya. Father H. Heras, in his *Aravida Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, i., has accepted this identification. The very narrow forehead, the ugly grin and the *vakra-danta*, or crooked tooth, protruding from either corner of the mouth are enough to show that the head is merely a piece of sculptural grotesque.

³Sirvel Tq., Kurnool Dt.; MER. 1915: 85 of 1915.

⁴ASIAR. 1912: 189 n. 3.

⁵Ib. 1904: 4: 9; ASIAR. 1912: 189.

అలయదామరాధు వదికసూరపు
 యముకుందరపు పుడుమాయేంద
 భరరపుతువరి చగువిందమ



BHIRA-RAUTHU

With this copper-statue of Krishna-raya we may profitably compare a stone statue in a niche of the northern *gopura* of the famous Siva temple at Chidambaram¹ which is popularly identified as Krishna-raya's [Fig. 23]. This *gopura* and some other portions of the temple seem to have been built by him about the year 1516 A.D.² The statue stands a little over a yard in height and appears to greater advantage in the illustration than in its native place.

A subordinate of Krishna-raya says in an inscription in the Siva temple of Srisailam,³ dated in 1530 A. D., that he built a *mandapa* in front of the bed-room of the god and presented golden images and set up standing figures not only of himself and his father-in-law but also of his master Krishna-raya.⁴

In 1538 A. D. one Ramabtar-Ayyan made a gift of 6,360 *pon* (gold) for a service instituted by him for the

¹Chidambaram Tq., South Arcot Dt.
²MER. 1914: 98: 30.

³Nandikotkur Tq., Kurnool Dt.
⁴MER. 1915: 14 of 1915.



temple at Madura,¹ stand ten statues, each of which represents a king of the Nayaka line of Madura. The tradition is that these ten statues were set up at the instance of the king who stands last, Tirumala Nayaka (1623-52 A.D.) when he had this *mandapa* built; but we have no means of ascertaining if tradition speaks true. Each statue is of life-size and above it is an inscribed label bearing a name.

These ten statues must, strictly speaking, be termed ten groups, for none of these kings stands alone. Each king is only the principal figure of a group, of which the minor members are his queens or favourites, and occasionally, their issue as well. These minor personages being carved to a much smaller scale, the principal figure stands out so prominently as almost to absorb all one's attention.

The identity of each statue would stand indisputably established were it not that the inscribed labels, having suffered decay and mutilation, have not been quite adequately deciphered. The physiognomy of the statues is slightly obscured by the paint with which the faces have been daubed: indeed, the statues are painted all over. A few of the statues are painted yellow in the face, in a crude endeavour, perhaps, to indicate the complexion of the subjects. Tradition has it that the practice of painting the statues is as old as the statues themselves.

The statue of Visvanatha stands first [Fig. 26], for he was the real founder of this dynasty, and an inscription over his head indicates that he was the first to be 'installed.' The seventh statue [Fig. 32] which is the smallest of the ten, is that of Kasturi-Rangappa whose tenure of the throne seems to have been all too prematurely terminated by his death within eight days of his accession. Next stands the statue [Fig. 33] of Muttu-Krishnappa (1601-9): he leans so much to one side as to raise a doubt whether one of his legs was not shorter than the other. The ninth [Fig. 34] is that of his first son, Muttu-Virappa I

¹Madura Tq. and Dt.

(c. 1609-23), and the tenth [Fig. 35] is that of the second son, the great Tirumala.

When we remember that this line of statues begins appropriately with the founder of the dynasty and that the statues from the seventh stand ranged in the order in which the respective kings succeeded to the throne, we have to assume that the statues must have been ranged in the order in which the kings they represent ascended the throne, though a few of the inscriptions and the statues seem to be now found wrongly put together. We may tentatively assume that the second statue [Fig. 27] is that of Krishnappa I (1564-72), the son of the founder of the line; the third [Fig. 28.] and the fourth [Fig. 29] are those of his sons Viswanatha II and (Periya) Virappa (1572-95), and the latter's three sons are represented respectively in the fifth [Fig. 30] which is that of (Kumara) Krishnappa II *alias* Lingama (1595-1601), in the sixth [Fig. 31] which is that of Visvappa, and in the seventh, of which mention has already been made. The king of the eighth statute [Fig. 33], it may be pointed out, is the son of the king of the sixth.

A study of this group makes it clear that most, if not all, of the statues were set up in the order in which the kings succeeded each other, that all the statues were set up together and were intended to form a dynastic group, that each statue was itself the principal figure of a family group, that a statue could be set up in the life-time of the subject himself and even for those who had departed this life some three generations before, that the statues, though posed in conventional attitudes, are not yet wanting in the essential characteristics of portraits and that the statues were also painted over in an attempt to make them look life-like.¹ How realistic must have been the scene in the *Pudu-Mandapam* in Tirumala's days when these statues, painted to the life, stood rooted in wrapt devotion a little above the common crowd as the images of

¹A fine study of the statues is contained in the paper of Father H. Heras, S.J., in *QIMS*. xv. 209-18.

Sundara and Minakshi, the deities of the temple, were brought in stately procession along the gorgeous aisle of the *mandapa* [Fig. 36] through the throng of the surging multitude!

A group of Tirumala and his queens is placed in the well-known Vishnu temple at Srivilliputtur¹ [Fig. 37] and it deserves to be compared with that at Madura. Another statue in the same temple is said to be a representation of a brother of Tirumala [Fig. 38].

Statues of Tirumala are found also in the temples at Tirupparankunram and Alagarkoil² and they too³ bear close resemblance to the statue in the *Pudu-Mandapam* at Madura.

Within the great temple of Madura itself there stands a very realistic statue in the usual worshipping attitude but we have no knowledge of its identity. It is not clear even that it represents a Nayaka [Fig. 39], but another figure in the corridor of one of the temple-tanks is obviously a member of the Nayaka line, though he has not cared to tell us who he is. Instances of unidentifiable statues in the temples at Madura need not be multiplied.

In the *Pudu-Mandapam* is a figure on horse-back, carved in stone, which is popularly known as a statue of Arya-natha who helped the first two members of the dynasty of the Nayakas of Madura to establish themselves firmly in Madura.

A bronze statue of a Nayaka [Fig. 40] in the Brihad-Isvara temple at Tanjore affords some compensation for the artistic degeneracy of the statue of Rajaraja found in the same temple. Portions of this temple have undergone alterations since the days of Rajaraja I and attached to some of the pillars near the *nandi-mandapa* are figures of Nayakas [Figs. 41, 42]. So we may infer that the Nayakas of the bronze and the stone statues were perhaps responsible for some structural alterations in the temple and were installed in the temple in memory of them.

¹Srivilliputtur Tq., Tinnevely Dt.

²Madura Tq. and Dt.

³It has not been possible to take photographs of these.

Govinda Dikshita, a well-known scholar and statesman of the last quarter of the sixteenth and the first quarter of the seventeenth centuries rebuilt some famous shrines among which are the Siva (Kumbhesvara) temple at Kumbhakonam,¹ and another temple close by,—that of Siva at Pattisvaram,² a place of many historical memories.³ In the latter temple stand two stone images,—one of Govinda Dikshita and another of his wife [Fig. 43]. In the former temple, opposite the shrine of the goddess and just at the end of a row of the Canonised Saints of the Tamil Saiva Church, stand a short *linga*, about a foot in height, and the figure of a lady, a yard high,—her hands joined in reverent salutation to the goddess in front of whom she has stationed herself [Fig. 44]. On enquiry we are told that the *linga* is Govinda Dikshita and that the lady is his wife. Perhaps by the time that the renovation of this temple was completed Govinda Dikshita had passed away and he was appropriately figured in a *linga* in proof of his having become merged in the Eternal. His wife is represented not in the weeds of a widow but with all her ornaments on, including that jewel of jewels,—the *mangalya-sutra*, the badge which indicates that the husband is yet alive. The lady's statue is a fine product of the sculptor's chisel. She stands bold and happy,—assured that her husband has become one with the Eternal and convinced that the goddess of the shrine will, in the fulness of time, vouchsafe to her the grace that she stands suing for.

In a *mandapa* of the Siva temple at Pattisvaram, evidently repaired by Govinda Dikshita, we have a gallery of figures which are evidently portrait statues of members of the Tanjore Nayaka dynasty. [Fig. 45]

In the Ramaswami temple at Kumbhakonam, known to have been built by Govinda Dikshita, we have a group which is instinct with life [Fig. 46]. So free is the pose, so vigorous is the attitude, so calm is the expression and so majestic is the appearance that the figures would

¹Kumbhakonam Tq., Tanjore Dt.

²Kumbhakonam Tq., Tanjore Dt.

³See my book, *The Kaveri, the Manikharis and the Sangam Age*, 118-22.

appear to be idealised pictures of men were it not for their intensely human expression which stamps them indisputably as portrait statues. In all probability, the group shows Raghunatha-Nayaka and his queens.

In the Siva temple on the hills of Sivaganga¹ is a group of three statues, each of which is said to represent one of three brothers. One of them is 'a statue of the Yalahanka chief Kempe Gauda with a label on the pedestal' and it 'stands with folded hands in front of the linga cell [Fig. 47]. The figure is about four feet high and the label gives the date 1608 A. D. Another statuette, about 1½ ft. high, also with an inscription on the pedestal, standing to its left. . . represents Uligam Basavayya [Fig. 48], while a third, about 4½ feet high, standing to its right, without a label and holding a lamp in both the hands, is said to represent Kempe Somanna. It is stated that Uligam Basavayya and Kempe Somanna were Kempe Gauda's brothers. Kempe Gauda is said to have enlarged and liberally endowed the temple.'² The severity of the design of the statues of Kempe Gauda and Uligam Basavayya is quite note-worthy and contributes in no small measure to the artistic excellence of the statues. Fine and vigorous manhood cannot be more faithfully rendered in metal.

On one of the pillars of the Vishnu temple at Melkote³ is carved 'a bas-relief about 1½ feet high, of the Mysore king Raja-Odayar I (1578-1617 A. D.), standing with folded hands, with the name inscribed on the base. Tradition makes him so great a devotee of the god that on the day of his death he was observed entering the sanctum and was seen no more afterwards.'⁴ Another statue of the same king stands about 2 feet high, in the Lakshminarayana temple at Mysore, and his connection with that temple is established

¹Nelamangala Tq., Bangalore Dt., Mysore State.

²MysAS.AR., 1915: 11-2: 18.

³Seringapatam Tq., Mysore Dt., Mysore State.

⁴MysAS.AR. 1917: 21: 44.

by an inscription which attributes to him the building of one of its towers, and by a tradition which says that so firm was his faith in the god that when his life was sought by the machinations of his enemies the god was pleased to save him by turning into nectar the holy water in which, before serving it to the king as *tirtha-prasada*, the temple priest had, at the instigation of traitors, added poison.¹

In striking contrast to the severely simple statues of the Kempe Gauda group, is the over-tooled bronze [Fig. 49] of another Mysore king, Kanthirava-Narasa-Odeyar (1638-1659 A. D.), found in a temple which he built to Narasimha at Seringapatam.² It stands somewhat over a yard high and wears a robe extravagantly chased and a head-dress elaborately ornamented. None the less the statue seems to have 'a life-like majestic appearance.'³ But the face swells with pretention, the arms are thrust out ostentatiously, the hands are joined in salutation with frigid firmness and the posing of the figure is despicable. A good portrait the bronze may be, but it is certainly no work of art. Another statue of the same king is placed in the Trinesvara temple in the fort of Mysore along with a statue of his successor, Dodda-deva-Raja-Odeyar (1659-72 A. D.).⁴

A group of statues in the central corridor of the famous temple of Ramesvaram⁵ represents chiefs of the Setupati dynasty who have had the control of that temple, for some centuries past. One of the most life-like statues is that of Vijaya-Raghunatha [Fig. 50]. Indeed, these Setupatis have held themselves the special guardians of the temple which is one of the most sacred of the shrines associated with the hero of the *Ramayana*. This corridor is indeed a gallery of statues modelled on the yet more famous gallery at Madura,— the imitation being certainly due to the Setupatis having been the vassals of the Madura Nayaks. Some other

¹Ib. 1920: 3: 10.

²Seringapatam Tq., Mysore Dt., Mysore State.

³MysAS.AR. 1916: 28: 35.

⁴Ib. 1916: 27: 35.

⁵Ramnad Tq. and Dt.

statues ranged opposite those of the chiefs seem to be representations of their ministers or *divans*.¹ These statues do not depart in essentials from the normal type of figures standing with hands joined in salutation and all of them seem to show equal ability on the sculptor's part in evoking from the stone poses as vigorous as we find in the statues at Madura.

A group of portrait statues is found in the corridors of the Siva temple at Tinnevely,² and they seem to represent chiefs who, under the title of *Karthakkal* or 'Agents,' ruled over that part of the country owing a light feudal allegiance to the Madura Nayakas and through them, to the Vijayanagara emperors. This corridor of statues is perhaps an imitation of the great gallery of Madura.

A similar group of ten statues is found in the *garuda-mandapa* of the great Ranganatha temple at Srirangam.³ [For examples, see Figs. 51 and 52]. They seem to be effigies of Nayakas of the Madura line, but, owing to the absence of inscriptions and even of reliable traditions and to the sculptures being disfigured with thick coats of white-wash we are not able to say positively whom they represent.

On a wall of the *gopura* of the Vishnu temple at Tirupati⁴ are found seven carvings below which is engraved an inscription of the seventeenth century A.D. to say that they are a 'family group' of a Maha-mandalesvara, Matla Ananta-rajayya, (son of a Tiruvengalanatha-rajayya, a Choda Maharaja), by whom the *gopura* was built⁵. In the same place are also found other images which, according to another inscription, seem to be likenesses of the Tiruvengala-nathayya above-mentioned and of his wife⁶.

¹Fergusson and Burgess, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, i. 384

²Tinnevely Tq. and Dt.

³Tiruchengodu Tq., Salem Dt.

⁴Chandragiri Tq., Chittoor Dt.

⁵MER. 1917 : 764 of 1916, and EI. xvi. 245-6

⁶MER. 1917 : 763 of 1916.

Youth to the Rescue

By BHAGAT RAM KUMAR

ONE of the many evils of the age we live in is the cheap coining of phrases by politicians and others, so much so that like an inflated currency, these cease to have any value, and however much they may elicit our momentary admiration, they leave little impress behind them. Thus one of the current phrases of Indian politics to-day is that the future of India lies in the hands of the young; we all listen to it with applause, but how few pause to consider its implications! In a sense, of course, the future of every country lies in the hands of its young men; upon their character will naturally depend the character of the next age. But the phrase as used in India to-day obviously means something more than this; it implies that the immediate past and the present of our country is not all that it might be, and that radical reform is to be looked for, not so much from the elder generation which has grown up into a certain standard of rigidity, but from the young who are still plastic, and who still have the opportunity to grow up with, and assimilate, the spirit of the new age. For, each age has its own characteristics, its own note, and healthy growth demands our conforming to this spirit.

It is in our failure to recognise this last fact that a great deal of the ills of our society are due. Conservatism is good and useful so long as we conserve the best in us; it is poisonous when we begin to conserve all. The two banks of a river are essential to conserve its waters from spreading far and wide, causing not only immediate destruction, but losing its own life-giving powers and infecting the whole neighbourhood with disease. But equally vital for the health of the waters is the opening into the sea, so that the river is kept ever fresh, ever young, and therefore always healthy. Constant change, so far as the form is concerned, is a Law of

Nature writ large over God's creation; hence its freshness, its beauty, its health.

But how often do we human beings not transgress the most natural of God's laws! And thus we find that whereas all Nature takes a pride in change,—change of form, because the spirit is changeless—it is only man who takes a pride in so-called Conservatism. As if it is a matter for pride that we have succeeded in mummifying customs and usages which were dead centuries ago! Well might the waters of the river take a pride in being stagnant and creating marshy lands, for is it not a proof of their conservatism?

Particular customs and conventions have their time and their place, and when they have served their purpose, they must give place to others more adapted to the changed times; otherwise they must inevitably stagnate and poison the whole body-politic. Thus at all times, and in all places, it must inevitably fall to the young to gradually change the customs and conventions of society; and normally the change is so gradual as to be almost imperceptible. But if the customs become entrenched in some strong-hold—whether religious or social—and the youth have not the courage and resource to attack them, then they inevitably become dead-stones round the neck of society, growing more powerful with each age, until they may well stifle its life.

Such is the danger of Indian Society to-day, and hence the appeal to its youth to come to its rescue. There are times in our lives when only a surgical operation will avail us; it is so with our society to-day. Half measures are of little avail. We must be prepared for an operation and cut off the deadweights of our society.

If we try to look for the fundamental cause that has been eating away the very vitals of Indian Society, we shall discover it in the spirit of exclusion that has assumed such formidable proportions to-day. It is a fundamental axiom of politics that the body-politic is as much a single, indivisible, organism as the human body; and yet how far are we from this conception! Religion within religion, caste within caste, sect within sect, what a mosaic puzzle

do we not present to the outsider! This would not matter, of course, if these divisions did not go beyond the surface. But as a matter of fact, they have created an exclusive spirit of the most objectionable kind within the narrowest limits. It is not to the country that our loyalty is in the first instance expressed, not even to our religion, but rather to the caste and the sect. We take pride, not in being Indians, or Hindus, but in being Iyers or Iyengars, Mudaliars or Reddys. And even within these narrow limits, we create narrower limits, so that there are sub-castes of Iyers, and Iyengars, Mudaliars and Reddys. Each such small sect has become a world and a law unto itself; refusing to dine, marry or mix on friendly terms, with the other. And this noxious spirit has so thoroughly saturated us that we see nothing absurd in a Brahmin not co-operating with a Non-Brahmin, or a Hindu not co-operating with a Muslim even in political and economic matters, on the mere ground of religious differences.

As if this was not enough, every art and device is used to patent our differences, and to perpetuate and intensify them by giving them a religious significance. The Iyengars, the Iyers, the Mudaliars, the Lingayats and the thousand others must invent different caste-marks and religiously put them on their foreheads to show to each other that they are not what others are. Different castes must shave their heads in different manner, to proclaim the same interesting fact to the world. Turbans must be worn differently, lest one be taken for the other. Every Iyengar and Mudaliar must call himself Mr. x. y. Iyengar or x. y. Mudaliar, so that we never know the man's name but only his caste. And thus one fantastic custom after another has been invented to intensify our differences.

It is for our youngmen to consider whether all this is not an anachronism, poisoning our life as a Nation. Do we want to be a Nation in the modern sense of the term, stressing our affinities, and not our differences? Then these absurdities, these forms without spirit, these mummies of the

past, must disappear. Do we really believe that one caste is superior to another; that an Iyengar, even though a shoemaker, is better than a Reddy, even though a professor? If not, what is the good of proclaiming the fact of our caste by our name, by our dress, and by other marks to the world? They do no good, but a vast amount of harm. At a time when conditions were different, when politics did not play the same part in our lives as to-day, when the purity of one race was to be preserved from admixture with another, all these conventions had their place and value. But we are no longer living in the Vedic age, or under theocratic rule. Small things show which way the wind is blowing; and these things, each small in itself, have a cumulative effect which is far greater than their individual worth.

Will the youth come to the rescue?

The South Indian Stage

By V. BHASKARAN

THE most fascinating study about India is her ancient culture. For, in the history of nations, no culture has withstood the devastation of Time so resolutely, and India's light burns brightly through the ages. And to-day, the spiritual beauty of Indian culture has revealed itself to the world through the poetic genius of Rabindranath Tagore and the sublime doctrines of Mahatma Gandhi.

But India does not shine in the realm of spirituality alone. Her literature is like a vast mine, which to an ardent and enthusiastic explorer, will reveal a rich panorama of life rare in human history. Her great epics still extort admiration from the best savants of the West. Her culture manifests itself in diverse ways, through her drama, painting and poetry. The link with the past, which for a time was lost during a dark period in our history, is being forged afresh; for, the impact of an alien civilization has also awakened in us a new yearning for the study of our own culture and traditions.

It is our special purpose to examine the achievement of South India in the realm of the Drama, and see to what extent South Indian culture finds expression through the great dramatists of the day. To study the present position of the South Indian drama, we have to go back to the ancient tradition which gave birth to it. Unlike Western Drama, the drama in India has in most cases a didactic purpose. The central theme on which the dramas of Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti, Bhasa, and latterly of Pandit. D. Krishnamacharlu are based, is always God and His *Leela*. Social dramas are slowly coming into prominence to-day, and in a land like ours, they are bound to leave their impress on the development of modern Indian culture. To some extent, the present-day education, with its craze for sensation, has weaned

us away from our rightful moorings, but the love of God is still there, as may be judged from the huge audiences at a devotional drama. But if the stage has to play its part in a nation's life, mere repetition of the stories of the deities will not serve any purpose. With the aid of the past, we must build up the future edifice of the Indian drama.

Turning to India's dramatic literature, one is amazed at its rare qualities. The earliest work on this class of literature is the *Bharata Natya Sastra*, followed sometime later by Bhasa of ancient fame. The age of staging plays began with Bhasa and Sudraka Kavi, and the tradition of active Indian drama may be dated from this time. But it was given to Kalidasa to immortalise the Indian drama by his wonderful genius. With his wealth of poetry, beauty of imagery and command of technique, Kalidasa made his dramas such perfect expressions of his art, that they were not easily capable of being staged by common actors. But that is the way of genius.

Closely following the Kalidasa tradition, came the era of Sri Harsha, Bana, Bhattanarayana, Visakhadatta, and Bhavabhuti, who all belonged to the seventh and eighth centuries. History records an intense dramatic activity during this age, culminating in that masterpiece of Dhananjaya, *The Dasa Rupa*, a standard critical work on Indian dramaturgy written in the 10th century. Then came a period of inactivity in the production of dramatic literature and criticism. In the middle of the 14th century, there arose a new school of dramatists who concentrated upon the production of religious dramas with the main purpose of fostering *Bhakti*. This effort did not, however, materially contribute towards the uplift of the Indian drama as in the period of the domination of Bhavabhuti and Bhasa. Dhananjaya's *Dasa Rupa* covers the whole gamut of dramatic technique, and one is surprised to find in this classical treatise the quintessence of the drama. The choice and development of the plot, the emphasis laid on action, and the naive exposition of the various *rasas*, reveal a master-mind, handing down to posterity an authentic

and most brilliant contribution on Indian dramaturgy. This is the rich dramatic tradition which modern India has inherited, though it has been passing through various stages of upheaval and decadence during long intervals. We have a great tradition behind us. Only, the present reconstruction has to proceed on right lines.

Apart from classical works which deal exhaustively with the science of the drama, and the works of Kalidasa, the stories of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, improvised for the occasion, have played a great part in making the Indian stage very popular and attractive. The majestic grandeur of Kalidasa and of the earlier dramatists like Bhavabhuti, was not easily appreciated by the modern actor. His woeful ignorance of Sanskrit also stood in the way. So, a new school of dramatists sprang up in this country. The adaptability of puranic stories to suit the taste of the modern play-goer, with a liberal interspersing of music, became almost a necessity, and in South India, Pandit D. Krishnamacharu of Bellary was the pioneer in the renaissance of the drama. Indian drama is, as we have observed, didactic and intensely religious. The street dramas, still in vogue in Indian villages, were designed to appeal to the religious instincts of man. Thanks to the impetus given by Krishnamacharu, the South Indian stage is on the threshold of a new era. This great Andhra poet presented the Puranic stories in a new garb, irresistible in its charm. Quite apart from his appeal to the Andhra public, his achievement as a dramatist has a national significance. In South India, the stage has received a new inspiration from him, and scores of dramatists have followed in his wake. He concentrated mainly on epic stories, and by his magic touch, he cast his characters in such a mould that, without losing their epic background, they satisfied the requirements of the modern stage. He developed the true spirit of the drama and the various *rasas* with such punctilious care and finesse of execution, that he has rightly earned the title of *Andhra Nataka Pithamaha* (The grand-sire of the Telugu Drama).

In the Tamil Nadu, Rao Sahib P. Sambanda Mudaliar took up the study of the stage in right earnest. He has to his credit many fine dramatic pieces in Tamil. He gave a new orientation to the Tamil drama by assigning a secondary place to music. The themes of his dramas always relate to some aspect of human psychology, and one could discern in them a harmony and a fresh outlook on life which explain his great popularity.

The rise of the amateur theatricals is another factor in the development of the South Indian Drama. Both Krishnamacharlu and Sambanda Mudaliar have helped the healthy growth of such associations. Both were born actors, besides being literary men of outstanding merit, endowed with an instinctive perception of the most beautiful and subtle things in art. Still there is a subtle distinction between the art of the Andhra dramatist and that of Sambanda Mudaliar. Krishnamacharlu revelled in the antiquities of the *Mahabharatha* and the *Bhagavatha*, and the colour and the setting he gave to some of his Puranic representations were a marvel of dramatic skill. The wonderfully humanising touch he imparted to the character of *Hiranyakasyapa*, to take but one example, will reveal the rare flights to which his genius could soar while working up the tragic element in a drama. Sambanda Mudaliar, on the other hand, with his remarkable literary skill and elegance of style, wrote a series of dramas in which the Indian social life is portrayed in vivid colours. After Krishnamacharlu came a number of Telugu dramatists of varying degrees of merit, and Telugu Literature is all the richer for their efforts. Effete social customs form a background for the modern dramatists. The revolt of Veerasalingam Pantulu against unjust social laws emboldened the hearts of these dramatists to turn to the portrayal of contemporary social life. To the credit of Andhra Desa it must be said that it has given the lead in this direction.

In the Tamil land, unfortunately, things are different. So far as professionals are concerned, the plays have lost

all social value and are merely used to promote mirth and flippancy on the stage. Dramas, full of intrigue and sensation, have become so common a feature of the modern Tamil stage, that one hardly goes to the theatre for inspiration or intellectual enjoyment. The degradation to which the Tamil stage has sunk in the hands of the professionals, is a blot on the pure tradition inherited from the past. Fidelity to the plot is invariably thrown to the winds, and the hero or heroine thinks more of the applause of the crowd than the necessities of the historic background. This state of affairs is perhaps due to the fact that the ordinary professional is not educated enough to appreciate the importance of the drama as the mirror of a nation's life. The need for a change is being slowly felt, thanks to the splendid work of the amateurs, but nothing short of a radical reform will make it possible for the real beauty of the Indian drama to reappear. The new life pulsating through India is bound to effect a reform of the stage, even as it is purifying other spheres of Indian activity.

It is clear that India is coming into her own, not only politically but also culturally. Rabindranath Tagore has contributed, more than any living Indian, to the resuscitation of the Indian stage. By his matchless eloquence, his powerful pen, and his unerring insight into human nature, he has given a new impetus to the reform of the drama. There are others who have also taken seriously to the study of the drama and are spreading its message. One such outstanding personality is Mr. Raghavacharlu of Bellary. He is perhaps the greatest actor that South India has produced. He had his early training under that great *doyen* of the Andhra stage, Krishnamacharlu. With a genius for detail, Mr. Ragavacharlu has made the stage 'a living university of the people'. His personation of epic and historic characters is the very quintessence of his keen dramatic perception and command of technique. The stage to him is but a channel through which a nation's best thoughts ought to find expression. He is the most successful and brilliant Shakespearean actor in South India, and Dr. Arundale

paid him a well-merited tribute when he compared him to Sir Beerbohm Tree. The great work of Mr. Raghavacharlu for the reform of the stage deserves praise from all lovers of culture. The Suguna Vilasa Sabha, under the leadership of Sambanda Mudaliar, is doing excellent work in this direction, while amateur associations are being organized in the City of Madras and elsewhere. These are sure signs of a bright future, when the Indian stage will fulfil its mission. In the words of Sarojini Devi, "To-day we want dramatists to be the great interpreters of to-morrow, not merely what was yesterday great and noble, but what shall be to-morrow radiant and beautiful." We hope that all true lovers of the drama will take this message to heart and help the stage to become an interpreter of the nation's best thoughts. India has an authentic dramatic tradition, and only a new orientation is required to make it once more a power for good in this ancient land.

The Problem of Franchise

BY PROF. N. G. RANGA, B.LITT. (OXON)

DR. SUNDERLAND'S chapter 'Is illiteracy a bar to self-government' in his forthcoming book was published in the January Number of the 'Modern Review' with the editor's enthusiastic commendation. Mr. Ramanand Chatterjee, the editor, has himself contributed an article to the same number, in which he advances the examples of many important countries which embarked upon self-government through democratic institutions, in spite of the fact that large numbers of the electorate were illiterate. In fact, every genuine nationalist is prepared to affirm that it is not necessary for India to wait for self-government until her masses are all educated, and there are many nationalist leaders who boldly claim that the so-called illiterate masses of India are quite capable of choosing their rulers in a satisfactory manner. But unfortunately, this attitude is assumed by our leaders and propagandists only when they confront foreign critics, who are a bit doubtful of our fitness to rule ourselves, because so many of us are illiterate. And when they begin to think out a constitution for the future India, they are not at all sure of the general capacity of the masses to rule themselves. Almost every scheme of Swaraj proposed by our thinkers has tried to deprive, directly or indirectly, the great masses of the country of the elementary political right of citizenship, i.e., franchise. Some require a property qualification, some insist upon educational qualifications, and others would like to enforce both these qualifications before one is given a vote. In fact, according to Dr. Besant's scheme, the number of voters will be considerably less than at present, owing to her educational and property clauses. It looks as if our political thinkers do not envisage a democratic government for self-governing India but an oligarchy or class

government. None of them, except Mahatma Gandhi,¹ seems to be sympathetically inclined towards the masses. Therefore it is no wonder that the Depressed Classes, who number more than sixty millions, have declined to co-operate with the nationalist leaders in their attempts to boycott the Simon Commission. Mr. M. C. Raja, their spokesman in the Assembly, has definitely stated that he did not feel sure that the interests of the suppressed classes of India would be safe in the hands of those classes which enjoy political power to-day, and which have had a chance to develop their political consciousness. It is my purpose to trace in these pages the history of political thought upon the question of franchise and to indicate the developments which the franchise has had in its various forms in some of the most important countries.

EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL THOUGHT ON FRANCHISE

Self-government based upon representative institutions has been demanded by many thinkers ever since Milton's eloquence in its cause found expression in *Areopagitica*. But though favourable to representative institutions, many distinguished people doubted the desirability of introducing universal franchise in the country. Milton himself cried out bitterly, 'Who would vindicate your right of unrestrained suffrage, merely that you might elect the creatures of your own faction, or him, however small might be his worth, who would give you the most lavish feasts and enable you to drink to the greatest excess?' This was his reply to the 'levellers' in Cromwell's army, who were bold enough to propose the introduction of universal franchise. Milton says, "Ought the guidance of the republic to be entrusted to persons to whom nobody would entrust the management of their private concerns? Who would suppose he would ever be made a jot

¹ Gandhi once said, when asked for his views upon the property qualification, that he would himself be unable to get a vote under such conditions, and that he saw no benefit to the people at large out of a government by those citizens only who pay ten rupees of land revenue or house-tax.

more free by such a crew of functionaries?" These are weighty arguments, indeed, against the introduction of universal franchise, but the 'levellers' who had seen the terrible results of the autocracy of Charles I, and the instability of the government of the Commonwealth, were convinced that the possible dangers of universal franchise could not be much worse.

Harrington, the author of *Oceana*, declared that, "Freshness of life by which the State makes progress is effected by rotation. Rotation ensures that the individual members of the community take their share in the government." According to him, there is a natural aristocracy of intellect diffused widely throughout the whole body of mankind. The duty of such an aristocracy is to be the counsellors of the people. True government should rest on persuasion. In order to enable every citizen to elect his rulers properly, he proposed that there should be organised weekly classes to explain to the people their civic duties. A thousand officials were to go through the country to give the people their first lessons in the mysteries of representative government.¹

Priestly said, as early as 1768, in his 'Essay on the First Principles of Government', that 'no man can be governed without his consent, for government is founded upon a contract by which civil liberty is surrendered in exchange for a power to share in public decisions. Burke could not, on the other hand, think of any wide extension of franchise in spite of the fact that there were the excellent examples of popular government of Greece.² Rousseau had advocated the sovereignty of the people, so that there might be no hindrance, in the shape of sinister interests, to their achievements, but Burke felt that the only

It is interesting to note here that the editor of 'Triveni' published a series of pamphlets in Telugu in 1920 to educate the newly enfranchised masses, and that the Andhra Library Association ran a Summer-school in Berwada to train social workers in the methods of educating the voters in their civic responsibilities. But unfortunately, their examples have not caught the imagination of our people.

² *Present Discontents*.

result of such popular sovereignty would be a French Revolution and so he abhorred the idea of universal franchise.¹ While Harrington would like government by the natural aristocracy which springs from the people themselves, Burke was satisfied with his British constitution which was guided by a water-tight landed aristocracy. In fact, as Professor Laski maintains, the eighteenth century thinkers were extremely anxious to dissociate themselves from any kind of belief in a democratic government, though most of them championed the cause of representative institutions.

When we come to the nineteenth century, we breathe an entirely new and refreshing atmosphere. The French Revolution had not occurred for nothing, and the triumphs and failures of the French people supplied both hope and warning to the friends of the people in Germany, Italy and England. Though Cobbett and O'Connell struggled hard to achieve universal franchise, statesmen like Pitt, Peel and Wellington opposed its introduction, tooth and nail, and the meagre reforms of 1832 were the result of half-a-century's agitation. A liberal like Bagehot could write as late as the seventies of the last century, "I do not consider the exclusion of the working classes from effectual representation, a defect in our constitution. The working classes contribute almost nothing to our corporate public opinion, and therefore, the fact of their want of influence in Parliament does not impair the coincidence of Parliament with public opinion".² He agreed that the working classes were 'left out of representation and also in the thing represented.' At the same time, he was prepared to argue that "as long as a great class, congregated in political localities, and known to have political thoughts and wishes, is without palpable advocates in Parliament, we may prove on paper that our representation is adequate, but the world will not believe it". According to

¹ *Thoughts on French Revolution.*
² *British Constitution.*

him, the working classes did not demand political rights as strongly and effectively as the manufacturing classes. If the ability to demand a political right is the only criterion for the fitness of a people to enjoy it, even the British working classes of the Chartist agitation should be considered quite fit to enjoy the franchise. But Bagehot could not think of such a thing. When, in spite of these political sages, manhood suffrage was granted to the urban population by the Reform Act of 1867, Bagehot wisely pleaded that the political masters should be educated properly, so that they might use their franchise in a proper manner.

Herbert A. L. Fisher writes in the 'Contemporary Review' for February 1928 that there was unbounded faith in, and enthusiasm for, democratic institutions during the latter part of the last century. But I do not find any such faith in the writings of either J. S. Mill or Bagehot, the two representative thinkers of their time. J. S. Mill certainly had no faith in autocracies or in oligarchies. But, in spite of his genuine love for the masses at large, he was almost equally afraid of democracies, conducted by ill-instructed voters. So he proposed that all those who attained a certain educational standard should be given a plural vote in order to counteract the bad effects of the votes of the uneducated masses. By 1890, the Liberal thinker, Sidgwick, felt safe to draw his inspiration from Bentham, who put his implicit faith in an instructed democracy, rather than from J. S. Mill. But, even he maintained that the demand for political rights should come from the people themselves, and he was unable and unwilling to admit that the people could be trained to use the vote properly even when they were enfranchised. Yet Sidgwick may, on the whole, be taken to have advocated universal franchise.

Though Harrington was able to foresee the great influence of the moneyed classes in politics, neither Bentham nor Bagehot, neither Mill nor Sidgwick, seem to have realised that the democracy they were at pains to advocate or attack might be dominated or led by the rich and the few.

This discovery was made by Marx and his disciples. They have lost their faith in the ability of democratic Parliaments to ameliorate the social and economic conditions of the working classes satisfactorily, and have begun to advocate direct action. G. D. H. Cole and Tawney are also disillusioned about the much-vaunted advantages of universal franchise, and so are advocating the formation of functional Guild Parliaments, wherein the rich cannot find much representation. Bertrand Russel and Laski maintain that workers can derive the full benefits of universal franchise only when they are fully trained, educated and guided by the State. All these thinkers have taken universal franchise for granted, and they are trying to find ways and means by which they can better enable the masses to get the greatest benefit out of their political rights. The framers of the new German constitution have also realised that universal franchise is not in itself a sufficient guarantee for the economic well-being of the community, and so they have established the Federal Economic Council with branches all over the Republic. The general trend of opinion to-day is that universal franchise is but the first step which a government should take in order to achieve the fullest prosperity—material and spiritual—of its subjects. To-day, the outstanding problem in Europe is not so much the finding of methods of preventing democratic institutions from being abused by ignorant masses, as freeing them from the clutches of the rich.

THE EFFECTS OF THE INTRODUCTION OF UNIVERSAL FRANCHISE

The United States of America was the first important country to adopt universal franchise in the working of its political institutions. Excepting the Negroes of the South, who have been denied the vote on some fictitious educational test, almost all adult males have been given the right to exercise a vote in the political life of the country. But the country is a vast one and the President of the Republic, the Governors of the States, and many other important functionaries, have to be elected by the popular vote, in addition to

the members of the Federal and State legislatures. So the party 'Machines' of both the Republicans and the Democrats have been perforce obliged to develop a national system of branches, which have come to be dominated by cliques of people, who are again in the hands of the landed people, the capitalists and the industrialists. Thus, to-day we find in the U. S. A. the spectacle of the workers' organisations mercilessly destroyed by the State governments, even though the workers form, as everywhere else, the great majority of the people of the States. Political life is exploited by the rich, and the poor have no place in the political institutions of that country.

In England, the question of franchise has had a long history and even to-day, there is an agitation to enfranchise women to the same extent as men. When the first Reform Act of 1832 was passed, the conservative elements in the country were afraid that their vested interests would be destroyed by such a revolutionary change in the constitution. But by 1860, Bagehot was able to record that, though the middle classes were made the ultimate masters of the country, it was the nobles and their henchmen who formed the ministries and guided the destinies of the country. Then from 1832 till 1867, we find the Middle Classes trying their best to prevent their government from alleviating the growing misery of the workers, in their homes and workshops. This was a period when the interests of the industrialists and the capitalists were furthered at the cost of the national well-being. In the name of *laissez faire* and free-trade, the urban and rural workers were left to the rapacity of employers and to suffer from congestion of housing and the recurring periods of unemployment. But from about 1870, we find a new atmosphere in the political life of England. In 1871, the Trade Union Act was passed during Gladstone's ministry, but it was not conceived in a progressive spirit. However, in 1874, a more progressive measure was passed by Disraeli, who owed his power in Parliament at that time largely to the support of the disillusioned workers. From 1874 till 1924, labour has won, one after another, many privi-

leges from the government, which has all along been dominated and manned by the higher classes. Thus, though money and social position counted for as much in political life as before, the people at large have the satisfaction of achieving at least the minimum rights and safeguards in the modern complex life. The introduction of universal franchise has not brought about revolutions in England; the monarchy is as strong as ever and the social prestige of Society is coveted to a greater extent to-day than in the sixties of the last century. It is in 1925 that the British voters, who had previously allowed the Labour Party to form the government, sent the Conservative Party back to Westminster with a large majority. Most of the members of the present ministry are recruited from the aristocracy and the rich, and yet the voters do not find it in any way strange to allow such people to govern them. The power to choose men and policies is much more important than the question of the personnel of a government. The British middle classes entertained grave doubts as to the future stability of the constitution when Disraeli's Reform Act of 1867, which enfranchised the urban workers, was passed. But by 1880, the Conservative Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, felt sure of the power of the middle and upper classes to lead and guide the working classes and so he enfranchised the rural workers also. In America, the government was at no time used entirely in the interests of a class. But in pre-reform England, the landed interests alone got the best out of the government. The industrial and commercial needs of the growing cities of the North were neglected in favour of those of the landed gentry. It was as an after-effect of the first Reform Act, that the Corn Laws were repealed to benefit the newly enfranchised classes. The Chartist Movement assumed such gigantic proportions mainly because the working classes were suffering from the iniquitous economic system created by the landed interests. Thus we find that whichever class obtained the vote has used it primarily in its own interests without much concern about the national well-being.

Japan, a country which is as conservative in its essential

temperament as India, has recently adopted universal franchise without making much ado about it. Western critics were rather doubtful about the effects of such a radical reform, which increased the number of voters from 3 to 9 millions at a stretch. But as was forecasted by a writer in the January Number of the 'Contemporary Review', no revolutionary changes have come to pass as a result of the first general elections held on the basis of universal franchise. The same old parties are returned and their combined strength is not very much altered. The socialist and labour parties which made much noise could get only eight members elected. So the same old rule of the governing classes continuing to govern will be repeated in the next two decades at least, although the spirit in which the government will be carried on will be more and more favourable to the furtherance of the interests of the people at large.

The French Republic is based upon popular sovereignty and the mission of the members of its legislatures is "to legislate in the place of the people". The French thinkers have believed, from the time of Rousseau, in universal franchise and their faith can be expressed in the following words of Montesquieu. "It is necessary that the people as a body should possess the legislative power, and every man who is reckoned to possess a free mind should be governed by himself or by his representatives." The result of this adult male franchise has been to humanise the governmental relations with the masses and to better their material and moral conditions, in spite of the fact that the rich have almost complete control of governmental machinery.

The German Republic has also introduced universal franchise, and its experience in the last seven years is so far favourable to this experiment, in that it has enabled the high-born and moneyed-classes to keep their hold on governmental institutions, while the oligarchic tendencies of the governing classes have been effectively held in check by popular sovereignty. In fact the Social Democratic, Socialist and Communist parties have managed at times to command even a majority in the Reichstag of Germany, but the

conservative elements have so far succeeded in keeping their hold upon the government. In Australia, universal franchise is the rule, and labour has successfully attempted to capture the majority of seats in the Federal Parliament. But labour could rule for only a few years, and the conservatives succeeded it and formed the alternative governments, and so the economic and social institutions of the Federation are much more progressive than similar institutions in England.

ADULT MALE SUFFRAGE IN INDIA

If India were to take advantage of the experience—in realms of thought and action—of the western countries, and if she were to avoid the harmful conflicts between those who have voted and those who have not, she must adopt a distinctively democratic constitution. The 1919-20 Reform Act is no doubt an advance over the 1908 Minto-Morley Reform Act, but it has left out of the pale of the constitution a great majority of the people. The class and caste interests are dominant in our country, and unless we introduce universal franchise, we shall not be able to safeguard the interests of the people as a whole. The first condition for the healthy growth of democratic spirit and institutions amidst us, is that universal franchise shall be established.

Those who are afraid that the introduction of adult male suffrage into India may loosen the grip of the landed and wealthy classes, are labouring under a misapprehension. For, only the rich can in future succeed in organising parties, financing elections and reaching the electorate. So, for a good few generations, there is no possibility for the representatives of the labouring classes to form even an effective opposition in the legislatures. After all, social status in India counts for as much as in England, if not more, and the experience of most of the great democratic nations is only too favourable to the governing classes.

It is argued by some that some sort of property qualification is needed, because the voter may then have a certain amount of sense of responsibility. Some object to the granting

of political power to classes which do not contribute anything to the national finances. But, a ten-rupee Land Revenue or House-tax is no indication of the presence of sense of responsibility in a voter, and it is at best only an arbitrary limit. Moreover, most of the workers are able to earn at least Rs. 100 per family even in this poor country, and this ability to earn one's own living should at least be considered a sufficient qualification for one to get a vote. Again, it is wrong to assume that such workers do not contribute anything towards the national finances, because for one reason, the taxes paid by other sections of people are indirectly due to some extent to the labour of the workers, and for another, even such workers pay indirect taxes such as the Salt tax, Excise and Customs.

Most of our thinkers are horrified at the idea of enfranchising millions of illiterate people. I like to draw their attention to the excellent contributions of Dr. Sunderland and Ramanand Chatterjee. I have come to believe, through my study among the people, that the masses of our country are much better informed about our culture, epics and *Dharma*—in however antiquated a way it may be—than many of our so-called educated people. I am afraid our grandees are prone to put too much premium upon literacy. Though literacy is one of the most essential qualifications for a vote, it is not everything. These conservative thinkers must realise that, even at present, there are millions of voters who are illiterate for all practical purposes, and who have by now learnt how to make use of their power. Any one who has had any share in the three general elections of the last decade, will be able to testify to the fact that the voters are gradually learning the proper way of utilising their votes. While in Japan, not more than 40% of the voters go to the polls, here in India, more than 60% of them went to the polling booths in the last general election.

There are yet some people who ask why we should not be satisfied with the present system of nominating a few representatives of the depressed and labouring classes to the

Local and Imperial legislatures. These people forget that the first function of representation is 'educative', and that it cannot be carried out by the system of nomination, because those who are nominated are dependent for their membership upon the Government and not upon the masses. If the people at large do not get an opportunity to share in the general elections, they will not be able to distinguish between different candidates, and to choose finally the one who is most satisfactory to them. It is quite true that on the face of it, the Madras Legislative Council is representative of all sections of population, but it has lamentably failed to enliven the political life of the masses, because it has failed to entrust the masses with the elementary responsibilities of a representative Government. A council which does not succeed in enabling all sections of the people to share in its educative and expressive functions, cannot claim to be a democratic institution.

The present legislatures of India are neither oligarchic nor democratic. They consist of the so-called representatives of a heterogeneous population. There is not even one member, excepting those few representing the cities, who can claim to represent wholly the people of a particular locality. We have the representatives of the Hindus, the Muhammadans, the Christians, the Merchants, the Mill-owners, the Workers and the Depressed classes, but not those of all these sections of population put together. It may be that this system gives a better representation to certain sections of people, but it is not a democratic system, as understood in this century.

If, however, we introduce at least the manhood suffrage, we can enable all those who claim to form the upper and middle classes to enjoy as much pomp as they do at present and we can at the same time constrain them to obey the mandates of the people at large and not of their sectional fraternities.

There are again some people who maintain that it is better to extend the franchise gradually in proportion as the need for it is recognised by the masses themselves. They

are of opinion that the present system of nomination is good enough, and that it is rather foolish to force franchise upon the people who do not demand it. But, has the 1919 Act granted franchise only to those who demanded it? Has the 1867 Reform Act of England granted franchise only to the most vociferous people? Is it not possible, is it not advantageous, to extend this privilege to certain sections of people also, even though they may not demand it? Then, they will be voluntarily but effectively aroused to political consciousness by the periodical elections and the consequent political agitation.

In a country like ours, where there are as many as sixty millions of people who have been brought up to think that their oppression and suppression are the natural phenomena which cannot be altered by any human agency, and are therefore mentally enslaved to the higher classes, the extension of franchise to include them also is an absolute necessity. If these people are given the opportunity to realise that the contending candidates, who belong to the higher and richer classes, are dependent for their success upon the exercise of their own political right, then, adult male suffrage will have more than justified itself. In fact when a Panchama finds so many people of higher castes going to his hut several times to beg for his vote, he cannot but realise that somehow, he is no longer destined to be the underdog and that he has also got in his gift something coveted by all the higher classes. This realisation will help him to extricate himself out of the morass of moral bondage, and this will be the greatest achievement of franchise.

Some may wonder why an extension of franchise to embrace the suppressed classes also is advocated, when it is known that, as a result of such a system, only the rich and the landed gentry get themselves elected in most cases. What is the benefit of such a change? To-day, the rich people who monopolise the councils are unwilling to raise sufficient funds to finance such beneficial measures as compulsory, free elementary education, an enlightened housing policy for the masses, rural reconstruction

and unemployment relief schemes. But when universal franchise comes into operation, they will be anxious to find various means of augmenting the national finances so as to pay for all these schemes, either fully or partially, in order that they may please the masses. The future rulers of the country cannot work for the benefit of the higher classes alone, but will be obliged to serve the people at large, provided adult male suffrage is introduced in the meanwhile. They will be suffered in power only for so long as they satisfactorily serve the interests of the whole of the people.

If we want to enjoy Democracy, which is the best form of Government, and if we want our vast millions of morally stunted people to discover the innate divinity in them, we must introduce adult male suffrage at least. If we are anxious that the elementary civic needs of a people should properly and fully be satisfied, and if we seek to make the Government of India a great, wholesome and stimulating influence amongst our people, we must introduce general constituencies and universal franchise. Vested interests, the prestige of the landed feudal aristocracy, the spirit of domination, and the age long traditions of exclusive rights of political power, are the forces in our way to prevent us from achieving Democratic Government in India. If we succeed in at least controlling these forces, we can obtain Democracy for Mother India.

Indian Women in Conference

By MRS. T. COATMAN .

THERE was recently held in Delhi one of the most interesting conferences it has ever been my lot to attend—the second annual All-India Women's Conference for Educational Reform. The first was held last year in Poona, and was a great success, as delegates attended from all over the country and some very useful discussions took place. But the conference this year was at once much more ambitious and much more successful. In preparation for it, conferences had been previously held in all provinces and in many Indian States, and from these constituent conferences, delegates were sent up to the main conference in Delhi. A maximum of ten delegates was allowed from each constituent conference, and yet the number of delegates at Delhi numbered over two hundred. So the number of provinces and states taking part in it must have been twenty-five at least,—a great triumph of organisation for so young a body. Each constituent conference had sent up previously a list of the points it wanted to be considered by the main conference, and from these the Subjects Committee drew its inspiration for the list of resolutions with which the conference dealt.

A very wide sweep of subjects was thus brought under discussion, dealing with all sorts of social questions, for, the conference did not limit itself to purely technical matters, rightly feeling that as social customs lie at the root of so much of the opposition to women's education in this country, they could not be disregarded by any body which wished to deal in a practical manner with the advancement of female education. And it was just in this way that the difference between an educational conference in England and in India was apparent. For, one of the first matters that claimed attention was the

subject of child marriage, and the conference appointed a deputation to wait on the Government and on the leaders of the political parties to enlist their support for a private member's bill, which is before the Assembly, to raise the minimum age for marriage. It also happened that on the day on which the delegates attended the Assembly as visitors, the debate they heard was on Sir Hari Singh Gour's 'Age of Consent Bill', and this visit had the rather unexpected effect of making many of the women, who had not previously been in favour of pushing for the appointment of women as members of the Assembly, very anxious for this reform, as they felt that so much nonsense was talked by the men on this subject, that it was time they had some women to explain the real situation to them. So a resolution was passed calling on the Government to appoint one or more women as nominated members of the Central Legislature. (Women have already the right of election, but, though one woman has been returned to a provincial legislature, none have so far stood as candidates for the Central Legislature.)

Other matters that were dealt with were more purely educational, in the technical and limited sense of that word. There is a very strong feeling in all parts of India that education for women and girls should not be simply a slavish copy of boys' education, but should strike out a line of its own, aiming more at making women better home-makers and better citizens than the present type of purely literary education seems able to do. This was the theme of many speeches, and a sub-committee was appointed to investigate the matter further and to report and make suggestions to the conference next year.

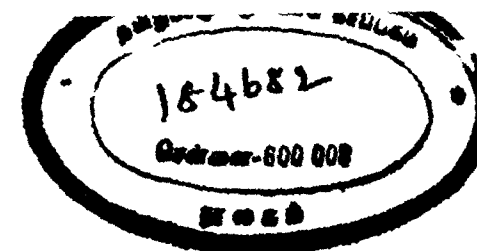
The training of teachers was another burning question. More facilities, better training, higher salaries, better status, all were demanded, but the difficulty which faced all the speakers was that, as education is now a provincial subject, there could be no systematic action all over the country, so that each province must meet the problem by itself and in its own way. Whether any

concerted action could be taken was a matter which was again left to a sub-committee to investigate.

But the personnel and the atmosphere of the Conference were as interesting as the subjects of discussion. All the ordinary sessions were held in purdah, but the opening ceremony was public, special arrangements being made for such ladies as could not break their purdah. Delhi's largest cinema was packed to overflowing, and special invitations had been issued to all members of the Assembly and the Council of State, who came in scores and were obviously both impressed and astonished by what they saw and heard. The Chairman of the conference was that veteran in all good works, the dowager Begam of Bhopal, while Lady Irwin was the President and opened the conference in a wonderfully practical yet inspiring speech, laying down the broad lines of policy on which she hoped the conference would work, boldly facing the many and bitter difficulties, but urging courage and hope and high endeavour in this greatest of all great causes. To hear Mrs. Naidu's magic eloquence from the same platform and in the same cause was a great delight, especially to those who, through differences in political outlook, rarely have the opportunity of hearing her speak. Here were Muhammadan, Englishwoman and Hindu, all enlisting themselves in the same crusade, for the cause of women's education is still a crusade in this country, and there was never any word or thought of any distinction of race, community, class or caste: all were united in the great endeavour to 'build the City of God in the hearts and homes of this country', to use Lady Irwin's own words. That was to me the outstanding feature of the whole conference—at a time when politics and communal differences are dividing the country into bitterly opposed camps, there was not the faintest shadow of disunion or distrust: all were eagerly straining together towards the common goal and were ready to help and not to hinder.

At a later session, the members of the conference showed the faith that was in them by starting, amid scenes

of wild enthusiasm, a Fund for the Advancement of Female Education, and Rs. 30,000 was promised in about five minutes. If women from all over the country are willing, not only to sink the differences which divide their menfolk, but also to put their hands into their pockets to such good purpose, surely this is a hopeful sign?



India : Federal or Unitary ?

BY N. S. SRINIVASAN

THE question arises on the threshold of an inquiry into the working of the Government to be introduced in India—whether the Indian State should be Federal or Unitary in its constitution. When Lord Chelmsford and Edwin Montagu set about the task of framing a transitory scheme of responsible Government in India, the problem did not require immediate attention or solution; nor does it appear from a perusal of the voluminous literature on the constitutional changes of 1919, that the constitutional principles on which the new machinery of administration were to be based were considered or thought of. The authorities in England and in India had to devise some mode of carrying out the promise made in the British Parliament in August 1917; and the dyarchical scheme propounded by Mr. Lionel Curtis was readily accepted, as offering the only method of redeeming a pledge, without disregarding its qualifications. The further difficulties were left to be considered by the Parliamentary Committee, which was to function at the end of ten years. The parting of the ways has now been reached; and it were well to make an attempt to settle the principles on which the Instrument of Government is to be based, instead of merely seeking palliatives to suit momentary exigencies.

The existing constitution of the Government of India is undoubtedly unitary in nature. The Preamble to the Government of India Act states that the sovereignty over the Indian people vests in the Parliament of Great Britain "upon whom responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples". Section 2 of the Act declares that "the Secretary of State has, and performs, all such or the like powers and duties relating to the Government or the revenues of India as if the Government of India Act of 1858 had not been passed . . . and in particular,

TL
V. 2. m. 11287
N 28. 1.2

the Secretary of State maysuperintend, direct, and control all acts, operations and concerns which relate to the Government or revenues of India". Section 33 of the Act declares that, subject to the authority of the Secretary of State, the superintendence, control, and direction of the Civil, and Military Government of India is vested in the Governor-General in Council. Thus the Secretary of State and the Government of India, have been constituted the media through which the sovereignty of Parliament is to be exercised over the Indian people. It is true that sections 19 a of the Act and 45 a, provide for the respective devolution of the powers of the Secretary of State and the Governor-General in Council, but these are provisions of administrative convenience rather than of constitutional abrogation of powers. The portion of the Preamble which states that "concurrently with the gradual development of self-governing institutions in the provinces of India, it is expedient to give to the provinces, in provincial matters, the largest measure of independence of the Government of India which is compatible with the due discharge by the Government of India of its responsibilities" does not carry the matter further. The devolution of sovereign authority is made contingent on the proper administration of the Transferred Subjects; and it is within the knowledge of those familiar with the working of Dyarchy in the last ten years, that occasions have arisen when these departments had to be resumed by the Governor of the province and administered by him. Though, in some subjects, the provinces have been given some acknowledged authority of their own, this does not detract from the unitary basis of the existing constitution.

Now, has there been anything in the past history of India to justify the introduction of a Federal type of Government? Such constitutions are brought into being owing to the imperious necessities of protection against war or aggressive neighbours, when a number of small and contiguous States coalesce together for a common purpose. Taking India as a political unit, there have been in the past numberless States, based on no definite principle of linguistic

or political or administrative affinities. These groups have been ever changing in size and area according to the course of events. Twice indeed, in her history, had India anything approaching the authority and power of the existing Government—once during the reign of Asoka, and later during the reign of the Moghul Emperors. The reign of Asoka had the effect of welding together the numerous States and Kingdoms then in existence; but this was only a passing phase. The Moghul Emperors lost their Empire, by the existence of provincial satraps, who disregarded the authority of the Central Government and "began to beat the drum of independence". The lessons revealed in the long course of Indian History constitute a clear warning against strewing the country with numerous provinces, acting on their own authority, held together only by the feeble tie of an effete central authority. Nor on the other hand, is there any basis for the view that India is a mere geographical expression and any attempt to frame a constitution on a non-federal basis is bound to fail. Beneath the apparent diversities, there is an unity, not merely cultural, throughout the country; and discerning Englishmen have not failed to perceive it. But this unity is always liable to be endangered by the overpowering centrifugal forces, which have to be kept in stern check. When the East India Company acquired territories in India, more or less artificial provinces had been formed, and in order to knit them together closely and prevent their disintegration, it was essential that a powerful central authority should be established. A bird's-eye view of the circumstances in which Federal Governments came into being in other parts of the world and an examination of their powers would throw some light on this question.

We will first turn our attention to the United States of America, where out of sheer necessity, the thirteen Colonies then in existence had to meet together to form a mutual combination against the authority and power sought to be exercised by Great Britain. It is significant that earlier attempts to bring about a coalition had failed. Only the pre-

the outcome of particular circumstances, and have certain features in common. These features, as enumerated by Sir Frederick Whyte, are :

1. The constitution itself appears in the form of a written Statute, supreme over all other instruments of government, and subject usually to a process of amendment more elaborate and deliberate than the enactment of ordinary law.

2. The constitution assigns to the component parts of the federation, federal and provincial, specific functions in legislation, in judicial competence, and executive action.

3. The constitution separates these spheres in such a manner as to permit the federal power and the provincial power respectively, the completest freedom of action, each in its allotted area, including direct contact by the Government with the individual citizens in respect of its legitimate functions.

4. The constitution assigns the duty of interpreting its provisions to courts of justice, usually a Federal Supreme Court.

It may further be added that Federal Governments are the outcome of a coalition of distinctive units and are supported, apart from constitutional forms, by a virile public opinion.

Turning to India, we have here no distinctive units confronted by a common foe. The provinces in India, except in the possible instance of Bengal, are artificial administrative creations of the British Government. In a huge country, such provinces are essential for the proper discharge by the government of its duties. Nor does the attempt to create linguistic divisions solve the difficulty. The so-called linguistic provinces have no roots in the past and are bound to be as artificial as the existing system. The so-called racial divisions again, do not throw light on the question. Such racial divisions do not correspond to the provincial units, but permeate every province in the country. Again, there is a total lack of the instructed public spirit and the alert public

opinion which, in federal states, form an adequate protection against disruptive forces. Half-a-century of resolute Central Government has been found necessary to hold together India as a whole and give a concrete reality to the spiritual yearnings, which have transfigured the country into a motherland. The forces of disruption, of disintegration, of communalism, have only been held in check for the moment. The conditions pre-requisite for the establishment of a Federal State are totally lacking here. Such a State is necessarily weaker than one of an unitary type and also possesses an executive, irremovable for the time being, and consequently, having only remote responsibility to the people. The overriding authority of Parliament, a conspicuous feature of the British constitution, is discounted by the distribution of powers between component parts held in check by a powerful judiciary. The tendency for the Indian provinces in a Federal State will be to convert the courts into an arena for fighting with one another, thereby bringing the sovereign power into contempt and weakening the centripetal forces. The doctrine of *ultra vires* might lead the component parts to indulge in endless litigation, making the Courts the theatre of their destructive activities. The defiance of the central executive which such proceedings involve is sure to produce harmful consequences. Nor is the rigid division of functions, characteristic of a federal constitution, a desirable feature for adoption here; and concurrent jurisdictions are equally dangerous features. Lord Selborne in his speech in the House of Lords, on the Reform Bill of 1919, observed that he raised the question, whether the parliament of India was sovereign as regards the provincial legislatures. The answer was "No". "What happens if a provincial act is inconsistent with an All-India Act?" The answer was that the case had never arisen. The question might never arise in an unitary state with a Sovereign Central Legislature.

There are two other difficulties in India. India is a poor country possessing almost mediæval resources. The material background for costly constitutional edifices is

sence of the enemy at the door made separate existence impossible. The master-spirit of the constitution, Alexander Hamilton devised a scheme of federal administration. The Constitution declared that the sovereign authority vested in the American people; and the Federal authority was vested with the bare minimum of power, essential for the discharge of its duties. All powers, except those expressly vested by statute in the central authority, were left in the hands of the states. The individual states were not even pledged to remain perpetually within the Union. The President of the United States was made the Supreme Federal Executive authority, deriving his power direct from the people. The Supreme Court of the United States was invested with the authority to interpret the constitution, to prevent the component parts from encroaching on the jurisdiction of one another. In fact, centrifugal tendencies exhibited themselves often in the course of American history; and the rebellion of the southern states shook the federal authority to its very foundations, during the period of the civil war. Sometimes, the judgments of the Supreme Federal Court could not be enforced, as when President Johnson challenged Chief Justice Marshall to carry out his judgment if he could. But the constitution has weathered all the storms and is now secure against enemies from within or without. It is the effective sanction of a powerful public opinion in favour of the Union, that forms the support of the American constitution. In fact, the American federal system points to the necessity of public spirit and homogeneous public opinion among the citizens of a federal state.

The more recent Australian constitution is also of the Federal type. A number of scattered governments and colonies in a big continent—New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, Tasmania etc.—isolated from other component parts of the Empire and faced with the contingency of war, "humbly relying on the blessing of Almighty God, agreed to unite in one indissoluble Federal Commonwealth, under the Crown of the United

Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and under the Constitution hereby established". The people of the Commonwealth in whom the political sovereignty is vested, distribute their powers between the State Legislatures and the Australian Parliament. There is, as in America, the Supreme Court, which oftentimes is called upon to decide questions relating to the Constitutional status of the Commonwealth and the States. The legislature approximates to the British type. Here again we find a sense of common danger bringing together a number of distinctive states reinforced by a sound public opinion.

The next constitution to which a very brief reference may be made is that of Canada. There, under the British North America Act of 1867, the provinces of Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, together formed the Dominion of Canada. In view of the striking local characteristics and the great division of interests between the French and the British populations, it was found essential to depart from the British constitution on which it was to be modelled, in that it was made of a federal character. A clear division between the Provincial Councils and the Canadian Parliament was made in respect of functions. The Federal authority was made superior to the Province, and together with Parliament, it has full authority over Canada, except where it is restricted in favour of the Provinces by statutory provisions. The judiciary plays the same part as in the other federal constitutions.

Turning next to Switzerland, we find that twenty cantons, intensely jealous of their powers and authority, united in a federation. As in America, the cantons are made sovereign, in so far as their sovereignty is not limited by the Federal constitution, and as such they exercise all the rights not explicitly delegated to the Federal Power. The Federal Council, the Federal Assembly, and the Federal Tribunal, form the component parts of the Central authority. All suits between the confederation and the cantons, and all matters of public law are decided by the Federal Tribunal.

It will be apparent, thus, that federal constitutions are

wanting here. A Federal system is infinitely more expensive than an unitary government. The multiplied apparatus of federal administration, with numerous bodies, great and small, functioning sometimes in unison, oftentimes in collision with one another, add to the cost of the administration. It is laid down in one of the constitutional schemes framed under the Congress mandate that a Federal system is not more expensive. This *ipse dixit* is unsupported by arguments or reference to facts. The second difficulty is the existence of a large number of Native States. These States considerably vary from one another and form a striking contrast to the existing provincial administrations. To fit them in to a scheme of Federation, is an almost impossible task. They are sure to constitute a violent bone of contention between the Central Federal authority and the provincial Federal units, as regards the power and jurisdiction to be exercised over them. In this clash, the authority of Government is sure to suffer and defiance of Federal power will be fostered on the part of the Native States. The central government in an unitary system will alone be able to deal with the problems of the Native States, adequately and efficiently.

It does not of course follow that an unitary India will not have its provinces. To suit administrative convenience or satisfy linguistic aspirations, India may have as many provinces as may be desirable. But it must be distinctly understood that such provinces derive their authority only from the central administration. They will approximate to the position which the districts bear towards the provincial executives. Meanwhile, the country requires to be warned against deceptive expressions like 'provincial autonomy'. In so far as such an expression means merely the devolution of power from the central administration into provincial hands, no constitutional progress is achieved thereby. Responsible government, is not and cannot be connoted by such a term as 'provincial autonomy'.

The Tamils and the Andhras

By PANDIT M. RAGHAVA AIYANGAR

I

OF the countries which make up the southern portion of India it is well-known that those in which Tamil, Telugu and Kanarese are spoken are the countries which may boast of an ancient culture and a memorable past. The cultural and historical inter-relations between these countries are naturally of great interest. Though the Kanarese language and literature are old and rich, still the intimacy of the contact of the Tamils with the Andhras, the fruitfulness of the contact and the importance of the enquiry may well justify our going first into the relations between them.

Philologists are agreed that in the Dravidian group of languages Tamil, Telugu and Kanarese fall into a class by themselves. Of them the first two are the languages entitled to be considered the more ancient. Though Kanarese has no mean literature, still the belief of the ancient Tamil scholars was that the Kanarese language is a product of the intermingling of Tamil and Telugu. Jayam-kondan, the prince of poets of the early years of the twelfth century A. D., speaks of Kanarese being a jumble of 'some Telugu and much Tamil'.¹ The truth of this observation will not be lost on those who have studied Old Kanarese. Malayalam is, indeed, another language pertaining to this group, but it is fittingly treated as a daughter of Tamil. That the mountainous regions skirting the western sea were formerly a part of the Tamil country and that the language spoken there was not different is obvious enough from the old Malayalam

¹மழைக்குற நெய்நீர்நெய் அரும்குபை தமிழ்க் குழந்தை அரும்குபை குழந்தை. நெய்நீர்.

literature and the inscriptions found in that area. This is why Kamban, as great a scholar as he was a poet, speaks of Malayalam as if it was not in his days a language very different from Tamil.*

If Tamil, Telugu and Kanarese belong to one class, which language is the parent? One may confess to an inability to offer a solution acceptable to scholars in general. There are some amongst us who hold that Tamil occupies that relationship. It is accepted on all hands that Tolkappiyar's *Tolkappiyam* is the earliest and most authoritative. This work divides the country where Tamil is current into twelve divisions and classifies the words that come from lands like Vadugu beyond those twelve divisions as words of foreign origin. Panam-paranar too, a contemporary of Tolkappiyar, describes the Tamil land as limited on the north by the Venkata Hills and does not claim that its domain extended further beyond. Kakkai-padiniyar, also an ancient Tamil poet, mentions distinctly that Vadugu, the land where the Telugu language is current, formed the northern limit of Tamil.* It will thus be patent that long before Tolkappiyar's times Tamil and Telugu had been current side by side as two independent languages. To judge by the Tamil literature now available, Telugu would seem to be entitled to an antiquity equal to that of Tamil.

During the Sangam period the Tamils knew the Andhras under the name *Vadugar*⁴ and their language as *Vadugu*. Similarly, the Telugus called the Tamils by the name *Aravar* and their language *Aravam*. The word *Vadugar* is only a variant of *Vadugar*, a northerner. Just as the country to the west (*Kudakku*) became *Kudaku* so the country to the north (*Vadakku*) became *Vadagu*

*வடகூடு தென்கூடு வடுகு கன்னடம், இடமுன பாகடவா தென்கூடு குயிலும்.

*வடநிலை மருங்கின் வடுகு வரம்பாக.

*These were also known as Telugus in mediaeval times.

சேனை மழகன்களெழுந்தெழுந்த நிகழேத் தென்கூடுமே. (செல். 12, 158.)

In later times this term *Vadugar* was applied by the Tamils to the *Balijas* among the Andhras.

and, later, changed to *Vadugu*.¹ This derivation is also indicated by the lines of Kakkai-padiniyar already quoted and by the phrase 'Vadugar of the North' in another work of the Sangam age. It seems that even in the times of the Last Sangam the country north of the Venkata Hills was considered the country of the *Vadugar*.²

Some of the Kanarese too seem to have been called *Vadugar*.³ In consequence of the Andhras and the Kanarese having been called by the common name of *Vadugar* in the days of the Sangam, it has been surmised that they were then one race and that their language too must have been known as *Vadugu* and that it is only later that Kanarese must have branched off into a separate language.⁴ But Ilam-Ko-Adigal, the great epic-poet of the Sangam age, mentions distinctly those who speak the Kanarese language as *Karunadar*,⁵ and other classical writers make mention separately of the lands where Kanarese and Telugu were respectively spoken.⁶ The northern portion of the Mysore state and parts of the districts of Bellary and Anantapur seem to be known even now as *Badaganadu* and the Kanarese of those areas are known as *Badaga-varu* and *Badaga-natti-varu*. A poem of the Sangam mentions an *Erumai* as a 'Vadugar chief' in whose

¹வடநிலை மருங்கின் வடுகு வரம்பாக. (சேனைமழகனியம்) (பு. 378)

²தென்கூடு தென்கூடு வடுகு கன்னடம்... (அ. 213)

புலவரை கழந்த புலி குன்றத்தி
வடவருக் கன்னம் விகந்தி சென்றினைத்
தொடவரை பகழித் தவன் துணிவ வடுகு
பிழியார் மெழர் விரிநெல் தார்க்கும்
மொழி பெயர் தெனய பி. தந்தை ராவினும். (செ. 295)

³வடுகு பெருமகன் பேரின பெருமை... குடகாடு. (அ. 115, 253)

⁴The Tamils 1800 Years Ago, p. 29.

⁵கொங்கை விகந்தி கொங்கை எடர் (செல். 25, 156)
கொங்கை உத்தரக கொங்கை எடரும். (செ. 26, 106)

⁶கொங்கை கன்னடம் கொங்கை தென்கூடு
கன்னடம் வடுகு விகந்தி தென்கூடு. (செ. 272 மயிலை.)

land flowed the river Ayiri.¹ This is evidently the Agiri which falls into the Tungabhadra. It is this country which was probably the extreme southern limit of the Asokan empire as is evidenced from inscriptions found in the vicinity.

If these be so, it follows that the Telugus who were to the north, and the Badaga Kannadas who were to the west, of the Tamils were known generically as the Vadugar. The poet, Ma-mulanar, says that it is beyond the lands of a chief of the name of Katti that the language changed into that of the Vadugar.² Perhaps the chiefs well-known as Katti-Mudaliyars in the days of the Vijayanagar empire and later belonged to the lineage of this Katti.³ It is worthy of note that these Katti-Mudaliyars occupied those portions of the Tamil country which Ma-mulanar assigned to Katti. There are reasons to hold that the land called Vadugar-munai and placed beyond the lands of this Katti is identical with the Badaga-nadu we have already mentioned.⁴ It is these Badagas that seem to be referred to by St. Sundara in one of his psalms on a shrine in the Kongu country.⁵

¹கேர வந்தேவர் வடுகர் பெருமகன்
பெரிய பெருமகன் நஞ்சுட் கெளசகை
அயிரியா நிறந்தா ராவினும். (அகம் 253.)

I am indebted for this information to my friend Mr. A. Rangaswami-Saraswati, an Assistant of the Madras Epigraphist.

²குந்திச் சான்றி வடுகர் முடியுது
படுவெற் கடடி நஞ்சுட் கும்பர்
மொழிபெயர் தென்த ராவினும். (குந்திதேவன், 11.)

³படுவெற்கட்டியர் (சிலப். 25. 157); குந்தி, 11), 'சகலக் கடடி' (அகம். 44), 'பெருநாளைக்கட்டி' (செ. 226.)

There are not wanting scholars who would read *சுந்தேவர்கட்டியர்* for *படுவெற்கட்டி*, argue that Pulicat was the northern limit of the Tamil land and pass these conclusions as genuine history. My view is supported by the fact that the phrase *படுவெற்கட்டியர்* is found in an ancient Tamil work (Silap. 25 157) and the Kattis are known to have exercised some sort of authority along the edges of the Tamil Country.

⁴சகலா தீன்மொழிச் சதாசய வடுகர் (அகம் 107.)

சுடுஞ்சாற் பம்பைச் சதாசய வடுகர் (செ.)
சுதுளிக் குரம்பைச் சதாசய வடுகர். (செ.)

⁵வடுக வேடுவர்.....குந்திக்கு மிடம் (முருகன் பூண்டித்தேவன்).
வடுகர்வாழ் முருகன் பூண்டி. (செ.)

In Vembatturar's *Tiru-viliyaiyadal Puranam* the Jain king who captured Madura is called in one place 'the Karnataka king' and at another place as 'the Vadugu king'.¹ These references show that the term Vadugar was also used to devote the Kanarese, some of whom seem latterly to have settled in the Tamil country.²

The famous commentator Nachchinarku-Iniyar and the author of the old commentatory on the *Nannul* state that of the lands surrounding the Tamil country those in which Kanarese, Vadugu and Telugu were current were distinct entities.³ The Telugu country being treated as distinct from the Vadugu country, we have justification for holding that they had the Badaga country in mind in drawing the distinction. Otherwise we should have to suppose that they treated the northern part of Andhra as the Telugu land and the southern part as the Vadugu land, and seek support for this view in the fact that the Tamil country itself was divided into the Sen-Tamil and the Kodum-Tamil lands. However this may be, the later Tamils ignored what distinction there might have been and applied the terms Vadugar and Vadugu to the Andhras and the Andhra language.

No evidence is forthcoming to show that the Andhras styled themselves Vadugar. So too, the Tamils never called themselves Aravar, though a lexicographer who lived so late as three centuries back chronicled that that word indicated the Tamils. To the ancient Andhras the Tamils were known not as Aravar but as Aruvar. When Jayam-Kondan describes the terror which the Tamilian army of Kulottunga-Chola struck into the hosts of the Kalinga king, he says that they applied the name Aruvar

¹Another work also mentions him as a Karnataka King.
பஞ்சவந்தர்த்த, மதுரை அங்கிய அருகடவெந்தன. (செவ்வடம், 57)

²Gazetteer of Nilgiris District, p. 128.

செவ்வெழும் பவதமிழ்க் குழித்தரு அருகடியர் (செவ்வ. பாணி)
அடக்கி தென்கை வடுகு அம்படம் (செவ்வ. பாணி)
அருகடக்கச் சத்தமும்.....வடுகச் சத்தமும் (பாப. வி.)
வடுக அருகடக்க அருகடக்கடர். (செவ்வ. மயிலை)

to the Tamils.¹ That it is only the term Aruvar which was current in early times is clear also from an old stanza on the same war quoted in the *Dandi-Alangaram*.² These instances establish that the Andhras called the Tamils in early days by the name of Aruvar. Those regions of the Tamil land which adjoin the Telugu country are Aruva and Aruva-vada-talai and the people of these regions were known as Aruvalar. We may therefore take it that the Vadugar applied the name Aruva first to the people of these regions and then applied it generally to all Tamils.

II

Let us now look at the relationships between the Tamils and the Vadugar. In the first period, the earliest, the Tamils and the Andhras lived in amity; in the second the Tamils attained supremacy over the Andhras and in the third the position was reversed. The first period is the age of the Sangam: the early Tamil works known as the Sangam poems do not show that, even though there might have been small differences on the frontiers of the Tamil country, there was any marked antagonism or that any serious conflicts arose in consequence. In two of these poems we have mention of the Vadugar helping Nannan and the Mauryas but they seem to be Kanarese of the Badaga country and not Andhras.³ The three great kings of the Tamil country, the Cholas, the Pandyas and the

¹ அருவர்! அருவர்!! எது விகைத்துவன்
அபய மபய மெருந ஓங்கியே.

² ஒருவ சொருவரெமல் கீழ்த்து வடநாடர்
அருவ-அருவரென வஞ்சி-வெருவந்து
தித்தித்தி அன்றயர்வர் சென்னி படைகீரர்
போர்க்கலிகை மீதெழுந்த போது.

³ மூன்றாமிகு வடுகர் முன்னுற மோரியர்
தென்றிசை மாநில முன்னிய வாகிற்று

(அகம். 281)

சோழர் பெருமகன்... இனம் பெருகு சென்னி
செம்புறழ் புரிசைப் பாழி தாநி
வம்ப வடுகர் கைத்தலை சவட்டி.

(சே. 375)

Cheras, do not seem to have been guilty of the ambition to bring under their control lands beyond the Tamil country. It would even seem that they were so attached to 'the good land where Tamil was spoken' that they had no love for mixing it up with lands where strange tongues were current:⁴ the evidences in support of this view are many and convincing. When kings of the north made incursions into the south the three great kings of the Tamil country drew together and repulsed all their attempts at gaining even a foot-hold.⁵ The Tamil country was therefore soil which even the Napoleons of the north had to let alone. The strength of the Tamils in even the days when practically the whole of India had come under the suzerainty of Asoka is obvious from the circumstances that his overlordship stopped short of Mysore and that he sent ambassadors to the three great Tamil kings. Nor did the famous empire of the Guptas cast its shadow over the Tamil land. In those early days, the Tamil were neither ambitious of ruling over others nor supine enough to be ruled over. Evidences of the Vadugar attempting to lay their hands upon the Tamil country being wanting absolutely, they must have lived in peace and concord with the Tamils. But after the days of the Sangam the relations changed. The change was due not to their own differences but to the invasions of kings from north. When the northern kings of the Pallava and Chalukya dynasties conquered Andhra and Karnataka their eager eyes were cast on Dravida as well. It is thenceforward

⁴ தமிழ் உதவத்துவமே

⁵ மொழியெயர் குந்தமும் தொழியெயர் பங்கமும்

தமிழ்நாடும் பதத்த தன்புன எங்குட்டி (செய்)

வண்புகழ் மூவர் தன்பொழிற் வரைப்பின் (தொல்)

தமிழ்கெழு மூவர் காக்கும் (அகம்)

மொழியெயர் தோத்த பங்கம் விதந்தே

பணிபடு சோலை வேங்கடத் தம்பர் (சே.)

மொழியெயர் தோத்த ராவினும்

கட்டிவந்துட்டும்பர் (சே.)

மொழியெயர் தோத்த ராவினும் (சே.)

that we mostly hear of conflicts between the Tamils and the northerners in the Tamil country and beyond. Light on these masters is thrown by the poems from *Pandik-Kovai* quoted in the commentary on Iraiyanar's *Kalavuriyal*, the hymns of the Vaishnava saints and others and some copper plates. Wars were fought between the Tamils and the Vadugar when the Pallavas took root in the Tamil land. An old Tamil poem speaks of how the herds of cows taken from the Vadugar in war by the army of the Pallava who ruled over the Tondai country were capable of giving milk for the whole world.¹ Like the Pallavas, the Chalukyas too established themselves in Vengi, a part of Andhra, and in course of time came to be called Andhras. The Cholas had to advance against them and wage furious wars in the Telugu country. The northern wars of Chola-kings like Rajaraja I and Rajarajendra I are well-known. History records how Vira-Rajendra conquered Vengi and made a gift of it to a Chalukya of the name of Vajayaditya. In the commentary on the *Vira-soliam*, a Tamil grammar composed in honour of this Vira-Rajendra, occurs a stanza which chronicles this event.²

The Cholas and the Chalukyas of Vengi were not merely ranged as opponents in war: they entered into marital relations with each other and three generations of Chola princesses entered the Vengi family: as brides it is known that Vimaladitya I the Eastern Chalukya (1015-1022) married Kundavai, daughter of the great Chola king Rajaraja I; Rajaraja-Narendra (1022-1061) the son of

¹முனைபொழி திம்பான் மண்ணேறு படுப்ப
மலர்தலை யுலக மோம்பு மென்ப
பரிசிலைத் தொண்டைப் பல்லவ குணவின்
வெட்சித் தாயத்து வில்லேகுழவர்
பொருந்தா வடுகர் முனைச்சாங்
கடந்து கொண்ட பால்லா நிறையே. (தொல். பொ. 55, கச். உரை)

²வேங்கை வளநாடன் விசயவா னடக்கதிபன்
ஒங்கு புகழுதயா தித்தன்குத்—தாங்குகடல்
நோமென் ருது நிறத்தா லவன்செய்யன
காரார் நிறமக் கடல்.

the Chalukya Vimaladitya I married Ammanga-devi, daughter of Rajendra I, himself son of Rajaraja I, and Vikramaditya I of the Western Chalukya line married the daughter of Vira-Rajendra Chola. These alliances tended to bring peace to these dynasties, and in the process of time the Eastern Chalukya alliances of the Cholas brought the Andhra country under the dominion of the Tamils. When the Eastern Chalukya king who was the husband of Ammanga-devi, daughter of Rajendra I died about 1062, the son of that couple, prince Rajendra, ascended the throne of the Andhra country. The direct Chola line having become almost extinct at this time, and the Chola kingdom having no king at its helm, this Rajendra came down from the Andhra country, put forward the claim that the Chola throne was his in his right as the daughter's son of Rajendra Chola I, laid hands on the kingdom and mounted the Chola throne in 1070. Thus he became the lord of the Andhra country and the Chola empire. It is this Rajendra that is well known under the name Kulottunga I and under the epithets 'Abhaya' and 'Vijayadhara'. He deserved the title 'the Lord of both lineages', inasmuch as he was entitled to two crowns,—that of his father, the Chalukya king, who belonged to the lineage of the Moon, and that of his maternal grand-father, the Chola king, who belonged to the lineage of the Sun.¹ His prowess was felt by his enemies all round and he emerged victorious in every contest. Anantavarman Choda-Ganga, king of the Kalinga country, having once failed to pay tribute in time, Kulottunga sent an army under his commander-in-chief, Karunakara-Tondaiman and brought that country under

¹திருவ்முழுது மகந்தம்மிது குலத்தோன் தேவி
விலகினக்கு தபனிலைத் திரை ராசன்
அருமருவின் திருவிதில் வந்து தோன்றி
சூலினை விவதரித்தா னவனே மீன.

திங்கனி விளக்குழி செம்மலிவ னென்றும்
செய்யபரு திருமுழி வையனின் னென்றும்
தங்கனின் மெழும்பிரு குலத்தாசர் தாரும்
தனித்தனி யுயர்ப்பதோர் தவப்பயனு மொத்தே.

his control. This war it is that furnished the theme for Jayam-kondan's *Kalingattup-parani*, a war-song the like of which no other literature in the world can boast of. He ruled the Chola empire from Gangai-konda cholapuram, in the heart of the Tamil country, nominating his sons Vira Chola and Vikrama Chola as Viceroys of Vengi. On his death in 1120 A. D., his son Vikrama Chola ascended the throne. It is in his days and in those of his son Kulottunga II and his grand son Rajaraja II that great Tamil poets like Ottakkutta and Kamban and Pugalendi flourished. These kings too were rulers over both the Tamil and the Andhra countries and some of the viceroys whom they sent from the Chola country settled in Andhra and in a generation or two turned Andhras. 'Velanandu' and 'Pottappi' Cholas are examples of this process.

The Tamil scholars of those days were also well versed in the literary works of the Andhras. The *Yapparungala-virutti*, a renowned commentary which must be attributed to the tenth or the eleventh century A. D., cites an old prosodical work in the Andhra language said to have been written by one Vanchi. Though the reading in the printed books is 'Vanji,' some manuscripts may be taken to yield the reading 'Avaranji' (Aparanji?). Competent Telugu scholars are not able to trace an author of this name. The existence of so early a prosodical treatise shows that the Andhra literature must have been very rich. Here we have proof positive that the absence in the present day of Telugu works earlier than those of Nannayya-Bhatta (11th century) cannot support the view that there was no Telugu literature prior to his days.

Rendered from TAMIL by
R. SESHADRI-AYANGAR, B.A., B.L.

Current Topics

THE ROYAL COMMISSION

To convert an enemy into a friend is a fairly hard task in life. But to convert a friend into an enemy must really be a harder business. We do not know why the latter should be done, yet we have seen in our own day and with our own eyes, how the British statesmen have transformed the sedate and loyal friends of the Montford era into unwilling, but none the less unyielding, enemies of Government. This is the achievement that to-day stands to the credit of the "Irwin-Head" era. There is an adage that when the day of destiny arrives, the powers of the mind go amiss. And just as India has become divided, distracted and desperate, the Royal Commission has visited this ancient land and united the scattered forces under one command. The situation that has developed out of the activities of the Royal Commission is nothing surprising. For, unity is a factor that must be invoked only in an hour of need. People do not worship unity for the sake of unity. Unity in times of peace implies a certain lassitude of mind, yea, a certain torpidity of spirit. The best of thought develops only on a repurcussion of ideas. The razor and the whetstone may maintain perfect amity between them by not coming into contact or conflict with each other. Likewise, flint and steel may pursue the gospel of 'live and let live' and put on an air of perfect peace. It is only when there is impact between them,—gentle or furious—that they live to a purpose. That impact is not a disruptive force, but a step or stage in the struggle for self-realisation. Even so, the schools of political thought in India have each had its own pet theories, schemes of agitation, and ideals. In the hour of need, however, they have come into contact, their activities have coalesced, and they have evolved a common plan of action. They stand united. In diversity, unity is always dormant.

The changing situations in life transform the dormant or the potential into the kinetic.

The political situation that has developed during the past six months has really a psychological interest for us. It has a historic background doubtless behind itself, but it behoves us to study the problem in its academic aspect. So recently as in 1919, people in India were rushing for passports, and politicians were over-reaching one another in order to get at the all-too-limited permits and passages allowed to deputations before the Joint Parliamentary Committee of the Montford days, in London. Why is it then that when a Joint Parliamentary Committee visits Delhi and comes to your very doors, the politicians do not care to hob-nob with the members thereof. They are sullen and stand aloof and avoid all approach to, or association with, Sir John Simon and his colleagues. Even Sir John Simon, we dare say, knows inwardly that Bezawada must have more castes and communities than the fifty Viswakarmas that accorded him a welcome, that the Metropolis of the Presidency cannot be wholly populated by the Depressed Classes and the officials. The events at Guntur constitute a chapter by themselves, and the spontaneous hartal in Madras after the display of force by Government and the countermanding orders by the Working Committee, deserves to be pondered over by the President of the Royal Commission. Surely, it cannot be said that these demonstrations are all effected by intimidation as Sir Richard Craddock would fain believe, nor is government so indulgent and idealistic as to permit popular leaders to exercise force upon the public, much to the detriment of its own prestige in this country. To-day, the most avowed opponents of the Royal Commission are the men that worked—and worked at a sacrifice, the Montford Reforms for seven years. Nor is it a small matter that the Assembly and the Councils of Madras, C. P. and U. P. should have declared for boycott of the Commission. All this has a tale to tell. India is no longer willing to be led, tied down to England's apron strings, but is able to stand on her own feet and evolve her own constitution. This is what

she demands. Nothing more would she desire, nothing less would she accept.

THE RESERVE BANK

In all self-governing countries, currency and coinage are regulated not by the State but by private Banking Institutions. The earliest representatives of these Banks in the West were goldsmiths who had originally conceived the idea of 'note' issue and put the idea into force. Later came the Banks, and the Banks have been specially chartered to do this duty. A Bank of this character, though ostensibly non-official in structure, must in the very nature of things, have a good deal to do with government. In self-governing countries, there is no conflict of interest between the People and the State and accordingly the line of demarkation between a State Bank and a Shareholders' Bank is hazy. Not so in India. Here the State has hitherto been regulating note issue and coinage. The Government of India, politicians have been contending, is merely the Managing Directorate of British world—commercialism. In a sense, it is the political front in India of British capitalists. In this view, the Indian feeling is always one of suspicion and distrust towards the acts of commission and omission of the Government of India. Why is not the Paper Currency Reserve kept in India? Why should the Gold Standard Reserve be in London? Why should both these, which once amounted to 160 crores of rupees, be lent out to British merchants at 2 or 3 per cent while the Government of India is always borrowing at 4 to 6 per cent? Why should the persistent recommendations of successive Currency Commissions and of authorities like Sir Daniel Hamilton to transfer these reserves to India be wilfully neglected? Why should Reverse Councils have been sold soon after war and the Reserves which were accumulated (purchased) at 1s. 4d. ratio (or Rs. 15 per sovereign) have been depleted (sold) at 2s. 10d. ratio (Rs. 7-6-0 per sovereign) and in the result, a sum of 60 crores of rupees have been wiped out in a trice? All these, though seemingly intricate, are really simple problems,

because they are approached by the Bureaucracy from the standpoint of England, not of India. They show the conflict of interests between the two Nations.

Nor does Sir Basil Blackett maintain any unnecessary secrecy about these matters. For, what is the meaning of his oft-repeated statement that the Reserve Bank Bill is meant by Government to confer upon India financial Swaraj? Already India, we have been informed by the Liberal protagonists of Mr. Montagu, enjoys fiscal Swaraj by the Montford Reforms. For, did not the Joint Committee Report say that where the Indian Central Legislature and the Government of India have agreed in regard to Tariffs, the Secretary of State would not object, unless he considered that any proposed measure militated against the interests of the Empire? Why then are the Indians—representing all shades and schools of political thought and economic interest—so obtuse as not to couple Sir Basil Blackett's financial swaraj with Montagu's fiscal autonomy and build up an India, self-contained, self-reliant, and self-satisfying? The points at issue are few and clear. Indeed they are only two in number. The Indians want a State Bank, Sir Basil offers a Shareholders' Bank. The Indians want a place for the Legislatures on the Directorate of the Bank, Sir Basil would not concede it. All the battles royal,—the Select Committee deliberations, the Viceroy's intercession, the give and take tactics, the ultimate compromise in Delhi—centred round these two points in the main. Various shifts were devised at various times. Now Sir Basil said it was to be a Shareholders' Bank, then it was to be a Debenture-holders' Bank. But the people would not look at it until a compromise was reached on the basis of adequate representation on the Directorate to the Legislatures. When everything was on its way to a fruition and fulfilment, Whitehall countermanded the Indian compromise, and Sir Basil, it is an open secret, tendered his resignation. Thereupon he went home and had conversations with the Secretary of State.

Sir Basil returned with a new edition of the Reserve

Bank Bill in his pocket. By it the privileges of the Imperial Bank were abridged and the preferential quantum of shares allotted to them was withdrawn. Shares, from one to fifty, were thrown open to any one in India and the structure was planned on a democratic basis. But a constitutional difficulty arose. The old Bill was not withdrawn. It was merely 'not proceeded with.' Thus while the old measure was before the House, the new one had to be, and was, introduced. The old could not be withdrawn except with the leave of the House, but the House would not give the leave as the Bill was hammered out on the most popular basis in the Joint Select Committee. Sir Basil took courage in both hands and begged leave to introduce the new Bill over the head of the old, but President Patel also took courage in both hands and declined the leave asked for. Nothing daunted, Sir Basil decided to resume the old measure, and taking advantage of the absence of the infernal Congressmen from the Assembly, began a rapid march. An early skirmish brought him victory as anticipated, but in the meantime the enemy ranks mustered strength, and in anticipation of authority being granted by the Working Committee, attended and beat Sir Basil Blackett and turned down the amendment to clause VIII. It is this clause that gives three places to the members of the Central Legislature and two to the members of the Legislative Councils of Governors' Provinces, in the Directorate of the Reserve Bank. Thus Government have been beaten at a vital point. And they ascribe their defeat to the huff into which the Congressmen have got in connection with the Simon Boycott. Accordingly they have decided not to proceed with the Bill, and for the time being, the wrecking tactics of Congressmen have gained a signal victory.

A SWARAJ CONSTITUTION

Whether a constitution should be drawn up by a Professor or a Politician is perhaps not so debateable a point as that other point,—namely, why a constitution need be drawn up at all just now for India. Professors may be well up in their knowledge

of the constitutions of the world, but only politicians know which constitution suits their country and conditions best. As for the time that is appropriate for the purpose, there may exist more than one opinion. If, as is said, the whole of India is for boycotting the Simon Commission, why then, people may ask, all this ado about constitution-making? The answer is simple. Apparently the boycotters take their stand upon the right of self-determination. It may be that this principle receives its advocacy from its votaries in various degrees. Some would call it self-determination, if the Royal Commission had on its personnel an equal or unequal number of Indians. Not a few would be satisfied with equal rights and opportunities for the select committees of the Legislatures. Many would perhaps demand a consultation between equals, as against an examination amongst unequals. Whatever that be, self-determination in an attenuated or an exacerbated measure is the principle that holds the field and shapes the national attitude at this moment. If that is so, the nation must at any moment be prepared to show that it can shape its own destiny, however rough-hewn it may be.

Thus, to be able to formulate the outlines of self-government that we would like to have in the near future, on an agreed basis, is really to draft our own constitution. If the nation can evolve an agreed scheme, stating whether the Central Government shall be Unitary or Federal, whether the Central and Provincial Governments should be composed of Unicameral or Bicameral legislatures, which subjects should be provincial and which central, how long should England take or India allow for the transition from the present 'dependent' condition to the future 'independent' condition, how the Hindus and the Moslems should compose their small differences both political and religious and live in a spirit of comradeship, what exactly is the manner in which the other communal rivalries may be composed and solved, how wide or how narrow the franchise may be—if this and a

few allied points can be settled, then we shall have given an answer,—a fitting and final answer, to the challenge, proud and pettifogging, but really pusillanimous, of Lord Birkenhead and the Imperialists of his ilk. We are therefore not a little glad that the devoted labours of the sons and daughters of India are bearing rapid fruit in Delhi, and we offer our humble but warm congratulations to the Committee on the steady and substantial progress that is being made from week to week.

S. P.

THE MAHARAJAH OF NABHA

The sudden arrest and deportation of His Highness Maharajah Gurucharan Singh of Nabha on the 19th of February last at Allahabad, raises a question of the highest constitutional importance. So far as we are aware, this is the first instance in which a Maharajah, who in the euphemistic language of the Political Department of the Government of India, 'had consented to abdicate', has not only been deprived of his status and powers as a Ruling Prince, but actually taken prisoner in times of peace without being brought up for trial before any legally and duly constituted tribunal. Quite apart from the personal aspect of the matter, the case of the Maharajah involves a question of far-reaching importance to the Ruling Princes of India. Their position, which has at all times been anomalous, is rendered still more so by the claim which the Government of India have now put forward in the case of the Maharajah to the enforcement of Regulation III of 1818. A careful examination of the Regulation and the circumstances under which it was passed makes it clear that it could not have been intended to apply to other than British Indian subjects. The Maharajah is in no sense a British Indian subject. Assuming he is not Ruler of Nabha, he has not by virtue of his abdication lost his Nabha domicile, and the application of Regulation III to a foreigner appears to us to be clearly illegal and unwarranted. The appropriate procedure is probably that which is prescribed by the

He Will Appear

SO SPAKE THE MOTHER¹

Clasping the pillar in yonder court,
You ask, 'Where does your son now sport?'
I know not what may be his haunts.
My womb's the cavernous lair wherein had lain
The tiger-cub and whence it's sped. But, hear,
Right on the field of battle he will appear.

Rendered from TAMIL by

T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN.

¹This poem is found in the *Pura-nanaru*, (86), an anthology about eighteen centuries old. The name of the poet is not known.

The Tiny Grass-flower

IN the stillness of the evening, on the downy banks of the silent stream, I sat and mused. And, as I mused, I saw a tiny flower which, bashfully, had hid itself in the grass.

"O! longed-for flower!" I said, "why dost thou shrink from my gaze? Thy life is rich beyond compare. Thou growest in the green grass; thou drinkest the crystal waters of the stream and art refreshed by the seasonal rains and the cool dew-drops; thou mergest thyself in the light of the twinkling star and the whiteness of the moon-lit night; thou smilest in the rays of the rising sun; thou noddest thy head to the whisperings of the gentle breeze. Why, then, dost thou blush and hide thyself? Why turn away from me? What doubt dost thou entertain?"

"Ah! brother", the tiny flower replied: "Thou speakest true. But how could I enjoy these good things? I must get free from the tread of thy cruel feet. Pray, step aside; for, thou art my only fear.

Translated from TELUGU by the Poet
KAVUKONDALA VENKATA RAO.

'Foreigners Act' which empowers the Government only to call upon the foreigner to remove himself from British India, and it is only in the event of his failing or neglecting to do this, that the Government could deprive the person of his liberty till such time as he obeys the order. The Maharajah applied for passports to go to Europe which were not granted, so that it is not the Maharajah's fault that he is still here in India. To refuse passports to the Maharajah, and then to arrest and deport him without trial, is wholly unjustifiable procedure and the legality of the Government of India's action is open to doubt.

The other aspect of the question concerns the status and dignity of the Ruling Princes. As late as 1917, it was recognised by the authors of the Montford Report that there was no satisfactory provision for the determination of cases of alleged misconduct on the part of Ruling Princes. In view of the fact that the Government of India are themselves parties to these disputes in many cases, the authors suggested that the tribunal to go into the merits of these cases should consist of three persons to advise the Viceroy, one of whom at least should be a High Court Judge, and the others to be Ruling Princes. It is to be regretted that this course has not been adopted in this case. The matter is one that deserves the immediate consideration of the Chamber of Princes, as it constitutes an attempt to reduce the Princes to the level of ordinary British Indian subjects and is one so destructive of the few remaining privileges of Ancient Indian Royalty.

In view of the fact that the arrest purports to have been made under Regulation III of 1818 which is clearly applicable only to British Indian subjects, the ruling of the President of the Legislative Assembly that the matter was one concerning Government's foreign relations, and hence outside the jurisdiction of the Assembly, is wholly untenable.

V. S. V.

THE 'TAPOVAN'

In the course of his Sir William Meyer Lectures at Madras, Dr. Jadunath Sirkar drew a fascinating picture of the forest universities of Ancient India. But he doubted if in the altered conditions of to-day, it was possible or even desirable to attempt to revive these institutions. He seems to have felt that the ideal of peaceful seminaries ought to give place to that of busy centres of learning, in intimate touch with the active, every-day life of the nation. It might be as difficult to revive the *Tapovan* as to resuscitate the ideal of *Rajanyas* performing the *Rajasuya* and the *Aswamedha* in triumphant commemoration of heroic deeds. But even in our day, there is much to be said in favour of institutions like the Gurukul, the Santiniketan, and the Jatheeya Kalasala, which while keeping abreast of modern culture, are yet seeking to fulfil in some measure the functions of the *Tapovan*. Years ago, Dr. Coomaraswami mentioned them as the living symbols of the Indian Renaissance. While a few of them have fallen away from their great ideals, others like the Kashi Vidyapith and the Guzerat Vidyapith have come into existence and are carrying on their noble work with a fixed resolve not to come into line with the regulation schools and colleges. They are establishing educational Swaraj for India in their respective spheres. They have the freedom always to experiment and point the way to the future. They are indeed the nurseries of freedom, bright oases in an expansive desert, true guardians of Indian culture. National education under the control of a non-swaraj Government is a contradiction in terms, and Babu Shiv Prasad Gupta of Benares was indeed wise in coupling his munificent donation to the Kashi Vidyapith with a condition that Government grant should never be sought. May such Tapovans live up to their ideals!

K. R.

Reviews

[We shall be glad to review books in all Indian languages and in English, French and German. Books for Review should reach the office at least SIX WEEKS in advance of the day of publication of the Journal.]

SANSKRIT

ACHARYASUNDARA-PANDYA, *Nitidwisashtika*: Ed. by Pandita Puranam Suryanarayana-Thirtha and Veturi Prabhakara Sastri. (K. Markandeya Sarma, Kilpauk, Madras: 1928. 8 As.)

This short poem of 120 stanzas is an excellent breviary of moral maxims, the verses being easy and limpid and full of poetic grace. It has few equals as a companion to young men.

Echoes of these verses are to be found in the masterpieces of Kalidasa, Srinatha, Manjana and Bhartrihari: obviously, the poem is an ancient one. There are indications in the work that the author bore the name Acharya Sundara-Pandya and that the deity he worshipped was *Arya* or *Sri Minakshi*. A stanza says that this poem of Sundara Pandya would be placed on a golden throne by poets and crowned as queen among poems, just as the consort of god Sundara-Pandya, Sri Minakshi, was crowned by wise men after being placed on a golden throne. This is, according to the editor, a reference to the Sangam method of setting the hall-mark of approval on a poem by placing it on a golden throne and performing *abhisheka*. Mr. Ramakrishna-Kavi, in a short introductory preface, refers to a recent theory about Acharya Sundara-Pandya, who is referred to by Arikesari in an inscription of about 750 A.D. as his ancestor. Mr. Kavi points out that Acharya Sundara-Pandya was probably identical with Vira-Pandya, the author of the *Kriya Nighantu*.

These suggestions deserve careful examination at greater length than is possible here. We therefore content ourselves with complimenting the editors on the excellence of their edition.

V. NARAYANAN, M.A., M.L.

REVIEWS

TELUGU

SRIPADA KAMESWARA RAO, M.A., *Sahitya Mimamsa* and *Nataka Vimarsa*. (Publisher Cherukuvada Venkataramaia, Rajahmundry. Price Re. 1-4 and Rs. 2-8.)

With the exception of a few brilliant treatises of the type of Mr. C. R. Reddy's *Kavitva Tathva Vicharama*, modern Telugu literature is sadly lacking in high-class criticism. The canons adopted in most cases are those of English critics like Edmund Gosse and Walter Raleigh. Very few have taken pains to study the ancient Sanskrit works on *Alankara* and compare their conclusions with those of modern European productions on Poetics and Rhetoric. It is high time that such an attempt is made. Mr. Kameswara Rao has done well to translate into beautiful Telugu prose Dwijendra Lal Rai's and P. C. Vasu's contributions to dramatic and literary criticism, the first direct from the Bengali and the second through the Hindi translation of R. D. Misra.

The books cover a wide range, profuse quotations from Shakespeare and other western poets being a feature. Wherever available, lucid renderings from Sanskrit and English have been taken from present-day Telugu poets. Mr. Kameswara Rao is a scholar of eminence well-versed in Eastern and Western culture. The Drama in all literatures is his favourite theme, and he has been trying hard to popularise certain innovations suited to modern conditions. We have great pleasure in commending the volumes before us, as they maintain the high level attained by the author in his previous works.

K. R.

TAMIL

T. N. SESHACHALA AIYAR, *Kamba-Ramayanam* (Bala-Kandam): C. SIVAGNANAM PILLAI, *Kamba-Ramayanam*, (4 Kandas), *Tirunavukkarasu*, *Periya-Puranam*.

This is a period of creative inactivity in Tamil. Never was Tamil literature at so low an ebb. Not that there is a dearth of printed matter: printing presses in the Tamil country are more active indeed than almost in any other part of South

India. News-papers, hand-bills about dramatic entertainments, catalogues of postal business adventurers, magazines which are magazines merely because the postal rules allow concession rates for advertisement matter relieved by an occasional inter-larding of 'literature', novels which are blatant adaptations from English,—these are what the generality of Tamil printing presses produce. Some other presses indeed there are which bring out primers, readers, catechisms and analyses,—and these constitute the autocracy. Literature gets no chance of being published in the Tamil country.

The outlook for Tamil literature has not been so murky for about half a century. The humanity of Vedanayagam Pillai who practically brought the novel into Tamil, the inspiring touch of Sundaram Pillai, the indefatigable zeal of Suryanarayana Sastri, the delicate charm of Rajam Iyer, the finished fret-work of Chelvakesavaraya Mudaliyar, the inspiration, the vision, and the force of the prose and the poetry of Bharati, the satiric vein of Madhavayya,—these are the qualities for which Tamil acquired a reputation in the hands of the masters of the past two generations. The only creative artist now alive is P. Sambanda Mudaliyar. But we have no glimmer even of the rise of a star of the first magnitude above the horizon.

Among finished historians the palm must be divided between the two Raghava Aiyangars, but they are historians, scholars and critics: neither of them can be considered to be creative artists, for, their published work of that kind is meagre.

None of the younger men has any promise in him. Even so early in its history, modern Tamil has become completely commercialized. There is no scope for any one who will not write down to the intellectual level of the Tamilian labourer who seeks his living in the Malay states, or humble himself before the petty publisher who runs a precarious publishing department as a side-line to an even more precarious grocery business. The grace of Tamil and its incomparable strength have now disappeared in the rank vernacular which publishers demand and thrust down the throat of the public.

The people of the Tamil country are now paying the penalty for too rapid and too thorough an anglicization. The literature of the present day is despicable in quality and negligible in quantity. A few more years of this cultural inanition must lead

inevitably to an atrophy of the creative instinct among the Tamils.

This is the reason why we welcome some recent publications of the type of Mr. T. N. Seshachalam's edition of the *Balakandam* of Kamban's *Ramayana*, and also Mr. C. Sivagnanam Pillai's abridgements of the various books of Kamban's *Ramayana* and Sekkilar's *Periya Puranam*. These books are editions, in the full or in abridgement, of the works of the two great epic poets of the 12th century A. D.: they are far away from us, both in time and in spirit. None the less, the appearance of these books at this time shows that there is still a demand,—though weak, almost imperceptible and fluctuating,—for the genuine classics of Tamil. The presentation of these classics by these two editors is even more significant. The poems are annotated briefly and to the point, and some critical notes are added. While this shows that the classics are not understood without such aids, it shows also that people are yet to be found who would put themselves to the trouble of working steadily through them. The editors have done their work conscientiously and they have not forgotten that they are editing classics. Even the man in the street can now have no excuse for refusing to study the early classics, but we wonder whether even these excellent editions will tempt the English-educated man to turn to a study of the masterpieces of his mother tongue, for, he has no eye for the literature and no heart for the culture of his country.

We must also draw attention to Mr. Sivagnanam Pillai's excellent lives of the three great saints of Tamil Saivism. They are compact of literature and competent historical research. They are guide-posts to a critical study of the ancient Tamil literature. Nowhere else have we found the raw material for the lives of the saints of Tamil Saivism collected with such completeness or sifted with greater acumen.

Mr. Seshachalam has laid the Tamil country under heavy obligation to him by starting a weekly called the *Kala-Nilayam*, which is purposely intended to be an exponent of the ancient Tamil culture and a practical exemplification of how the Tamil language could be made to convey modern thoughts to modern minds. The style is designedly literary. To the casual reader it might appear pedantic, but a continued study of the essays

will show how well a pure literary style can be sustained without its degenerating into pedantic bombast. Mr. Seshachalam and his collaborators deserve to be congratulated for their high courage in seeking to re-instate a literary style in Tamil to the place which is its just due. With this same purpose it is indeed that Mr. Seshachalam has also written a novel, the *Prince of Yemangada*. And the story in it is not its least interesting feature.

We wish Mr. Seshachalam and Mr. Sivagnanam Pillai a full measure of public appreciation and we are confident that, in course of time, recognition will come to them as persons who in their effective, though humble, ways contributed to the resuscitation of Tamil language and literature.

T. G. A.

ENGLISH

REV. FATHER HENRY HERAS, S. J., M. A. *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara Vol. I.* (B. G. Paul, Madras, 1928. Rs 10.)

Father Heras has undertaken a great task, and has done it in a manner which gives satisfaction to the scholar as well as the lay reader. A complete history of the Vijayanagar Empire is yet to be written, for, the present work covers only a short period towards the closing years of the Empire. A book of this kind ought to have been written long ago, but for the indifference of scholars who are immediately interested in the reconstruction of the history of South India. Father Heras is eminently fitted to do the work which he has undertaken. His knowledge of European languages has enabled him to exploit the Portuguese and the Jesuit records, which would not have been easily possible for others. However, he does not base his account entirely on them, but draws his information from all available sources—inscriptions, monuments, travellers' journals, historical documents and vernacular literatures; and examines them with rare impartiality, and arrives at very judicious conclusions. In fact, Father Heras deserves to be congratulated on the production of a book which cannot easily be surpassed for a long time to come. It bears testimony to his patient industry, rare skill in marshalling all relevant facts, lucidity of presentation, and soundness of judgment.

The book contains 26 chapters, besides an exhaustive bibliographical introduction at the beginning, and four appendices containing Persian, Portuguese, and Latin documents, an exhaustive index and a short corrigenda at the end. The first chapter describes the reign of Venkata I, and the tyranny of Salakam Timma. It shows clearly that Rama Raya, the founder of the Aravidu Dynasty, and his brothers, saved the Empire from destruction, and supplanted the Tuluva Dynasty gradually. The next four chapters are devoted to a description of the career of Rama Raya, first as a Minister of State and next as the regent and the virtual ruler of the Empire. We have in these chapters a lucid account of Rama's methods of internal administration and foreign policy. The Muhammadan historians, and following them, many English writers, describe him as a monster of wickedness in his dealings with the Deccani Sultans. Father Heras, after a careful examination of all relevant documents, arrives at a different conclusion: "The policy of Rama Raya in his relations with Deccani Muhammadans was that of the shrewd diplomatist of the modern type". Then follows an account of the Telugu invasions of the south, which ultimately resulted in the complete conquest of the Chola, Ohera, and Pandya kingdoms, and the foundation of the Nayak principalities of Madura, Tanjore, and Gingee. It must be pointed out in this connection that Father Heras is wrong in thinking that the Nayak Kingdom of Madura was established during the time of Achyuta. The tradition, and all available records, clearly mention that the events connected with the foundation of the Kingdom of Madura took place during the reign of Krishna Raya. The arguments which Father Heras advances against this view are hardly convincing. We have for the first time a clear and graphic description of the battle of Rakshasa Tagdi (Talikota). We understand that the Muhammadan victory, which was so disastrous in its consequences to the Hindu Empire, was won not so much on account of the valour of the Deccani Sultans, but of the treachery of the Muhammadan regiments employed by the emperors of Vijayanagar. Chapter 10 describes the assassination of Sadasiva and the end of the Tuluva Dynasty. The next four chapters deal with the reigns of Tirumala and Ranga I. It is interesting to note that the city of Vijayanagar was not destroyed by the Muhammadans as it is generally believed.

Father Heras brings some new evidence to show that the Deccani sultans were responsible for the construction of certain new buildings in the Hindu capital. The general belief that the capital was transferred to Penugonda soon after the disaster at Rakshasa Tagdi is shown to be false. In fact, Tirumala ruled the Empire from Vijayanagar for two or three years after this event. With the reign of Venkata II, the Muhammadan attacks grow feeble, and Venkata was able to force the Muhammadan rulers to recognize the Krishna as the boundary between the Hindu Empire and its Muhammadan neighbours. A few chapters are devoted to the description of the relations of the Emperor with his Viceroys. The Empire was ill-organized. Obedience to the Emperor was secured very often at the point of the sword. The Viceroys were disloyal, and were ready to take advantage of the earliest opportunity to break away from the Empire.

The last two chapters describe the 'literary activity' and 'the struggle of Sri Vaishnavism with the other sects'. The description of the literary activity is fairly accurate, although the antiquated writers whose views Father Heras follows lead him often to commit blunders. One of the most remarkable events in the later Vijayanagara history is the expansion of Vaishnavism in the Telugu country. It has profoundly affected the life and culture of the people. But Father Heras dismisses the subject with a brief account, whereas he devotes a disproportionately large amount of space to a description of the mission of Robert de Nobili. The fault is perhaps not so much due to the negligence of Father Heras, as to the carelessness of Mr. A. Rangaswami-Saraswati, the author of "The Sources of Vijayanagara History" who does not include in it an important passage from *Amuktamalyada* in which Krishna Raya describes the expansion of Vaishnavism in the Andhra-desa. The book, therefore, is in need of improvement in these respects. A few words must be said in passing regarding the plates. Almost all of them are good and they certainly enhance the value of the book. The frontispiece does not represent the head of a human being, not to speak of Rama Raya. The *vakradanta* clearly indicates that the head belongs to a demon, probably a village deity. The printing is fairly good, but the book abounds in spelling mistakes. The proof reading has been carelessly done.

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, M.A., Ph.D.

G. VENKATACHALAM, *Modern Indian Artists*. (The National Press, Bangalore. Re 1-8.)

This is a timely and most welcome brochure from the pen of one who is intimately associated with the Art movement in South India. It is usual to style the Modern Indian School of Painters as the 'Bengal School' and their art as 'Bengal Art'. And that, in the view of some, is enough to condemn the movement. While it is true that the revival of Indian Art in recent years is due in the main to the devoted labours of E. B. Havell, Abanindranath Tagore, and the distinguished students of the latter like Nandalal Bose, Asit Haldar, and Promode Chatterjee, it has to be recognised that the movement has rapidly spread to all parts of India. Differences in technique, and specialised aptitudes, are bound to become evident in the different art centres at Mysore, Masulipatam, Lucknow, and Lahore. The third generation of artists—we mean the disciples of Abanindranath's disciples—is coming up and a close observer can trace the variations due to differing environment. Mr. Venkatachalam has rendered a great service to the cause of Modern Indian Art by the publication of these charming sketches. They are in no sense complete studies of the Artists. Each in fact deserves a volume to himself. But a perusal of Mr. Venkatachalam's book is sure to arouse interest in the subject and lead to a more correct appreciation of true Indian Art. We need only add that the book is beautifully got-up and the half-tone reproductions have come off admirably.

K. R.

P. T. SRINIVASA AIYANGAR, *The Stone-Age in India*: (Sir S. Subramaniya Aiyar Lectures, 1926, University of Madras.)

Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar is never more original than when he is writing on a subject which others despair of tackling. He has a keen eye for facts and an unerring instinct for correct conclusions. With a well-stored mind and a disciplined intellect which ought to be the envy of others in the field, Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar has a happy knack of presenting any theme in the most advantageous light. He is a realist and

never cuts himself away from facts. So it is that this book of his is a challenging contribution to the literature of the subject with which it deals. That primeval man had his birth in South India, that he grew up intellectually under a South Indian sun, and that he discovered iron right under his feet in South India and brought about a revolution in man's history in this country, are among the principal conclusions which he lays before the scholarly world in this work. It is hard to controvert Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar, and unless it can be shown that iron was not a constituent of a civilization at least as ancient as that to which the palaeolithic age of South India belongs, it would be difficult to show that Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar is wrong. This is a question which has really to be taken up in earnest and the evidence all the world over will have to be sifted with great care. We hope Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar's book will incite scholars to a thorough investigation.

AMRITA.

