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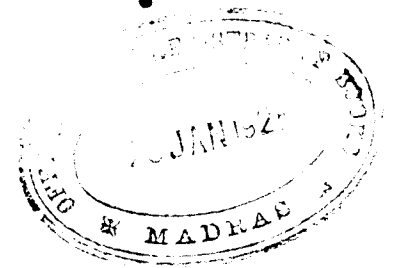


TRIVENI

TRIVENI 230

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.

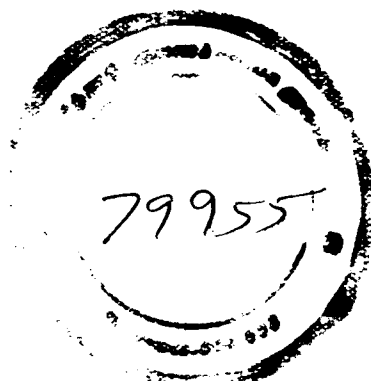
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TRIVENI

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Renaissance

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The Editor thanks Messrs. B. G. Paul & Co., Madras, for kind permission to publish in advance a chapter from the Rev. Fr. H. Heras's work, *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, which is to be brought out shortly by them.

TRIVENI

'Triveni' is devoted to Art, Literature and History. Its main function is to interpret the Indian Renaissance in its manifold aspects. Barring isolated attempts, the Renaissance spirit as reflected in Andhra, Dravida, Vanga, Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra and other sub-national units, has not been carefully studied and presented to a wider public. 'Triveni' endeavours to discharge this duty.

'Triveni' seeks to draw together cultured men and women in all lands and establish a fellowship of the elect. To those that worship the Muses in loneliness, and not infrequently in indigence, the knowledge that their productions are made known to kindred souls must be a source of satisfaction.

All movements that make for Idealism, in India as well as elsewhere, will receive particular attention in these columns. Translations into English of poems from all languages, will be a feature. In this, as in all else, we count upon the willing and joyous co-operation of all lovers of the Beautiful and the True.

May this votive offering prove acceptable to Him who is the source of the 'Triveni'—the triple stream of Love, Wisdom and Power—towards whom converge the self-same streams of Bhakti, Jnana and Karma !

THE EDITOR

New Beginnings in Indian Culture

BY C. JINARAJADASA, M.A.

There is a widespread idea, especially in the West, that India is a very old land with a culture which has already seen its highest expression. This judgment is partly true, because India is a very old land and, to a superficial observer, Indian culture seems hard and unyielding. Yet, as a matter of truth, very great changes are taking place just now, in spite of the fact that, to the superficial observer, everything is the same. Only the other day, an Australian friend of mine expressed with a sense of depression, 'I was in India twenty years ago, and everything seems exactly the same now!' He noted only the signs of poverty, and the general untidiness and lack of organisation. He, of course, could not know the changes which have already begun to be effective in the Indian mind during the last fifteen years. India does seem as if she were 'played out,' if we note only the conservatism in customs and manners.

On the other hand, one of the most interesting things in India is that, though she is old, she is really at the beginning of a great career. There is a great parallel between India to-day and the beginnings of Greek culture. There is this difference, however, that Greece began for the first time; whereas India, which has already a great culture in the past, is beginning once again. This is a thesis hard to prove, and yet, I will do what little I can to justify my belief.

Let me first take Indian drama. As one sees Indian plays, there is a great rigidity of form, and a very slavish subservience to an old and effete tradition regarding scenery and presentation. In the old days, the Indian drama was not intended to be realistic, but symbolic. Therefore, exactness of costume and scenery was no part of the dramatist's equipment, for the audience co-operated with him in imagining the atmosphere, which normally is created in the best equipped

NEW BEGINNINGS IN INDIAN CULTURE

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theatres by intense truth to scenery and to period of action, etc. Indian plays, as one sees them to-day, are intensely distasteful, because of their artificiality and lack of acutuality. Yet, on the other hand, the appeal they make, not so much to the outer senses as to the mind, is many steps in advance of what is known in the West, except in a few of the greatest dramatists.

That it is possible to retain the Indian spiritual and subjective quality in drama, and yet be perfectly true to nature, is evidenced by the work of Tagore and Chattopadhyaya. One of my most vivid memories is Tagore's *Post Office*, performed in his own house during the Congress of ten years ago, when Tagore himself took one of the parts. Everything was true to life in scenery and costume, and yet, the play retained its own subtle quality. Those of us who have seen the work of Harindranath Chattopadhyaya know how, without in the least ceasing to be Indian, he is at the same time true to nature in his staging and action.

All these characteristics of the new age can be applied to develop Indian drama, without in the least taking anything away from its own striking characteristics. I do not think there will ever be any need to imitate the West in this matter blindly. But, on the other hand, Indian drama can be more accurate in presentation. When it does so develop, I see before it a very great era. As the Greek drama grew out of the simple songs and dances of the religious festivals,—the word 'tragedy' means the 'songs at the goat festivals'—when the dancers sang and danced in honour of Pan, so I foresee a bright future for the Indian drama out of the present stratified ideas.

Similarly too with Indian music. All European musicians know at once the remarkable subtle quality in Indian melody, and the rhythm in the Indian drummer always amazes them with its complexity. But, on the other hand, Indian music has no sense of harmony, and there is, therefore, a sense of monotony. A great Indian musician has told me that he does not foresee that India will ever in her singing develop on the lines of the West with 'four

part' singing. This may well be. Yet, on the other hand, I do feel that Indian music, though old, is just at the beginning of a great expansion. I am fairly conversant with a good deal of Western orchestral music, and I do not think that India will ever achieve the great range of spiritual ideas revealed in music by composers like Beethoven, Mozart, Schubert, and others. When one listens, for instance, to the best *vina* play, one feels that in that pure music, there is something like the effect of a Western orchestra, but in miniature. Just as when we look through the wrong end of an opera glass, the scenery, though clear, is tiny, similarly the delicate tones produced by the *vina* have a symphonic quality. I see no reason why Indian musicians, if they will study Western music, may not apply its philosophy of music to develop Indian music along her own lines, but into a new field. A great deal can be done in India with Community Singing, because song is very near to the Indian temperament. Every Friday evening at the Headquarters of the Theosophical Society, there is Community Singing, where the residents sing together Eastern and Western music. If Community Singing could be developed at public meetings, Indian composers would quickly see new possibilities in song.

Taking the field of painting, one of the most amazing things is to note how the Bengal School of painting has such great similarities with the earliest Italian School. Both schools are 'primitive,' that is to say, are bent more on the feeling side of life than its actual photographic representation to the mind. In Italy, the 'primitive' school went its way developing stage by stage, till it reached a climax in such an artist as Botticelli, in whose best work, life and form are balanced, and exquisiteness of painting is inseparable from great feeling and idea. Similarly, I see for Indian painting a development in the course of a few generations, which will make painting something closely woven with the highest cultural life of the people.

In similar ways, department after department of Indian

culture is feeling a new birth. It is by comparing what the West has already achieved, that one sees clearly the signs of this new birth. In India, in all the arts and crafts, there is a great sense of beauty, but it is now traditional, that is to say, the craftsman works by rote, and does not feel sufficiently a true creative urge. But since life is all the time creative, this urge is in the very texture of our being. If only we understand the principles of creation, that is to say, the principles of art,—'art' means only 'doing'—we shall feel how our future life as an Indian civilisation is inseparable from artistic expression.

If only our artists will look with the eyes of the West on Indian scenes and on Indian men and women, they will find plenty to inspire them. Almost every day, as the fishermen pass on Adyar river in their catamarans, I can see many a Greek statue. Even when I look at one of the most pitiful sights in Madras, that is, coolies pushing loads in George Town, I feel a thrill of delight at the perfection of their muscles, and note what perfect models they are for sculpture. There is nothing so lovely as an Indian road, with its colour; a cooly woman sometimes can become the subject of a great poem, so graceful she is.

The rebirth of Indian culture is wonderfully assisted by the fact that there is behind India a great storehouse of spiritual energy waiting to be released. When, with her patriots and her religious leaders, Indian artists come to do their part in the Great Plan for India, once again there will be such a flowering of Indian ideals and achievement, as has never been in the past. Wonderfully great as Indian achievements have been in the long past, I believe that greater achievements still are in store for her in the future, not only in the domain of religion and international achievement, but also in the domain of art.

Thy Chariot

By VISWANATHA SATYANARAYANA, B.A.

Proudly bent on its course
And cruel in its speed,
Thy car was whirling on.
My frail form was crushed unto death
Beneath the chariot wheels,
And streams of blood gushed forth.

Thy car, divinely bright, stopped not a moment
In hesitation that aught impeded its progress ;
Nor did it veer round to note the sudden wail
That went up from my bruised heart.

At early dawn, dread Lord, Thy charioteer
Will wash the blood-stains from off Thy chariot wheels,
But, how from amongst the blood-stains of millions
Wilt Thou spot out mine ?

Translated from TELUGU by

ADIVI BAPIRAJU, B.A.

The Two Paths

By VISWANATHA SATYANARAYANA, B.A.

While, eager for *darsan*, I was on my way to Thy shrine,
Someone told me Thou had'st gone
In search of me to my humble abode ; [pursue ?
Lord, which way did I go, and which way didn't Thou
Beloved, how unfortunate was my path
That it did not touch even the fringes of Thine ?

Translated from TELUGU by

ADIVI BAPIRAJU, B.A.

In Quest of a Patron

BY OPPILAMANI-PULAVAR¹

In the oven where blazed the fire the mushroom thrives
And to breasts now parched the gnaw of hunger drives
My babe, whose lips draw not, though briskly plied,
The stream which once the kindly breasts supplied.

He to his mother turns his eyes:

The wife to me her looks doth raise :

So, we to thee have come our ways,

Kumuna !

Rendered from TAMIL by

T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN.

¹ Oppilamani-Pulavar, 'Poet Pearl-sans-pareil', is well-known for some excellent occasional verse in Tamil.

In these verses he pictures a poet whom indigence pinched so hard that he pursued king Kumuna in even his exile.

A Poem

BY D. V. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A.

[We give below two translations of the same TELUGU poem]

SHALL I — ?

Becoming

A leaf among the leaves,
A flower among the flowers,
A bough among the boughs,
A blooming blossom,
Shall I here hide myself,
And somehow abide
In this woodland home ?

Becoming

A gentle wave of the blowing wind,
A silent song of the flowing stream,
Shall I here hide myself,
And somehow abide
In this woodland home ?

Becoming

A bee behind the blossom's coral curtain,
A grown-up flower-maid's lovely blush,
Shall I here hide myself,
And somehow abide
In this woodland home ?

Ascending

Tree tops and blue hill-cliffs and still higher skies,
 Become a passing cloud's shining blue,
 Shall I here hide myself,
 And somehow abide
 In this woodland home ?

Wandering

Thus lone, melancholy, slow,
 Sans appetite or thirst or pain or sorrow,
 Shall I here hide myself,
 And somehow abide
 In this woodland home ?

Translated by
 V. N. BRUSHAN.

SHALL I — ?

A leaf among the leaves, a flower among the flowers,
 A branch among the branches, into the tenderest downy
 stemlet turned,
 Shall I hide myself within this forest deep ?
 Somehow, shall I here for ever stop ?

A ripple within the sweetly, sweetly, rustling wind,
 The sad burden of the falling, falling, waters' endless rhyme,
 Shall I hide myself within this forest deep ?
 Somehow, shall I here forever stop ?

A lone butterfly, hidden behind coral veils of yet unfolding
 leaves,
 The maiden bashfulness of virgin flowers sweet,
 Shall I hide myself within this forest deep ?
 Somehow, shall I here for ever stop ?

A POEM

High o'er green tree-tops climbing,
 Far above purple mountains rising,
 Into the blue wonder of a rain-cloud turned,
 Shall I hide myself within this forest deep ?
 Somehow, shall I here for ever stop ?

Of hunger and thirst, no more ; sadness and vain regrets, no
 more ;

Thus lonely like a mad man wander,
 Shall I hide myself within this forest deep ?
 Somehow, shall I here for ever stop ?

Translated by
 ACHANTA JANAKI RAM, B.Sc.

Declaration of Rights

(FOR INCORPORATION IN THE SWARAJ CONSTITUTION)

BY S. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.

1. (1) India shall have the same constitutional status in the community of Nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations, as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, and the Irish Free State, with a Parliament having power to make laws for the peace, order and good government of India, and an Executive responsible to that Parliament, and shall be styled and known as the Commonwealth of India.

(2) Nothing herein contained shall affect the right of India as a self-governing Dominion to remain now and always the sole judge of the nature and extent of her co-operation with the other communities associated with her as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, or the right of the people of India to claim the fullest national independence in case no settlement is agreed to by the British Government on the basis of this Constitution.

2. In the matter of defence, India shall have exactly the same constitutional position, the same powers, and the same rights and obligations as other self-governing Dominions.

Provided that nothing herein contained shall affect any treaty or arrangement in that behalf that may be come to, or that may be recognised as subsisting, between the Parliament of India and the Government of the United Kingdom.

3. The powers of the Parliament and the Executive Government of the Commonwealth with respect to Foreign Affairs shall be the same as those exercised by the other self-governing Dominions.

4. (1) The powers of the Parliament and of the Governor-General in Council with respect to Indian States shall be

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS

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the same as those exercised by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, or by the King in Council, or by the Governor-General in Council, or by the Governor-General, or by all the said authorities at the establishment of this Constitution.

(2) Subject as aforesaid, and subject to the power herein-after conferred on the Parliament, nothing herein contained shall affect the provisions of the existing Treaties and Arrangement between His Majesty and any Indian States.

5. All powers of Government, and all authority, legislative, executive and judicial, are derived from the people, and the same shall be exercised in the Commonwealth of India through the organisations established by or under, and in accord with, this Constitution.

6. All laws made by the Parliament shall be binding on the Courts, Judges and people of every Province and of every part of the Commonwealth, notwithstanding anything in the laws of British India or any part of British India or in any Act of the United Kingdom extending to British India, and the laws of the Commonwealth shall be enforced in all Indian territorial waters.

7. The right of the citizens of the Commonwealth to form a well regulated militia for its defence is declared and guaranteed.

8. The national language of the Commonwealth is the Hindustani language, but the English language shall be equally recognised as an official language. Nothing in this section shall prevent provisions being made by Parliament for provinces, districts, or areas in which neither or either only is in common use.

9. Every person domiciled in the Commonwealth of India at the time of the coming into operation of this Constitution, who was born in India, or who has been so domiciled in the area of the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth of India for not less than seven years, is a citizen of the Commonwealth of India and shall, within the limits of the Commonwealth, enjoy the privileges and be subject to the obligations of such citizenship, provided that any such person being a citizen of another State may elect not to accept the citizenship

hereby conferred; and the conditions governing the future acquisition and termination of citizenship in the Commonwealth of India shall be determined by Act of Parliament.

10. No title of nobility or honour in respect of any services rendered in, or in relation to, the Commonwealth of India may be conferred on any citizen of the Commonwealth of India, except with the approval or upon the advice of the Executive Council of the Commonwealth; or, in the case of members of the Executive Council, except with the consent of the Legislative Assembly; nor shall any present, emolument, office, or title conferred by the British or any foreign Government be accepted by a citizen of the Commonwealth employed by the government of the Commonwealth or of a province or holding any office of profit, honour, or trust under them, except with the consent of the Legislative Assembly.

or

(1) Privileges or discrimination, due to birth or rank, and heretofore recognized by law, are hereby abolished.

(2) Titles may be conferred only when they designate an office or profession; but academic degrees shall not be affected by this provision.

(3) Orders and honorary insignia shall not be conferred on the citizens of the Commonwealth.

(4) No citizen of the Commonwealth shall accept a title or order or other distinction of office or 'profit, emolument, or reward from either the British Government or a foreign government.

11. No person shall be deprived of his liberty nor shall his dwelling or property be entered, sequestered or confiscated, save in accordance with law and by a duly constituted Court of Law.

12. The right of free expression of opinion, as well as the right to assemble peaceably without arms, and to form associations or unions, is hereby guaranteed for purposes not opposed to public order or morality, or the law relating to defamation for the time being.

13. (1) Freedom of conscience and the free profession

and practice of religion are, subject to public order and morality, hereby guaranteed to every person.

(2) The Commonwealth shall not allow any community, caste or sect in India to impose its religious views or obligations upon any other community, caste or sect.

(3) There shall be no State religion for the Commonwealth of India or for any province in the Commonwealth. No law may be made either directly or indirectly to endow any religion, or prohibit or restrict the free exercise thereof, or give any preference, or impose any disability on account of religious belief or religious status, or affect prejudicially the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money without attending the religious instruction at the school, or make any discrimination as respects State aid between schools under the management of different religious denominations, or divert from any religious denomination or any educational institution any of its property except for the purpose of roads, railways, lighting, water or drainage works or other works of public utility, and on payment of compensation.

(4) No Bill, Resolution, Motion or Amendment regarding inter-communal matters shall be moved, discussed or passed in any legislature, central or provincial, if a three-fourths majority of the members of any community affected thereby in that legislature oppose the introduction, discussion or passing of such Bill, Resolution, Motion or Amendment.

14. (2) All citizens of the Commonwealth of India shall be in all respects equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights. And no distinction of Court or Judge shall be made between one class of persons and another with respect to similar civil or legal matters and offences.

(2) There shall be no disqualification or disability on the ground only of sex.

(3) All persons have an equal right to the use of roads, Courts of Justice and all other places of business or resort dedicated to the public, provided they do not disturb

public order or disobey any lawful notice issued by a competent authority.

(4) All persons in the Commonwealth of India have the right to free elementary education, and such right shall be enforceable as soon as due arrangements shall have been made by the competent authority.

15. Differences of religion, creed, faith or language shall not prejudice any citizen of the Commonwealth of India in any way, within the limits laid down by the general laws, particularly in regard to public employments, offices of power or honour and the exercise of any trade or calling.

16. (1) All castes are hereby declared and guaranteed to be on a footing of perfect equality; no superiority or inferiority of any caste and no hierarchy of castes shall be recognised or given effect to by the State for any purpose.

(2) The State shall not treat or allow to be treated any community in India as an untouchable community but shall recognise it as having the same status as other communities.

17. A citizen of the Commonwealth, resident in any province, shall not be subject in any other province to any disability or discrimination which would not be equally applicable to him if he were a citizen of the Commonwealth resident in such other province.

18. All judges shall be independent in the exercise of their functions and subject only to the constitution and the law. A judge shall not be eligible to sit in a legislature and shall not hold any other office or position of emolument.

19. No person shall be tried on any criminal charge without a jury save in the cases of charges in respect of minor offences triable by law before a court of summary jurisdiction.

Nor shall any person be indefinitely detained in custody or interned in any place, except upon a charge, and without being brought to trial within a reasonable time before a duly constituted court of law.

SOUTH INDIAN PORTRAITS

BY T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN, M.A., B.L.

I

PORTRAIT SCULPTURE IN NORTH INDIA AND CEYLON

‘Well-authenticated portrait statues are rare in India’: so wrote an able authority on Indian art not many years ago.⁽¹⁾ This paucity was one of the symptoms on which the critic based a theory of ‘Hindu disinclination to or aversion from realistic likeness,’ though, in the same breath, he made practically an admission that the paucity was due to no temperamental infirmities of the Hindu.⁽²⁾

In at least one part of India,—the southern,—there have survived enough examples of the art of sculptural portraiture to compel us to abandon without ado,—in so far at least as that part of India is concerned,—the theory of Hindu disinclination to realism, all too confidently asserted. In examining the examples and the history of this branch of south Indian art, comparison with examples from other parts of India and with the course of its evolution in those areas is almost inevitable and is certainly illuminating.

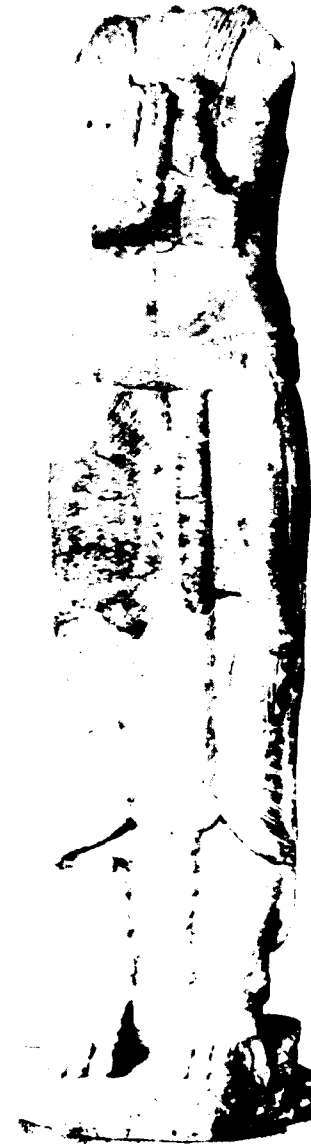
For the most authentic of the earliest examples of portrait sculpture in India we have to go to a cave in the Nanaghat, a pass between Poona and Nasik, leading to the town of Junnar from the Konkan country. On the side-walls of the cave are engraved two of the oldest inscriptions of western India, in characters of about the earlier half of the second century B. C.,⁽³⁾ recording the performance of certain sacrifices. Mutilated badly as the inscriptions own

(1) V. A. Smith, *HFAIC.*, 238.

(2) *Ib.*, 496.

(3) Buhler in Burgess, *ECT.*, 73.

are, they are found to narrate the performance of the sacrifices at the instance of a widowed queen and they mention her husband (a king), two sons of this couple, the king's father (himself a king), and the father of the queen (a feudal baron),— six personages in all. On the back-wall of the cave are found seven badly damaged figures carved in bas-relief and above each figure a name is found incised. Though the figures themselves have disappeared almost completely, the labels are still decipherable and indicate that the figures represent a king and a queen, the king's father, three princes and a feudal baron. The almost close correspondence in the number and the dignities of the persons indicated by the labels and mentioned by the narrative inscriptions, should suffice, by itself, as a reason for suggesting that both the narrative and the labels refer to the same persons. But we have the additional circumstances that the names also tally and that the labels and the narrative are incised in characters of the same period. The conclusion seems to be therefore irresistible that the figures represented the queen at whose instance the sacrifices were celebrated and those relations of hers who derived spiritual benefit therefrom. On a study of the inscriptions and on a consideration of many relevant circumstances, it has been settled that the figures represent King Satakarni, and his wife, father, brother, two sons and father-in-law. The sacrifices were performed at the instance of the queen, evidently because her husband and father-in-law were both dead and her two sons were too young to have exercised sovereign power. There can be little doubt that when the sacrifices were performed and the inscriptions were engraved, king Simuka Satavahana and king Satakarni were not alive except in memory and that it is only the others that could possibly have granted sittings to the sculptors who carved those bas-reliefs on the cave-wall. The probabilities, therefore, are, on the one hand, that the artists were content to execute portraits of the deceased from the memory or from previously executed representations, and, on the other hand, that there was no objection to the lineaments of a person yet in the flesh being fixed in



1
Gautamiputra Satakarni

carved stone. The order in which the figures are marshalled⁽¹⁾ seems to suggest that certain principles were followed:— regard paid to closeness of relationship, order of descent and the exigencies of the occasion. These seven persons must have been those for whose spiritual benefit the sacrifices were offered and in these seven figures we have a gallery of portraits figuring a royal family famous in the history of the Dekkhan in the second century B. C. and exemplifying the principles according to which portrait groups were executed in ancient India. But it is one of the numerous ironies of Indian history that the figures themselves— the earliest portraits of indubitable authenticity in all India,— are now irretrievably lost.

An equally indisputable representation of a king was found in excavations made near Mathura (Muttra) in northern India. It is a standing figure of life-size. Though, unfortunately, it is now in a mutilated condition,— all that portion of it above the chest having disappeared,— an inscription which it bears makes it clear, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that it was intended to represent king Kanishka (c. 120 A.D.), and the identification has been accepted without question. Though it has been recognised that the sculptor 'has shown considerable skill in faithfully portraying the great king' and that the drapery 'seems to retain a faint recollection of classical sculpture,' yet so crude is the workmanship and so flat the general effect that there can be no doubt that 'the maker of this image, whatever his nationality may have been, was certainly not inspired with the ideals of Grecian Art.'⁽²⁾

Fragments of other statues were also found close by and they too have been the subjects of identifications. The

(1) Simuka Satavahana (the king's father), queen Nayanika or Naganika (the widow who had the sacrifices performed), king Satavahana (whose widow is the queen Naganika), prince Kumara Bhayala (evidently the brother of king Satavahana, the one person not mentioned in the inscriptions), Maharathi Tranakiyaro (feudal baron and father of queen Naganika) and two princes, Kumara Hakku-siri (Sakti Sri) and Kumara Vedi-siri Satavahana (sons of king Satavahana and queen Naganika).—For a full discussion of the inscriptions see Buhler's note in Burgess, *ECT.*, 59-74, and compare *ASI. AR.*, 1924 : 88.

(2) Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, in *ASI. AR.*, 1912 : 120-7.

inscription on one of them has been deciphered, though not beyond dispute, as the name of another ruler, Chastana (c. 80-110 A.D.) (1), who was Great Satrap under Kanishka's line,—to which he was also probably related by ties of blood. Another statue, a colossal figure seated on a throne, has been identified, on the strength of a probable reading of an inscription on the pedestal, as that of Wema Kadphises, another member of the dynasty to which Kanishka belonged, and arguments have also been advanced to show that the statue was completed in,—probably before,—the sixth year of Kanishka's reign.(2) These statues were all found practically within one series of buildings, part of which at least seems to have been a temple, and near by were discovered traces of a tank. As the inscription on the pedestal of the last mentioned statue refers also to a *devakula*, a garden, a tank and a well, the suggestions have been made that these statues were all placed originally in the *devakula*, and that the garden and the tank belonged to the days when the *devakula* was constructed or was repaired. Another statue of which some fragments only are now found, at a place not far distant from Mathura, has been sought to be identified, again on the basis of an inscription, as one of Kanishka's son(3). If these identifications are correct,—or, at any rate, if the suggestion that all the fragments represent kings is plausible,—we have some justification for believing that all the statues might have stood at one time under the roof of a *devakula* before vandals laid impious hands on them and broke and flung them out.

The purpose of these *devakulas* is not clear; perhaps they were intended as memorials to departed kings. That at about this time it was usual to erect monuments to the memory of princes is quite clear from an inscription of a relation of Pushyamitra, the great Sunga king (184-148 B.C.), which records that a '*ketuna* (a funeral memorial or flagstaff or a statue-house) to Phalgudeva' was

(1) K. P. Jayaswal, in *JHORS.*, (1919), v. 511, announced this discovery of B. Bhattacharya, who himself wrote on it in *Ib.*, (1920), vi. 51-3.

(2) By K. P. Jayaswal, *Ib.*, (1920), vi. 12-22.

(3) By K. P. Jayaswal, *Ib.*, (1919), v. 5-10.

'caused to be made' by his son(1). Pushyamitra having been one of the protagonists of renaissance Brahmanism, we may perhaps infer that this memorial would not have been erected if Brahmanism had not sanctioned the raising of such monuments to the deceased.

Excavations at the ruins at Sahri-Bahlol, in the Peshawar district, belonging to about this time, have brought to light numerous and varied examples of portrait sculpture. 'The frequency with which the donors are represented in the reliefs (2) usually occupying the face of the image-base, adds human interest to these sculptures. The most common device shows them in pairs worshipping before an incense-bearing altar; but we find them also in attitudes of worship on either side of a small Buddha image and occasionally forming regular family groups. . . . as where the sacred begging-bowl is the object of worship. In the base panel of (a) fine Bodhistava image . . . the artist has endeavoured to introduce a more individual touch, for here we see on one side of the incense-bearing altar besides the donor two smaller figures, probably meant for his sons, while on the other side a youth in working attire reduced to a loin cloth drives a plough with two oxen . . . (3). Special interest attaches to two statues which unmistakably are intended to represent pious donors. The male one, nearly life-size and of excellent execution but badly injured, shows a realistically modelled portrait head and curious details of costume, including striped trousers tucked into top boots; the left holds the base of what may have been a miniature stupa or shrine. The other figure representing a female, with some indistinct object in her hands, suggests by its execution a much later date (4). Here too the dress and hair present points of interest. Along with these may be mentioned a curious statue (5) about two and a half feet in height showing a

(1) Also by K. P. Jayaswal, *Ib.*, (1924), v. 202-8.

(2) *ASI.AK.*, 1912, pl. xxxvi, fig. 2; pl. xl, figs. 9, 11, 12; pl. xli, fig. 15; pl. xlv, fig. 26; pl. xlvii, fig. 27; pl. xlviii, fig. 33.

(3) *Ib.*, 1912, pl. xl, fig. 12.

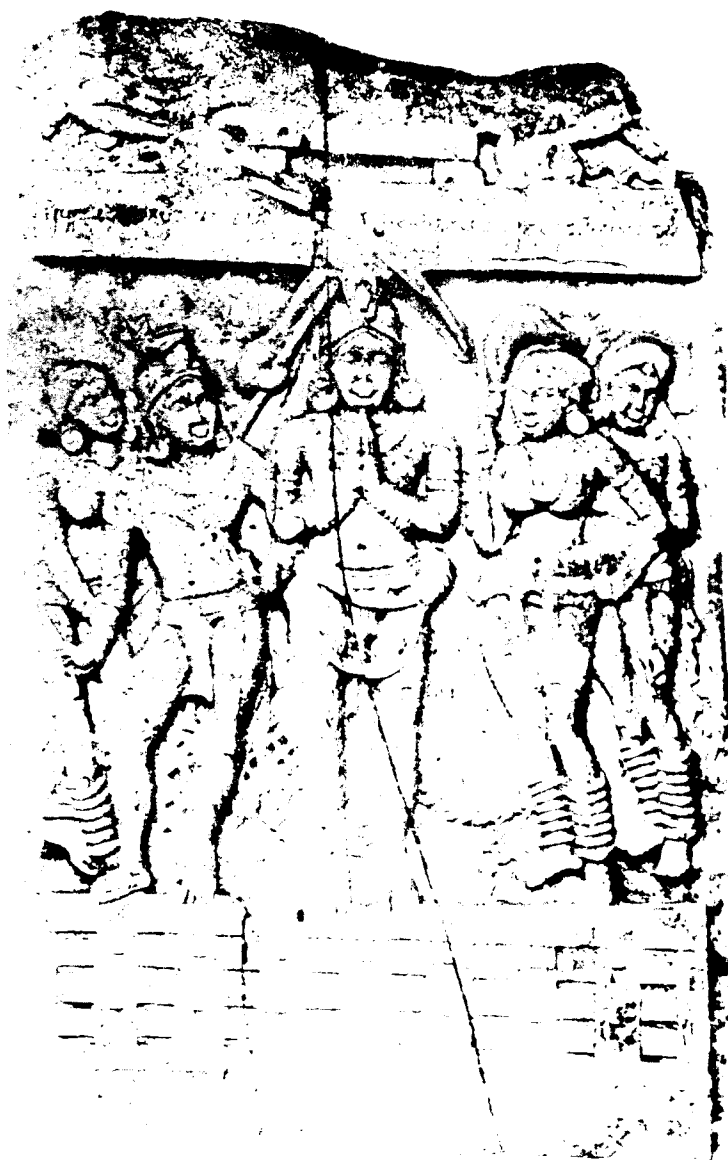
(4) *Ib.*, 1912, pl. xli, fig. 13.

(5) *Ib.*, 1912, pl. xli, fig. 14.

figure with a striking elderly face unmistakably modelled from life and in distinctly realistic fashion(1).'

Archæological remains of equal antiquity in other parts of India contain figures which cannot but be portraits. It has been confidently asserted by an able authority that 'the *alto-relievos* on the inner facades of the Chaityas at Karle and Kanheri represent families of (the Andhra) dynasty.' (2), In the *chaitya* cave at Kondane, (3) one of the earliest of Indian cave temples, there appears 'a single figure' beside which runs an inscription to say that it was 'made by Baluka, the pupil of Kanha (Krishna), (4). 'Doubtless it represented the excavator of the *chaitya*, and is the earliest *salika* or portrait statue, of which we have any remains; but unfortunately it has been entirely defaced. The elaborate and unique style of the head dress—almost all that is left of it—sufficiently indicates the care which the artist had bestowed on it.' There is also reason to believe that 'a similar figure (possibly a female) existed in that corresponding position on the right hand side of the entrance' (5). In the caves at Udayagiri and Khandagiri in Orissa we have a number of figures which seem to represent historical personages,—especially donors(6). In the ruins at Amaravati (7), we seem to have some sculptures which must have been portraits(8). To a somewhat later age belongs a *vihara*-cave at Ajanta(9), in which is shown 'a worshipper or *salika*' as an attendant on the Buddha(10). 'It is a male figure of somewhat less than natural size, kneeling before the throne on the right hand of the image, with his hands joined in an attitude of devotion, but holding a small cup or small bowl. It was probably intended to represent the excavator of the cave or

- (1) Sir Aurel Stein, *Ib.*, 1912: 106-7.
- (2) Burgess, *BSA.*, 97.
- (3) Karjat Tq., Kolaba Dt.
- (4) Burgess, *BCT.*, 9, fig. 9.
- (5) *Ib.*, 9-10.
- (6) *ASIAR.*, 1923: 130-2.
- (7) Sattenapalle Tq., Guntur Dt.
- (8) Burgess, *BSA.*, 97.
- (9) Bhokardan Tq., Aurangabad Dt. (Hyderabad State).
- (10) Burgess, *BCT.*, 47, and pl. 37, fig. 1.



2

Agheya-Vachakita-Vira

at least of the shrine'(1). On each side of the entrance of the *chaitya* cave at Kanheri(2) we have a panel with figures carved in it(3), and the fact that the figures 'have a finish scarcely anywhere else displayed, suggests that they were meant to be portrait-statues of the excavators of the cave and their wives.'(4).

The Satakarni reliefs at Nanaghat, the *salikas* at Kondane and Ajanta, the reliefs-panels at Kanheri, the carved donors of the Udayagiri and Khandagiri caves, and the statues of the Kushan group at Mathura show how, as early as the beginning of the 2nd century B. C., the art of portrait sculpture was practised in the middle of India and how in about a century thereafter it was practised in almost every other part of India. Individual sculptures and family groups are equally common and the sculptor found patronage as much at the hands of the Brahmanical rulers as at those of chiefs who were devotees of the Buddha. Statues fully in the round are as common as reliefs and it was not quite unusual for statues to be placed in a statue-house resembling a temple located in a grove and in close proximity to a tank. The figures stood with hands clasped in salutation or they reverently crouched in the sacred presence or placed the right hand with pride on the sword which had proved itself irresistible on many a battle-field. Almost all the motives which could furnish incitement for the carving or the setting up of these sculptures are found exemplified here,— the commemoration of the performance of a sacrifice, the construction of a *chaitya* or a cave, the making of lavish gifts to the deserving, the devotee's anxiety to stand for ever praying in the presence of his God and the perpetuation of the memory of a line of kings or of a family or even of one individual (5).

We may pass on to an examination of some sculptures which, being suspected to be of even earlier date, are likely

- (1) *Ib.*, 47.
- (2) Thana Dt.
- (3) Burgess, *BCT.*, pl. 4.
- (4) *Ib.*, 62.
- (5) For some examples of later portrait sculpture in the Dekkhan, refer to *ASI.W.A.R.*, 1904 : 30 : 81-2 ; 31 : 87, 89 ; 53 : 44 ; 1910 : 41-2 : 123-7.

to be of greater value for the study of this branch of sculpture if they could be shown to be portraits.

Three statues have been well-known for about a century, but they have recently attained celebrity, having become the subjects of a hot controversy which arose out of an attempt to identify them as portraits of certain early Indian kings. The value of these statues is enhanced by the fact that these seem to be among the few of the earliest specimens of the plastic art of India which have survived,—especially among those figures which are carved fully in the round and are not mere reliefs, low or high, or are not 'engaged' in a wall or other object. Two of these three statues were discovered together, near Patna. (1) They are standing figures,—one of them is now headless,—of about the height of men and are excellent works of art. Inscriptions found carved on them have been so variously read that while one set of scholars claim the figures to be statues of kings, another set declares them to be mere icons, probably of *yakshas*. (2) But even among those who oppose the theory that the statues are those of kings are to be found some who admit that the statues must belong to days as early as the Mauryan times, if not earlier, (3) and that 'the artistic monuments of the Mauryan epoch represent an art in an advanced stage of development which supposes generations of artistic efforts and experience behind them' (4).

(1) They are now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

(2) The theory that they are portrait statues of kings was advanced by K. P. Jayaswal and supported by authorities like R. D. Banerji, MM. Hara Prasad Sastri, Oja and Arun Sen. The stoutest opponents of the theory are O. C. Gangoly, R. P. Chanda, Dr. L. D. Barnett and Dr. R. C. Majumdar. The more important of the papers on this and allied questions are the following:—

K. P. Jayaswal, *JBORS.*, (1919), v. 88-109, 214-5, 515-542; (1920), vi 12-22, 173—

R. D. Banerji, *Ib.*, (1919), v. 210-4; (1920) vi. 40-50.

MM. H. P. Sastri, *Ib.*, (1919), v. 552-63.

Arun Sen, *Ib.*, (1919), v. 542-9.

Discussion in London, *Ib.*, (1919), v. 512-5.

O. C. Gangoly, *Modern Review*, 1919 Oct., 419-24.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar, *JBORS.*, (1920), vi. 474; *I.A.*, (1919), xlviii. 25-8; *Journal of Department of Letters, Calcutta University*, (1921) iv. 47-84, and *ASI. AR.*, 1923: 164-70.

N. G. Majumdar, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, ii. 441-6.

(3) O. C. Gangoly, in *Modern Review*, 1919 Oct., 424.

(4) *Ib.*, 419.

So, there is no inherent objection to these figures being ascribed to a pre-Mauryan period, if the inscriptions can be shown to be of that age, nor could there be any objection to their being considered portraits of kings, provided the inscriptions can be so read and iconographical considerations point to no other identification. The inscriptions have been read as referring to Udayin-Aja and Nandi-Vardhana,—both of them kings of the Sisunaga dynasty,—the former (484-467 B.C.) being the founder of Pataliputra, and the latter (449-409 B.C.) a great conqueror-king of that line. But these readings have been contested and,—even where the readings have been granted,—the identifications have been disputed. Viewing these statues as mere figures, some regard them as representations of men, while others take them to be icons of deities or supernatural beings. The two figures bear a very close resemblance to each other, but the resemblance may be explained as being due to the figures representing two members of the same family or, perhaps, twin-deities (1).

Another statue, also a standing figure, found at Parkham near Mathura; (2) has been identified as a statue of an earlier king of this line, Kunika Ajatasatru (c. 515 B.C.) on the strength of an inscription, (3) but, here again, neither the reading of the inscription nor the identification of the figure is free from controversy. The capital of Ajatasatru was Rajagriha, but the statue was found far away near Mathura: one explanation is that it was set up near Mathura as a memorial of victory, that place having been taken by Ajatasatru, (4) or in commemoration of some gift (5), and another is that it was perhaps originally installed in Rajagriha but was subsequently transferred to the vicinity of Mathura by Kanishka who is known to have carried away trophies from Magadha to that city (6).

(1) *Ib.*, 421-4.

(2) Now in the Mathura Museum.

(3) Also by K. P. Jayaswal, *JBORS.*, (1919) v. 550-1; (1920), vi. 173; see also B. C. Bhattacharya, *Ib.*, (1919), v. 402-4.

(4) K. P. Jayaswal, *Ib.*, (1920), vi. 176.

(5) MM. Hara Prasad Sastri, *Ib.*, (1919), v. 563.

(6) K. P. Jayaswal, *Ib.*, (1920), vi. 176.

A fourth figure,— this time, one seated on a round chair, but mutilated and decapitated by some vandal,— was found in a village some twelve miles from Mathura. The statue is in the pure Hindu style and an inscription on it, estimated to belong to about 470 B.C., has been read as referring to Darsaka, a successor of Ajatasatru(I).

If we may treat these four pieces of sculpture as portraits and if we accept the identifications, we would have statues of four kings of the Sisunaga dynasty,— Kunika Ajatasatru (c. 515 B.C.), Udayin-Aja (484-467 B.C.), Darsaka (c. 470 B.C.) and Nandi-Vardhana (449-409 B.C.). Two of the statues come from near Mathura and the other two from Maghada,— there being just a chance that those found near Mathura had been removed from the vicinity of Patna. All of them seem to belong to the style of the pre-Mauryan period.

The acceptance of the contention that these four statues are portraits would justify the conclusion that portrait sculpture had made remarkable progress in north India as early even as the 5th century B. C.

This group and the Kushan group,— if they are portrait sculptures,— would, with the Satakarni group, form the three earliest portrait groups known to Indian history and stand as distinct landmarks in the development of Indian art.

Portraiture in stone had certainly become popular by the second century B. C. and was perhaps practised, with eminent success, even three centuries earlier. Though few specimens of these early periods have survived, we have satisfactory proof that the art continued to be popular in the mediæval period of north Indian history.

'Royal cemeteries,' are said to be 'still common in Rajputana.' It is added: 'They are called *Chhatris* or umbrellas: They are erected not only to rajas but to other illustrious dead and more specially to persons dying in war. Royal cemeteries are set apart at one place. Sometimes they contain statues, sometimes they do not. There are royal cemeteries at

(1) Also by K. P. Jayaswal, *Ib.*, (1924), x. 203, and *Modern Review*, 1921 Nov., 611-4.



Jaipur, Jodhpur and other Rajputana capitals. But the place containing the royal *chhatris* at Bikanir is called Devagadh. . . At this place there are statues of all the Bikanir rajas, from the fourth downwards. There is another Devagadh for the first three rajas near the walled town. The present devagadh is six miles distant from the former one. The statues are worshipped every day and food is offered to them. The priests are Sakadvipi Brahmanas (called Sebakas). They do not object to partaking the food offered to the dead rajas. The kings who died in wars are represented on horse-back. Their ranis who ascended funeral pyres of their husbands are also represented as standing by their husbands.' (1).

King Wun Raj (Vana Raja) is said to have erected, about 742 A.D., a temple at Unhilpoor to 'Panchasura Parusnath' and to have placed in it an image of himself 'in the attitude of a worshipper, covered however, by the scarlet umbrella, denoting his royal state.' (2). The statue, which is of white marble, stands about three feet high and holds its hands joined in salutation; (3) but its 'claim to be the original image of traditions is not authenticated,' and it is a very inferior specimen of sculptural skill because of 'awkwardness of pose and want of art in composition.' Adjacent to this statue stands another,—that of Vana Raja's *divan* or minister. (4)

The temples of Rajputana seem to be comparatively wealthier in portrait sculpture than other parts of north India proper and examples of work of about the twelfth century A. D. seem to be not unknown (5).

In the uttermost recesses of north India, in tracts now included in the kingdom of Nepal, the art found votaries and patrons such as perhaps it did not find elsewhere.

In the Jogesvara temple near Panwanowla in the Almora district of Nepal, 'three almost life-sized brass

- (1) MM. Hara Prasad Sastri, *JBORS.*, (1919). v. 559. See also *ASI.W. AR.*, 1907: 29: 13; 31-2: 21, 23; 1908: 56-7: 51; 1909: 39: 7; 1910: 46: 14; 1911: 40: 16; 42: 22; 1912: 53: 7.
- (2) Forbes, *Ras Mala*, i. iii.
- (3) Burgess and Cousens, *Architectural Antiquities of Gujarat*, 44.
- (4) *Ib.*, 6, 44.
- (5) V. A Smith, *HFAIC.*, 206-7; see also *ASI.W. AR.*, 1905: 53: 40; 56: 54; 1906: 57: nos. 2120-1; 1910: 50: 26; 58: 49; 1912: 57: 23; 1914: 65: 23.

images of former donor Chand Rajas—Paunchand, Dipchand, and Trimulchand,—stand facing the lingam,' and one of them serves 'as a graceful dipdan holding the lights in its hands most reverently.' (1) The large number and the unusual excellence of Nepalese portrait statues have been noticed and admired. Statues of Newar kings adorn the crests of tall pillars, the king being shown seated or kneeling, with hands clasped in salutation, and often shaded by an umbrella or a hooded cobra. Romance is sometimes busy with these monuments, as in the case of the statue of 'Yogendra Mall, the mysterious king who disappeared about 1700, and whom people refuse to believe dead.' It is said that 'before his disappearance he had given to his minister a final instruction: so long as the face of his statue remained clear and brilliant, so long as the bird on his head had not flown away, it should be concluded from those signs that he was still alive. The face of the king is shining, and the bird is always in its place. And every evening the mattress is placed in a room on the facade of the durbar and the window is kept open in the expectation of his return.' (2) The statues of the kings are in many instances surrounded by those of their consorts and children. So excellent is each statue that 'it indicates the thought of the master-mind and the touch of the master-hand' and so effective is the display that 'it is doubtful if any country in the world has conceived a more artistic memorial statue than those to be observed in the public squares of the cities of Nepal.' Nor are statues of the commonalty wanting either in number or in quality. (3) Founders of benefactions to temples and people of even low degree who contributed only according to the slenderness of their means were not precluded from having their likenesses,—along with those of the other members of their family, if they so wished,—placed in the temples which had profited through their bounty, however modest. Even in the

(1) Panna Lal, 'Account of a Tour in the Almora District, Himalayas', in *JBORS.*, (1920), vi. 374-6.

(2) Prof. Sylvain Levi, in *Indian Art and Letters*, (1925), i. 55.

(3) See, for instance, figure of donor in A. K. Coomaraswami and G. K. Duggirala, *Mirror of Gesture*, pl. viii.

case of the statues of kings, 'the figure itself, regarded as a portrait is broadly treated and seems to reproduce the general character of the sitter while the features appear to have been studied from life but conventionalized in order to be in conformity with the entire scheme.' (1)

In the temple of Kamakhya at Gauhati, in Assam, stand two statues representing respectively Nar-Narayan (or Maka-deb), a king of the Koch dynasty, and his younger brother, Sukla-deb who built the temple in 1565 A. D. (2)

It has been said that 'a special characteristic of Tibetan art is the abundance of realistic, highly individualised portrait statuettes of holy Lamas and other Buddhist saints' (3) and that 'the most interesting department of Tibetan, as of Mongolian pictorial art, is that of portraiture.' (4) The influence of Nepal and thus of India is indisputable in this development of Tibetan art. (5)

Ceylon too developed, similarly, what seems to have been almost a school of sculptural portraiture in very early times. 'Portrait statues supposed to be those of ancient kings are a speciality of Ceylonese art . . . two battered examples . . . seem to be of high antiquity. One of these, traditionally believed to represent king Devanampiyaya Tissa, the contemporary and friend of Asoka, which was found near the Ambusthala *dagaba* at Mihintale, eight miles from Anuradhapura, may be correctly attributed by the popular voice.' Other ancient statues,—though not equally ancient,—are also found in various places in Ceylon. (6)

In the Dekkhan and in north India the art of portrait sculpture has thus been shown to have flourished from early times. North Indian influence kindled the artistic impulse and

(1) P. Brown, *Picturesque Nepal*, 70-1, 156-161

(2) Sir E. A. Gait, *History of Assam*, 55-6. I must thank Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda for having drawn my attention to these statues.

(3) V. A. Smith, *HFAIC.*, 198.

(4) *Ib.*, 318.

(5) See, for instance, Prof. Sylvain Levi, in *Indian Art and Letters*, (1926), i. 49-67.

(6) V. A. Smith, *HFAIC.*, 88-92; for later examples, see *Ib.*, 241-2.

shaped the development of this branch of art, not only in Nepal but in Tibet and Ceylon as well. Did South India feel and respond to the stirrings of the impulse which in other parts of India,— and even in countries beyond,— was being nobly realised in portraits of Stone and Metal ?



5
Narasimhavarman I

II

SOUTH INDIAN PORTRAITS TO THE END OF PALLAVA TIMES

The instinct for portraiture seems to have been as strong in the south of India as in the north and portraits as excellent as any in north India have been produced by south Indian artists. Very little search has been made for these sculptures but numerous examples are bound to reward diligent search.

Relievos of donors have been found at Amaravati and two of them deserve special attention.

One is a mutilated figure [Fig. 1] (1) which represents a devotee of high station who, in his hands joined in salutation against his breast, holds some lotus-buds. (2) So careful is the chiselling that 'the pattern' of the clothing,— 'almost to the threads of the cloth,— has been minutely represented.' (3) The statue would have been truer to life had it been given greater depth and it might have also gained in dignity, but probably the sculptor had a double objective in making it thin almost as a lath: he suggested perhaps that the subject had Andhra blood in his veins— for a very Andhra type is the tall and spare figure leaning forward slightly,— and he called attention to the high status of the devotee by accentuating the height. Standing as the sculpture does much taller than the human stature, it must have been a very striking piece among the monuments of Amaravati. Indeed, the figure is taller than any of the other carvings of human figures at Amaravati and is one of the few pieces executed fully in the round. The *motif* too is that of the humble devotee

(1) This fine statue seems to have been at some time broken into a number of pieces: the head and the arms are missing and have not been traced; the two lower pieces have been put together, but with some 'restoration' which we might well have been spared.

(2) For a similar use of the lotus, see *ASI.W.A.R.*, 1904: 30: 81.

(3) Burgess, *BSA.*, 96.

standing devoutly beside the structure he had raised or embellished in honour of his deity. So characteristically Andhra is the figure, so emphasised is the height, so appropriate is it as the figure of a devotee and so good is the technique that we are driven to conclude that this statue was intended for the likeness of some potentate who contributed in ample measure to the raising of the monuments at Amaravati.

Along the folds of the drapery runs an inscription which, though partly obliterated, contains a lady's name,—Gotami or Gautami.(1) If to the circumstances already noticed we add the further facts that the *stupa* of Amaravati was largely embellished by the great Andhra kings, Gautamiputra Sri Satakarni I and Gautami-putra Sri Yajna Satakarni II (of the first and the last quarters respectively of the 2nd century A.D.), that each of these kings had evidently a Gautami for his mother, that one of the Gautamis could have installed, in the architectural out-growths of the *stupa*, a statue of her son in the posture of a devotee and that this statue was recovered 'from behind the outer railing of the stupa,'(2) one of its older features,—we have perhaps sufficient basis for believing this statue to be a representation of one of the two Gautamiputra Satakarnis.

The other [Fig. 2] represents a group, the principal figure in which is a devotee who was, in all probability, a chief of the name of Agheya-Vachakita-Vira. We have only to look at the figure on either side of him to be convinced that the sculptor's aim was individual portraiture.

South Indian art has, so far, furnished no other examples of portraiture till the Pallava times are reached. The gap between Amaravati and Mahabalipuram is wide, both in chronology and in art: none the less we have hitherto chanced on no specimens of portraiture which could be attributed to the intermediate period.

What is perhaps the very earliest and the most explicit epigraphic reference in all India to the practice of setting up

(1) *EL.*, xv. 261, fig. 39.

(2) Burgess, *BSA.*, 99.

statues of human beings is to be found in two inscriptions on two pillars in a cave temple half-way up the rock at Trichinopoly.(1) On entering the cave (which opens on the south) and turning east we find at the eastern end of the cave a small sanctuary facing the west, carved out of the rock. In the cave itself stand four pillars, on either side of the shrine, imparting to the cave the appearance of a hall supported by eight pillars. 'Engraved on the pilaster to the right of the sanctuary and at a spot which appears to have been selected for the principal inscription' is the name *Sri Mahendra Vikrama*, and 'the pillars at the other end of the hall contain a number of names and *birudas*, among which is *Gunabhara*.' On two of the supporting pillars of the cave are to be found two important Sanskrit inscriptions. One of them runs thus: (2)

1. When king Gunabhara placed a stone figure in the wonderful stone-temple on the top of the best of mountains, he made in this way Sthanu (Siva) stationary and became himself stationary (immortal) in the worlds together with him.
2. King Satrumalla built on this mountain a temple of Girisa (Siva) the husband of the daughter of the king of mountains, in order to make the name Girisa (the mountain-dweller) true to its meaning.
3. After Hara (Siva) had graciously asked him: 'How could I, standing in a temple on earth, view the great power of the Cholas or the river Kaveri?'—king Gunabhara, who resembled Manu in his manner of ruling, assigned to him this mountain-temple, which touches the clouds.
4. Thus having joyfully placed on the top (of the mountain) a matchless stone figure of Hara (Siva), which he caused to be executed, that Purushottama, who bore Siva fixed in his mind, made the loftiness of the mountain fruitful.

(1) Trichinopoly Tq. and Dt. For a description of the cave and for a plan of it and an illustration of the sculpture, see A. H. Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture*, (*ASI. Memoir 17*), i. 13-5, and frontispiece and plan I.

(2) *SI.*, i. 30-1.

On the other pillar are found four verses which are equally interesting :—(I)

1. Being afraid, that the god who is fond of rivers (Siva), having perceived the Kaveri, whose waters please the eye, who wears a garland of gardens, and who possesses lovely qualities, might fall in love (with her), the daughter of the mountain (Parvati) has, I think, left her father's family and resides permanently on this mountain calling this river the beloved of the Pallava (king).
2. While the king called Gunabhara is worshipper of the *linga*, let the knowledge, which has turned back from hostile (*vipaksha*) conduct, be spread for a long time in the world by this *linga*!
3. This mountain resembles the diadem of the Chola province, this temple of Hara (Siva) its chief jewel, and the splendour of Sankara (Siva) its splendour.
4. By the stone chisel a material body of Satyasandha was executed, and by the same an eternal body of his fame was produced.

It is well known that the titles Gunabhara, Satrumalla and Satyasandha are among those borne by the Pallava king, Mahendravarman I, and it is well ascertained that this rock-cut temple itself was only one of the many similar temples which that king, true to his other title, *Vichitra-chitta*, 'the curious minded,' (2) set the fashion of constructing in south India. (3) Eliminating all the imagery of the verses of these inscriptions and discarding the quaint conceits which the poet delights in elaborating, we may interpret the verses to mean that Mahendravarman installed a stone-image of Siva in the temple and achieved immortality for himself by placing in it a statue in his own image. Neither the sanctuary nor the cave-hall contains at present any figure which could be taken for a likeness of a king. A panel representing Siva as Gangadhara is found

(1) *SI.*, i. 28-30.

(2) *EI.*, xvii. 14-7.

(3) Dr. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *PA.*, i. 39-40.



6
A Royal Couple on either side of Siva

carved on the wall opposite the shrine but this cannot be the image of Siva mentioned in the verses, for it is not in the sanctuary. The likeness of the king, and the Siva image, in the form of a *linga*, which are spoken of in the verses, would therefore seem to have both disappeared. In the sanctuary we find two socket-holes, one larger than the other, cut into the floor,—the larger being in the centre of the sanctuary and the smaller being on one side of it; these two sockets may represent the positions of the two principal images of the shrine. Further, both the sockets being a few feet from the walls of the sanctuary, we may be sure that the two images were not mere reliefs but were statues fully in the round. The larger socket-hole represents naturally the location of the *linga*. We cannot be sure if in the smaller socket-hole was planted a figure of Parvati, of which the second inscription speaks, or the figure of the king himself of which mention is made in both the inscriptions. In another cave temple, constructed by this same king, we have as will be noticed presently, a relief of him carved on one side of the entrance of the sanctuary, and in other rock-cut temples constructed by his successors the fashion was followed of carving in them reliefs of the king who constructed them. We may naturally expect that in the Trichinopoly cave-temple the figure of the king was carved in relief, but no trace of even a decayed or mutilated piece of sculpture is to be discerned anywhere in the cave or in the sanctuary. In these circumstances we might perhaps have some justification for assuming that the figure which stood beside Siva in the sanctuary was that of Mahendravarman himself, and not of Parvati. If this conjecture is sound, we have to admit that the figure must have been a piece of detached sculpture carved quite in the round.

Whether a statue in the round or a mere relief, the figure is lost and we cannot now judge of the lineaments of the king. The inscriptions are positive that the king's likeness was set up during his own life-time and the chances are, therefore, that it was carved by one who had abundant opportunities of observing the king's features. This statue

or relief, whichever it was, not only furnishes the earliest known example in south India of the builder of a temple setting up in it a likeness of himself,—if we exclude the figures at Amaravati,—but also shows that a builder of a temple was not obliged to instal in it a full gallery of his family. The second verse of the latter of the two inscriptions is interpreted,—it is a highly probable, an almost indisputable, interpretation,—as indicating the conversion of the king to Saivism by Tiru-Navukku-Arasu, one of the great protagonists and hymnlists of the Tamil school of Saivism.⁽¹⁾ It is a thousand pities that it did not strike this great king who prayed that 'the knowledge which had turned from hostile conduct' should 'be spared for a long time in this world', that the features of him who had imparted that 'knowledge' to him should, also be similarly 'spared.' It is a great loss that he did not have a statue of his *Guru* set up, in addition to his own, in this temple where it is that he glories in having turned from the paths of 'hostile conduct', for, then, we might have had at least one authentic and contemporary portrait of that great saint instead of the purely conventional images of him for which room is found in every Siva temple of the Tamil country.

Two groups of reliefs, in the northern and the southern niches respectively of the Adi-Varaha cave-temple at Mahabalipuram,⁽²⁾ are of very great interest. In the former niche are carved, in rather high relief, the seated figure of a king and, on either side of him, the standing figure of a queen facing him. [Fig. 3] Over the portal of the niche is engraved a name, *Sri Simhavinna-Pottrathirajan*. In the other niche are found three figures, the first of whom, a king, leads by the hand a queen behind him who is followed by another queen [Fig. 4]. Over this niche too is found an inscription giving the name, *Sri Mahendra-Pottrathirajan*. The two groups face each other.⁽³⁾

(1) *EL*, iii. 227.

(2) Chingleput Tq. and Dt.

(3) See *MER*, 1923 : 24 : 2, and H. Krishna-Sastri, *Two Statues of Pallava Kings* (*ASL. Memoir* 26).

The inscriptions do not indeed say explicitly that they refer to the reliefs, but they are purposeless if they had not been intended to serve as labels to the figures. From a study of the caves at Mahabalipuram and other similar structures the conclusions have been drawn that 'the caves and the *rathas* of Mahabalipuram were cut in the rock during the reign of Narasimhavarman I (625-50 A.D.) and that they were finished and consecrated during the reign of Paramesvaravarman I (about 675 A.D.)' (1). The Narasimhavarman I spoken of here being the son of Mahendravarman I, the builder of the Trichinopoly temple, we have to ask ourselves if in the relief of the standing figure of the Adi-Varaha temple at Mahabalipuram we behold the features of the king whose statue in the Trichinopoly temple has unfortunately been lost. A relievo should be no unwelcome substitute for a totally missing statue. Who the kings in these niches are will be discussed in another context.

The technique of these sculptures shows that the ability of the sculptor to reproduce the pose of the subject was not quite on a par with his skill in making the features quite expressive. He has not had cunning enough to help Simhavishnu's queens to carry themselves with grace and naturalness nor has he learnt the art of inducing them to feel that their hands are not excrescences. In studying these figures we cannot but feel that we are still in the very early days of the art which in a few decades was to burst in full bloom over every face and in every crevice of the rocks that nature's hand has strewn at Mahabalipuram.

Simhavishnu is shown seated on a tripod, which is perhaps a substitute for a throne, and his right hand is in the *Chin-mudra*, quite in consonance with the serenity of his expression. In the other panel, Mahendravarman is shown going to the sanctuary: devoutly he points to it with his right-forefinger and with his left hand he gently leads a queen towards the shrine and she is followed by another who, we may fancy, is much younger. The treatment

(1) Dr. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *PA*, i. 64.

of the figures in this panel, especially of the queens, shows a slight improvement over that of the figures in the other panel.

The numerous sculptures at Mahabalipuram contain many other figures which were doubtless intended for portraits.

On the outer face of the famous monolithic temple called the Dharma-raja *ratha* are carved a number of figures with inscriptions above them,—all of which are the *birudas* or titles of the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I (625-650 A.D.) (1)—son of Mahendravarman I. Below one of these inscriptions is an alto-relief [Fig. 5] which, if we may base a conjecture upon the titles blazoned above and around, might be a representation of this king Narasimhavarman I.

In one of the panels on the southern wall of the Arjuna-ratha we have two reliefs which cannot but be representations of the king who constructed the ratha and of his queen. [Fig. 6.] This group follows the *motif* of the group of Mahendravarman and his queens in the Adi-Varaha temple, but an unmistakable improvement in posing has taken place. The grace of the carriage of the figures is as great as that of any of the figures pictured at Mahabalipuram. The suggestion that these may represent king Paramesvaravarman I (c. 675 A.D.) and his queen (2) is not unacceptable.

In another of the *rathas* a king stands in one panel [Fig. 7] looking at two ladies in the next panel, one of whom is a queen [Fig. 8]. The posing has improved greatly, the arms and the hands are no longer inconvenient out-growths and the expression shows that the artist has striven to obtain fidelity to life: indeed the execution is very happy. We have unfortunately no means of deciding with certainty whom these figures portray.

A thin coat of lime and paint being traceable on the reliefs of Simhavishnu and Mahendravarman, we may assume that taking advantage of the figures having been carved in the interior of a temple beyond the reach of

On three of the four outer faces of the Arjuna *ratha* are carved a number of reliefs, some of which must be royal groups. They follow the *motif* of the group of Mahendravarman and his queens in the Adi-Varaha temple. On the southern face are two royal groups, one on either side of a representation of Siva [Fig. 6]. The grace of the carriage of the figures is almost as great as that of any of the figures pictured at Mahabalipuram. In a panel on the northern face is a royal group which might be taken to represent king Paramesvaravarman I (c. 675 A. D.) and his queen (2) were it not that the number of royal groups in this *ratha*, the absence of labels and our ignorance of the exact age of the structure make it very risky to venture on an identification. On the eastern face of the same *ratha*, a figure which looks almost indubitably that of a king stands gazing at two ladies in the next panel, both of whom appear to be queens [Fig. 7]. The posing has improved greatly, the arms

For lines 15-27 on this page, please substitute the above.
Plates for figures 3 and 8 will be included in the next issue.

(1) *EL.*, x. 5.

(2) O. C. Gangoly, in *Modern Review*, 1911 Jan., 11.



7
A Royal Group

sun and rain the sculptors had them painted over, while they did not attempt to embellish similarly the other portraits which are carved on walls exposed to the elements.

Round the central shrine of the Vaikunta-perumal temple at Conjeevaram (1) runs a raised verandah the walls of which bear two belts of panels of bas-reliefs, with spaces below for labels. Only some of the spaces have been filled in with labels explanatory of the pictures and even these are not quite intelligible in the present state of our knowledge of Pallava history, (2) but the panels and the labels seem to 'represent the whole history of the Pallavas in pictures.' (3) The temple was built by Paramesvaravarman I (c. 675 A.D.) and finished by Nandivarman-Pallava-malla (c. 742 A.D.) (4) but we do not know if these kings contented themselves with picturing the pauranic history of the dynasty which is set out in some detail in its inscriptions or whether they sought in these panels to bring the history down to their own times. We seem, however, to have in some of the panels and the subjoined labels an attempt to delineate and describe the incidents which led to the succession of Nandivarman-pallava-malla on the death of Paramesvaravarman II. These panels have not been studied adequately for want of full knowledge of the life and events of those days and we cannot therefore decide if we have any portraits in them.

In the architectural works of the Pallavas we often come across carved panels of human figures some of which at least, though now taken to represent *dvara-palakas* or gate-keepers, could perhaps more appropriately be identified as portrait sculptures of the builders of the temples. In the rock-cut cave-temple of Kunnandarkoyil (5) stands, for instance, a relief [Fig. 9] which is very probably a portrait of a Pallava:

(1) Conjeevaram Tq., Chingleput Dt.

(2) For illustrations of the panels, see A. Res; *Pallava Architecture*, pl. 88-92; for the inscriptions, see *SII. T.*, iv. 138, and for discussions, see *MER.*, 1906: 62-3: 2, and Dr. G. Jouvean-Dubreuil, *PA.*, i. 69-71.

(3) Dr. G. Jouvean-Dubreuil, *PA.*, i. 69.

(4) K. V. Subrahmanya-Aiyar in *EL.*, xviii. 117, and H. Krishna-Sastri *Two Statues of Pallava Kings (ASI. Memoir 26)*, 8-9.

(5) Pudukkotta State.

the prominence given to it, the care bestowed on it and its marked individuality suggest that the sculptor had chosen a Pallava chieftain for his subject.

We have ample ground for the belief that a careful study of Pallava art and history may reveal more statues of the kings of the Pallava dynasty. Pallava art would still seem to be a field full of promise to investigators.

The Renaissance in Andhra

BY K. RAMAKOTISWARA RAO, B.A., B.L.

I

BEFORE THE DAWN

It has been claimed for the Andhras that they are among the least Anglicised of the Indian peoples; that despite their long contact with the West, they have never permitted themselves to be weaned away from their predominant love of the mother-tongue; that they have thus been enabled to take a leading part in the vernacular movement of to-day.

This claim is in the main justified by facts. But while English never quite replaced the mother-tongue as the medium of social intercourse and of political propaganda, it nevertheless influenced powerfully the growth of Telugu literature in the last century. The greater number of our university men have, no doubt, looked upon the acquisition of English as a passport to government service and as a means of establishing commercial relations with foreign countries. But there were a few choice spirits, who drank deep at the fountains of English literature. They were inevitably dazzled by the splendour and the variety of the treasures laid bare to their view. They compared them with their own, much to the disadvantage of the latter. They were impressed by the almost total absence in Telugu of a great prose literature and the singular lack of variety in its literary forms.

The epic and the *Prabandha* (verse-tale) were the two chief forms of literary expression then current. The drama was non-existent, for, the crude variety known as *Veedhi Nataka* (street-drama) was despised by the cultured as being meant for the 'common herd' and as unfit to be reckoned as 'high-class poetry'. The lyric and the elegy as

distinct types of literary expression, were unknown. We say 'distinct' because the epics as well as the *Prabandhas* contained many passages of lyric charm and infinite pathos. The novel, biography, literary criticism, and history were yet to be born. These could come only with the growth of a prose literature. The *Danda Kavilelu* (local annals) that were extant were mere dry chronicles of fact and could not be classed as history in its nobler signification. Ballads and folk-songs of rare beauty abounded all over the land, and served to inspire and to enliven the hearers but these, like the street-dramas, were relegated to an inferior position. Even in our own day, they are but slowly winning their way to recognition in defiance of the self-appointed arbiters of literature.

The influence of English literature was the outstanding feature of this period. English was the touchstone of literary expression, and every production, ancient or modern, was adjudged meritorious or otherwise according as it did or did not conform to English standards. It was an age of national depression when even the noblest among us were content to be told that ours was an inferior civilization, and that the only hope of advancement, social, political or economic, lay in a conscious imitation of the West. This tendency was not less pronounced in the literary sphere. The subordinate position assigned to the mother-tongue at every stage of school and collegiate education served but to deepen this impression.

But the contact with a new culture had the wholesome effect of inducing some of the more ardent scholars in the last generation to study the Telugu classics with greater insight, and to preserve from decay the priceless treasures of the past. Eminent scholars like the late Rao Bahadur K. Viresalingam Pantulu and Vedam Venkataraya Sastri set themselves to the truly Herculean task of unearthing a vast number of old poems, and printing them for the first time. The great epics were also edited with great care, after collation of different manuscripts, and made available to the public. Earlier than these scholars, Mr. C. P. Brown, of the

Civil Service, had endeared himself to the Telugus by editing the classic poems with the help of learned Pandits. Vavilla Ramaswami Sastrulu of Madras and the proprietors of the 'Ananda Press' had led the way in high-class publication work. The period from 1840 to 1900 was marked by the unceasing activity of a band of scholars, who, in addition to original productions of great value, helped to conserve all that was best in Telugu literature, and brought it within the reach of an ever-growing circle of readers.

Contemporaneous with this phase of literary activity, was that of the inheritors of the old classic tradition, who continued to write *Prabandhas* in the old style and to translate the epics anew from the Sanskrit. The *Gopinatha Ramayanam* was composed in the middle of the last century under the patronage of the Rajas of Venkatagiri; Mandapaka Parvateeswara Kavi, Madabhushi Venkatacharyulu, Tirupati Venkata Kavulu and a number of lesser lights kept alive the flame of classic poetry. In recent years, the Sanskrit *Ramayana* has been translated for the tenth or eleventh time into Telugu by Vavilakolnu Subba Rao, and the *Mahabharata* by Sripada Krishnamurti Sastri. These two poets set about their task with the avowed object of translating the Sanskrit epics 'literally' into the vernacular and not adapting them as their forerunners had done.

In the succeeding sections, an attempt will be made to indicate the main lines of literary advance during the period, and to appraise the literary value of the more important productions in prose and verse.

II

Telugu literature, like the literature of every land, has flourished on royal patronage. The ages of cultured Emperors like Raja Raja Chalukya and Krishna Deva Raya have been the ages of the greatest literary activity. With the break up of the Vijayanagar Empire, a number of principalities came into existence, owing nominal allegiance to the Sultans of Golconda or the Nawabs of the Carnatic, but enjoying complete autonomy for all practical purposes. The chieftains of this period built magnificent forts, maintained huge establish-

ments, and delighted to surround themselves with poets and scholars of repute. According to traditional Hindu ideas, the acceptance of a *kanya* by dedication was one of the *Saptasantanams* (seven kinds of offspring) mentioned in the *Sastras*.

For over two centuries, therefore, the growth of Telugu literature was conditioned by the tastes and inclinations of a powerful class of noblemen, and, the poets, if they were to keep themselves above want, had to submit to the prevailing taste. The more famous among them wandered from court to court and received valuable presents by exhibitions of their poetic talents and learning. But the usual course for a poet was to attach himself to some chieftain or land-owner, write a *kavya* on the model of the *Manucharitra* or the *vasucharitra* and dedicate it to his patron. The free play of intellect and emotion, so marked in the literary coterie of the Imperial Court of Krishna Deva Raya at Vijayanagar was lacking in the petty courts of these chieftains. Every poet, great or small, endeavoured to create a *Prabandha* out of some Puranic story and fill it in with the conventional *varnanas* (descriptions) of sun-rise and moon-rise, of the love-lorn maiden's invocation to the God of Love (*Manmadha*) and his maternal uncle, the Moon; of pitched battles of opposing hosts, and of the more tender warfare of love.

Peddana, the poet-laureate of Krishna Deva Raya had broken away from the tradition of translating the Puranas, and set himself to the creation of a new form of literary expression, the *Prabandha*. But what with a poet of consummate genius like Peddana was the means of producing the loftiest poetry, soon became in the hands of less gifted imitators, a tiresome and soulless jargon. This is not to discount the value of some of the great *Prabandhas* that followed the *Manucharitra* like the *Parijathapaharanam* of Timma Kavi, or the *Prabhavati Pradyumna* and *Kala Purnodaya* of Suranarya, or the *Vijaya Vilasam* of Venkata Kavi. These are among the immortal classics of the language. But a tiresome repetition of themes and des-

criptions, an inordinate fondness for *slesha* (or *double-entendre*) and for flamboyant diction, soon resulted in a dead-level of mediocrity in poetic expression. The style of several of the *Prabandhas* of this period is comparable with that of the 'metaphysical poets' of England. The language was often smooth-flowing and the versification delightful, but somehow, the soul had fled.

The poetry of this period serves to illustrate the truth, that no great literature can be produced except in a period of great upheaval,—political, social or religious. In the days of Krishna Deva Raya and for a generation afterwards, the Telugus were witnesses—yea partakers—of glorious deeds. It was a period of unprecedented activity in all spheres of human endeavour, when men's souls were stirred to their depths. But the succeeding period, up to the time of contact with a completely new civilization—the British—was one of stagnation, of indulgence in pleasure—confined to the wealthy and powerful chieftains—of imitation rather than creation. The last gleams of Andhra valour and romance shone on Bobbili, and naturally enough, the bravery of Rangarao and his illustrious band of Velama heroes, and the joyous self-immolation of Rani Mallamma Devi and her women, formed the subject-matter of soulstirring ballads and of a historical poem—the *Rangarayacharitra* of Narayana Kavi. It is remarkable that even this last mentioned poem was composed under the patronage of the Velama Zamindar of Narsaraopet.

This long digression has become necessary in order to indicate the conditions under which the greater portion of the literature immediately prior to the modern era was produced. It was frankly an age of patronage by noblemen. The poetry was marked by an oppressive prominence given to the erotic sentiment. It was marked, too, by a studied adherence to conventional modes of expression. There was little variety either in theme or in treatment. The poets merely conformed to the prevailing taste of their patrons, the noblemen, some of whom were themselves scholars and poets.

The common people would gladly congregate at the

village temple and listen with real delight and devotion to the recitation of the Telugu *Puranas*. They thus acquired the culture of the past, even without being literate. They were not yet able to make their influence felt on the growth of literature. The poets, most of them poor Brahmanas, could not depend upon the patronage of a large reading public for the appreciation and sale of their productions.

Conditions have slowly changed during the last century, and the transition from princely to public patronage is now in progress. It would not be too much to say that even in our own day, much high-class poetry could not have been produced, but for the generous help of noblemen like Sri Ananda Gajapathi of Vizianagaram, and the Rajas of Pithapuram, Polavaram, Munagala and Venkatagiri. Others, not so highly-placed, have also supported literary men and made their path in life less wearisome and rugged than it would otherwise have been. But at the same time, the standard is no longer exclusively set by a small group of individuals, however cultured or wealthy, but by an ever-widening public, which, if it cannot seek out and reward the obscure genius, has yet the ability to encourage literary men of approved merit.

The earlier careers of literary men are still strewn with thorns, but after a certain period of suffering and struggle, a talented writer may look to the general public for support, and he need not, unless he chooses to, attach himself to any patron. The careers of Viresalingam, Vaddadi Subbaraya Kavi, Venkataraya Sastri, Vavilakolanu Subba Rao, Chilakamarti Lakshminarasimham, and to some extent, those of Tirupati Venkata Kavulu and P. Lakshmi Narasimha Rao, afford ample proof of our contention. The opening of a number of High Schools and Colleges has made it possible for some of these distinguished scholars to be entertained as teachers, though their salary has never been sufficient for the bare necessities of life. The Text-Book Committee has also come to the rescue of struggling authors, and enabled them to continue their services to literature, by recommending some of their writings as text-books. We are conscious of the fact that this

last species of patronage has, in some instances, been grossly abused, but in the main, it has helped to keep up the drooping spirits of our literary men.

Thus, while the age of aristocratic patronage has not yet come to an end—indeed it will continue so long as rich men have a cultivated taste—it may be safely asserted that we are in the middle of the period of transition from princely to public patronage.

III

The late K. Viresalingam Pantulu was the most forceful personality in the Andhra country during the last generation. Reformer, philanthropist, and scholar, he left the impress of his intellect and energy on many spheres of Andhra activity. But we are concerned more especially with his career as a man of letters, and his achievement in other directions will be pertinent only in so far as it influenced his outlook and writings.

He has been called the 'Tikkana of Telugu Prose.' This implies that he is as great in prose as Tikkana is in verse, wielding his instrument with the freedom, spontaneity, and vigour, that is so characteristic of Tikkana's verse, as seen in his translation of the last fourteen *Parvas* of the *Mahabharata*. This then is Viresalingam's title to greatness—that he forged a new weapon and wielded it with consummate skill. There was Telugu prose before Viresalingam, but it was either the highly Sanskritised poetic-prose interspersed in the *Puranas* and *Prabandhas*, or the prose of the popular tales commonly deemed to have no pretensions to literary grace. Chin-nayya Suri, who is sometimes reckoned as the first great writer of Telugu prose in the 19th century, was not in touch with the living language of the modern era. The Telugu of his *Neethi Chandrika*, though possessing some charm, is archaic and highly reminiscent of the prose of the *Prabandhas*. His main object in writing it was that it should serve to illustrate his Telugu Grammar. The prose style of Viresalingam, on the other hand, approached considerably the spoken language of the cultured classes. He had no great prose literature before him to guide him in his

new venture, and sometimes the construction of sentences and the very modes of expression appear to have been borrowed from English. But this was inevitable in a first great experiment, and every one will admit that for simplicity and ease his Telugu is unequalled.

Early in his literary career, Viresalingam wrote some excellent Telugu verse and even composed a *Prabandha*, the *Rasikajana Manoranjanam*. As a rebel against the decadent classicism of the 18th century, he showed a marked preference for 'pure' Telugu verse—free from the admixture of Sanskrit. He achieved great distinction as a writer of such verse. His translations of Sanskrit dramas, notably *Sakuntala* contain exquisite verse, but as we have indicated, his title to greatness rests more on his prose than on his verse.

In his battles against a hide-bound orthodoxy, he found his new weapon of incalculable service. He deemed it necessary to rally to his cause all the thinking elements of the Andhra nation, and not merely the pandits with Sanskrit learning, or the English-educated classes. He elaborated his arguments for Hindu social reform in a series of essays and lectures couched in simple, telling prose, calculated to appeal to the intelligence and to captivate the heart of the Telugu public. But he did not trust solely to his theses. He made effective use of lighter forms of literature—the farce and the fable—to drive home his views on social questions. And in these the language was simpler than that of the essays, and easily comprehended by the illiterate among his compatriots. He sought to bring about a radical reform of social abuses by his biting sarcasm and open ridicule. No social institution, no popular religious belief, was too sacred to escape his iconoclastic zeal. He found little to love and cherish in contemporary Hindu life in Andhra Desa, and anyone reading through his volumes would carry away the impression that Telugu society in the eighties of the last century was a veritable cesspool of stagnation, or a miserable den of horrors. To him was not vouchsafed the gift of sympathetic portraiture

of contemporary life, which we love to associate with Chilakamarti Lakshmi Narasimham, the author of *Ramachandra Vijayam*, or the ability to effect a silent reform by gentle raillery, which is so prominent a feature of the writings of P. Lakshmi Narasimha Rao. Viresalingam was so much of a puritan that he refused to see the picturesque or the delicate grace of contemporary Telugu life. His vision was intense, but it was narrow. Like Martin Luther, he destroyed something that was beautiful along with much that was ugly. But who can blame the fiery reformer and noble philanthropist, who carried on a valiant fight for social justice, and whose predominant trait was a burning sense of social wrong? His was an uphill task, and circumstanced as he was, he felt that sledge-hammer blows were more effective than 'sweet reasonableness'. He was essentially a fighter, and he gave and received hard blows. But the causes which he championed have gained general acceptance, and if to-day, we no longer hold up our hands in pious horror at the thought of the re-marriage of virgin widows, nor treat the question of women's education as open to debate, nor openly support the institution of *Devadasis*, the credit must be given to the self-less labours of that heroic soul.

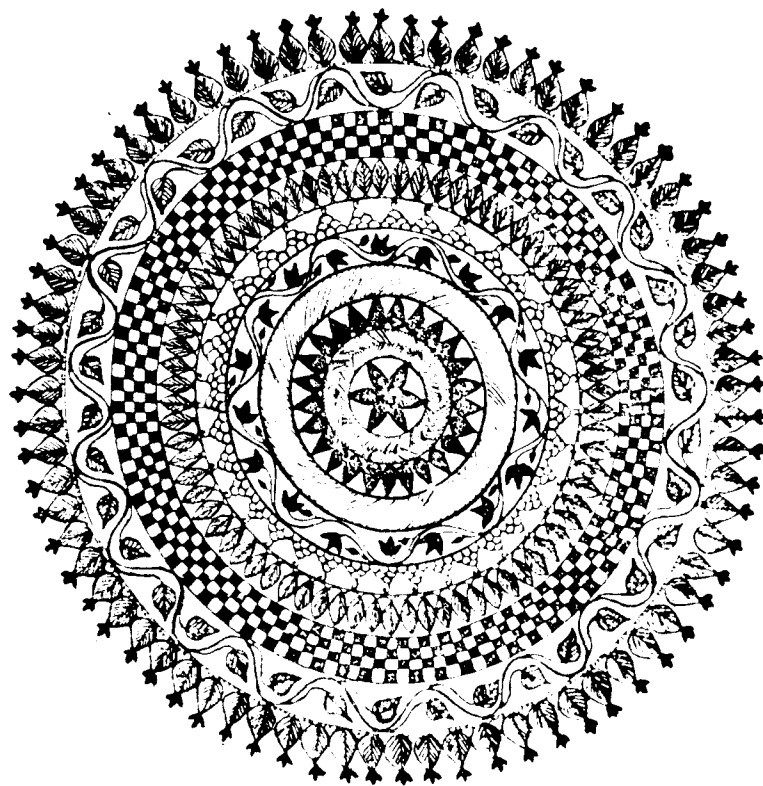
Being a very diligent student of English literature, Viresalingam set himself to enrich his mother-tongue with new and varied forms of literary expression. He was a pioneer in literary biography and criticism, in the drama and the novel, in scientific and political essays, in popular literature for women and children, in vernacular journalism and pamphleteering. He was a most copious writer, and for full twenty years, the Telugu country was flooded by his writings in prose and verse. He was the first among the writers that commanded an extensive sale for their publications and thus were placed above the necessity of pandering to the tastes of aristocratic patrons.

Rajasekhara Charitra, his novel of Telugu social life, was modelled on Goldsmith's, *The Vicar*, but he owed to Goldsmith little more than the bare conception—a simple-

mindful and devout householder, well-nigh overwhelmed by misfortunes, and in the end getting clear of them all by virtue of his innate goodness. It is the first, even as it is indisputably the best, social novel in the language. One sometimes regrets that later writers, with a few notable exceptions, should have neglected contemporary life, and gone a-begging for their themes to distant Rajaputana, or contented themselves with translating Bengali novels of doubtful merit into a Telugu style, which is a crude mixture of Bengali, Sanskrit, and Telugu. The freshness and the charm that Viresalingam's social novels possess, seem to be memories of a by-gone age.

Viresalingam's contribution to literary criticism and biography consisted of his *Lives of the Telugu Poets*. The work was the outcome of patient research spread over a number of years. He was at great pains to collect palmyra manuscripts from all quarters, and to publish the more important of them with brief literary notices. It is sometimes urged that his *Lives of the Poets* is a mere collection of biographical sketches, with precious little of real literary criticism. But Viresalingam was anxious to prepare the ground for future workers in the field, and he devoted his attention to determining the date, habitation, and incidents in the careers of literary men, and preparing a frame-work of Telugu literary history. This is an essential, though by no means the higher, function of literary criticism, and later writers have expressed their thankfulness to Viresalingam's pioneer work, even where they differed from his conclusions. The *Lives of the Poets*, has created an abiding love for Telugu literature in the hearts of the Andhras.

He translated Kalidasa's *Sakuntala*, Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* and a few other plays into Telugu. He also wrote a number of original Telugu dramas, the most popular of them being *Harischandra*. But his talents as a dramatist found free-play in his longer farces—the *Brhamha Vivaha* and *Vyavahara Dharma Bodhini*. In the former, he holds up to ridicule the pernicious custom of marrying young girls to old men for the sake of the latter's wealth.



An Orissan Kolam

The latter is a tirade on the evil practices obtaining in the law-courts. He was always at his best in showing up the corruption rampant in public and private life. He was a terror to evil-doers and bribe-takers. People in and about Rajamahendravaram are able to identify the more important of the characters in his farces, but even apart from such indentifications, his productions have a perennial interest, because they caricature Telugu society in an epoch of transition, and we love them even though we may not be privileged to know in actual life the persons whom he has immortalised.

We do not propose to weary the reader with a narration of all that he did to enrich Telugu literature by coining a scientific terminology, and by making scientific knowledge available in easy popular Telugu. Enough has been said to make it clear that, as in social reform, so in literary expression, Viresalingam was a poineer. The present generation of Andhras has been fed upon the ideas which he struggled to make popular. We think his thoughts, we dream his dreams, and even without being conscious of it, we employ the turns of phrase and the literary expressions that were his. He was not a gifted poet ; he was not a great dramatist; he was lacking in imagination and in breadth of vision. But by sheer force of personality, by an ardent love for the mother-tongue and a desire to modernise and enrich it with all that was noble in the culture of the West, and above all, by the exquisite charm of a new prose style which he turned to a variety of purposes (the last of them being his autobiography), he stands out as the greatest literateur of the nineteenth century in Andhra Desa. No memorial has been raised to him, but we might say that with him, even as with the great architect of St. Paul's, you have only to 'look round,' and modern Andhra Desa is his memorial.

Folk-Art in India

BY JAMES H. COUSINS, D. LITT.

One of the most pleasing and distinctive features of the life of the people of India is the domestic art that is called to the service of religious devotion and of family needs, such as seasonal ceremonials, which, though predominantly social, are never quite removed from the religious influence.

Walking along a street in the Indian residential quarters of a city or in any Indian town or village, the eye is challenged by figures of a geometrical kind in white lines in front of a doorway, and by coloured designs on the doorposts. Some Indian housewife has set out the lure of beauty for celestial feet. Lakshmi Devi, who radiates good fortune, will pass that way (once a week, perhaps, as a matter of routine, and at festive times in state), and must not fail of an invitation to enter the swept and garnished home.

This very beautiful association of religion and art is observed by the open-eyed traveller to prevail in all parts of India; and an attentive examination of the designs will show that, while their purpose and general effect are everywhere the same, there are most interesting variations in the character of the designs, from the interlaced lines of the *kolam* of Madras to the fluid masses of *alpana* in Bengal. A collection of these from the different areas of India would provide materials for not only a delightful study of folk-art but also of the diversity of ways in which racial and temperamental varieties express themselves.

It is held by students of the culture of India that this domestic art is the lineal descendant of the wall-paintings of the era whose influence in art spread far beyond its northernmost extant remnant at Bagh in Gwalior State and its southernmost remnant recently discovered at Sittanawasal

FOLK-ART IN INDIA

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in Madras Presidency. The great classical mural art of the sixth and preceding centuries of our era, of which these and the gallery at Ajanta in Hyderabad State are the remainders, was not confined to sacred places. From palace to cottage there was, in varying degree of mastery and elaborateness, the æsthetical accompaniment to religious devotion.

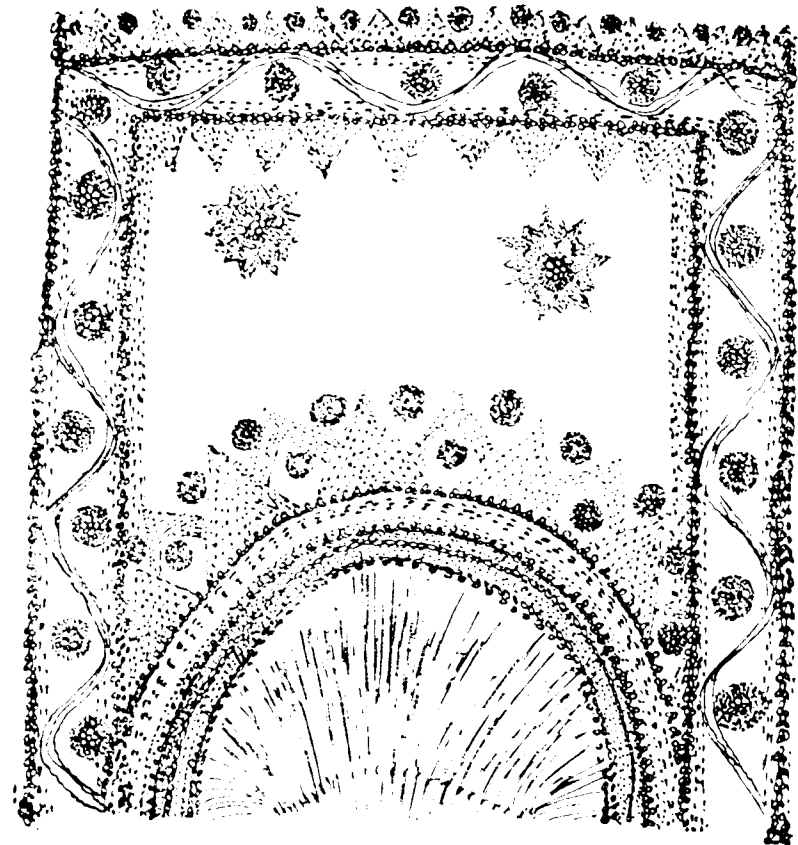
The subsequent disappearance of Buddhism, the emergence of modern Hinduism with its emphasis on sculpture, invasions from western Asia, and social changes, affected the art of painting. The great centres of artistic influence ultimately broke up. Artists, turning to other means of livelihood, transmitted their ancient skill with attenuated power; and at last the creative desire that had painted the wonderful ceilings of the excavated temples to stand for fifteen centuries, found itself on the floor tracing designs in rice powder for the purposes of a day and a night.

Another change had taken place. Although in Indian tradition the origination of portraiture is attributed, according to one account, to Brahma the Creator, according to another to a woman, it is taken for granted that the artists of India were chiefly men. But the folk-art of to-day is entirely in the hands of the Indian women, and no one can say with certainty when or where the transfer took place. There are certain elements in human culture, such as metaphysical conceptions of the nature of the universe and humanity, which may well have arisen independently in a number of places; but the universality and affinity of this art in Indian home-life would suggest a central impulse and sanction at a time sufficiently far back to allow of the spread of the art to its present area. The problem is a nice one for scholars and lovers of art.

An article on the *kolam* of south India in the *Madras Mail Annual* of 1925 gave an excellent idea of that particular variation. The two examples of the same art here given are from Orissa. Some *alpanas*, with their massiveness and energy, make an interesting comparison with the thinner and more geometrically linear art of the South. There is a difference

TRIVENI

also in their technique. In Madras the *kolam* is laid down with rice powder run through the fingers of the lady artists with rhythmical sweeps of the arm. A few points mark out the area of the design that is to be used, but the laying down is spontaneous and without mechanical assistance. There is the same spontaneity in Bengal, but in the heavier designs the powder is wet and laid on with the fingers. The design is adapted to the available space on wall or floor, and to the position of the ceremonial centre-point. Its details reflect the occasion—a festival of Lakshmi when foot-prints in the design suggest her approach to the dwelling; a harvest thanksgiving, when growing paddy and garnered rice are the basis of the design; a rain festival, when the queen of water-plants, the lotus, appears. In many of the designs, probably in all, are seen some constants, such as scrolls based on conventionalised leaves and flowers on a serpentine stalk, which are regarded as the ancestral mark, since they are closely related to the same elements in the mural decorations of Ajanta and Bagh, and are traditionally inherent in the art, not superadded from recent interest in the classical background of Indian painting.



Another Orissan Kolam

Swaraj and Indian States

BY DEWAN BAHADUR M. RAMACHANDRA RAO

[The following is the full text of the Presidential address delivered by Mr. Ramachandra Rao at the Indian States Subjects Conference held at Bombay on the 17th and 18th December 1927. An advance copy of the address was very kindly placed at the disposal of the Editor and in view of the great importance of the question and the permanent value of the contribution we are publishing it *in extenso*.]

Gentlemen,

My first duty is to tender to you my sincerest thanks for the honor you have done me in inviting me to preside over your deliberations this year. Having had no intimate personal knowledge of the administration or the political conditions of the Indian States, I was at first inclined to decline your very kind invitation. I was however, informed that it has been your desire to invite a public man from British India to take the chair at this annual Conference of States subjects. I much appreciate the compliment. An occasion like this affords a fitting opportunity for an exchange of views on the many important questions of the day in which both of us are mutually interested. We live under two different administrative systems, but there are many problems common to us in which our mutual co-operation is needed. For many years, the people of the States and their leaders have taken the view that they are not much concerned with, or affected by, British Indian politics and policies, and I believe that similar considerations actuated the leaders of political thought and the various political organisations in British India in abstaining from interesting themselves in the problems and the general welfare of the people of the Indian States. This policy of 'live and let live' has greatly retarded the political education of the subjects of Indian States and the growth of their political institutions. In recent years, however, there has been a very healthy change and the dependence of the States and of British India on each other in the development of an All-India polity is now being more and more clearly recognised.

I take this opportunity therefore of acknowledging at the outset that the credit of bringing about this change and focussing public attention on the problems of the States belongs to all those responsible for the organisation of this and similar conferences and to all other public men in the States who have been patiently working for years for the political emancipation of the subjects of the States. As I said, there are at the present moment some very eminent public men in India who have taken the view that it is better to leave the Indian States alone to work out their salvation. I entirely differ from this view. At present the people of British India, it is true, have no constitutional right to interfere in the internal affairs of the Indian States, and similarly the subjects of Indian States have no right of interference in the affairs of British India. It is obvious, however, that in our struggle for national emancipation and for the development of India as a whole into a self-governing world-state, the people of British India and the Indian States have to act in concert till the goal is reached. It is unthinkable that the States can remain unaffected by any scheme of Swaraj for India as a whole. I am, therefore, glad that the subjects of the Indian States are making strenuous efforts to come into line with the national movement in British India for the attainment of Swaraj, and in your struggles for the development of your political institutions in the Indian states on a democratic basis you are entitled to such co-operation and assistance as we in British India can give you.

THE PROBLEM OF DEFENCE

The identity of Indian States with British India in all matters of general national welfare, and the necessity for co-operation with each other in the pursuit of a national policy, has been recently brought home in several ways to the people of British India and the Indian States. The events are so recent that they do not need any lengthy recapitulation. I may refer at the outset to the questions relating to the defence of India from external aggression and to the demand for the

nationalisation of the Indian Army. The glorious part played by the Indian troops including the State forces in all theatres in the late war is still fresh in our recollection. The willing co-operation of India in that great crisis and the gallantry of her soldiers received unstinted praise and admiration from all parts of the British Empire. Every country is now developing a new military system based upon the experience of the great war. No longer are wars settled between armies of professional soldiers, but the entire strength of the nations is thrown into the conflict. The wealth, the industries, and the manhood of the whole nation are called up, and citizens of whatever class or creed, and industry in every form, are being mobilised in every country. As admitted by eminent witnesses before the Indian Sandhurst Committee, India is gradually losing the somewhat isolated position it had occupied for the last two generations in the politics of Asia, and it will have to meet complications of a different character than the purely frontier disturbances with which it has been familiar of late years. The implications of the change in the position are too well-known to need further elucidation. The creation of a national army in India officered by Indians, the reduction of the British garrison and its eventual abolition, and the reconstruction of the whole military system from the stand-point of nationalist India, have occupied public attention since the war. A self-governing India within the British Empire necessarily involves a vital change in the present policy of the emasculation of the people. This matter has formed the subject of acute controversy for some years in the Central Legislature of India and you are familiar with all aspects of the problem.

THE INDIAN SANDHURST COMMITTEE

The Indian Sandhurst Committee which was appointed three years ago, and of which I had the honor to be a member, had to consider the whole question of the training facilities for Indian Army officers in this country and other cognate questions. In that connection, we had necessarily to consider the position of the Indian States, and represen-

tatives of many of the important States came up before the Committee and stated their requirements for the training of officers. The Committee came to the unanimous opinion that the participation of the Indian States in an Indian Sandhurst would be an advantage to India as a whole, as tending to increase the efficiency of the State forces, and it accordingly recommended that a certain number of vacancies should be reserved for the Indian States at the Military College to be established in India, over and above the number of vacancies for the regular Indian army. The subjects of Indian States are already eligible for the King's commission and it is our recommendation that candidates from the States should be eligible for admission to the Indian Military College on the same terms as the residents of British India. The States are, therefore, as much interested as the people of British India in the establishment of the requisite institutions for military training in India and the nationalization of the Indian army.

In this state of things, can any responsible person say that the people of British India and the Indian States have no identity of interests and a common obligation for the defence of their Motherland? They are already held together by immemorial ties and by a fundamental unity of thought and culture, of race and civilisation, and they have the same social and economic problems. But apart from all these, a self-governing India, for which all of us are yearning, without an efficient national army trained under the same general system, co-ordinated and acting together under a single general command, is unthinkable, whether the troops are drawn from British India or the State forces. Some action in this direction has already been taken in the training of the Imperial Service Troops and the recommendations of the Sandhurst Committee, if carried out, would be a further step in consolidating and improving the efficiency of the State forces and the British Indian army and to promote that sense of unity so necessary for success.

FISCAL POLICY OF INDIA

Another group of subjects in which the interdependence of British India and the Indian States has recently occupied prominent public attention, relate to the currency, fiscal, and commercial policy of the Government of India. The results of the present policy, which has brought about a disastrous economic exploitation of the whole country, affect the Indian States as much as the people of British India. The Indian States are enclosed within the limits of the Indian customs circle, and they are closely concerned in the tariff policy of the Government of India, and their interests, both as consumers and as producers, are identical with those of the population of British India. The Indian Fiscal Commission dealt with the whole question of the tariff policy of India, and the discrimination to be exercised in the selection of industries for protection so as to make the inevitable burden on the community as light as is consistent with the due development of industries. The recommendations of the Commission were discussed a few years ago in an important debate in the Legislative Assembly, and the fiscal policy of India as now accepted has its inevitable reactions on the Indian States. You are familiar with all aspects of the problem and I need not refer to the subject in any detail. The incidence of taxation in the States is equally affected by the fiscal policy of the Government of India.

THE INDIAN STATES AND A CUSTOMS ZOLLARVEIN

The Indian Taxation Committee, which sat two or three years ago, also had occasion to deal with all phases of the same problem and the difficulties that have cropped up between the maritime Indian States and British India in regard to the imposition and collection of customs duties, and the preventive arrangements against smuggling, and the maintenance of internal lines. The committee expressed the opinion that many of the present difficulties could be surmounted, and suggested that in the circumstances of India a customs zollarvein between the

Indian States and British India would be an ideal arrangement. Such an arrangement, as you are aware, was come to between the various states in Germany before its unification in the middle of the last century. The loss of customs revenue at the British India ports on account of the action of some of the maritime States in Kathiawar has very recently attracted wide public attention in this country. The failure of the conference at Mount Abu between the representatives of the Indian States and the Government of India, and the re-imposition a short while ago by the Government of India of the customs cordon in the Kathiawar States, are the subjects of acute controversy at present. The action of the Government of India has raised constitutional issues of the greatest importance and has brought to the forefront the absolute necessity of a statutory constitutional tie between the States and British India. Be this as it may, my point is that unless the Government of India and the States find a satisfactory solution of the problem, they may cause a great deal of damage to each other. The many holes in the fiscal sieve can only be properly closed and sewn up by mutual co-operation between all the parties concerned. It is only by such co-operation that the agreement come to in 1917 between the States and the Government of India was carried out in practice, and without a common understanding between the States and the Government of India, it is impossible to give effect to an all-India tariff policy.

THE STATES AND THE OPIUM POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

The States Opium Conference held in May last, was another occasion where the States had to consider the present policy of the Government of India in an important branch of its administration. The controversies at the Geneva Conferences have already familiarised all of us with the general features of the problem and its humanitarian and international aspects, and it is not necessary for me to refer to it at any length. In order to fulfil their international obliga-

tions in the largest measure, the Government of India are now committed to a policy of reducing progressively the exports of opium from India so as to extinguish them altogether within a definite period, except as regards the export of opium for strictly medical purposes. This policy was accepted in the Central Legislature, but it is impossible to carry out this policy unless the States actively co-operated with the Government of India in the reduction of the large areas under poppy cultivation in the States and the substitution of other crops therefor. His Excellency the Viceroy explained the salient features of the problem and appealed to the representatives of the States for their hearty co-operation and assistance, without which he felt it was not possible to carry out the undertaking given by the Government of India to the League of Nations.

The acceptance by the States of the policy outlined by the Government of India and also the agreement between the representatives of the States and the Government of India for the appointment of a committee of investigation of the whole subject in which the States are to be represented, shows the very large measure of co-operation necessary between the States and British India in carrying out a common policy on behalf of India. This is the latest instance where the Government of India and the States have acted together in furtherance of a common policy, more or less in the same way as the constituent states in a federal constitution.

THE FEDERAL PRINCIPLE

I have invited your attention to these three matters as illustrations of the manner in which British India and the Indian States are already acting together in many matters involving broad questions of national policy and the way in which they are compelled to work together in many spheres of administration. The States and British Indian authorities are also co-operating with each other every day in matters relating to Revenue and Financial administration, and their co-operation in the administration of Police and Justice is a matter of daily occurrence. The range of matters in which

the States and British Indian Provinces are realizing their dependence on each other is daily increasing, and their dealings with each other have already established, by precedent and usage, a loose kind of tie and certain rights and obligations, though they are not defined by statute and crystallised in a written constitution common to both of them. In our relations with the outside world, India is regarded as a single unit and there is in our international relations no distinction between British India and the States. The disabilities suffered by Indians in the British Colonies and foreign lands extend to British Indian subjects as well as to the subjects of the States. In these circumstances, the exact position of the Indian States in an all-India polity has been the subject of serious thought for several years, and since the declaration of August 1917, it has been obvious to everybody that their incorporation in the body politic of India is no longer a matter for speculation for constitutional theorists, but that the subject has become a matter of immediate practical interest. Writing on the subject ten years ago, before the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, I expressed the opinion that "the States should be brought into touch with the ultimate facts of the political life in this country and that this can only be attained by a Federal Union in which the Indian States should be constituent partners sharing common obligations and rights along with British Indian Provinces." The authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report also gave an indication of their conception of the eventual future of India as "a sister-hood of States, self-Governing in all matters of purely local or provincial interest, in some cases corresponding to existing provinces, in others perhaps modified by the area according to the character and economic interests of the people." They proceeded to state that over this congeries of States would preside a Central Government increasingly representative and responsible to the people of all the States; dealing with matters both internal and external, of common interest to the whole of India; acting as arbiter in inter-state disputes and representing the interests of all-

India on equal terms with the self-governing units of the British Empire. They expressly pointed out that, "in this picture, there is also place for the Indian States and that it is possible that they too will wish to be associated for certain purposes with the organisation of British India in such a way as to dedicate their peculiar qualities to the common service without loss of individuality." In advocating a new constitutional structure linking up the Indian States with British India, we are only pressing for a vital reform which was foreseen as inevitable 10 years ago.

GROWTH OF PUBLIC OPINION

It is not, therefore, suprising that the future relation of Indian States to British India has received unusual attention during the last few months for a variety of reasons. The growing agitation in the Indian States for the establishment of responsible Government in the States, and the conferences held by the subjects of the various States from time to time, have given ample proofs to the Indian Princes of the repercussions of the national movement in British India, as also of the desire of the subjects of the States to take their legitimate part in an all-India polity. The subject also attracted a good deal of public attention in Great Britain on account of the activities of the delegation of Indian Princes which left for England subsequent to the Simla Conference. The British Press during the last few months has frequently discussed the question, not from an unbiassed point of view, but solely with a view to protect the present position of the Indian Princes; and Anglo-Indian pundits like Lord Sydenham, Lord Meston and Sir Michael O'Dwyer have suddenly conceived a great affection for the Indian States and the perpetuation of their treaty rights.

In his address last year, my esteemed friend Professor Abhyankar very rightly contended that many questions of policy vitally affecting the interests of the subjects of Indian States and relating to defence, customs and tariffs, commercial services such as posts, telegraphs and railways, currency and banking, excise and opium, are decided by the Govern-

ment of India and the Indian Legislature, but the States have at present no opportunity in the formulation of that policy. The Rulers of the States have naturally desired to know what their exact position would be in the future constitution of India, and though we have no authoritative information, it is understood that they have formulated their views on the whole subject at the Conference held in Simla in May last. The appointment of the Royal Commission, which has been expected for some time, has also stimulated interest in the subject in this country, and many eminent men who are authorities on the Indian Constitution have publicly discussed the position of Indian States in the future constitution of India. The Commonwealth of India Bill and the Bill formulated by the Independent Labour Party have also dealt with the problem of the Indian States and have given some indication of the position as assigned by their authors to the States in the future constitutional arrangements for the whole of India. It has been generally suggested that the Indian States should be allowed to occupy the same dignified status in the Indian Constitution as the federal states in the United States of America.

The Maharajah of Alwar has expressed the sentiment that his goal is the United States of India where every Province, every State, working out its own destiny in accordance with its environment, its tradition, history and religion, will combine together for higher and Imperial purposes. The plea for a union has thus found general acceptance and support, and it is a matter for great satisfaction that the problem has now come within the range of active public discussion both in the States and in British India.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE PRINCES

No one who has any acquaintance with the subject will deny the difficulties surrounding the problem of evolving a new constitution for bringing the Indian States into some form of organic association with British India.

India is now a unitary State contemplating federalism. Will the Indian States consent to be absorbed and fitted in

with the present structure of the Government of India, and if this cannot be achieved, would it be possible to devise a federal constitution for the Indian States and the British Indian Provinces, and if so, on what terms? The adoption of either type vitally affects the subjects of Indian States, and their Rulers, and the people of British India. The difficulties are not, however, insurmountable and can only be solved with the good-will and co-operation of all the parties concerned. Whatever changes may ultimately be made to bring the States into constitutional relation with British India, a Central Government is the *Sine qua non*.

THE SIMLA CONFERENCE

Doubts however have been expressed about the attitude of the Princes in regard to the future political evolution of India. The recent conference of the Princes in May last at Simla, has given rise to very grave apprehensions and misgiving. It is a matter for great regret that the proceedings of the conference have not been made public, and that the Government of India and those responsible for the conference at Simla have not chosen to issue any authoritative statement as regards the purposes for which the conference has been summoned, or as to the conclusions arrived at by it, and it would have been in the fitness of things if the Government of India had issued a communique on the subject to clear up the misunderstanding. It has been suggested in the press that the Indian Princes are being used at the present juncture as a sort of smoke screen for vitiating the judgment of the Royal Commission on the subject of an Indian constitution. It has also been stated that the object of the conference was to find a solution for checking the democratic onrush in British India, and that under the guise of safeguarding their existing status, rights, and dignities, Indian Princes are being advised and incited to oppose a grant of full constitutional freedom to India and to retard India's advance to Swaraj.

I can hardly believe that the Indian Princes will be so unpatriotic as to enter into a conspiracy with the enemies of

India's freedom. It may be that the conference was intended to ascertain the wishes of the Indian Princes as to the place of the States in a future Indian constitution.

Whatever may be the object of the recent conference of the Princes in Simla, some light is thrown on the present attitude of the Princes as expressed by their delegation in England. As you are aware, Col. Hasker and Dr. Rushbrook Williams left for England immediately after the Simla Conference and have received a good deal of attention from the British Press. They have issued a statement on behalf of the Indian Princes that they are not opposed to the legitimate aspiration of India to become fully self-governing, but that the position and status of the Princes as guaranteed in the treaties should be maintained.

H. H. THE JAM SAHEB

His Highness the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar recently gave expression to similar sentiments and stated publicly last month that the Princes have full sympathy with the aspirations of their countrymen in British India, and that such a feeling can and in fact does co-exist with the natural instinct of self-preservation. He went on to say that "the Princes have no desire to interfere in the affairs of British India and that they do not wish that there should be outside interference in their own domestic affairs" and he appealed to the Viceroy, "that their position in the New India that is being evolved needs to be thoroughly safeguarded and that whatever form the future constitution will assume, the existence of Indian States as separate political entities will demand an adjustment, which while recognising and meeting modern conditions, will not ignore history and traditions." It is clear from this that the present attitude of the Indian Princes is not hostile to the Indian national movement. But that is not enough. They have to come into it, and the creation of an organic constitutional structure for the whole of India including the Indian States is hardly compatible with the general attitude of the Indian Princes as indicated by H. H. The Jam Saheb. The Princes cannot ignore the requirements of the situation and

must face the essential conditions for the evolution of a common constitution for the whole of India.

SOME DIFFICULTIES:

LOSS OF SOVEREIGN RIGHTS

Before I close this part of the subject, I should like to make a brief reference to two or three cognate matters which of late attracted considerable public attention and which have an important bearing on the general acceptance of a constitution embracing the whole of India. I refer to the contention that has been put forward that the Indian States will be surrendering their sovereign rights by coming into a federal union with British India. This position was examined at considerable length by me ten years ago, and quite recently by eminent public men in the country, and a controversy on the subject has been going on in the press for sometime past. I do not like to weary you with further details at this stage. The restrictions placed upon the independent action of the States, and the obligations which habitually govern their external relations, and even to some extent their exercise of internal sovereignty, are well-known. The present position of the States, as summarised by Sir William Lee-Warner, is that the "British Government has drawn to itself the exercise of the entire external sovereignty of the Indian States, and it has also gathered into its hands some of the internal sovereignty of even important States." They share the obligation for the common defence of India and are under a general responsibility to the Government of India for good government and the welfare of their territories. The tie that unites the Indian States to the British Government is, therefore, not international in any sense of the term, nor is it feudal, and it has been described as semi-sovereign. The question as to whether the Indian States are sovereign, and if so to what extent, and in what manner, has now been discussed for sometime by eminent constitutionalists in India as well as Great Britain, and many nice questions of constitutional law, such as the divisibility of sovereignty, have also formed the subject of controversy. I

do not wish to refer to these matters nor to the varying degrees of internal sovereignty enjoyed by the bigger and the smaller States. While the theoretical sovereignty of the Indian States cannot be denied, and while some of the bigger states like Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore, Baroda, Gwalior, Indore, Patiala and Bikaner enjoy at the present day an undoubted measure of internal sovereignty, we cannot forget the actual conditions of the present day. Notwithstanding the fact that some of the treaties provide that the Chief shall remain the absolute ruler of his country, the Government of India have not been precluded in the past, and are not even now precluded, from interference with the administration of the States by the Government of India through the agency of its representatives. The treaties have, therefore, to be interpreted not so much in the light of the relations established between the parties at the time when a particular treaty was made, but also by subsequent developments and in the light of practice and usage which have considerably modified them. Whatever may have been the rights established by treaties a century ago, the present position is that many of the States have been stripped of many real attributes of sovereignty in actual practice. In these circumstances, it is futile either for the Princes or for the people of Indian States to refuse to come into line and join in a scheme for the political evolution of India into a self-governing Dominion, on the ground that such a step would entail a loss of their sovereign rights.

ROMANCE AND REALITY

I trust, therefore, that those interested in the matter will realise the difference between romance and reality and take a dispassionate view of the actual facts as they exist to-day in arriving at a decision on this question. At the same time, I agree that every effort should be made and every guarantee should be given to preserve, as far as possible, the individuality of the States in the new constitution. The position of the States in a new constitution, both in regard to the discharge of common obligations and in regard to their rights of

internal administration, would be, in my opinion, much better than it is now. Notwithstanding their treaties, the States are now squeezed by the 'gentle' persuasion of political officers and by the Political Department of the Government of India in many important matters. This cannot happen in a constitution where their rights and obligations are clearly defined.

In one of the recent conferences of States subjects, I have noticed that a desire was expressed for the formation of a confederation similar to that of the Germanic States in the latter half of the last century. Germany was split up into a number of little sovereignties in the first half of the last century and its unification was in a large measure due to the genius and energy of Bismark. He had a clear insight into the real needs for the establishment of German unity, which was partly brought about by diplomacy and war. On the other hand, the national unity of Italy was achieved by Cavour and the Italian patriots by a process of assimilation of the different principalities into a single kingdom and by the sympathy of France and England with the national aspirations of Italy to free herself from the Austrian yoke. I wish we had a Bismark or Cavour in the Indian States at the present day. European parallels may not be very useful and perhaps we shall have to strike out a new path and make a constitution suitable to our own peculiar conditions. In my opinion, what is required is not a separate Confederation of Indian States. If it is necessary for the Indian Princes to make any sacrifices of their present powers and position with a view to create a new constitution for the whole of India, I trust they will not hesitate to do so.

THE SMALLER STATES

Another point that arises for consideration is the question as to whether a federal constitution for India should include all the States, or whether a Federated India should include only the more important ones. It will be admitted that in a large majority of the smaller states, all

the administrative powers are now exercised by political agents. Out of a total of 562 states, 374 have an area of less than 1000 square miles i.e., $\frac{1}{4}$ of an average district in British India. Of the 562 States, only 30 possess the area, population and resources of an average British Indian district. Three of the States are stated to have a population of 100 souls and 5 of them a revenue of Rs. 100. Whatever may be the circumstances under which many of these tiny states have been recognised as feudatories in the early part of last century, it is clear that, before a federal union can be carried out between the States and the British Indian provinces, a thorough investigation will have to be undertaken as to which of them should be admitted to a federal union. It is unthinkable that the large majority of the smaller States, which are no better than petty Zamindaries, should be put in the same category with Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda or Kashmir. The problem of the smaller States and their future position in a federated India require very careful consideration.

THE POSITION OF THE PRINCES

A third point is the exact position of these hereditary Princes as heads of their States in a new constitution. It is clear we cannot go solely by the precedents of federal constitutions elsewhere, nor will it be practicable to ignore existing conditions. The recognition of the dignity, status and position of the Princes of the more important States in a new constitution under appropriate safeguards will be necessary until the principle of popular sovereignty, assuming a popular form, so deeply penetrates the masses of the people as to dispense with the hereditary principle altogether. The time for the assertion of this principle is far distant, and we may leave it out of consideration altogether for the present. It does not follow from this that the present system of autocratic personal rule in the Indian States should necessarily continue.

LORD MESTON'S OBJECTION

One of the objections raised by Lord Meston to the creation of a federal constitution for the whole of India including the Indian States is that the constituent states in the federation would be of two entirely different types, hereditary monarchies, and provincial Governments under a democratic parliamentary system, and that the creation of a common constitution for both of them would be like mixing oil with water and that the two cannot really coalesce. This objection is not so formidable as Lord Meston wishes to make out. But even if there is any force in this objection, it is clear that the Princes are realising the inevitable trend of events in their States for the establishment of constitutional responsible Government. As an illustration, I may refer to the statement made by H. H. the Jam Saheb quite recently on a public occasion that if it be the desire of his subjects to progress on the lines of British India, they will not find him behind-hand in enthusiastic response to their aspirations and that he would be prepared to grant them in the administration a share "adequate to their capacities." This is a very encouraging statement and I trust that every other Prince will follow him in this matter. The words "adequate to their capacities" in this pronouncement introduce a qualification, the exact import of which is not clear. I hope that His Highness will not imitate the methods of the British Government in appearing to make promises, but at the same time making reservations with a view to evade them.

Another qualification made by His Highness was that whatever changes he is prepared to make to introduce a popular element in the administration, to bring it into line with British India, should receive the approval of His Excellency the Viceroy. The exact words used by His Highness are "should such a measure find favour with your Excellency, it will hearten and embolden me in taking steps for initiating it in right earnest." It is

clear, therefore, that His Excellency the Viceroy, as representing the paramount power, has thus been given an opportunity of initiating constitutional reforms in the States, and if His Excellency neglects to press for the adoption of a settled constitution, the suspicions already existing will be deepened.

GOVERNMENT AND THE STATES

There is yet another fundamental point to which I must make a reference. That point, to put it in the words of Lord Olivier, is "whether and how far the relations now subsisting between the King and all other Indian States can be transferred to the executive of an Indian National Government, not responsible, as now, to the British Parliament, but to a Federal Indian Assembly." During the discussions in the Legislative Assembly on the subject of Dominion self-government for India during the last two or three years, the spokesmen of the Government of India pointedly raised the same question more than once. Sir Malcolm Hailey said that the Government of India would like to know "whether the States would continue as heretofore to deal with the Governor-General-in-council, who is responsible to the British Parliament, or with the executive Government responsible to the Indian Legislature?" "Is Indian self-government to be confined to British India only, or was it to be extended to the States also? Under what terms should this be done? Are they to be dependent on the Crown, or are they to be controlled by a new Government responsible only to the Indian Legislature, instead of a Government responsible to the British Parliament."

The constitutional issue thus raised by Lord Olivier and Sir Malcolm Hailey has been answered more than once by eminent Indian statesmen who are recognised authorities on Indian constitutional law. The contention that Indian States have entered into treaty relations with the Governor-General, as representative of the British Crown, and not as the executive head of the Government of India for the time being

is without foundation. Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer very recently examined the question again and has clearly expressed the opinion that, "the treaties do not merely confer a personal right or obligation, but impose obligations on the Rulers, for the time being, of the Indian States in favour of the authorities, for the time being, in charge of the Government of India." It is not, therefore, correct to say that the treaties were entered into with the Crown irrespective of the sovereignty of British India, and if this sovereignty is transferred by the Crown acting with the British Parliament to an Indian National Parliament, the Indian States cannot claim to have any constitutional relations solely with the British Crown and independently of the Government of India as defined in a new constitution.

Nor do I see any reason why the Princes should hesitate to be constitutionally connected with a Government responsible only to the Indian Legislature. The States will have suitable representation in the federal legislatures and in the federal executive that may come into existence, and in all other federal assemblies for the control of federal affairs. A federal executive and a federal legislature, in the making of which the Princes and the people of the States will have a voice, would undoubtedly protect their rights very much better than a Government which is not responsible to them, and a Parliament in which they have no representation. I do not, therefore, believe that the Indian Princes as a body would not co-operate with us in coming into a federation with British India and in the political reconstruction of India. Their active help and assistance is necessary in attaining our ideals for the political emancipation of our Motherland and we may rely on their lofty patriotism to come into line with the political aspirations of the people of India as a whole.

Sir Malcolm Hailey expressed the opinion that some kind of federation is the objective frequently suggested to the Government of India, and his speech leads one to conclude that, in his opinion, some such federation would be necessary, but that the terms on which such a federation should be secured

between British India and the Indian States should first be settled.

Some of our enemies will, however, continue to cherish the hope that the Indian Princes may be used for creating difficulties in the reconstruction of our political edifice on a democratic basis, but I sincerely hope they will be disappointed. The time-spirit is rapidly changing even the most conservative Rulers of the Indian States and the most conservative institutions in the country. Sir William Lee-Warner predicted this change at the beginning of the century in very pregnant words. "The day has passed then the East could 'bow low before the storm in patient deep disdain.' The legions still thunder by, but Oriental society can never go back to what it was. To-morrow will not be as Yesterday. It is certain that the present century will witness alterations in the character of British relations with the Native States." This prophesy is now beginning to be fulfilled.

I have referred briefly to these vital aspects of the problem and do not feel called upon to take up any more of your time by the discussion of further details, nor do I wish to refer to any of the schemes that are now in the field. Our energies must be devoted to evolving a scheme acceptable to the Princes and the people of the Indian States and of British India. The further details of a federal constitution, such as the composition of a federal legislature or of a federal executive, the functions of the federal state, the constitution of a federal Court, and the settlement of inter-state disputes, the system of federal finance, the exact powers of intervention to be reserved to the federal Government in the internal administration of the states, and various other matters should receive detailed consideration, and for that purpose I trust you will, while agreeing on general principles, appoint a suitable committee to formulate proposals for final adoption by this and other conferences of States subjects in the near future.

INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION

I have so far referred to the difficult problem of the

establishment of constitutional relations between British India and the Indian States and the evolution of a federal constitution for the whole of India. I have referred to the difficulties surrounding the problem. The reform in the internal administration of the Indian States is even more important, and is of immediate practical interest to the members of this conference, than even a Federal Union between the Indian States and British India. I do not wish to make any detailed comparison between the political condition of the people in British India and of the Indian States and the defects and merits of the systems of administration under which they are now living. Nor do I wish to refer to specific acts of misgovernment and maladministration in the Indian States which have occupied public attention during the last few years, but I shall confine myself to the broad general features of the problem. The characteristic feature of all the States, including the most advanced, is the personal rule of the Prince and his control over legislation, administration, and justice. The States are in all stages of development, patriarchal, feudal, or more advanced, while in a few States, representative institutions which have been described as the 'dim colorless copies of those prevailing in British India,' have been established. The new constitution of Mysore has received a considerable measure of approbation and is the only outstanding development of constitutional importance in the States in recent years. A government which owes its success to the personal character of the Ruler can never afford any guarantees for progress. Akbar was a great ruler and it was impossible even for an Akbar to provide that he should be succeeded by another Akbar. A settled constitution which recognises the responsibility of the administration to the people, and containing all the essential elements of a popular government, is the only safeguard for the protection of the people.

THE PRINCES AND THE NEW ORDER

Many of the Princes have moved in the warm currents of world-politics and are also cognisant of the reactions of world-forces on India. As members of the League of Nations,

they have taken part in recasting the map of Europe and have pleaded for the self-determination of small nationalities and the protection of minority communities. They have also taken part in the financial, economic, and political reconstruction of many countries in the world, and in activities which have given a new sense of humanity to all nations. They cannot refuse to co-operate and give their helping hand in the political reconstruction of their own Motherland. As members of the League, they have had opportunities of surveying the political conditions of every country in the world, and of realising that the Divine Right of the monarchical order is an anachronism at the present day. They cannot expect its continuance in their own States on the old basis. On behalf of the Princes of India, the Maharajah of Bikanir assured the League of Nations that they are entirely for the establishment of the 'rule of law.' He cannot legitimately object to the extension of the same rule to the Indian States. As members of the Imperial Conference, some of the Princes have strongly pleaded for a new constitutional charter for India and for the establishment of Dominion self-Government.

THE MAHARAJAH OF ALWAR

Permit me to recall to your mind the brilliant speech of the Maharajah of Alwar at the Imperial Conference in 1923. He said, "are we going to progress steadily and progressively, yet not too slowly, towards our goal which other sister nations have been more fortunate in already achieving, the goal of having the power to govern our country as a loyal and integral part of the Empire? Are we going to be helped affectionately and with kindly feeling to the goal which has been pronounced publicly by the British Government, and to more than which we do not aspire, of being a loyal self-Governing Dominion within the Empire? Is everything going to be done to accelerate our progress, or is our progress under various pretexts to be restricted and delayed? Have we a long number of years before us of the great furnace to pass through, from which Ireland has only just emerged? The world was not built for

academic or pious assurances spread over a number of years, the fulfilment of which may well pass over a life-time." We see here two of the strongest advocates for Indian Home-rule, and I could point out passages from the speeches of other Indian Princes at these conferences and other gatherings, where their patriotic advocacy of the cause of India's freedom and her status in the sisterhood of nations attracted universal attention. The advocacy of self-governing institutions for British India and the continuance of unmitigated autocratic rule in their own States, are not reconcilable courses of conduct. It has been said that the development of conflicting qualities and the most contradictory tendencies, is the essence and symptom of greatness, but I do not believe that our Princes have any intention of achieving greatness in that way. I hope, therefore, that they will themselves change their angle of vision and give practical proof of the high sentiments and the most admirable aspirations to which they have given expression in these world gatherings.

SIR. T. MADHAVARAO'S MEMORANDUM

The best way in which the Rulers of the States can inaugurate the new order in the States is to accept in letter and spirit, the principle of responsibility of the administration to the people of the States. The remarkable memorandum prepared by the late Sir. T. Madhavarao, which was published a few months ago, admirably summarises the essential changes required in the administrative methods and government of Indian States, and you will permit me to make a brief reference to it. The Memorandum was drawn up about 30 years ago, when the political leaders of British India did not formulate any theories about the establishment of Responsible Government in India. Its chief value consists in showing what a statesman with an unrivalled experience of the administration of Indian States thought were the essential needs of the situation even at that time. The state of things in most of the Indian States is more or less the same to-day as it was

in the days of Sir. T. Madhavarao. The Memorandum embodies a draft constitution for the Indian States, and lays down as a fundamental principle of the constitution for the States, that the paramount object of the Government of the States should be the happiness of the people. To lay down this in a constitution may appear trite, but Sir Madhavarao thought at the time that the Rulers not only forget this essential object of all Government, but sometimes also controverted this proposition. The draft constitution also lays down that personal rule should be abolished, that some sort of ministerial responsibility should be enforced, that the Princes should be prohibited from the exercise of the suspending and dispensing powers, that an impartial-law making body should come into existence, that the administration of justice should be in accordance with due process of law, that the Prince should have a fixed civil list for the maintenance of his personal dignity and of his household, and that public revenues should be safeguarded against encroachments by the Prince. The whole document deserves the attention of all those interested in the reform of the States. One of the causes for great dissatisfaction prevailing at the present day is that several instances have occurred in recent years of the denial of the elementary rights of the subject, the right of freedom of speech, of property, and the right of association, and it must be your endeavour to secure these rights as an essential step in the reform of the States. The reforms advocated by Sir Madhava Rao have long been overdue, and the introduction of Responsible Government in the States is the only solution of the problem.

It is as much the right of the people of the Indian States, as it is of the people of British India, to advocate and demand such changes in the structure of their Government as they may deem proper, and to enforce their demands in all constitutional ways.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE PARAMOUNT POWER

The responsibilities of the Paramount Power for the well-

being of the subjects of the Indian States, and the limitations now imposed under existing practice in the internal affairs of the States, have been stated on a recent occasion by Lord Reading. The British Government have not hitherto fulfilled these responsibilities in any adequate measure. If the Paramount Power is prepared to change the system of administration in British India in the interests of the people, and if its objective is the establishment of Responsible Government in British India, it has equally the duty to see what changes are required from time to time in the internal administration of the States for safe-guarding the people against intolerable misrule and oppression, and for giving them an effective voice in the administration. It cannot be assumed for one moment that treaties and engagements require the British Government to maintain the existing rule of the Princes, whatever may be the standard of their administration.

THE NEED FOR AN ENQUIRY

I have so far referred to some of the aspects of the problem of including the States in a federal constitution for the whole of India, and also dwelt on the urgent need for carrying out the necessary reforms in the internal administration of the States, and for the establishment of constitutional government therein. A comprehensive enquiry into the problems relating to Indian States and their future position in a self-governing India is urgently called for; such an enquiry has never been undertaken hitherto, and it was believed that as a consequence of the conference at Simla between the Indian Princes and the Government of India, the Secretary of State was seriously considering the method of holding an enquiry into the problems relating to the Indian States, their exact position in the future Indian constitution, and the terms and conditions on which they should be associated in a constitutional way with British India. It was suggested that this enquiry should be made by the Royal Commission which has now been appointed for British India. Another proposal was that the problems relating to the Indian states, which are

even more complicated than those of British India, should be investigated by a separate Royal Commission. The proposal for a separate Royal Commission was supported by my esteemed and distinguished friend, the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, whose unrivalled political experience and acknowledged authority in all matters pertaining to the development of the Indian constitution, made the proposal all the more weighty. It was suggested that both the commissions should be appointed simultaneously, and that their recommendations should afterwards be co-ordinated with a view to the creation of a federal constitution for the whole of India. Neither of these proposals has found favour with His Majesty's Government. The Royal Commission for British India has been appointed solely in terms of Section 84 (a) of the Government of India Act, and during the recent debate in Parliament, neither Earl Winterton nor Lord Birkenhead made any reference to the Indian States, though the former promised to make a statement on the subject. The appointment of the Royal Commission has met with universal resentment in India, and every political party and every community in the country has set its face against it. The exclusion of Indians from the Commission, and the insult thereby offered to us, is not the only unsatisfactory feature about it. Apart from the personnel, there is the fact that the resolutions of the Central Legislature in regard to the Dominion status of India have been completely ignored, and the enquiry to be made by the Royal Commission is confined to the narrow issues raised by the terms of Section 84 (a) of the Government of India Act. In regard to the Indian States, H. E. the Viceroy announced a few days ago at Rajkot the decision to appoint an expert committee, (1) to report upon the relationship between the Paramount Power and the States with particular reference to the obligations arising from treaties, engagements, sunnads, and usages, (2) to enquire into the wider problem of the States' financial and economical relations with British India, and (3) to make new recommendations that they may consider desirable or necessary for their more satisfactory adjustment. The personnel of this

committee is not yet known, but we may take it for granted that neither the people of the Indian States, nor the Princes, will be represented on the committee. The terms of reference are equally unsatisfactory, and will not include the wider issues relating to the Indian States. From the terms of His Excellency's speech, we gather that the expert committee has been appointed at the request of the Princes to examine certain practical questions relating to the financial and other adjustments between the States and British Indian authorities, and it will have nothing to do with the question of the inclusion of the States in a new constitution for the whole of India, nor will it deal with the reforms in the internal administration which this conference has been pressing year after year. It is clear to my mind that the machinery for investigating the whole series of problems for bringing the States into constitutional relations with British India has not been thought of as yet. It will be the duty of this conference to devise ways and means to secure this investigation as early as possible, by such means as may be agreed to in this conference.

OUR BRITISH 'TRUSTEES'

I must now bring my remarks to a close. In a consideration of the whole problem we cannot forget our 'British Trustees'. They are not anxious to advance the cause of national freedom in British India, and still less to promote constitutional reforms in the Indian States. For a long time, British statesmen have sought moral justification for British Rule in India, and have repeatedly asserted that in governing the 319 million people of India, Great Britain is discharging a solemn trust. They have asserted that British policy in India is not in any sense dictated by British interests, and that the welfare of India alone is the determining factor in the formulation of their policy. They have frequently declared that as soon as the people of India are ready to undertake the burden, the Government of the country will be willingly handed over to them. A very high authority has considerably modified the theory of trusteeship, and has

declared recently that the people of India are partners with Great Britain, and appealed for mutual good-will and co-operation in the working of this great partnership in India. Apparently, India is the subject of a partnership of an indefinite duration in which the people of Great Britain have a predominant part, and there is no means of dissolving it. According to legal notions, a trust is a trust, and can never be converted into a partnership between the trustees and the beneficiaries of the trust.

CANT AND HYPOCRISY

Their view about British responsibility in India has been very recently propounded by the Earl of Lytton in the British press after his return to England. He states with brutal frankness that the doctrine of trusteeship has led to a great deal of cant and hypocrisy on the one side, and a good deal of irritation on the other, and the true criterion of Britain's relationship to India is the attitude of India to Great Britain. He urges that the successful realisation of India's ideals would depend on the question as to whether they are compatible with British interests, and suggests the possibility of India being hostile and unfriendly to British interests, and also of India joining some day the enemies of Great Britain. In order to dispel their suspicions, he demanded a common declaration of friendship by the statesmen of both countries, to be followed by a sincere examination of the conditions which would enable the national interests of each to be secured. It is very surprising that doubts and suspicions of India's attitude to Great Britain should begin to be entertained, only after a demand for the full recognition of her status has been put forward. The causes of the Great War were unknown to India, and yet India stood by her allegiance heart and soul from the first call to arms, and her solid achievements and the general attitude of her people in that great crisis were the subject of many eloquent tributes from the Prime-Minister downwards. Yet we are now told that India may join Britain's enemies. Lord Lytton's statement of the position

is a frank negation of all moral responsibility for the Government of this country, on which British statesmen have hitherto laid so much stress, and it would look as if our claim for Swaraj for India depends upon the arrangement of a satisfactory bargain between British and Indian politicians. The exigencies of the situation have driven British statesmen to deviate from the high moral stand-point which they have hitherto taken. Another observation that I should like to make is that our 'trustees' wish to discount our national movement every time the question of Indian reform is on the tapis. They do not wish to bring the trust to an end and believe in our perpetual tutelage. In their opinion, we cannot even form a judgment as to what is for good for ourselves, and the Royal Commission was constituted on this basis.

During the recent debate in Parliament, Lord Birkenhead again made a reference to the theory of trusteeship and as to how the trust has been discharged during the 150 years of British occupation. He stated that when the British approached India in a commercial guise, which has frequently been its earliest approach to future Dominion, it found India 'a welter of anarchy' and he confessed that the moment Parliament repudiated its responsibility, 'India would be involved in the same kind of chaos as that from which Britain had rescued her.' If that statement is true, it is hardly complimentary to our British 'trustees' that they should have managed the affairs of India in such a manner as to leave us exactly where we were when they came to India. It is obvious, however, that His Lordship wishes to find reasons for the perpetuation of the trust.

A STORM OF EMOTION

A second class of our trustees contend that India is a country for tropical storms, which fiercely as they rage, subside and pass away after restoring fertility to the sun-scorched soil. They assert that the movement for Swaraj is a fierce storm of emotion, rather than the all-absorbing pursuit of a long-suffering people, and believe that this emotional cloud-burst has passed away.

A third class of our trustees have opened a campaign in the British Press and express the opinion that a new crisis in the chequered history of India is impending, that the Government of India is dominated by the Indian politicians, and that the best way of safeguarding the treaty rights of the States would be to replace the existing Legislative Assembly by a strong Advisory Council to which the Indian Princes and the Chiefs can send representatives. We see in this a deliberate attempt to set up the States against the political aspirations of India. There is still another class of our trustees who wish to put off the evil day as far as possible, and continually discuss the inherent and indefeasible superiority of Occidental civilisations over the civilisations of the Orient, and they assert that the development of our political institutions in India should proceed on lines suitable to the genius of an Eastern people. They do not develop their theme fully and tell us frankly what this genius consists in, but apparently they claim that democracy is a peculiarly Western institution. The author of 'India To-morrow' says that the west has hurled its complicated civilisation on the East in an unfinished state, and on a people more ready to absorb than to understand. These and other critics have been busy for sometime, and Miss Mayo has completed the picture by depicting the social conditions of India in the most odious light. In the pursuit of our political ideals, we have to fight this periodical exhibition of ignorance, self-interest, misrepresentation, calumny, and other kinds of interested criticism.

CONCLUSION

Gentlemen : The deliberations of your conference this year are of a peculiar significance and are particularly important for a variety of reasons. The National Movement in British India for the establishment of Swaraj has gathered increased strength and momentum, and we are now pressing for radical alterations in the present constitution. Our ideals for the future Government of India have been sometime ago

summarised by Lord Lytton in the three following propositions :

- (1) We desire to see India free from any foreign domination.
- (2) We desire to see India defended by armed forces consisting of our own people and acting under the orders of our own Government.
- (3) We desire to see India governed by an executive answerable to a Parliament elected by our own people.

We are thankful to His Lordship for having so correctly and so unambiguously stated in the British Press the three fundamental ideals of our political faith.

IDENTITY OF IDEALS

I refuse to believe that there is anybody in the Indian States, be he a prince or a peasant, who will not wholeheartedly subscribe to these ideals, and who will not do his best to realise them. A large vision of Indian political destiny has permeated all classes of people throughout India, and on this main question, there is and there can be absolutely no difference between the people of British India and the Indian States. A free, strong, united, self-governing and self-supporting India is our aim and ideal. In familiarising the people of the States with our national ideals, your services are, therefore, invaluable and this conference is doing its best to bring the States into general harmony with the political developments in British India. The Indian National Congress, the Muslim League, the National Liberal Federation, the Hindu Mahasabha and other political organisations in British India are now actively engaged in examining the question of a new constitution for India. The All-India Congress Committee has charged the Working Committee of the Congress to frame a scheme in consultation with the various political parties in the country. I sincerely hope that this committee and the other political organisations will not content themselves by framing proposals relating only to British India, leaving the position of the Indian States

in the new constitution undefined. That would be very unfortunate. It is, therefore, very desirable that the executive committee of this conference should secure the co-operation of the political organisations in British India without any delay and collaborate with them in devising a new constitutional charter for the whole of India.

The Indian Renaissance

BY BHAGAT RAM KUMAR, M.A.

No student of contemporary Indian events could have failed to observe the wonderful surging of a new life that has been so remarkable a phenomenon of our recent national history, and which has infused a new life into every field of our national activity. The purely political aspect of a foreign domination, though the most obvious, is in reality the least mischievous of its many consequences. The loss of political freedom invariably casts a general demoralisation over national life, so that there is not a department of a nation's life that is not in consequence vitiated. Evolution is a Law of Nature; nothing in Nature is stationary. But Evolution implies freedom. Slavery and Evolution can never go hand in hand. The bud blossoms into a flower in the freedom of Nature; remove it to the slavery of a drawing room, and it dies a premature death. History furnishes no example of a subjugated people reaching the summits of glory in any department of life; it was a free Greece, a free Rome, the Free Cities of Mediaeval Italy, a free India, a free China that created the Arts and the Sciences that are their glory to this day.

As water that has no outlet not only stagnates itself but poisons the whole atmosphere round about, so the loss of political freedom poisons the very mainsprings of a nation's life.

It is true that India has seen many invasions in the past, before the advent of the British, and yet her national life did not suffer to any great extent; whereas the effects of the last conquest have been blighting. But it is easy to account for this difference. The previous occupations of India were more in the nature of amalgamations than of conquests. The various tribes of Afghans and the Moghuls who occupied India during the middle ages were

forced by circumstances, as well as by the wealth and superior civilisation of India, to make it their home, and sooner or later, to amalgamate with the native inhabitants. It was much like the Norman Conquest of England, which in reality proved to be the English Conquest of Normandy. Nature in her wisdom adopts various means for invigorating a stagnant people; and one of these is the seizure of its country by a more vigorous stock, so that a new vigour is implanted on to an old stock, revitalising and reinvigorating it. Such were the effects of both the Norman Conquest in England and of the Muslim Conquest of India.

But far different have been the effects of the English Conquest of India, because there has been no amalgamation of the two peoples. The glory, the elation, and the rising sense of self-confidence, has been on the side of the English: the shame, the depression, and the loss of our own worth, has been on our side. Our religion was put by the side of that of our conquerors, and was naturally found to be wanting, however grand its philosophies and metaphysics, by a world where nothing succeeds like success. Our achievements in Arts and Sciences must bow their head before those of England, as the slave before his master. Our social customs, our languages, our very clothes, our houses, our furniture, and our food, all must stand bare-headed before those of the conquerors. And since the habits, the customs, and the institutions of one nation can never be implanted into another soil, we neglected our own, without being able to graft those of England.

We thus became a people without a soul; without culture and tradition, without national pride and patriotism. We were much like the parrot and the monkey, uttering the lessons taught us by our masters, and imitating in our dress, manners, clothes, houses, furniture and habits, our masters, the English. We scoffed at our religion, at our philosophies, at our ancestors, and took a delight in the cheap arts of Lancashire and Manchester.

It was at such a time that there dawned the Indian

Renaissance. Its first effects were seen naturally in the sphere of Religion, for religion is the foundation of all civilisation, and thence the movement spread to the political, the social, the artistic, the economic, the educational, and other spheres of our life. It was but natural that this should be so, for a Renaissance, an awakening, is the result of new life-forces, and these must manifest themselves in every sphere of life. No Renaissance can be permanent or vital, unless there is an awakening in each individual, in each sect, in each class, in every department of life.

Hence we witness a seething unrest, and ceaseless activity in every field of our life. Tremendous forces have been let loose, much like the waters of a mighty river, and at times it would appear that they are capable of doing nothing but mischief. Thus we are witnessing in the North the bitter quarrels between the Hindus and the Muslims, and in the South between the Brahmanas and the Non-Brahmanas. These are essentially a part of the national Renaissance, for it shows that the minorities, who have been suppressed and oppressed in the past, are fully conscious of their rights, and are attempting to assert them. Exaggeration in the beginning is but natural; and it is for our national good that each community should attain its equality with the others as soon as possible. Similarly in the political field, we are witnessing the tremendous drama of a struggle for national rights, and here again exaggerations and distortions are but a natural part of the game. In religious matters again, as well as social, we are witnessing a new spirit of reform on all sides. Either silently or openly, the long-standing abuses and distortions that have crept into our religious as well as into our social system, are being reformed or ignored and the past being brought into line with the spirit of the times. And artistic and educational spheres have not escaped this impulse. We are all familiar with the great work done in that line by the Bengal School of Art, while in the matter of education, we have had "National" Schools on all hands.

Thus there can be no doubt that a new spirit is afield, attempting to revitalise our national life ; but the ultimate success or failure of this must depend upon us. To the extent that we as a people co-operate with natural forces whole-heartedly and intelligently, will depend their success. The currents of the sea will carry a man far, if he knows how to utilise them. Otherwise they will surely drown him. So also with the forces we are now witnessing. Unless we take advantage of them, we shall be far worse off than before. And we can never co-operate with these forces, unless we enter into the 'spirit of the times.' It is part of our human vanity to imagine that we shape and mould history, whereas the most we can do is to co-operate with certain forces and tendencies that nature sets going at special periods. The world forces to-day, as in the past, are all working towards a definite end, and upon our co-operation with them will depend our salvation.

Venkata II of Chandragiri: The Last Phase

BY THE REV. HENRY HERAS, S. J., M.A.

Venkata II was getting too old to rule over turbulent feudatory chiefs such as the Nayak of Vellore ; especially when family intrigues were contributing to the work of subverting the kingdom. In a letter of 1607, Fr. Coutinho tells us that 'the King is very old and is apparently at the end of his life' Laerzio in 1608 also says that Venkata is very old and again makes the same statement in 1611. Another Jesuit letter of 1611 states that "the King is too old and dotes at times ; hence those who govern the kingdom do always what they like". In 1610, Philip III of Spain wrote to Ruy Lourenco de Tavora : "I have been informed that the King of Bisnaga (Vijayanagara) is very old". Three years later, the same Viceroy, Ruy Lourenco de Tavora, wrote to Philip III that Venkata "is so old that everybody expects his death at any moment, and naturally dissensions will ensue".

His death however did not occur till the end of the following year. Venkata, when his end drew near, renewed the appointment of Prince Ranga as his successor. This scene is marvellously described by Fr. Barradas as follows :—

"Three days before his death, the King, putting aside, as I say, this putative son, called for his nephew Chica Raya (Ranga), in presence of several of the nobles of the kingdom, and extended towards him his right hand on which was the ring of State, and put it close to him, so that he should take it and should become his successor in the kingdom. With this the nephew, bursting into tears, begged the King to give it to whom he would, and that for himself he did not desire to be king, and he bent low, weeping at the feet of the old man. The King made a sign to those around him that they should

raise the prince up, and they did so ; and they then placed him on the King's right hand, and the King extended his own hand so that he might take the ring. But the Prince lifted his hands above his head, as if he already had divined how much ill fortune the ring would bring him, and begged the King to pardon him if he wished not to take it. The old man then took the ring and held it on the point of his finger, offering it the second time to Chica Raya, who by the advice of the captains present took it, and placed it on his head and then on his finger, shedding many tears. Then the King sent for his robe, valued at 200,000 cruzados, the great diamond which was in his ear, and was worth more than 600,000 cruzados, his earrings, valued at more than 200,000, and his great pearls, which are of the highest price. All these royal insignia he gave to his nephew Chica Raya as being his successor, and as such he was at once proclaimed."

Barradas says that Venkata died six days after the proclamation of Ranga. But there is nothing in his narrative to show the exact date of his death. We may, however, approximately calculate it with the aid of other sources referring to this event.

The Viceroy of Goa, Dom Jeronymo d' Azevedo, first announced the death of Venkata II to his sovereign on December 31st, 1614, but the traveller Floris heard of it whilst at Masulipatam on October 25th, 1614: "On the five and twentieth (of October)," says he, "came news of the death of Wencatadrappa". Anquetil du Perron says that news of Venkata's end was received on October 28th, but he does not say where such information was received. Consequently we may safely affirm that Venkata II died about the middle of October, 1614. He died most likely in his palace of Vellore, where he resided. John Gourney, a servant of the East India Company, in a letter of July 18th 1614, calls him 'the King of Vellour.' Floris also, while speaking of his death, refers to him as 'King of Velur.' According to Barradas, he was then sixty-seven years old.

"His body", continues Barradas, "was burned in his

own garden with sweet-scented woods, sandal, aloes and such like ; and immediately afterwards, three Queens burned themselves, one of whom was of the same age as the King, and the other two aged thirty-five years. They showed great courage. They went forth richly dressed with many jewels and gold ornaments and precious stones, and arriving at the funeral pyre, they divided these, giving some to their relatives, some to the Brahmans to offer prayers for them, and throwing some to be scrambled for by the people. Then they took leave of all, mounted on to a lofty place, and threw themselves into the middle of the fire, which was very great. Thus they passed into eternity." Floris confirms the whole of this account, and adds that one of the three wives burned with Venkata's corpse was 'Obyama (Pedobamamba), Queene of Paleacatte (Pulicat).'

Venkata II's character was exceedingly attractive, if we are to believe his contemporaries. Du Jarric says that he was a 'most affectionate King' Coutinho testifies that 'his character was sweet and meek.' Laerzio mentions 'his natural goodness and great qualities.' Fontebona states that he was 'a lord of great authority, prudence and understanding, as much as any European.' Finally his Mangalambal grant records that he was 'indifferent to other men's wives.'

These great personal qualities made him an exceptionally great monarch. All the Hindu sources of his time or posterior to his death, unanimously praise him as one of the greatest sovereigns of the Vijaynagara Empire, 'a great and pious sovereign', as recorded in the *Prapannamrtam*. According to the Kuniyur plates of Venkata III, 'the wise glorious Venkatapatidevaraya ruled the earth, illumining the ten regions by (his) fame.' The Utsur grant of Ranga III calls him 'brilliant in polity.' Another grant of Venkata III styles Venkata a King 'of brilliant policy, his fame illumining the ten cardinal points.' A grant of Krishnappa Nayaka of Madura records that Venkata ruled 'in wisdom,' and the Vellangudi plates of Venkata himself state that 'he ruled the earth with justice', and that,

'as Rama governed the world, he ruled the earth.' The Dalavay Agraharam plates (of the same Venkata) describe him as a good ruler both in peace and in war: "He was a wishing tree to the poor", they say, "he was like the central gem of the necklace (which is) the city of Aravidu...; he was the best of (the) kings, the foremost of the kings of the race of Atri,...a munificent giver like Kubera...was broad-armed like Kubera, . . . a Ramabhadra in battle". The Mangalampad grant describes the liberality of this monarch even more poetically. It runs: "Behaving like a grandfather to friends and foes, intent on giving refuge to enemies who bowed to him, his splendour was eulogized by all men". Venkata's generosity was one of his outstanding features; as Fr. Coutinho remarks, 'he was very liberal'.

As regards the territory ruled over by Venkata, exaggerations too obviously poetic to be misleading, are found in these and similar sources. According to the Vellangudi plates, 'he ruled the earth from the Himalayas to Sethu'; or 'he defeated his enemies from the bridge (Rameswaram) to the Himalayas', according to the Mangalampad grant. If we are to believe the Vilapaka grant, the whole of India was under him; and consequently, he boasts of having had as vassals the Rattas, the Magadhas, the Kambhojas, the Bhojas, the Kalingas; and the Kings of these countries 'were his door-keepers' and 'used to praise him'. Such are the extravagant expressions of the contemporary grants; these boastful phrases are copied from the old grants of Venkata's predecessors. Truth is stated once in the Vilapaka grant, where Venkata is said to have 'ruled over the country of Karnata'.

Impartial history, however, must admit that Venkatapati Raya II was by far the most illustrious, and beyond doubt the most powerful King of the Aravidu dynasty. He checked with an iron hand the adventurous expeditions of the Golconda Sultan, and recovered extensive territories which had been lost in the reigns of both his father and his brother Ranga. Bijapur, agitated with internal dissensions, and the Portuguese Viceroy, mistrusting the friendship with Akbar,

formed an alliance with Venkata against the imperialistic plans of that Mughal sovereign. Both events imply great success in foreign policy.

As to the internal welfare of the country, the twenty-nine years of Venkata's reign were years of prosperity and comparative peace. Certainly he had to subdue many chiefs, not only in the beginning of his reign but even in his last years, but it was necessary to proceed in this matter without hesitation: had he done otherwise, the Empire would have come to an end fifty years earlier. Venkata's action in these sad affairs was always crowned with the greatest success. The country immediately subject to him is described by the Jesuits passing through or living at his Court, as prosperous and well-administered, except during the last years of his reign, when he took very little direct part in the government. His broad-mindedness is evident both in his admission of the Jesuits to his court, and in his friendly diplomatic relations with foreign nations. The privileges enjoyed by the citizens of St. Thome and Negapatam, and the concession made to the Dutch of the port of Pulicat, were the best measures for fostering industry and commerce in the country. They may be considered as the preliminary steps towards the concession of a spot near the city of Madarasa to the English traders by one of his successors, Ranga III.

Moreover Venkata was a great patron of literature. The fine arts were likewise fostered by him, a fact which throws an aesthetic side-light on his interesting character.

Three flaws, however, stand out conspicuously in the long and glorious life of Venkata. The first is the part he took in the extinction of the Tuluva dynasty. There is now little doubt, that the murder of Sadasiva was committed by him. The imprisonment of this unfortunate sovereign by Rama Raya might be in some way justified, but his assassination cannot be vindicated by either private rivalry or public policy.

The second blot in his public character is his retirement from government during the last years of his life. The rule

of his favourite wife and her relatives was fatal to the Empire, if we are to believe the Jesuit letters. The discontent of the nobles sprang from this uxorious helplessness, as is recorded by these same witnesses; it most likely prepared the ground for the out-break of the civil war that followed the death of the sovereign.

But the greatest defect of Venkata as a ruler of the Empire of Vijayanagara, was his predilection for his second nephew Ranga. The love which actuated the Emperor when he appointed Ranga his successor, in spite of the latter's protestations, was no doubt the immediate cause of the subsequent civil war. Its purpose was indeed to place the putative son of Venkata on the throne; but most likely Jaga Raya would not then have found supporters among the nobles for his enterprise in favour of his so-called grandson. Venkata alienated the good-will of many grandees and feudatory chiefs of the Empire by the repudiation of Tirumala. This prince was loved by more and stronger chieftains, as stated in the Jesuit letters; and when they saw Tirumala displaced by his younger brother, they naturally showed their disgust of the appointment made by Venkata, by joining the rival party. Barradas himself, after recounting Venkata's death-bed appointment of Ranga, adds: "While some rejoiced, others were displeased." That was the first cry of rebellion against the newly appointed Emperor, Ranga II. It is for this reason that Floris says that, after receiving the news of the death of Venkata, "great troubles are feared; the Hollanders are afraid of their Castle now built in Palecatte". The subsequent civil war was evidently a foregone conclusion.

Venkata II ought no doubt to be credited with the restoration of the old glory of Vijayanagara; but as the unconscious cause of the civil war that followed his demise, he must be said to have weakened the imperial authority and hastened the ruin of the Empire.

Rural Reconstruction

BY THE HON'BLE V. RAMADAS PANTULU

The implication of the phrase 'Rural Reconstruction' is that the Indian Village once possessed a structural organisation as a socio-economic unit and that it has become dilapidated and needs renovation or re-building. Is this implication true? No one who has any acquaintance with the history of the village communities in India, can deny that the entire fabric of our village communal life was built upon genuine co-operative principles. In the production and distribution of agricultural wealth, all the competent members of the village community used to co-operate in a real spirit of co-partnership. The members of the joint-family of the farmer; the hereditary farm-servants handed down from generation to generation, much in the same way as the land itself; the village artisan who toiled day in and day out to make and mend all the agricultural implements and vehicles for transport required by the village; the shepherd who tended the village cattle and herded his flocks for manuring and enriching the fields; the sowcar who advanced small capital and credit in the form of seed or money for agricultural operations; and the village priest who prognosticated the weather and fixed auspicious times for all village enterprises—these and many others—contributed their share to the task of production of national wealth, which consisted and still consists chiefly of agricultural produce. They did so with a living faith in mutual interest in a common purpose. When the crops are ripe for harvest, we find once again, every man and woman and child, who contributed labour and capital for production, walking to the threshing floor to receive his or her due share from the produce. They received their share, more with a feeling that they divided the profits arising from a

common enterprise, than as wages for hired labour paid by outside employers. It was from the net produce that remained after such division that the State or the intermediate landlord took his share, call it tax, revenue, economic rent, or competitive rent, or what you will. We may not have had organisations for associated purchase and sale, for the village communities were then more or less in a state of economic self-sufficiency. But they were well-organised for other forms of real co-operative endeavour, such as the maintenance and repair of irrigation sources and clearing channels, the upkeep of village commons like pastures, forests and burial or cremation grounds, keeping breeding bulls, preservation of drinking water and so on. The State also looked to the village community as a whole for the fulfilment of the obligation of the cultivator of the soil to the Ruling Power. The headman or the village leader paid the entire revenue of the village to the collector of the tax or rent, and distributed it in accordance with the common undertaking of the villagers over the individual fields in a just and equitable manner. In many parts of the country, there prevailed a system of periodical redistribution of fields of the entire village among the owners, so as to adjust all inequalities and secure equal opportunities for beneficial production. The villagers were not required to dance attendance at *Jamabundee* camps of Revenue Officials or to employ petition writers or interpreters to approach officials who do not understand their language or the conditions of their rural life. Above all, the decision of matters affecting the ryot most did not rest with one or two men who were not controlled by public opinion. The very social institutions which are now proving sources of embarrassment to national development, were once real factors which conduced to progress, affording basis for division of labour and efficient management of the common affairs of village communities.

The story of industrial production by a simple system of organised cottage industries of our once prosperous

villages unfolds the same interesting chapter in associated effort put forth for the purpose of the satisfaction of the common economic needs of the community. We may not have had institutions for production and supply, organised on the present Western models, which largely owe their origin to the stress of internal and external competition. Our artisan classes and small producers grouped themselves into, so to say, trade-guilds and believed more in the efficacy of co-operation than of competition.

All this has changed with the imposition of the foreign revenue and industrial policies on our rural economy. The ryotwary revenue system with its incidents of individual responsibility, cash rents, and periodical re-settlements, was opposed in spirit as well as in operation to the ideals of communal responsibility, joint holding, associated effort in production, sense of mutual interest in a common enterprise and the impelling forces of village public opinion. The most distressing chapter in the history of land tenures in South India is that which deals with the destruction of the ancient village community. Just as the new revenue system destroyed the age-long co-operation in the production of national agricultural wealth; the new industrial and commercial system destroyed the age-long co-operation in the production of our industrial wealth. The displacement of the indigenous product by the foreign article and the consequent suppression of our home manufactures, disbanded the hereditary groups of our artisan producers, who in order to supply the finished commodities required to satisfy the simple needs of their fellow villagers, toiled with an abiding faith in the maxim of 'Each for All and All for Each'.

The most outstanding feature in our rural economy to-day is the poverty of the ryot. The evidence tendered before the Royal Commission on Agriculture leaves no room for doubt that the economic inefficiency of our cultivators has already resulted in low agricultural production. Recent writers on the Indian food problem have

conclusively shown that the amount of produce raised from land per head of population is not adequate to meet all the economic needs of the people. Sir Visveswarayya, comparing Japan with India, draws attention to the fact that Japan maintains a rural population of 56 millions on a cultivated area of 17 million acres, that is with 1/3 of an acre per head, while British India finds it extremely difficult to maintain an agricultural population of about 200 millions on a cultivated area of roughly 225 million acres, that is with 6/5 of an acre per head. Sir Visveswarayya also estimates that the average production in British India, including irrigated crops, on the normal pre-war basis is about Rs. 25 per head, whereas in Japan, it is estimated to be about Rs. 150 per head. It cannot be doubted that this low agricultural production involves under-consumption. Another implication of low agricultural production is that the unit of product raised from land in this country is smaller than the unit of product got from an equal area of land in other countries. Shah and Kambata in their interesting volume on 'The Wealth and Taxable Capacity of India' have given tables comparing the unit of product in India with that in other countries in respect of various crops. Let us take two food crops, rice and wheat, and two commercial crops, cotton and oil-seeds and see how they compare.

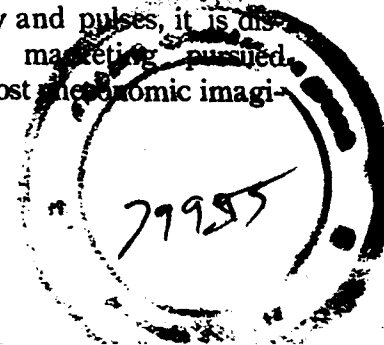
	United States	France	Egypt	India
Rice ...	19.6	...	27.2	15.7
Wheat ...	8.6	16.5	17.1	6.5
Cotton ...	1.4	...	2.7	1.1
Oil seeds ...	4.4	3.8	8.7	3.0

For every 85 lbs. of ginned cotton which an Indian acre yields, a Nile-fed Egyptian acre yields 450 lbs and an average acre in the United States yields 200 lbs. According to the Indian Sugar Committee's calculations, India's out-turn of sugar is less than 1/3 of Cuba's, 1/6 of Java's, and 1/7 of Hawaii's. Broadly put, with one-half of the world's acreage under sugar-cane, India produces less than one-quarter of the world's cane

sugar. The inability of the ryot by unaided individual enterprise to obtain improved machinery and vitalising manures, the steady impoverishment of the soil due to the increasing pressure on it, the stress of foreign competition and other economic factors whose tendencies require careful watching, hold out the distinct warning that if the problem of improving our production is neglected any longer, the ryot will be more and more seriously handicapped and his condition will soon become one beyond redemption. The effect of foreign competition even in the sphere of the ancient and hereditary occupation of agriculture is now by no means a negligible factor. Cotton grown in America, Egypt, Soudan and Mesopotamia, ground-nut grown in West Africa and castor from Java are powerful rivals to the Indian products. The Indian article is coming in for more and more condemnation for its inferior quality and is fetching a lower price than its foreign rival in the world's markets.

Not only in production but also in the matter of the disposal of the produce raised by him, the ryot is equally helpless. He is seriously handicapped by reason of absence of organisations which help him to come into direct touch with the consumers and he is daily compelled to sell his products for much less than their real value which the urban consumer pays to the middleman—the capitalist who intercepts the producer's legitimate profit. The loss under this head is no inconsiderate item on the credit side of the poor peasant's budget. The large differences between the prices in the harvest season and in later months, the village prices and urban prices, forward contract prices and open market prices, have a distressing tale to tell of the economic loss continually suffered by the agriculturist. Dr. Gilbert Slater tells us that in certain crops like jaggery, pepper, areca-nut and cotton, the difference sometimes rises up to 100 per cent and even in the case of ordinary food-stuffs like paddy and pulses, it is disturbingly large. Thus the system of marketing pursued by the unfortunate Indian ryot is the most economic imagi-

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nable. If we do not increase our output and offer our products in standardised and preserved forms, after improving their quality, they may be soon driven out of the markets of the world and replaced in the markets of the country as well by better and cheaper imports from outside. Indeed last year, the mill-owners in Bombay and Karachi were able to import American cotton of a superior variety at less cost than they had to pay for the inferior Indian variety. The practical annihilation of distance by the improvement of the world's communications and the consequent facility to import quickly, the perfection of the art of preservation and preparation for the market of the most perishable animal and vegetable products like milk-products and fruits by the latest scientific methods, and other advantages which the organised producers of other countries enjoy, are additional factors which undoubtedly operate to the economic disadvantage of the Indian producer who is financially weak and scientifically ignorant. An Indian guest of mine who takes bread and butter with his *chota-hazri* declined to touch fresh home-made butter for it was really uninviting in appearance and it had to be replaced on his table at the next meal by the preserved butter imported in tins from Denmark. In the Cosmopolitan Club of Madras salad prepared of country fruits is discarded as being unpalatable, and the salad made of the imported fruit which is preserved and tinned is the universal favourite among the members of the Club. What wonder then that the foreign product, standardised, preserved and prepared for the market should gradually replace the indigenous product! The economic implications of the process are absolutely disquieting to contemplate. We hardly know where our agriculturist is drifting and with him the nation.

India can nevertheless live and can only live by producing more raw products than what it consumes. It is a debtor country. The capital sunk in almost all its industrial and commercial enterprises, in its railways and irrigation works and electric power schemes, is external capital. It has to pay interest on all that capital. The services for which it

has to pay are largely foreign. The annual drain under home charges alone may be computed roughly at 35 million pounds or 50 crores of rupees. Wherefrom does India get all this money to liquidate its recurring liabilities every year? There is only one way by which it can find it, namely, producing more than it consumes and exporting more than it imports, in other words, maintaining a favourable balance of its visible trade. But the low degree of our agricultural production is such that our rural and labouring classes are as a matter of fact underfed. In spite of it we export on an average a tenth of our annual raw products which constitute about 9/11 of our total exports. We manufacture little in comparison with other countries and so we have to pay for our imported goods by the export of our raw products. When the quantity of the raw products which we can thus spare for export is very small, we have necessarily to curtail our wants and be satisfied with a very low standard of life. This low standard of life leads to further economic insufficiency. We are thus moving in a vicious circle. Rural poverty leads to low agricultural production and low agricultural production leads to rural poverty.

The entire problem therefore centres round the improvement of agriculture as an industry and bettering the economic condition of those who depend upon it for their sustenance. Agriculture is a unique and universal industry in India. It practically produces all the materials which we as a simple people require to satisfy our wants, namely food and clothes. It produces the raw materials required for most of our industries. The Poet says:

Nature, a mother kind alike to all,

Grants her blessings at labour's earnest call.

The economist adds his comment that the call of the labourer in order to be *earnest* must be skilled, informed, organised and economically efficient as it should be in the case of all industries. Nevertheless, Agriculture is not treated like other industries in the matter of finance and organisation. The secret success of industries in countries which are competing with us to-day lies in finance and organisation. Let me

quote one sentence or two from a writer on Agricultural Co-operation who pleads for the extension to agriculture of the same facilities which are afforded to the other industries. 'We have fed them (other industries) with large supplies alike of money and information and intelligence. We have replaced slow and sparing hand-labour by the rapid and creative output of the engine and the loom, multiplying harvests while increasing their bulk. We have introduced perfected machinery, we have removed anachronic shackles and insisted upon full freedom of practice. We have recast all the organisation of the industry, arranged our commerce so as to enable our men take advantage of even the slightest turn of the market, of even opportunities which my offer even an infinitesimal gain. All these things presuppose a greater command of money. And to provide that money, we have developed a system of credit (Banking) which places at the disposal of the trader or the manufacturer funds almost without limit.'

The writer then proceeds to ask two very pertinent questions. We congratulate ourselves upon the amazing growth and development of our banking, our trade and our industries. But what resources have we not placed at the disposal of those callings? Could we treat agriculture in the same way as other industries? 'Is it not at any rate conceivable that, what with production cheapened and facilities afforded for taking advantage of the market and for acquiring those useful implements, that helpful machinery, and that forcing 'power' which modern invention has made accessible, we might make it fare as other industries fared.'

The organisation of rural credit and the problems connected with it are complicated and vast and require separate treatment. The Indian ryot suffers from some hardships also, other than those of a financial character. The increasing pressure on the soil, with the growth of the population, without a corresponding increase in the available area of cultivated land, the laws of inheritance and other factors have led to excessive fragmentation of holdings. The hold-

ings are uneconomic in their character and capital sunk in their cultivation will not yield an adequate return. The extent of this economic evil can be illustrated with reference to the ryotwari tract in the presidency of Madras. Roughly, the total extent of land held on *pattahs* in that area may be put at 46½ million acres. The total number of land-owners holding them being 13·62 millions, the average extent of a holding amounts to a little less than 3½ acres. As the ratio of wet and dry land is 1:3, we may approximately fix the extent of ownership as one acre wet and 2½ acres dry. It is to be noted that this is only the average extent and that those who own holdings of less extent should be very large indeed.

As per the quinquennial census of 1920-1921, the following is the number of *pattahs* paying a revenue of Rs. 30 and under. Out of the total number of 48·61 lakhs of *pattahs*, so many as 44·4 lakhs bear an assessment of Rs. 30 and under:—

Re. 1 and less	{ Single	... 5·08	lakhs of <i>pattahs</i>
	{ Joint	... 3·77	" "
Over Re. 1 and	{ Single	... 16·79	" "
under Rs. 10	{ Joint	... 9·26	" "
Over Rs. 10 and	{ Single	... 5·74	" "
under Rs. 30	{ Joint	... 3·76	" "
Total		... 44·4	" "

To add to the excessive fragmentation of holdings which makes them uneconomic, there are other factors like the ignorance of the ryot which makes the task of moving him from out of his old and economically wasteful methods almost impossible. The ryot may be unable to benefit by the use of mechanical appliances and scientific manures, or by the construction of costly wells and tanks for irrigation, for he has no means at his disposal to aspire for such facilities. But he can certainly adopt methods which avoid waste of crop in the fields which is now a source of much loss to him, and he may put to more profitable use than he does at present, cattle-urine, dung and bones; he can strive to improve the quality and price of his crops by being more careful in the selection of seed and by adopting a more scientific system of rotation of crops. It is ascertained by investigation that such a rotation

of crops will not only partially solve the problem of manures, but will actually lead to bringing under cultivation about 51 millions of acres of land which are now left fallow. These and many similar things which lead to greater economy and profit, cost little or nothing. But the gross ignorance of the ryot and his illiteracy are real obstacles to his being persuaded to adopt them. Then we have the glorious uncertainty of our climatic conditions. The annual amount and distribution of rainfall are perpetual sources of anxiety to the poor Indian peasant. Out of the 222 millions of acres under crop, only 48 million acres are irrigated and the remaining 4/5 of the land is rain-fed and dependent on nature's whims.

These and many other causes have actually reduced the rural population to a state of utter economic inefficiency and made them incapable of producing enough from their lands. The villager is literally groaning under the crushing loads of indebtedness and illiteracy which he carries on either shoulder :

" Bowed by the weight of centuries, he leans
Upon his hoe, and gazes on the ground,
The emptiness of ages in his face,
And on his back, the burden of the world."

He is exploited mercilessly and starved for the barest amenities of life. He is left without rural leadership and guidance, with the exodus of the educated and intelligent middle-classes to towns and cities. Like a spring on which is placed a dead weight, he has lost his elasticity of spirit and is depressed in body and mind.

We cannot, however, succeed in our effort to improve the economic efficiency of the ryot by merely providing him with credit and facilities for production and marketing. The truth of the matter is, we cannot separate the producer from the man. Any scheme, therefore, for the amelioration of the agriculturist should take note of "the inseparable inter-relation existing between the social and economic activities of farm life, and try to correlate them." Nothing but a religious determination on our part to re-organise the village as a socio-economic unit will make

progress possible. Western countries have awakened to the need for such re-organisation, and America and some European countries which were disillusioned by the Great War, are now actually engaged in active programmes of Rural Reconstruction. We, in India, cannot afford to look on any longer. There are, no doubt, a few schemes of Rural Reconstruction now in operation in our country, the most notable among them being, a department of *Vishwa Bharati*, settlements run by the Salvation Army, some Mission colonies in Northern and Southern India, the Ramakrishna Mission settlement, the *Sadhakasrama* of Andheri, the Devadhar Malabar Reconstruction Trust, the *Bhil Seva Mandal*, the Criminal Settlement at Bijapur, the Y. M. C. A. experiments, and the Bengal Co-operative Rural Reconstruction Societies. But these are only isolated efforts. In order to achieve our object, the work must be undertaken on a nation-wide scale. In order to train workers in South India, the Industrial and Co-operative organisations should depute enthusiastic young men to visit some of these centres of activity to gain first-hand knowledge of their operations. It is gratifying to note that the Servants of India Society is making preparations to organise Rural Reconstruction work. The province also owes a debt of gratitude to the Hon. Mr. A. Ranganatha Mudaliar for his scheme of Rural Reconstruction and for the generous provision he made for it from his salary.

It is not possible to compress within the scope of this article a detailed scheme of Rural Reconstruction and a plan of work to carry it out. I may, however, mention what I believe to be the correct principles that should guide us in our programme and to suggest an immediate plan of experimental work. I know of no better guide in this connection than Mahatma Gandhi. The most outstanding principle in his lessons in Nation-building is that the Political Reconstruction of India does not come about by gifts from our British masters, and that it can only be brought about by a recon-

truction of our mentality so as to make us self-reliant. Similarly in the economic and social sphere, the village can be regenerated only by a reconstruction of the mentality of the villager. Charitable doles of money, or cheap money thrown into his pocket, whether by the co-operative society or by the Government, will only serve to make him more dependent and less self-reliant. If the financial assistance rendered to the ryot is not closely associated with the inculcation of co-operative principles, his position may become worse. That is why Wolff is never tired of emphasising that, 'the first step which the peoples' bank is bound to take is to make the improvident thrifty, the reckless careful, the drunkard sober, the evil doer well-conducted, the unlettered capable of using the pen. In this way it has become a moralising and educating agency of the greatest value to the nation among whom it acts.'

The next essential principle which reconstructors should bear in mind is, that their scheme should embrace all sides of the village activities, which are compendiously described in Horace Plunkett's classification of the ten principal needs of the farmer as 'business needs' and 'social needs'. Mr. MacNeil summed up the idea in the words, "Better Farming and Better Business would be a soulless thing without Better Living".*

The question of a suitable agency for the propagation of co-operative principles and carrying on the work of Village Reconstruction is one of supreme importance. A national government will have employed thousands of

*'Better Living Societies' are a noteworthy feature of the movement in the Punjab. There are 59 societies of this description with a membership of over 2,000. The plan is most popular and gives a lead to the informal groups of caste-fellows who were already trying to reform their ways. All classes and castes have joined these societies and resolutions have been passed in various places, restricting expenditure on ceremonies, penalising cattle-trespass, forbidding the sale of daughters and the giving of false evidence, and enjoining temperance and inoculation. Fines have been inflicted and realised for breach of these resolutions. Hygienic improvements are also effected by these societies.

intelligent young men in this task of national reconstruction and turned their talent, which is now running to waste, to good account in the cause of the country. But as we are at present circumstanced, it is a vain hope. There is however no need for despondency. If the thousands among middle classes realise their responsibilities to the nation and resolve to contribute their legitimate share to the cause of nation-building, then India is certainly rich in human material. Let those who render this contribution remember that a regenerated village will repay their sacrifice a thousand-fold. Every one will be benefited. Our educated men should cultivate a rural bias and should go back to the villages to spend all the spare time at their disposal. The student should spend his vacation in the village. Men who retire from services and professions should settle down in their village. The lawyer and the doctor should spend their holidays in their villages. The holiday-seeker must make the country-side his pleasure resort. The cry of 'Back to the Village' must be carried to the door of every educated man. The village will then present a new life and a new aspect. Non-officials must equip themselves in large numbers for co-operative and rural propaganda.

How shall we begin our work? My concrete proposal is that we should at once start with about six experimental centres on a modest scale. Let us select typical villages for our operations, one in the East Coast districts, one in Ceded districts, two in Tamil Nadu, one in Malabar, and one in South Kanara. The villages should be easily accessible by railway or road. It is desirable to select villages where well-managed co-operative societies are working and which are in proximity to the headquarters of a supervising union. If there is a local panchayat in the village, it is so much the better. We should plant in each of these villages at least one worker who is imbued with a thoroughly national outlook, patriotism and genuine love for village work. He must be one who can be trusted to act as the friend, philosopher and guide of the villager. The super-

vising of the work of a school for the village children, a plan of simple adult education, a village library for the literate, lessons in sanitation and rural hygiene, promotion of local cottage industries with special emphasis on the Charka and the like, will be his concern. If there is no panchayat in the village, let him take steps to have one established. He must put the villagers in touch with the agricultural experts and demonstrators to learn improved methods of agriculture. With regard to the promotion of co-operative activities, it is better to avoid the formation of numerous separate co-operative agencies. I agree with Prof. Kaji when he says, "I conceive it to be a dissipation of energy to try to run many different organisations in villages and to achieve village organisation piecemeal. The only sane course which appears to me is to promote *General Utility Societies* in villages which will be able to command the services of a few good honorary workers and achieve substantial results in many directions. The societies' managing committee and group of workers will be a sort of cabinet carrying on the administration of the little village republic." The cost of each centre will be roughly Rs. 1000 a year and it should be easy for the co-operation organisation to find Rs. 6,000 a year for this all-important experimental work.

An alternative plan is to employ half-a-dozen Rural Reconstruction Supervisors who will cost about a thousand rupees each annually and place each of them in charge of a *firka* of, say, about 30 villages. They will be thus able to carry on propaganda in about 200 villages roughly. It is urged that the work of reconstruction which is carried on wholly by the villagers themselves does not require the presence of a worker permanently in the village, and that most of the time he will remain idle. The idea, therefore, of the alternative plan is to get as much out of the Supervisor as possible by way of propaganda and education.

I understand that local bodies are being encouraged to constitute a Rural Development Fund. Even if this

scheme involves a slight local taxation, it should be accepted. If each Taluk Board levies an additional one pie of land cess, it will get 5 lakhs and the Government will grant an equal amount. Thus every year, 11 lakhs can be obtained by this means. While Imperial and Provincial taxation must be objected to at present, people should take kindly to local taxation for the reconstruction of their villages.

The task before us is indeed stupendous. The re-organisation of 8 lakhs of villages, inhabited by peasants and labourers who are weak, disunited, disorganised and illiterate, and who live in a state of chronic poverty and indebtedness, among most insanitary, depressing surroundings, is a venture which will truly stagger our imagination. But if we have faith in ourselves, there is no task which unity, associated effort, and steady constructive work cannot accomplish :

Step by step, the longest march
Can be won : can be won.
Single stones will form an arch
One by one, one by one.
And by union, what we will,
Can be accomplished still.
Drops of water turn a mill
Singly none, singly none.

Durvinita and Vikramaditya I

BY N. VENKATARAMANAIYA, M.A.

There are very many references to the Gangas in the inscriptions of the early Chalukyas of Badami. Kirtivarman I is said to have conquered them. They appear to have been the feudatories of the Chalukyas under Mangalesa, but the civil war between Mangalesa and his nephew had so weakened the central government, that all subject kingdoms rose in rebellion, and asserted their independence. The Gangas took advantage of the opportunity to regain their lost freedom. Therefore, Pulakesin II when he ascended the throne, after the death of his uncle, was obliged to reconquer all the former possessions of his family. Among the countries which he conquered, Gangavadi was one. The Chalukya inscriptions do not mention the name of the king who was ruling over Gangavadi. However, some of the Canarese inscriptions published by the Mysore Government appear to throw some new light on the subject. They tell us that some of the Ganga kings were related to the Chalukyas by marriage alliances. We have for example the following allusion in an inscription (1).

Vasudhage Ravana-Pratiman emba negartteya kaduvettiam
Visasana-rangadol pididu tanna tanujeya putranam prati
Sthhisijayasimhavallabhanan-anvaya-rajyadol urbbiyol vigur
Bisidan id en agurbbo nija-dor-baladunnati Durvinitana.

It has been translated by Rice thus: 'Seizing on the field of slaughter Kaduvetti of Kanchi, who was celebrated as a Ravana to this earth, and setting his own daughter's son, he became formidable in the world, in the hereditary kingdom of Jayasimhavallabha.' (2) The translation is a little ambiguous, and it requires slight modification. It describes two events which are connected with each other: (a) the seizure of Kaduvetti of Kanchi

(1) *EC. VIII. Nagar 35, part i, 250.*

(2) *IB., part i, 135.*

DURVINITA AND VIKRAMADITYA I

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on the field of battle, and (b) the establishment of his own daughter's son on the throne of the hereditary kingdom of Jayasimhavallabha. Durvinita, the king of the Gangas, became famous in the world by these achievements. The translation of the verse must be slightly altered in order that it may bring out the sense of the original.

'Having captured the Kaduvetti of Kanchi, who is celebrated as Ravana to the earth, on the field of battle; and having established his own daughter's son in the hereditary kingdom of Jayasimhavallabha; (he Durvinita) became formidable in the world.'

The allusion contained in the verse requires some explanation. One is tempted to identify the hereditary kingdom of Jayasimhavallabha with the kingdom of Kanchi, the king of which was captured by Durvinita on the field of battle. Such an identification is a mistake. The hereditary kingdom of Jayasimhavallabha has nothing to do with the Kaduvettis of Kanchi. It is clear from the verse that Jayasimhavallabha is the founder of a dynasty. Who is he? The author of the verse could not have referred to the Kaduvetti or Pallava dominions as the hereditary kingdom of Jayasimhavallabha, because there was no king of that name in the Pallava geneology. Vallabha, however, is the usual suffix with which all the names of the early Chalukya kings of Badami terminate. The Kingdom of the Chalukyas is sometimes called the Vallabha kingdom, (1) and the kings are merely styled as Vallabhas (2). In fact, the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II (3) says, that the title of Prithvivallabha became 'an appropriate title to the Chalukyas, on account of the conquests of the members of that race.' The founder of this dynasty is Jayasimha-vallabha; and the author of the verse in question refers to the kingdom of the Chalukyas when he speaks of the hereditary Kingdom of Jayasimhavallabha.

Now, which of the Chalukyan kings of Badami was the daughter's son of Durvinita? As the verse does not mention any name in this connection, it is not easy to find the name of the king referred to therein. We must get at

(1) *SII. i.*

(2) *EI. xiv.*

(3) *EI. vi.*

it indirectly. A survey of the history of the Badami Chalukyas shows that there were only two occasions when the heir to the throne stood in need of external help. Once, at the close of the reign of Mangalesa who attempted to prevent his nephew Pulakesin II from ascending the throne. Pulakesin was 'either banished by Mangalesa' or 'he voluntarily banished himself.' (1) A civil war broke out in the Chalukyan kingdom, during the course of which Mangalesa was killed, and Pulakesin II became king in his place. Was Durvinita one of the 'neighbouring princes' whom Pulakesin asked for assistance during the days of his exile? We must answer this question in the affirmative, if we believe that Pulakesin was the daughter's son of Durvinita. But was he Durvinita's daughter's son?

Pulakesin was a contemporary of Durvinita. Dubreuil places his date between 605 and 650 A. D. Pulakesin II reigned from 609 to 642 A. D. Therefore, they were contemporary princes reigning over two neighbouring kingdoms. The same fact is established by a passage in the *Avanti-sundari-katha* of Dandin. Regarding one of his ancestors, the Poet Bharavi, Dandin narrates the following story:

'In the city of Kanchi in the South of India, ruled a king of the Pallavas named Simhavishnu who is a great patron of learning. One day a stranger appeared before him and recited a Sanskrit verse in praise of the Narasimha incarnation of Vishnu. On hearing the lofty sentiments expressed in the verse, the king enquired of the stranger who the author of the verse was. He replied thus:—

'In the north-west, there is a town named Anandapura, the crest jewel of Arya-desa, from which a family of the Brahmans of the Kausika gotra migrated and settled at Achalapura. Narayanaswamin, a member of the family, had a son named Damodara, who became a great scholar, and was known as Bharavi. He became a friend of king Vishnuvardhana. On one occasion, he accompanied the king on a hunting expedition, and while in the forest had to eat animal flesh. To expiate this sin, he set out on

(1) *EL*. vi.

a pilgrimage, and finally settled in the court of Durvinita. He is the author of this verse.' (1).

We understand from this passage that Bharavi, the great-grandfather of Dandin, the author of *Avanti-sundari-katha*, lived at the courts of two kings, Vishnuvardhana of Achalapura, and Durvinita, the Western Ganga monarch. Bharavi was subsequently invited by Simhavishnu, the Pallava king of Kanchipura, to come and reside at his court. Bharavi accepted the invitation, and migrated to the capital of the Pallava king.

It is clear from the above that Vishnuvardhana, Durvinita, and Simhavishnu were contemporaries. There is no doubt about the identity of Durvinita and Simhavishnu; Vishnuvardhana the king of Achalapura, has been identified with Vishnuvardhana, the brother of Pulakesin II, the king of the Chalukyas. It is also clear from this that Pulakesin II was a contemporary of Durvinita and Simhavishnu. The question of the contemporaneity of Pulakesin II and Durvinita being thus settled, we proceed to enquire whether Pulakesin was the daughter's son of Durvinita. It could not have been possible for them to be related to each other as grandson and grandfather. We must remember that Durvinita came to the throne about 605 A. D., and he ruled for 45 years. It is probable that Durvinita was a comparatively young man at the time of his accession, and he could not have had a grown-up grandson like Pulakesin at the time. Moreover, in one of his inscriptions (2), Pulakesin II mentions a prince of the Sendraka family as his maternal uncle. Therefore, the mother of Pulakesin could not have been a Ganga princess.

The second occasion when a Chalukyan prince stood in need of external help came at the close of the reign of Pulakesin II, which ended disastrously. Pulakesin was defeated in a series of battles by the Pallava king, Narasimhavarman I. It is said that Siruttonda-nayanar, who was a general of the Pallava king destroyed the fort of Vatapi, the Western Chalukya capital, and

(1) *MYS. A. S. A. R.*(2) *EL*. vii, 50.

'captured the king (Pulakesin II) alive.' Dr. V. A. Smith is of opinion that he 'presumably killed Pulakesin II' (1). All the southern provinces of the Chalukyan kingdom were annexed by the Pallavas. So much we understand from inscriptions of Chalukya Vikramaditya I, the son and successor of Pulakesin II. It is said in the Sohrab copper plates that he recovered 'the proper glory of his line' after defeating the Pallava king (or the king of the Pallavas) who, by contempt of a family as pure as the rays of the moon, was a cause of destruction. (2) In the Talamanchi plates (3) he is said to have 'gained for himself the royalty of his father which had been interrupted by the confederacy of three kings.' According to the Togarchedu plates, he seized the city of Kanchi after defeating 'the leader of the Pallavas who had been the cause of the discomfiture and the destruction of that family (of the Chalukyas) which was as pure as the rays of the moon' (4). It is obvious from these references that the Pallavas occupied a part of the Chalukyan kingdom and it was from them that Vikramaditya I. recovered it. We must now attempt to discover the Pallava king or kings with whom he fought for the recovery of his ancestral kingdom. The Gadval plates (5) tell us that he 'crushed the glory of Narasimha', 'caused the prowess of Mahendra to be dissolved,' and 'subdued Isvara by Polity.' Thus he was the contemporary of three Pallava kings of Kanchi,—Narasimhavarman I, Mahendravarman II and Paramesvaravarman I. The dates of these kings are;

Narasimha I 630-668

Mahendra II 668-670

Paramesvara I 678-690

Vikramaditya I ruled from 654 A. D. to 680 A. D. His struggle with the Pallavas began much earlier than 654 A. D. and it did not come to a close before 678 A. D. The struggle between the Pallavas and the Chalukyas must have been running its course during the reigns of Chandraditya and Adityavarman, the two elder brothers of Vikramaditya.

(1) *Oxford History of India.*

(2) *EC. viii, (2), 175-6.*

(3) *EL. ix.*

(4) *J B B R A S., xvi. 232.*

(5) *EL. x 100*

There is some reason for us to suppose that there was a disputed succession after the death of the infant son of Chandraditya. Adityavarman and Vikramaditya began to fight for the throne. In this struggle Vikramaditya was successful: hence the boast, 'Sarvan dayadan vijitya' (1.)

It was during this period that the sons of Pulakesin II must have stood in need of outside help to fight with the powerful enemy of their family. Have we any reason to suppose that Durvinita assisted Vikramaditya? There is no clear proof of this. But it is probable that he had given Vikramaditya some assistance. The reasons for thinking so are three:

(1) Durvinita was alive for 8 years from 642 to 650 A. D. during the period of interregnum in the Chalukyan kingdom.

(2) The Nagar inscription says that he vanquished a Kaduvetti of Kanchi who was a powerful king, and a terror to all his neighbours. So much is implied in the sentence, 'the Kaduvetti who is celebrated as Ravana to this earth'. Ravana was a fierce and mighty demon who was a terror to all the kingdoms on earth. To be compared with him, this Kaduvetti, the opponent of Durvinita, must have been very powerful, and he must also have inspired great fear in the minds of his enemies.

(3) A stone inscription of the time of the Ganga king Nirvinita, who is identified with Avinita says that his younger son assumed from a Kaduvetti of Kanchi, the Kongu Nadu: 'Sri Nirvinita's younger (or little) son assumed the Kongani crown, from the people of Kaduvetti and the Pallava king' (2). Mr. Rice is of opinion that he 'obtained the Kongani crown...superseding the rightful heir' i.e., Durvinita. (3)

In view of these three reasons, we have to ask ourselves which of the Pallava kings among Durvinita's contemporaries could be described as 'Ravana Pratimanemba'. The reign of Durvinita extended, as we had seen, from A.D. 605

(1) *J B B R A S., xvi.*

(2) *EC. vi, cg. 50.*

(3) *E I xiv.*

to 650 A.D. There ruled at Kanchi, according to Dubreuil, (1) two kings, during this period.

Mahendra I. 600—630

Narasimha I. 630—668

But the *Avanti-sundari-katha* says that Simhavishnu, the father of Mahendra I, was a contemporary of Durvinita. If we accept 605 A.D. as the date of Durvinita's accession to the throne, we must admit that Simhavishnu continued to rule for sometime after 605. According to the *Avantisundari-katha*, Vishnuvardhana who is identified with Pulakesin II's brother of that name was the king of Achalapura, the modern Elichpur. Vishnuvardhana (Kubja) was his brother's viceroy in that region until 616-17 A.D. Therefore the events described in the *Avantisundarikatha* must have taken place between 605 and 617. They could not have taken place before 609-10 A.D. because Pulakesin II did not become king until that year. Five or six years must have elapsed before Bharavi finally migrated to Kanchipuram after leaving Achalapura. Even if we suppose that Simhavishnu was alive for only one year after Bharavi's migration, he could not have died before 617 or 618 A. D. Therefore, we are obliged to shorten the reign of Mahendra I according to Dubreuil's chronology by 18 years. Therefore, the Pallava kings who were the contemporaries of Durvinita were.

Simhavishnu ?-618 A. D.

Mahendra I. 618 A. D.-630 A. D.

Narasimha I. 633 A. D.-668 A. D.

Which of these three was the Kaduvetti with whom Durvinita fought? Could it be Simhavishnu? He is said to have conquered the Cholas, Pandyas, and Cheras. But there are certain facts which go against this supposition. The Kaduvetti, the foe of Durvinita, is compared to Ravana, who was cruel and terrible. There is nothing in the inscriptions to show that Simhavishnu's invasion was ruthless in its character. Again, the verse quoted from the Nagar inscription connects the two events, the defeat of Kaduvetti and the

(1) Dubreuil, *Pallava*.

installation of Durvinita's daughter's son in the hereditary kingdom of Jayasimhavallabha as cause and effect. That is, Durvinita fought with the Pallava king on behalf of his daughter's son. The defeat of the Pallava king resulted in the establishment of his daughter's son in the Chalukyan kingdom.

Durvinita must have been a comparatively young man during Simhavishnu's reign and he could not then have had a grandson. Therefore Simhavishnu must be left out of consideration. Mahendra I is never represented as a great conqueror: there is some reason to believe that Pallava arms suffered reverses during his reign. This process of elimination leaves behind Narasimha I as the only person who could have been the adversary of Durvinita. We must now see whether he answers to the description of the Kaduvetti of the Nagar inscription. There can be no doubt about the extensive conquests of Narasimha. His victories over Pulakesin II have already been noticed. He annexed all the southern provinces of the Chalukyan Kingdom. The Kongu-nadu appears to have formed an integral part of his dominions. The Pallava navy conquered Ceylon. Thus he was a great conqueror, and he must have inspired fear in the minds of neighbouring princes. Moreover, the Pallava invasion appears to have been ruthless in its character. The inscriptions of Vikramaditya I accuse the Pallavas of having confiscated the property even of the Brahmans and the gods. The Chalukyan capital was destroyed and probably the king himself was killed. All these actions made the conqueror appear to his enemies as a demon. Therefore he was compared to Ravana, the destroyer of the temples and the Brahmans. The comparison with Ravana suits Narasimha I very well.

The Kaduvetti whom Durvinita defeated was must therefore have been none other than Narasimha I. Before his defeat by the Ganga king, Narasimhavarman was the undisputed master of the whole of Southern India. He was also ruling over the southern provinces of the Chalukyan kingdom. It was, therefore, necessary to defeat him first, to help the Chalukyan king to recover his ancestral dominions.

Durvinita attacked him first and defeated him. The victory of the Ganga king resulted in the restoration of his daughter's son (Vikramaditya I) to the hereditary dominions of Jayasimhavallabha.

Was Vikramaditya I the daughter's son of Durvinita? It is very probable that he was.

- (1) Durvinita was a contemporary of Pulakesin II and Vikramaditya I, the descendants of Jayasimhavallabha, the founder of the Chalukyan dynasty. And he was old enough to be the grandfather of the latter.
- (2) Durvinita had a daughter's son whom, by defeating a Pallava king, he restored to the hereditary kingdom of Jayasimhavallabha.
- (3) Vikramaditya had to wage war upon the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I, who killed his father and annexed a large portion of his kingdom, to regain the lost glory of the Chalukyas.
- (4) The Ganga king Durvinita was deprived of the Kongu-nadu, which the Pallava king gave to his younger brother.

Vikramaditya I was, therefore, very probably the daughter's son of Durvinita. It is interesting to note that the Gadval Plates mention a Ganga Mahadevi, at whose request Vikramaditya I made a grant of land to the Brahman, Kanhasarman. How this lady was related to Vikramaditya is not mentioned in the inscription. It has been conjectured that she was 'one of the queens of Vikramaditya.' She must have been his mother. If this surmise is correct, we have direct proof of the relationship of Durvinita and Vikramaditya.

Annapurna Devi

BY ABBURI RAMAKRISHNA RAO

In common with many others who are to-day mourning the passing away of Srimathi Annapurna Devi, I had not the privilege of her acquaintance. Ten years ago, a slender manuscript in Telugu-prose was sent me by a friend for revision. It was by Annapurna. It was a translation of a few letters written by Aurobindo Ghose from his exile to his wife. I was myself learning Bengali and was sufficiently advanced in that language to be able to appreciate the lucid rendering of Annapurna into Telugu. The letters made a deep impression on me. The translator must have been even more deeply impressed. Now that she is dead, I realise how steadfastly and devoutly she must have cherished the great ideals held up in those letters of Aurobindo, which gave her the strength to dedicate herself to Gandhi and his great cause.

Annapurna was born in 1900 of a middle class Telugu family, Kamma by caste. The Kammas were once a ruling class, and are even to-day a highly respected section of the Andhra aristocracy. Annapurna's mother, who still lives to mourn her noble daughter's loss, is an ideal mother who never once tried to set any limits to the desire for service that was slowly growing in Annapurna. She was for sometime secretary, and is even now an active worker, in the local Prarthana Samaj and many other institutions doing social service. Annapurna was the only daughter of her parents, and their indulgence to her was unbounded, as can be seen from her answer to Mahatma Gandhi on the occasion of her great sacrifice. When, in the memorable year 1921, Gandhi came on a tour to this province, she gave away her rich ornaments, bangles, and a heavy gold chain. Asked if she had the permission of

her parents, she replied, 'My parents do not interfere with me. They let me do as I like.' In these days when women themselves exaggerate the frailties of women, it was no small advantage for Annapurna to have had such high-minded and indulgent parents.

She showed great promise even while a girl of seven. Dr. Govindarajulu, a friend who had watched the short and sweet drama of her life from beginning to end, says that her sweet temper and rare intelligence won the admiration of all that came into contact with her at that early age. Raly Seshagiri Rao Garu of Ellora, a wise and devout seeker, was at that impressionable age, a guide, philosopher, and friend. He left so deep and abiding an impression on her, that she would very often in later years attribute all her strength and courage to the dynamic teaching of this Guru of her youth. Later, she also came under the influence of Adipudi Somanatha Rao Garu, a great social reformer and poet.

Owing to her pronounced disinclination to go to school, Annapurna received her first lessons from her parents and was subsequently sent to the Mission School at Guntur. Having remained there for a little over two years, she was sent up to Calcutta on the advice of friends to study in the Brahmo Girls' School. To meet her expenses, the parents managed to lay by a little sum every month for their beloved daughter, the father by trading and the mother by sewing. While at Calcutta, she resided along with Srimathi Sakuntala Devi, now an M.A. and private tutor to the Maharani of Pithapur, in the house of Mr. Hemachandra Sirkar, the well-known Brahmo preacher. Mrs. Sirkar seems to have imposed upon her young wards a stern discipline—although by no means sterner than what Annapurna voluntarily imposed upon herself later—which had a chastening and purifying effect on them. While engaged in her school studies, she found real pleasure in cultivating the beautiful Bengali language with great enthusiasm. Her note-books of those school days which have been preserved, contain many noble sayings written



Annapurna-Devi

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in dainty Bengali script by herself and friends at school, who seem to have been a sort of intellectual family gathered together by happy circumstance. She could herself write an elegant hand Bengali, and her many translations from that language testify to her fine sense of selection in trying to convey to her Telugu readers some of the finest things in the Bengali language.

After more than five years of study, her health broke down under the strain of an alien discipline and she came back to Ellore. An year later, she went up privately for the Matriculation examination of the Madras University, and being in great want, resolved to earn by her pen all the money she required for prosecuting higher studies. In 1917, she published a book of prose *Sitarama*, which was prescribed as a Text Book for the High School classes. While she was planning to pursue her literary labours with greater zeal, she again fell ill and had to go in 1919 to Madanapalle and remain there for an year. She came back healthy and strong. In 1920, she married Mr. Maganti Bapineedu (now B. Sc. of Cornell and M. Sc. of California) who was then studying in the City College, Calcutta. The marriage was a memorable event in the history of social reform in Andhra Desa. The *mantras* were recited in Telugu and a Kamma scholar was chosen as the officiating priest. The marriage was celebrated in the distinguished presence of Mr. Umesh-chandra Vidyaratna, the famous Bengali reformer, and Mr. Adipudi Somanatha Rao.

Soon after marriage, Mr. Bapineedu having obtained the Satyalingam Charities Scholarship, started for America leaving his wife behind to play her destined part in the great struggle for Swaraj. While her husband was in India, Annapurna had planned to accompany him to America. But Mr. Needu, in obedience to the wishes of the trustees, had to suddenly start away on his journey, and young Annapurna had to make her own arrangements for money. No one was willing to help, and the intercession of big men and the entreaties of friends proved futile.

She bravely fought for over an year, and when help was actually coming, heard the call of Gandhi and resolved to lay her all-too-imperfect life at the feet of the Mother.

Her mind was by this time formed and her understanding equipped. Having freed herself from the vain terrors that sway the general run of human beings, she threw herself heart and soul into the new movement. She burnt all the costly *saris*, worth 1200 rupees, purchased for her American journey. She found from experience that some definite step should be taken to gather together the scattered energies of the nation into an institution, where lasting and silent work could be done, undisturbed by fleeting political enthusiasms. At great risk to her health, she toured the important places in Andhra Desa for money, and founded the *Mohandas Khaddar Parisramalayam* at Ellore. In 1923, when her husband returned from America, she met him as he got down from the steamer at Bombay, and implored him to throw his foreign dress into the sea and put on the coarse homespun she had brought for him. It is no wonder he obeyed willingly, for as Gandhi has said, she had already 'acquired a gentle but commanding influence over her husband, by her purity and single-minded devotion.' She sped like a meteor from place to place, holding up with her persuasive eloquence the great ideal of Swaraj before vast crowds. It was during this period that I saw her on many an occasion, dressed in her quaint Khaddar *sari* while she came either to deliberate in a committee or speak at a public meeting. Her person, her clothing, her attitude, bespoke a lofty disdain of earthly pleasures, and one felt that this woman had from all time had a quarrel with Nature. Owing to her great loyalty to Mahatma Gandhi, she followed the Health Guide to the very letter. Like her Master, she was always kind and courteous to her opponents and respected their convictions. She never betrayed herself into the narrow bigotry of the new enthusiast, but always held firmly to her convictions.

Towards the end of 1924, she again fell ill and travelled restlessly from one health-resort to another, always accom-

panied by her devoted husband who, true to the advice of Gandhi, was her best nurse all through this period. During these travels, she found time to finish a beautiful translation of Sri Ramakrishna's *Teachings* from Bengali and write an original prose work, *Nari*, dealing with the destiny of woman in future India. But the fell disease made rapid progress and defied the skill of the best doctors, but she managed through sheer power of will to live on till November 9th 1927, when she passed away, mourned by a tender husband, disconsolate parents, and a whole nation whom she loved and served so well. She was happy in her resignation, retaining to the last her patience and her peace of mind. In spite of painful bedsores, she refused to forsake Khaddar and was finally cremated with Khaddar on.

Annapurna was one of those rare souls who have sacrificed their most cherished personal ambitions in life for the service of the Motherland, for assuredly her vocation was certainly not politics, but literature. She had an active, inquiring spirit, and a restless mind, which are so clearly mirrored in the scanty literary remains she has left behind. Her letters to her husband while he was away in America, are a priceless possession for the Andhras. They are spiritual discourses of extreme ardour, whose monotony might be fatiguing, did we not feel in them apart from the beauty of the language, the yearnings, of a great spirit. Whether from the *Golden Threshold* at Hyderabad, or from her own simple *Parisramalayam*, we are conscious on reading these letters, of a good faith and a sincerity which evoke admiration and sympathy. Her death has taken away from us not merely an honest and energetic political worker, but a creative artist whose powers were in the process of unfoldment. Surely there is a curse upon Andhra genius. Do the gods love the Andhra youth, that they die so young?



Annapurna-Devi and her Husband

ANNAPURNA DEVI

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these words can tell. Long years ago, while yet a boy, I lost a beloved sister whose name was also Annapurna. To-day, I feel I have been deprived of my sister once again for, without ever coming into intimate personal touch with 'Devi,' I lavished on her a brother's love. For her sake, and for the sake of the cause of woman's progress which she so worthily represented, I shall endeavour in all humility to make the Triyeni a 'mirror of the elegance of woman' though I cannot agree with my friend, Mr. Iswara Dutt, that energy is the special attribute of man.

There is little that I can add to the many and eloquent tributes to the memory of this latest of the Andhra Heroines, —the successor in spirit of Gothami, Vasishti, Rudramadevi and Mallamma Devi. In her one-year-old daughter, she has left us an image of her dear self. May her spirit live on through young *Jhansi*, alas! too early orphaned, but infinitely blessed in a noble mother, and blessed too in the ever-memorable name that the mother chose for her!

ONE OF HIS DEAR DAUGHTERS

BY MAHATMA GANDHI

The esteem in which Mahatmaji held Annapurna Devi will be evident from his letter to her husband, which is given in facsimile overleaf.

SRIMATHI ANNAPURNA AND 'TRIVENI'

BY K. ISWARA DUTT

I am highly thankful to the Editor of the 'Triveni' for allowing me the privilege of offering my humble meed of praise to the volume of tributes paid all over the country to the memory of Srimathi Annapurna Devi, the noble and devoted partner of Sjt. M. B. Needa. 'Oh fairest flower, no sooner blown but blasted' will be the epitaph carved by Time on her 'green' grave. The way in which she freed herself from time-dishonoured fetters and man-made tyrannies, and the zeal with which she worked for the emancipation of her Motherland according to the dictates of her conscience, is an imperishable example and an inspiring memory of the triumph of her youth and sex. She touched a richer note to the glory of Indian womanhood and lived in an atmosphere of lofty idealism, which is a standing rebuke to a nation lulled to dogmatic 'oriental' slumbers. Our task does not end with subscribing to her memorial fund. We have to make ourselves worthy of the legacy she has left behind, in creating a proud consciousness of woman's equality with man, and a realisation of woman's duty to her enthralled Motherland.

If the *Triveni* which is dedicated to the ideals for which this noble daughter of Andhra Desa gave her life, works for the equality of the sexes in all spheres of life, and invites leading women to enrich it with their contributions, it will be covering a wider field of journalistic endeavour. I am sure the *Triveni* will mirror alike the energy of man and the elegance of woman.

A BROTHER'S TRIBUTE

BY K. RAMAKOTISWARA RAO

To me, as to all those that threw themselves into the struggle for Indian Swaraj early in 1921, Annapurna is dearer

The Idealist in Life

CHAVALI V. KRISHNAIYA, B.A., B.L.

It is commonly thought that the sum of human progress consists in the advance made in the arts and sciences which minister to man's earthly needs, and that no other element is an integral part of the same. Some may be willing to concede that progress made in the domain of Philosophy is a substantial contribution to Positive history. The Kingdom of God has, it is fondly believed, well-nigh been consolidated on Earth. The highest in man has been realised and his supremacy in the physical world indisputably established, add the protagonists of the present-day civilisation. But amidst such blatant self-glorification rises now and then a solemn and clear voice of protest and warning from rather unexpected quarters, that all is not well with the world, and that the last word has not been said about man's destiny on earth.

Thus for instance Huxley, one of the greatest scientists of the 19th century: "Even the best of modern civilisations appears to me to exhibit a condition of mankind which neither embodies any worthy ideal nor even possesses the merit of stability. I do not hesitate to express the opinion that if there is no hope of a large improvement of the condition of the greater part of the human family; if it is true that the increase of knowledge, the winning of a greater dominion over nature which is its consequence, and the wealth which follows upon the dominion, are to make no difference in the extent and the intensity of want with its concomitant physical and moral degradation amongst the masses of the people; *I should hail the advent of some kindly comet which would sweep the whole affair away as a desirable consummation.*" Huxley is no reactionary, and no juster and stronger indictment against modern civilisation has ever been delivered. This, it may be complained, is the language of impotent and

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kismatic rage and does not hold out the hope of any corrective or remedial plan. But it is highly instructive in that the cry for 'halt' to the march of merely material progress is voiced by an eminent man of science.

The industrial race-course, the most important phase of modern civilisation, has unduly emphasised the gladiatorial character of human existence, and the remorseless exploitation of the less developed by the stronger peoples is resulting in the gradual extinction of the former. 'Whatever we have, to get more; wherever we are, to go somewhere else,' that is Ruskin's epigram describing the life of restless aggressiveness of the Westerner. As Tagore puts it, the political civilisation of Europe is carnivorous and cannibalistic in its tendencies. It feeds upon the resources of other peoples and tries to swallow their whole future. Industrialism which has vastly increased productive energy and thereby added to man's material comforts, has given the go-bye to man's moral instinct and created in its stead a sordid, selfish, greedy spirit. This spirit has led to the formation of close and powerful combinations, with exploitation of the poor as their main object. The result is the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few, while the poor who are responsible for this wealth are reduced to little better than abject slavery. 'Every fresh triumph of Industrialism' says Frederic Harrison, 'has had its battle-fields strewn with crushed and dying humanity, as the destroying path of a conquering army.' The white man must at all costs, and at all hazards, play the deputy Providence for the coloured man everywhere. The latter must yield or perish. The strong points of the white man's civilisation, no less than the weak ones, are equally destructive to the non-white. How the native populations are demoralised by European civilisation, and how they are on the verge of extinction, are graphically described in the sociological works of a host of writers, for instance, Wallace, Butler, and Melville. As amongst the powerful nations themselves, rivalry is kept up by the most important axiom of modern statecraft, that a nation's prosperity, nay, its very existence depends upon its military power.

Hence untold wealth is wasted upon armaments. And the latest discoveries of science are applied to the perfecting of the most powerful instruments of human destruction. The theory of evolution is often requisitioned for imposing upon credulous minds that in the inevitable struggle for existence, the most warlike races survive and inherit the earth. They are thus deluded into the conviction that it is through 'blood and iron' that nations become great and preserve their greatness.

The pathetic and passionate appeals of subject nations, once great and glorious, like Egypt and India, for self-development are met with contemptuous derision and are rewarded with repressive laws, deportations and all the weapons in the inexhaustible armoury of strong military nations. The domestic affairs of Imperial powers are excepted from the purview of Hague conferences and Washington conferences, as if the strangulation of a great nation's life by another, physically more powerful, is no matter of concern for international institutions established for securing world-peace. How futile and wasteful these conferences, and how hollow and untrue the pacts concluded therein—are they not painfully clear from the abortive attempts made recently to settle the affairs of Europe? It is forgotten that there is God's truth in the business of God-created men.' Power and wealth are coming to be concentrated in ever-narrowing circles. The spirit of empire and monopoly pervades every human activity. A monopoly for creating even public opinion! A Napoleon or a Cromwell of the Press like the late Lord Northcliffe—what gigantic efforts he makes for obtaining journalistic control all over the world! Would the newspapers, run under such a monopolistic system, ever hope genuinely to represent public opinion? There is a strong tinge of artificiality in every phase of individual and collective life. The utter dehumanisation of vast masses of humanity, on whose life-blood the indolent upper classes are leading a parasitic existence, the complete disappearance from the conduct of human affairs of moral and ethical considerations, the Godlessness and the spiritual paralysis which the long habit of parasitic life

has generated—these are the direct results of the positive achievements of science in the present age. The civilisation of which we have been writing, though Western and European in origin, is being diffused over the whole earth and is successfully supplanting the older and higher civilisations of the East, so that in Eastern countries like India, China and Japan, one finds Western ideals, western manners and western customs faithfully copied to the letter. (1) All the evils of predatory Western civilisation noticed above, have crept into the life of the Eastern nations. Only the cannibalism, which is the proper word for European colonisation and conquest, is absent to complete the picture, no more 'backward' peoples having been left for the Eastern nations to prey upon.

It is coming universally to be recognised that the destructive hand of modern civilisation should be stayed. The prospect of Huxley's 'kindly comet' might not be desirable nor that of a *tabula rasa* of all achievements of the past. What is needed is a new and a more spiritual adjustment of life, based on the recognition that man is a spiritual being made in God's own image, and that his onward development until he is only 'a little lower than the angels' is more vital in this essentially human universe, than all the glorious conquests of nature put together.

The struggle between the old and the new, between progress and reaction, is prolonged and is intensified by the attitude of the ease-loving men of the world, whose watchwords 'ordered progress' and 'steady and sure reform' are apt to be captivating to ignorant minds. Their policy of 'least resistance' is equally comfortable and adds an air of practicality to their views and plans. Thus the attempts to prolong the existence of an old and effete system naturally retard the progress of the new. In their fervour and passion for the old, its adherents unwittingly sometimes, and sometimes of set purpose,

(1) It will be remembered how poet Tagore was called by the Japanese Press as the prophet of a degraded nation, when he insisted on a humanising philosophy and did not pamper the military instinct.

cause the supporters of the new to be persecuted for what they conceive to be their mischievous and dangerous activities. The pioneer of every new movement in social life and his followers have on this account suffered incalculable injury to their person and property. History repeats itself; and the story of almost every great upheaval confirms this fact.

A characteristic specimen of this class of reactionary people is Regent Murray who, in answer to Knox's expostulation, that the properties in the possession of the barons of the time were church property and therefore to be turned to charitable uses, answered, 'It is a devout imagination.' Even such a moderate and reasonable demand fell flat upon the Regent, and his answer has been immortalised in the various turns of expression, all synonymous and mere paraphrases of this historic ejaculation, which the mediocrities fling at each phase of new thought and new morality.

But great souls, undeterred by gibes and sneers, and regardless of personal safety, happiness and advancement, have always set the wheel of progress moving on to the point of suffering self-extinction from the crushing pressure of the wheel itself. In spite of these Regent Murrrays and their stout oppositions, the world has domesticated the ferocious lions and tigers of revolutionary thought into the harmless and often helpful home associates of man. The Regent Murrrays who plumed and strutted and lived their glorious little lives, have vanished into the limbo of oblivion, their sins of omission and commission forgotten and forgiven by an unvindictive and sympathetic posterity.

Then it is contended by these men of the world that the movements inaugurated by idealists have been dismal failures, as they involved untold sufferings, (for which none more than these very men were responsible) and as there was no visible and immediate material outcome. Both of these are fallacious tests. If suffering there was, it was self-imposed, voluntary, and heartily conscious,

so far as the sufferers were concerned, and the inflictors of pain were mere instruments—Providence-designed. And as Mazzini says, "Two-thirds at least of popular revolutions only benefit the succeeding generations. The generation that made them is nearly always condemned to mark with its own dead the road of progress for its successor. Itself can never enjoy the result of its travail." This is the philosophy of suffering. As for visible results, it is purely a commercial test and is out of place in measuring the inner growth of man's soul. Take for instance the career of Jesus. What did the Pharisees and the Roman officials think of him? As a great failure, assuredly. His crucifixion was thought to end him and his movement. But it ended the Pharisees and their religion, and the Romans and their Empire, and the roots of the new religion were firmly planted. It was the Nazarene's blood that put inextinguishable life in the seed of the great Tree, under the shadow of whose branches the souls of millions of men all the world over are resting. Then again, take the case of Mahomed. His doctrines are said to have attracted only about thirteen followers in three years. That is a poor, hopelessly poor, visible result. His own uncle Abu Thalib did not believe in his nephew's great prophetic work, and like the mediocrity that he was, he pitied the young man for running the risk of his own life for a petty doctrine. His persecution, his fleeing for his life, and the persecution of his own followers, the tremendous influence his doctrine is now wielding, and the millions of votaries which it is now having, are commonplace facts of History. So of Buddha and his religion of Love.

The truth and strength of a movement, and the potentialities of its ultimate success are more important reckoning than the ups and downs, the struggles and the failings of its author. 'Is not a man's walking, in truth,' says Carlyle, 'a succession of falls?' Viewed in this light, every great movement is a success and a positive contribution to human history.

The Gods of the Tamils

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

The religion of the Vedic Aryans has been popularly described as polytheistic and by some competent scholars as anthropomorphic. Really it is neither; the Vedic hymns deal with one God, though they call him variously. When a hymn extols Indra, it calls Him the All-Highest whom all Intelligences obey. When another hymn extols Varuna, it deals with Him similarly. From the apparently contradictory-praises of the various Intelligences, one truth emerges clear, that the hymns extolled, not the particular Intelligence to whom they were specially addressed, but the One otherwise indescribable God whom the devotee felt as immanent in the particular intelligence he hymned about. The doctrine of *Ishtam* or choice from among the Intelligences of the One, through whose form the Great Unknowable beyond all forms is reached, may not have been clearly formulated in the Vedic hymns; but it was impliedly there already. The reconciliation of the differences in the attributes of particular Intelligences in different hymns, and sometimes in the same hymn, lies in the perception that all those attributes were meant, not for the particular Intelligence, but the Power beyond and behind it.

The hymns of the Vedas were mostly meant for sacrificial occasions; and in so far as sacrifices were seasonal, the worship of the Intelligences was also seasonal. But many sacrifices were at the option of the sacrificer, who therefore could easily choose his *Ishtam* or the Intelligence that appealed to him most. At the same time, emphasis was laid in each and every sacrifice on the perception of the unity of the Godhead that permeated all the several Intelligences. It is not unusual to meet with hymns by the same *Rishi* apparently in praise of different Intelligences. For, once the unity, or to be strictly accurate, the identity of the Power

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behind the several Intelligences was recognised, we can understand how the choice was made, sometimes in accordance with one's own inclinations, and sometimes to suit the particular occasion and the external circumstances of the psalmist. Later on, philosophical schools emphasised the one-ness of Brahman or God and prevented any possible misunderstanding of these hymns in praise of an apparent plurality of Gods; but by a fallacy the one God came to be identified with Siva or Vishnu or any other *Ishtam* of the philosopher and not with the Power behind them all.

We find a similar development of religious ideas in Tamil literature. In the Sangam works and works of the age immediately following it, we find the one Deity extolled under different forms as Intelligences. The titles of some of the Sangam Princes show that *yagas* or sacrifices were largely prevalent among the Tamils of that period. Later on, probably because of the Jain and Buddhist influences, the Tamils ceased to perform sacrifices. But the idea of reaching to the One God by extolling one or other of the various Intelligences survived. We find one Perum-Devanar, for example, furnishing us with such a notable treasury of golden verses about the several deities that the pandits or court-poets of the Tamil kings, who were responsible for the Sangam collections, prefaced most of those collections with a hymn from the out-pourings of this poet.

When the reading public understood that the praise went to the One God and not to the particular Intelligence, who merely served as the channel of thought and of devotional expression, it was easy for the grammarian to insist as a poetic grace or *ani* and for the poet to follow the rule that the Intelligence invoked at the outset of the poem must be appropriate to the subject matter and serve as an introduction to the poem itself; to cite an example from the poet Perum-Devanar already referred to, his own poem *Bharatam* begins with an invocation to the elephant-faced Ganesa, who is referred to as the Intelligence who wrote with his tusk the story of the Bharata War. The reference to this particular pauranic story of Ganesa's achievement

is appropriate and the dexterity with which the allusion is combined with the usual practice of invoking Ganesa at the opening of any enterprise is considered a poetic grace.

When the choice of the Intelligence to sing in praise of was thus limited only by rules of grammar and one's own sense of poetic grace, and not, as in the case of the Vedic Aryans, by the sacrificial or other occasions at which one sang, other poetic graces were developed and were stereotyped into rules of poetics as regards the Intelligence to be invoked and worshipped. The Sangam poets, shrewdly perceived that in describing a bit of land or surrounding scenery, and in referring to the people, to their habits and modes of life, there was always an aptness in confining one's self to what may be called local colour. All soil came to be classified under five heads:—

1. *Kurinchi* or hills and the hilly tracts, 2. *Mullai* or jungle and the woodlands, 3. *Marudam* or meadows and the cornfields, 4. *Neidal* or seashore and the coastal regions, 5. and lastly, *Palai*, deserts and the sandy wastelands.

If the poet were describing hills, he uses, not merely in his actual description but even in his similes and other figures of speech (or *anis*), the birds, the beasts, the waters, the flowers, the trees, the food-grains, the musical instruments etc., peculiar to the locality, for the purpose of heightening the effect. An easy example is the tenth stanza of the *Naladiyar* which says: 'Those who without spending on dress and food or on charity, amass wealth sacrificing their health and merely hoard that wealth, lose it ultimately, O Lord of the sky-scraping hills: For proof look at the bee.' The illustrative bee fits in with the hills. This five-fold classification or *Ain-thinai* is a much-admired feature of Sangam poetry. The poet did not stop with merely giving local color by such poetic devices; he aimed at a certain harmony of ideas to surroundings; for a particular idea to be expressed adequately, a particular time of the day and a particular season are specially adapted. Therefore, the seasons and the hours of the day were also divided into the five *Thinai*s or

fundamentals. The grammarian did not stop there, but went further and subjected even the Intelligences to his five-fold classification. Thus Muruga or Subrahmanya was assigned to the hills, Mal or Vishnu to the forests, Indra to the fields, Varuna to the seashore, and Kali to the deserts.

This poetising of religion, this classification of Intelligences for worship according to the soil, degenerated in course of time into conventionalism when the poets gradually succumbed to the artificial rules of the grammarians. And this factor, probably more than other things, contributed to the easy ascendancy of Jainism and Buddhism which put an end to the soulless conventional polytheism into which the Tamils were lapsing. The Alvars and the Nayanars, who led the reaction against Buddhism and Jainism, laid great emphasis on the One-ness of God and His identity with Siva or Vishnu (whichever was their *Ishtam*) irrespective of the laws of Tamil poetics. There is a notable instance of this spirit of rebellion against the meaningless laws of Tamil poetics in the two *Madals* of Tiru-Mangai-mannan. *Madal Oordal* or going about declaiming one's own love to one's beloved, was by the laws of Tamil Poetics forbidden to a woman; it was improper for a woman to declare openly her unrequited love, and no poet celebrated a woman openly, declaring such unrequited love. Tiru-Mangai-mannan spoke of the soul as a woman in search of God, her Beloved, and sang the tale of her unrequited love in a little poem *Siriya Tiru-Madal*; and probably an impertinent and irreverent grammarian pointed his finger of scorn at the poet's iniquity; the poet Alwar immediately burst forth into a larger poem *Periya-Tiru-Madal* and declared that he did not in the least care for the rules of Tamil poetics, but was guided solely by Truth and by the noble examples of the women of Sanskrit literature, who were not slow to make open avowals of their love.

But it is not often that these hymns of the Tamil religious renaissance make a bold departure from the

established rules of poetics in this fashion. The Alvars and Nayanars utilised as far as possible the existing customs and manners of the people and the existing forms of poetry for the purpose of their religious propaganda. A perusal of the Sangam literature will therefore greatly help in the proper understanding of the hymns of these saints.

Krishna to Radha

THE DELUGE NIGHT

BY VEDURUMUDI KRISHNA RAO, B.A.

Translated, from his own *TELUGU* song

My gem of soul-absorbing beauty !
Unknown, ah dear, where hast thou hid thee ?
Come ! Come ! My chum ! The night is long !
Come ! Come ! My gem ! O come along !
In the paradise of thy bosom hold me,
And let all the world our Brindavan be !
Come ! Come ! My chum ! The night is long !
Come ! Come ! My gem ! O come along !

I

Hearken ! Our dear old villa's calling
In notes of anguish that are galling,
Our villa once by Gods envied,
But now, alas, by all pitied !
A tragic shadow of our past,
That shrouds the Heavens in darkness fast !
Come ! Come ! My chum ! The night is long !
Come ! Come ! My gem ! O come along !

II

The wafts of thy sweet breath, that give
The rose its scent and make it live,
O these are not ! These winds that blow
From some infernal depths as though,
Are blasting all the blossoms, O love !
We two have toiled to rear in our grove.
Come ! Come ! My chum ! The night is long !
Come ! Come ! My gem ! O come along !

III

O these are not the shades of *neem*
 And *tamal* trees of our love-dream
 On the Jumna's velvety sand-beds!
 Ah! this darkness Death himself now sheds
 Like an evil spell that blinds all eyes,
 And the lucent stars of yonder skies!
 Come! Come! My chum! The night is long!
 Come! Come! My gem! O come along!

IV

Are these the zephyrs whose embrace
 Oft held us fast in angelic grace,
 Right through our self-forgetting dance?
 My swan! Ah! Know'st ye not, perchance,
 These are fierce storm-gales that lift and hurl out
 Our giant *peepul* trees like dolls all about?
 Come! Come! My chum! The night is long!
 Come! Come! My gem! O come along!

V

Lo! These are not our spotless friends,
 The *sarat*-clouds, that like god-sends
 In our Love's wild orgy had come soft
 To screen off the gazing moon aloft!
 Ah! These clouds, destruction's monster-hounds,
 Rend the very heavens with hellish sounds!
 Come! Come! My chum! The night is long!
 Come! Come! My gem! O come along!

VI

Dear! This is not the Jumna's surge
 Where once we sported at Love's urge—
 Ah! Not her waters resonant still
 With our one song of life and one thrill!
 O this vicious down-pour swells to drown me

THE DELUGE NIGHT

And all our flower-bowers in endless mis'ry!
 Come! Come! My chum! The night is long!
 Come! Come! My gem! O come along!

VII

O 'tis not the *pan* thy lips gave me,
 With a kiss that showered love's ecstasy,
 To seal our hearts' eternal tie,
 That time might never dare defy!
 Ah! My Dear! This is the blood that flows
 From my poor life-channels in death-throes!
 Come! Come! My chum! The night is long!
 Come! Come! My gem! O come along!

VIII

Ah! Where are my hopes to break this night,
 Thy enchanting looks, my soul's delight,
 That will give the earth the golden glory
 Of a thousand rising suns, O dearie!
 They are my life, my light, my all!
 Hast thou forgotten thy poor Gopal!
 Come! Come! My chum! The night is long!
 Come! Come! My gem! O come along!

IX

My gem of soul-absorbing beauty!
 Unknown, ah dear, where hast thou hid thee?
 Come! Come! My chum! The night is long!
 Come! Come! My gem! O come along!
 In the Paradise of thy bosom hold me,
 And let all the world our Brindavan be!
 Come! Come! My chum! The night is long!
 Come! Come! My gem! O come along!

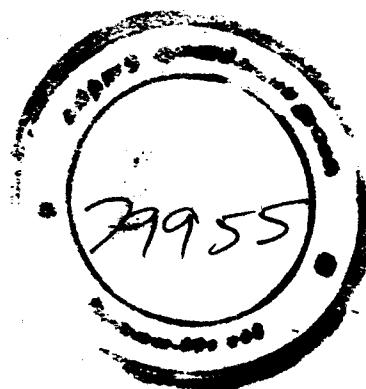
Reviews

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.

JL

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19 10 '27

Good Narayan Baiu show-
me a wise on Monday about
the passing away of Annapurna
Now I have the letter he informed
me of. I knew nothing of this
sad event. I had inquired
about her only the other
day of Ushakant & he
told me she was ailing as usual
your the wife therefore stunned
me.

If you have lost a dear wife,
I have lost a dearer daughter.
I don't mind your rebuke. You
are entitled to chide me, to chide
fate herself in your irreparable
loss. But I ask you to have my
belief that Horner and

I do hope that you will follow in her footsteps & carry out his many noble wishes.

you ask me to give my name
to the proposed committee. I may
not do so, for the simple reason
that I have many daughters
both dead & living. It would be
too great a burden for me to
carry, if I began to become a
member of committees ^{formed} for to per-
petuate their names. I must be
satisfied with the endeavour
to become worthy of so many noble
daughters. I am writing, ^{as well as} ~~and~~ ^{with a} ~~and~~
manuscript in 4 8. WKG and K