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TRIVENI

A JOURNAL OF THE INDIAN RENAISSANCE

EDITED BY

K. RAMAKOTISWARA RAO

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

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TRIVENI

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The Self-Defence of India

BY DEWAN BAHADUR M. RAMACHANDRA RAO

I

The political situation in India to-day is dominated by a great struggle for Swaraj. The appointment of the Simon Commission, the choice of its personnel, and the deliberate exclusion of Indians therefrom, have stung India to the quick and have deeply hurt its self-respect. India cannot participate in the framing of its own constitution. Races which have been submerged for centuries like Czechs, Croats, Letts, Poles, Lithuanians, can all have 'self-determination,' but India cannot even have a voice in the shaping of her own destinies. This is the implication of the exclusion of Indians from the Royal Commission and of the denial to Indians of all opportunities of co-operation as members of the Commission. The better mind of India very deeply resents this insult and men of all shades of political opinion have unhesitatingly said so. Of India's indignation there could be no doubt, whatever Sir John Simon, the British and the moving Indian press, may say to the contrary. For, without impulse throughout India to-day is, there is no doubt the desire for freedom from foreign domination and at no period of her political history has this feeling been so strong as it is now.

Recent events have greatly intensified this feeling. India has no economic or financial freedom and cannot pursue any independent economic or financial policy to guard her own interests. The Reserve Bank Bill and the way in which the Secretary of State interfered with the course of the people of India. India cannot also have a military or naval army. The rejection of the formation of her Nationalities of the Indian Sandhu-
unanimous recommend

Committee by the Government of India and His Majesty's Government for making a modest beginning for the Indianisation of the military services and the eventual nationalisation of the army, is another matter which has produced a wave of indignation throughout the country. The proposals for the starting of an Indian navy for the defence of the unprotected shores of India have culminated in a scheme for the creation of a predominantly British naval service in India. This again is another illustration of the helpless position to which India has been reduced. The culminating point was reached when we were told that the Indian Constitution can be revised only by men of the British race and that no Indian can serve as a member of the Commission appointed for the purpose. The fundamental difficulty and the fundamental evil lies, therefore, in the fact that India is not a free country: it is, politically, a "slave land ruled by foreigners." It is a 'dependency' and not a self-governing Dominion. It is for this reason that she is unable to protect her own interests or to inaugurate any measure for her own advancement irrespective of the wishes of her overlord. The present movement is a just and a protesting and protest of a long-suffering people, with a wish to awaken the ancient civilisation, too long held in subjection. great and

II

ent debate in Parliament, Lord Birkenhead made a reference to the 'theory of trusteeship' of India and as to how the occupation. He stated that when the 150 years of British rule in a commercial guise, which has Britain approached India approach to future dominion, it frequently been its earliest policy, and he confessed that found India 'a welter of anadiated its responsibility, the moment Parliament refer same kind of chaos as "India would be involved in ruled her." The British that from which Britain had centuries and they have have been in India for over two centuries, who, for 3000 years been governing a great civilised

before their advent had ruled for themselves and carried on great and well-regulated empires. The history of these ancient kingdoms and the exploits of the Moghul, Mahratta and Sikh leaders, show what a magnificent administrative and military organisation India possessed in those days. Now, after this period of British domination, Lord Birkenhead says that the people of India have become so emasculated, so demoralised and so degraded that, if left to themselves, they will fly at each other's throats. Instead of blushing with shame for reducing one-fifth of the human race to their present helpless position, Lord Birkenhead and other British statesmen perpetually refer to this fact in their public utterances, apparently with satisfaction, and with no great anxiety to bring about an improvement. "For us to abandon India would be, in effect, to hand her over to the most frightful anarchy." "If we English abandon India to-morrow, no organised Government would be formed. There would follow, not a despotism under Surendranath Banerji or another leader of the advanced party, but a prompt invasion from Afghanistan in the north-west and Nepal in the north, and wild tribes from the frontier of Assam in the north-east. The princes of the Native States would recommence their old internecine quarrels and would annex adjoining territories and there would be an orgy of murder and rapine." "India is a solemn trust which we cannot abandon in the interests of the toiling masses of India." Statements such as these are continually made by Englishmen in the press and platform all over the world and are accepted as the most convincing arguments for the indefinite continuance of Great Britain in the government of the country on its present basis. Lord Birkenhead wishes to imply that there is something inherently wrong with the Indian people and that they are suffering from a state of incurable incapacity and imbecility from which even the British cannot rescue them in a measurable distance of time. Has Great Britain done anything to bring about this emasculation, or has it taken any steps to train the people of India to look after

the affairs of their own country? What has been its policy in the past? The answer to these questions will be found in the military policy pursued since the time of the East India Company. That policy has been based on a deep distrust of the people of India which has been further accentuated by the Indian Mutiny, and every step since taken has been in the direction of reducing the military efficiency of the people.

III

It is unnecessary to refer at length to the various measures which Great Britain has taken all these years to make and keep the Indian people as weak and helpless as possible. These have been referred to in detail on more than one occasion by that distinguished statesman, Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer, to whom India owes a debt of gratitude for his continual advocacy of the problem of the self-defence of India. In the first place, the strength and proportion of British troops in India since the Mutiny has considerably been varied. On the eve of the Indian Mutiny, the Indian troops in India outnumbered the British by eight to one. The present ratio approximately is 1 British to 2.25 Indians. The precise data on which this ratio has been arrived at is not known. But nearly 1/3 of the British troops in India are stated to be required for the maintenance of internal security and for the purpose of putting down civil disturbances in the country. The present ratio in regard to internal security troops is 1.24 British to 1 Indian. While in all other countries the function of maintaining internal security is primarily the duty of the police, nearly a third of the regular army in India is maintained for the purpose of quelling riots and other disturbances. In the second place, the admission of Indians to the Volunteer Corps was refused for several years and the Indian Arms Act was worked so rigorously in all parts of the country that the people were deprived of the means of defending themselves against dacoits, robbers and wild animals. Indians were not admitted into any branch of the army requiring any high degree of

scientific or technical knowledge, nor were they freely admitted to any arms, like the Artillery, a training in which might prove a source of danger to the Government, if the army should be disaffected. It was one of the recommendations of the Peel Commission that the Artillery should be mainly a European force, exception being made for such circumstances as were peculiarly detrimental to the health of European troops. They were of opinion that, as far as possible, Indians should not be employed in the scientific branches of the services, but that a corps of Pioneers should be formed for the purpose of relieving European Sappers from duties entailing exposure to the climate.

All opportunities for the growth of any spirit of capacity or leadership in the Indian soldiers or officers were denied to them. And in fact, the lack of initiative was sedulously fostered by the system of training adopted. Care was taken also to prevent too great a sense of solidarity among the Indian troops, and the object was sought to be achieved by the formation of what are known as 'Class Companies.' The growth of a sense of nationality among Indians and the drawing together of different classes and creeds, which is one of the results of the consolidation of British rule, were sources of apprehension and misgiving to those responsible for Indian military policy. In the fighting services, Indians were admitted only into the lower ranks of the Cavalry, Infantry, Pioneers and Sappers and Miners. They were not admitted into the Tank Corps and Armoured Car Companies. In the Artillery, they were not admitted as gunners in the Royal Horse Artillery or Field Artillery, or in the Medium Artillery. They were admitted as Gunners only in the Pack Artillery, in the Frontier Garrison Artillery and in the Indian Coast Artillery. Indians were not eligible for the King's Commission till 1918, when 10 commissions were thrown open to Indians to be filled up every year by cadets from Sandhurst. They were admitted, however, only in the Cavalry and Infantry. In the ancillary

stage when all sense of civic responsibility has been crushed out of them, and the system which is responsible for this feeling is not consistent with the self-respect of normal human beings." This pronouncement was made immediately after the commencement of the great war and truly reflected at the time the feelings and sentiments of his countrymen in regard to this vital question.

V

India resents this emasculation of her people as an undeserved and gratuitous stigma on the national competency of Indians for a military career. Throughout the period of the Moghul rule, the Army, in its higher ranks, afforded the most distinguished career to the sons of the soil, but after the establishment of the British Power, no Indian, whatever his rank, social position, or military worth, received the King's Commission till 1918. Asiatics and Africans obtained an honourable position in the armies of Russia and France, but after a century and half of British rule, Indians have not as yet obtained a dignified position in the military service of their own country. During the great war, the Indian army distinguished itself on the battle-fields of Europe for the first time in the history of India, and the hard solid work of the army in all the theatres of war received encomiums from all quarters. The Indian soldiers fought at Ypres side by side with the Canadians; they were with the Anzacs in Gallipoli; they fought against terrible odds in East Africa before General Smuts brought over his troops from South Africa. Their magnificent work in Mesopotamia, in spite of a most difficult situation, won for them great admiration from the military authorities. The heroism of Indian troops attracted a great deal of attention in the theatres of the war in all parts of the world. The Indian States have also done their best in the conduct of this war. In referring to the part played by the Indian troops in 1914 and 1915, Mr. Winston

Churchill said "that they held positions for the holding of which no other resources were, at the time, available in the allied armies in the West. They fought with the utmost heroism and effect. They acquitted themselves admirably both in defence and in attack again and again, and yet again, against the enemy. There were Gurkhas at Gallipoli and at the foot of Sari Bair side by side with their Australian comrades, thereby creating an impression throughout Australia which would never be forgotten." During this struggle, the Indian army was, however, led wholly by British Officers.

VI

We know to our cost that, as far as India is concerned, British statesmen, whatever be the political party to which they belong, have a habit of conceding the principle in platitudinous declarations but negating the same in practice. The India Act of 1833 contained a statutory pledge that His Majesty's Indian subjects were eligible for employment in the public services of the country, irrespective of creed, class, or colour. The history of the Indianisation of the Civil Services all these years is a fitting example of the method in which this pledge was broken in practice. Various devices were adopted to perpetuate the dominance of the British bureaucracy in the country and the concentration of all controlling power in the administration in their hands. Though it is nearly 100 years since this declaration has been made, the governing service in the country, *i.e.* the Indian Civil Service, is still predominantly a British service at the present day, notwithstanding the appointment of Royal Commissions every twenty years. The exclusion of Indians from the commissioned ranks of the Indian army till very recently is one of the most galling disabilities imposed upon Indians, and the history of its removal reveals the same tale of obstruction and opposition as has been adopted in the case of the Civil Services. This matter has been under consideration for several generations and we have it on the authority of Lieutenant-General

Sir George Macmunn that when His Majesty the King-Emperor came to India in 1911 for the Coronation Durbar, the Government were searching for boons which might be given to the Indian army to commemorate the occasion, and it was suggested that Indians may be admitted to the King's Commissions. But the mass of military opinion at that time was against the proposal and no announcement was made. His Excellency the Viceroy publicly stated in 1917 that the discussion of the question of commissions to Indians dated back to pre-historic times, that it has been the subject of discussion by government after government, and that years slipped by and nothing was done. He also announced that, as a beginning, nine commissions had been conferred on military officers who distinguished themselves in the war. The next step was the announcement in 1919 of the grant of ten commissions to Indians per annum. This was considered by the British military classes a very revolutionary step. The military correspondent of the London *Times* struck a note of warning at the time. "It is a change which, once begun, must extend and, because it must have the inevitable result of placing eventually British officers under the command of Indians, is not one to be lightly undertaken." This is still the predominating feeling of the Military Services and every proposal that has since been made is looked at from this angle of vision. If India is to attain a status similar to the Dominion status of Canada, Australia or South Africa in a reasonable period of time, and if the statesmen of Great Britain intend to carry out the intentions of the Declaration of August 1917 without any evasion or equivocation, they must make up their minds on this fundamental question of the self-defence of India. It will not do to play with the problem. The rejection of the very modest proposals of the Indian Sandhurst Committee clearly shows that those in authority do not wish to face the facts.

VII

The Civil and Military Services in India have always been a formidable bulwark of opposition to every step of

reform and progress in India and they have kept up their traditions on the present occasion. Immediately on the publication of the Indian Sandhurst Committee's Report, a wave of indignation passed through their ranks both in England and in India, and an intensive propaganda was undertaken denouncing the Committee's recommendations. The Report has been published with the *imprimatur* of the Chief of the General Staff in India who was the President of the Committee, and of an able British civil servant, the Secretary to the Government of India in the Army Department, who was one of the members. These two British officers were bitterly attacked by the exponents of the Service interests in the British and the Anglo-Indian press. It was alleged that, in agreeing to these proposals of the Committee, both these officers surrendered their better judgment to the machinations of Indian politicians on the Committee. As a matter of fact, there were only three out of thirteen members who could come under the category of politicians. They are Mr. Mahammad Ali Jinnah, Pandit Motilal Nehru and myself. The Pandit resigned in the early stages of the enquiry and never took part in the deliberations leading up to the Committee's report. Of the other ten members, Major Zorawar Singh represented the Indian States, Risaldar Major and Honorary Captain Hajie Gul Mawaz Khan, Major Bala Sahib Daffe, and Capt. Hera Singh represented the Indian military classes, Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum and Sardar Jogendra Singh came from the N.W.F. Province and the Punjab. These provinces have furnished a considerable contingent of military recruits to the Indian Army. Capt. Banerji always took an interest in the promotion of military training in Bengal, and the Hon'ble Sir Pheroze Sethna, an able, patriotic and respected member of the Council of State was more devoted to commercial business in Bombay than to politics. In these circumstances, the plea that the politicians carried the day in the Committee is an unjust reflection on the sense of justice and patriotism of the British and other members of the Committee, who came to unanimous conclusions under the wise guidance of

the President, Sir Andrew Skeen. The campaign was opened at the East India Association in London, generally the meeting ground of the exponents of the British Services in India. Lieutenant-General Sir George Macmunn who held many important positions in the Indian Army delivered a lecture on the 'Romance of the Indian Army and its future.' He referred to the Indianisation of the army which he said must be 'slow' and must be 'experimental.' He asserted that the admission of Indian officers was a 'difficult problem' and that it was not too much to say that the difficulties of the situation had induced the Government in a somewhat Anglo-saxon spirit to shelve the question for many years, and that they must accept the blame for the present state of things. He graciously agreed that 'up to a point' and where that point is he cannot tell—a 'modicum' of Indianisation is possible. In a series of articles in the '*Times*,' Sir Reginald Craddock criticised the recommendations of the Committee as an 'absolute leap in the dark.' In his opinion, there are plenty of brave men in India and there are plenty of men with brains, but the man who has both of these in combination, together with the instincts of a soldier and the requisite training has yet to be 'evolved' and that the British members of the Committee have been persuaded that Indian parents require a definite rate of Indianisation established before they could think of the army for their sons. He suggested that the scheme of Indianisation recommended by the Committee was outside their terms of reference and made many other statements of the same kind and contended that there was no analogy between the civil and military services in the matter of Indianisation and that the 'saturation point' referred to by Sir George Macmunn, up to which Indianisation is possible, must be ascertained before any definite policy could be adopted.

VIII

The British Services know the implications of the creation of a National Army in India. That they should raise an intensive agitation against such a step and obstruct

the course of events is only to be expected. But that His Majesty's Government and the Government of India should have rejected the main recommendations of a responsible Committee appointed by themselves in regard to a question of such vital importance to a self-governing India, to the creation of which they are committed, shows that they have again yielded to the clamour of the Services, and that they have adopted on the present occasion the traditional method of conceding the principle of a further measure of Indianisation but denying its fulfilment in practice. The decision of His Majesty's Government to increase the direct vacancies at Sandhurst open to Indians from 10 to 20 and also to allot 8 places to Indians at Woolwich, was not come to on a consideration of the Sandhurst Committee's Report, but was arrived at before the Report was submitted, and was announced to the Sub-Committee of the Sandhurst Committee by the Army Council. We have the authority of Mr. Jinnah for this statement. Both the British Government and the Government of India have, therefore, paid very little attention to the labours of the Committee and its recommendations, and the announcement made by His Excellency in the Assembly was a mere reiteration of the decision of the Army Council above referred to. His Excellency also said that the 10 vacancies now offered did not, under the existing conditions, produce 10 King's commissioned officers, but does he believe that under the same conditions there will be enough of Indian cadets to fill the 20 vacancies now announced by him? In recommending the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst, the Committee referred to "the great difficulties which at present stand in the way of the Indian boys being sent to Sandhurst and which could not at any time be removed, and that there are deterrents of a permanent character for any large number of boys proceeding to the British Sandhurst for qualifying themselves as cadets." These 'many deterrents' have been referred to by numerous witnesses and will be found in the 10 volumes of the evidence recorded by the Committee. His Excellency

has hardly touched on any of these difficulties, and has either a very insufficient appreciation of them or has deliberately ignored them. He has only referred to the financial difficulty, but even apart from this, there are many others. Lieutenant-General Sir George Macmunn had to admit that: "It is generally a big proposition to ask young Indians to leave their parents and come here among a people of entirely different religion, and to lose their own religious influence at a critical age so as to be able to go through the course at Sandhurst. However kindly the reception, however careful the welfare-organization, it is a big thing and a great expense to put Indian parents to." The average Indian parent is very reluctant to send his son at an impressionable age to a distant foreign country and there is the fear that their boys would not be able to do their best in "an atmosphere swamped by an overwhelming majority of British boys with whom Indian cadets can, as a rule, have little in common. The problem of how the Indian boy should spend his holidays in great Britain has been considered at great length by the Lytton Committee on Indian Students, and there is the same problem in a much worse form in the case of the Indian cadet at Sandhurst. None of these difficulties can be got over and the Commander-in-chief made no reference whatever to them. As regards the cost of preliminary education and military training, the course of training at Dehradun College and at Sandhurst costs an Indian civilian parent 21 thousand rupees. This, the Committee found, is beyond the capacity of the average Indian parent belonging to the middle classes. The only solatium which the Commander-in-chief has offered in regard to the financial problem is that the State would undertake to pay the difference between the estimated cost of education at the Indian Military College and the actual cost at Sandhurst. This has yet to be ascertained but this cannot amount to much. In the United States, the Government grants the cadet while he is under training at West Point a rate of pay (1,072 dollars a year) sufficient to cover the cost of his

training and subsistence, and to leave a margin from which to purchase his initial outfit when he obtains his Commission. In France the fees, in the case of boys at St. Cyr, are varied to suit the means of the individual parent, as well as being regulated by the services which the parent may have rendered to the nation. About 50 per cent. of the parents pay no fees at all. In Canada, the cost of the training given at Kingston is fixed at a level fully 50 per cent. lower than the cost of an education of corresponding standard at the Canadian University. The Sandhurst Committee expressed the opinion that, while they were opposed to any undue cheapening of education, they felt that the French or Canadian model is better suited than the English model to the circumstances of a relatively poor country like India, and they recommended that the fees at the Indian Military College, when it is established, should not exceed an amount which can be paid without hardship by parents of the classes which all provide most of the cadets, namely, the upper and middle classes. The Commander-in-chief does not say anything about these recommendations but wishes to ascertain the cost of education at an Indian Military College, without establishing it, for the purpose of compensating the parents.

IX

There is also another difficulty of a more compelling character. The Army Council has informed the Sandhurst Committee that it is their considered opinion that 5 per cent. is the absolute limit up to which Indians could be admitted at Sandhurst and that there is, in every educational institution, a limit beyond which acceptance of foreign students is not desired for fear lest the character of the institution may be changed. In speaking on the Indian students at the British Universities, Sir Theodore Morison stated: "A University is a corporate body with traditions and a certain characteristic tone; it has a personality which is distinctive, of which it is proud, and which it desires to retain. This personality would be destroyed or distorted

by the influx of a large number of strangers, and no University would tolerate this transformation." It is even more true of an institution like Sandhurst than of any university. This is one of the main grounds which induced the Sandhurst Committee to recommend the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst as early as possible. The Government have brushed aside all these considerations and apparently believe that the supply of candidates from India will never exceed the limit fixed by the Army Council, which would be about 30 cadets per annum. The Committee believed that the establishment of a Military College in India would be a decisive factor in stimulating the supply of Indian cadets to the Indian Army and that there is good potent material in India which the efforts of the Government have not as yet succeeded in reaching. They went thoroughly into the history of the present methods of selection and made various recommendations to modify the same, and the whole set of their proposals was intended to stimulate a regular flow of Indian cadets to the army. By rejecting these proposals and by merely increasing the number of vacancies available to Indians at Sandhurst, the Government have practically put a check upon the Indianisation of the higher ranks of the army. What more convincing proof is necessary to make out that the necessary material is not forthcoming in India than the triumphant fact that the 20 vacancies offered to Indians at Sandhurst have not been fully filled up any year! His Excellency the Commander-in-chief has stated that the Government had not the means of predicting the number of candidates that may come forward in any particular year and could not therefore fix a definite date for the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst. That so responsible a man as the Commander-in-chief should have assigned such a reason is indeed a matter of surprise. The whole scheme of the Sandhurst Committee for slightly increasing the vacancies yearly has been characterised as a mere time-table arrangement from 1929 to 1952. Government have acted on Lord Birkenhead's famous dictum that the British nation are not the slaves of dates, but they are evi-

dently not in a mood even to consider any reasonable rate of progress, however slow. The fact is that those responsible for the rejection of the Committee's scheme shut their eyes to the obvious fact that the scheme was intended to stimulate the recruitment of Indian officers and to remove the existing checks upon the flow of candidates. The Government are not evidently anxious to take these steps and one can draw his own inference from their action. There are now about 7000 officers holding King's Commissions in India and Burma, and deducting 3000 as the probable number of officers attached to British units, there would be about 4000 officers attached to Indian units. Without some such scheme providing for an annual increment, there is no possibility whatever of India ever having the National Army foreshadowed by the Commander-in-chief. It is not to be assumed that we in India desire an army less efficient in any way than the one already existing.

X

I must now refer to the decision of His Majesty's Government to continue the 8 units scheme. This part of the announcement has caused most painful surprise throughout the country. Before dealing with the reasons assigned by the Commander-in-chief for the continuance of the scheme, a brief explanation about the origin and the scope of the scheme is necessary. In making a beginning for the Indianisation of the army in 1923, the late Lord Rawlinson announced that 2 regiments of Cavalry and 6 regiments of Infantry would be wholly Indianised and Indian Officers holding King's Commissions in the Indian Army would be transferred to the Indianising units, and all future officers qualified for the King's Commission passing out of Sandhurst will be posted to these regiments. It was explained that, in taking this step, the Government were anxious to give Indians a fair opportunity of proving that units officered by Indians would be efficient in every way. These 8 regiments were subsequently selected and Indian officers attached to various regiments were transferred to them. It

was urged that, if in a time of crisis, Indian officers were mixed up in units with British officers, any shortcomings they possessed might be concealed, while if they were put to the test by themselves, they would have to stand and fall on their own merits, and that they would have an opportunity of demonstrating that complete reliance could be placed in them. The *bonafides* of the scheme brought into force in 1923 were questioned by the Indian cadets almost from the very beginning, and the general public also looked upon the scheme with great suspicion for very good reasons. It was clear to everybody that no British cadet will be posted to these regiments and that he would not be liable to serve under the command of an Indian officer in the Indianised units, and it was suspected that one of the main objects of that scheme was to prevent Indian officers from having British cadets under their command. This suspicion was strengthened by a lecture delivered at the R.M.C. Sandhurst in 1925 by a British military officer with a view to stimulate recruitment of the British boys to the Indian Army. The fact that such a lecture was delivered was mentioned by some of the Indian cadets who passed out of Sandhurst, in their evidence before the Sandhurst Committee. This was indignantly denied by the military authorities in India, but the sub-committee of the Indian Sandhurst Committee found out from the Sandhurst authorities that the lecture was as a matter of fact delivered to the British cadets. A summary of the lecture as delivered has been secured and printed as appendix 3 to the Report of the Indian Sandhurst Committee. The Committee has found that the lecture is not capable of any another interpretation than that placed by the Indian cadets who heard it delivered. Though the Committee did not believe that it was the intention of the Government that the 8 units scheme should have the result claimed for it by the lecturer, it is clear that in actual practice under this scheme, no British cadet will ever serve under the command of an Indian. This form of 'segregation' in certain selected regiments of the bulk of the Indian Officers

holding the King's Commission has been unpopular not only with the Indian Officers concerned, but also with most of the Commanding Officers of the Indianising units. The Indian Officers feel that they should have the same chances of selecting their regiments as the British Officers. Several Indian Officers who now qualify for the King's Commission have family connections extending over many years, and their fathers and grandfathers have held the Viceroy's Commission in certain regiments and it is only laudable that they should continue their family traditions. In the case of the British Officers, such a tendency to serve in regiments with which the officer's family is concerned is definitely encouraged.

XI

Apart from these objections, it has been pointed out by the Sandhurst Committee "that the test as formulated by the military authorities is an unfair one and too severe to impose upon the first generation of Indian King's Commissioned Officers who have sufficient disadvantages of other kinds to overcome." The Sandhurst Committee also found that the scheme is in conflict with the principles of co-operation between British and Indians which is applied in every other sphere of Indian administration. The scheme has been universally condemned by all the Commanding Officers of the Indianised units, by the Indian cadets, and by almost every witness that appeared before the Committee, whether military or civil. Among the military men of the highest rank, I may mention that Lieutenant-General Sir John Shea, Adjutant-General in India, said that from his own point of view as an officer responsible for providing efficient personnel to the army, he would far sooner see in the intermediate stage Indian cadets mixed throughout the Indian units with British Officers. He said that if Indian boys were to be mixed freely with British Officers, they would more quickly learn the qualities of leadership, their character would be developed, and they would become fine officers. Looking to

the efficiency of the Indian Army, he thought, "that we shall have a far more efficient army if a mixture of Indian and British boys in the same unit is permitted than by totally Indianising certain units." It is unnecessary to refer in detail to the evidence of the other military witnesses examined before the Committee, most of whom expressed more or less the same view as Sir John Shea.

After a review of the whole evidence, the Sandhurst Committee came to the conclusion, "that both for psychological and practical reasons, the continuance of the scheme can, in their opinion, only conduce to failure." They said: "With Indianisation proceeding in the army in any measure, the only means of ensuring successful Indianisation and, concomitantly, the maximum degree attainable of military efficiency, is to allow Indian Officers to serve shoulder to shoulder with British Officers, each learning from the other in every unit of the Indian Army. This was the original plan and, as we believe, the correct one. There is one other practical consideration to which we attach importance. The Indian King's Commissioned Officer is still a new element in the Indian Army to which that most conservative body of men, the Indian rank and file, have not yet become fully accustomed. By the method which we advocate, this new element can be absorbed with the least degree of questioning and the least derangement of the existing system of the Indian Army taken as a whole." Notwithstanding this weighty opinion of the Committee based upon most important evidence, the decision to continue the 8 units scheme is a serious blow to all chances of successful Indianisation. It cannot be a matter of surprise if uncharitable people draw the inference that those responsible for this decision do not want to give the Indian cadets all fair chances of success.

XII

In explaining the policy of His Majesty's Government and that of the Government of India, His Excellency the

Commander-in-chief said :—"The object which we all seek to achieve, is to fit Indians to undertake the defence of India. As constitutional advance progresses, the question will continually be asked how far the military side of Indian Swaraj has kept pace. Government contemplates that, as India progresses towards full self-government within the Empire, there may be, in the process of development, an army of the same character as the Dominion armies organised on a national basis, and officered by Indians holding their own distinctive national form of commission. That is our policy of Indianisation. The process of development will naturally be contingent on the success achieved in the various stages of the experiment." Now if this policy is to be carried out in letter and in spirit, the first step is the establishment of all the necessary training institutions in the country to impart military education in all its branches, equipped and staffed by the best available men. This has been demanded in India for over 40 years and the Indian Sandhurst Committee came to the conclusion, "that it would be consonant with the general policy of administration, as that is now conceived, that India should have a Military College of her own and thus be self-sufficient in respect of the most important of her national needs. It was universally recognised that the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst was ultimately inevitable." The Government is apparently determined to delay the inevitable as long as possible. Is this a wise policy? The Commander-in-chief foreshadowed that the Indian Army of the future will be of the same character as the Dominion armies. How did the Dominions solve the problem of the training of their military officers? Do they send all their cadets to foreign countries for military training? The Royal Military College at Kingston in Canada was established in 1886 for the purpose of imparting complete education in all branches of the military profession. The feeling in the Dominions for the establishment of their own institutions was so strong that their Governments had to take steps immediately in the matter. The institution at Kingston is,

in the opinion of some of the witnesses, superior to Sandhurst in several respects. The Military College at Duntroon in Australia was also established with the same object. Why should India be denied the liberty of establishing the requisite institutions for military training in India itself? Another weighty reason has been overlooked. After an exhaustive investigation into the military training systems of other countries, the Committee came to the conclusion, "that the civil educational system in India is at present defective and cannot be so improved in the near future as to ensure that the generality of cadets, when they first arrive at the Military College, can be turned into efficient officers after a short period of military training." They therefore recommended that the course at the Indian Military College should be longer than the course at Sandhurst to enable them to improve their general education and their knowledge of colloquial English. The three years' course recommended by the Committee was accordingly designed to meet the present Indian conditions. The Commander-in-chief does not evidently care to give the best training to Indian Officers and would compel the Indian cadets to go to Sandhurst with defective preliminary education and thus increase their chances of failure. There is no other country in the world which depends upon another country for the military education of her peoples except India.

XIII

What India has really asked in the past, and is asking to-day, is a change of heart on the part of Great Britain. It asks Great Britain to definitely and honestly train India's sons to undertake the duties of citizenship and to revive the sense of civic responsibility which has, in the words of Lord Sinha, been crushed out of them. Almost ever since the establishment of the Indian National Congress, the country has demanded a better position in the Military Services for the sons of the soil. In 1887, at the third Indian National congress held at Madras, the

resolution adopted was in these terms; "that in view of the loyalty of His Majesty's Indian subjects, this Congress considers it desirable that the Queen's Proclamation should be given effect to, that the Military Service in its higher grades should be practically opened to the natives of this country and that the Government of India should establish military colleges in this country, whereat the natives of India as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for the military career as officers of the Indian Army." It is now forty years since this resolution was passed and succeeding Congresses, Conferences, and Federations have been asking for the establishment of military academies in India for the highest instruction in the military art, and to train the races of India on a system of military service. India demands a change of the present policy of concentrating the defensive services of the country in the hands of the British and to transfer that burden as rapidly as possible, consistently with efficiency, to Indian shoulders. Our inability to defend ourselves at this moment is often cast in our teeth as a serious impediment to the attainment of responsible government, though the past policy of Great Britain is the main cause for this impediment. The goal of British policy in India having now been set out, the formulation of a new military policy *vis-a-vis* the people of the country, and the transfer of the defence of the country to their shoulders is a necessary concomitant of the new status of India. A standing European army and a military organisation under the control of British military officers, are absolutely inconsistent with the development of India into a self-governing Dominion. She must be given the place of a real partner, a place of as true freedom and as perfect equality with other partners in the Empire as that of Australia, South Africa, Newzealand and Canada. The more thoughtful men of India greatly value a place for India as an equal partner in the British Empire. If this is delayed or impeded, Great Britain will be breeding in India a race of irreconcilables of the same class as those

who have made the government of the Irish Free State so difficult and who would perhaps adopt somewhat different methods.

The relation of empires to subject communities is, in fact, a great seed-ground for those states of mind which Professor Gilbert Murray has compendiously grouped under the name of Satanism. The spirit of unmixed hatred towards world-order is increasing. It is felt to some extent against all ordered Governments, and Professor Murray thinks that it is chiefly directed against Imperial governments and it is directed more widely and intensely against Great Britain than against any other power. From the point of view of the British Commonwealth, the possible remedy for these evils is, in his opinion, that the British statesmen must first think carefully what their principles are, and secondly they must sincerely carry them out. The British have repeatedly said that they are in India, not for their own profit, nor to use Indians as food for cannon, but to enable India to govern itself. If this is their ideal, Great Britain must carry it out honestly and faithfully. Let there be no hypocrisy, conscious or unconscious, about the matter.

Current Topics

CHINA

One is apt readily to advise India to follow in the wake of China. While China's struggles are not without a bearing on India's striving after Swaraj, there is really no comparison between the two. China, for one thing, was never under the heel of the foreigner. That does not mean that foreigners like Japan, England, Russia and America had no influence over the progress of Chinese history during the last decade. That influence may have been for good or for evil. Albeit the interposition of the alien was not designed to establish an overlordship so as to prevent China remaining its own master and lord. China's drawback was the absence of a duly organized Central Government. There is no question of federal or unitary forms in countries where the constituent provinces have been for long integral factors of a compact, homogeneous nationality. The whole trouble arose from Manchuria, one of the provinces, not seeing eye to eye with the rest, and having fallen an easy prey to the blandishments of foreign 'friends' of China. Fortunately the disappearance of Chang from the scene of internecine war has led to the formation of a Central Government to which all provinces alike owe allegiance now. Once again, Cathay stands in the array of nations on terms of equality and with a sense of pride and self-respect.

Why then do we say that India has nothing to learn from China? The reasons are obvious. There is nothing so deleterious and detrimental to the fostering of the national spirit or the assertion of nationalistic forces as the settled and orderly government duly established by a foreign race,—more so by an alien bureaucracy. Two evils are sedulously fostered and encouraged. The subject people enjoy a sense of false security, and succumb to the narcotic effects of a soporific administration. Nothing

is left to the energy, resources or initiative of the children of the soil, while officialdom volunteers to be the custodian of their rights and responsibilities. And if an awakened section of the country should feel any pang over the thralldom imposed on the nation, good and timely care is taken to win over the less vocal elements to the side of Government. And the result is internal factions superimposed over external slavery. That spells national disaster once for all, making impossible all concerted action and joint effort. Every time the national movement raises its head, it is crushed with irresistible force, before it has time to make headway. In China there was no such complication. People were at liberty to drown the country into chaos, but out of that very chaos was evolved a cosmos in due time under the influence of time, if of nothing else. When therefore people ask in disdain what India would do, if the British left her shores, our only reply is that she would do what China did,—fight, create confusion and bloodshed, and then evolve an orderly Government.

THE SIMON COMMISSION

If ever people thought that the antipathy to the Royal Commission was on the wane, the results of the gesture made by Sir John Simon to the Punjab Committee must set at nought all doubts in the matter. If the promise of equal treatment in the matter of taking evidence could have satisfied notable Liberals like Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, Sir Taj Bhadur Sapru and Sir Pheroz Sethna, then surely we might have said that the days of boycott were numbered. But the refusal of these eminent Moderates to view the concession to the Punjab Committee as aught but puerile, leaves no doubt whatever in the matter. Indeed the strength of the boycott movement lay not in the refusal of the Congress to countenance the procedure of the Commission but of the Liberals,—men who had, in the midst of cavil and abuse, worked dyarchy and whose co-operation with the Royal Commission should have been taken for granted and as natural. Ah, that is

the very thing now not forthcoming. That day boycott will have been blasted in India when a body of able, patriotic and distinguished men could be enlisted as the protagonists of the coming Reforms.

Will such a day come? It may, for, back of the whole range of the boycott movements there is not one ideal, one motive power. To Jinnah, it is enough if a Royal warrant sets its seal upon the appointment of the Select Committee of the Assembly. The Moderates themselves would be satisfied with even less—the inclusion of a number of Indians on the Commission. Of the two, the former is more exacting, while the latter is more impracticable. Neither may be conceded and boycott may remain unassailed. Either may be granted and the boycott may be broken. But we have had evidences of the breakdown of the boycott, even on a simple show of concessions. Remarkable response has been forthcoming from South India merely on the announcement of equal treatment in the matter of taking evidence. What matters really is not evidence but report, and the authority with which that report would go before Parliament. As things stand, the Indian counterpart of the Report is but an addendum to that of the Royal Commission. It would be one out of a huge pile of enclosures. Neither tradition nor Royal warrant would sanctify the Indian product. Nor could a Royal warrant facilitate matters, for even if that were possible, there would be two conflicting reports of equal authority,—one British and the other Indian. To appoint Indians on the Royal Commission would be to court dissentient minutes; to prop up the Indian Committee by a Royal warrant would be to place before Parliament two conflicting reports of equal authority. Not to do either would be to court for the Royal Commission a fate worse than that negotiated for the Montford Reforms. If the longest path is really the shortest way home, why not Lords Birkenhead and Irwin take courage in both hands and settle the Indian problem by a Round Table Conference?

S. P.

BUDDHIST SCULPTURES IN ANDHRA

We understand that negotiations are in progress for the removal of some of the finest pieces out of the recently excavated sculptures of Nagarjunakonda and Gummadi-durru to the Indian Museum at Calcutta. This is a colossal example of the mania for centralisation in all spheres. It was bad enough that, long years ago when national self-consciousness was not aroused in Andhra, most of the famous Amaravati sculptures were taken away to London. But at the present day, the Andhras are ready to resent any violation of their just rights. At Bezwada in the centre of Andhradesa, there are the beginnings of a fine Museum. What could be more appropriate than that these ancient monuments of Buddhist Art in Andhra—in fact, these are among the earliest specimens of that Art in all India—should be preserved on the banks of the Krishna? Next to Bezwada, Madras is the fittest place for them. But, no. They are wanted at Calcutta which already treasures the Bhattiprolu casket of the Buddha's relics. Public opinion in Andhra is unmistakably against a step which might appear to savour of vandalism. In the realm of Indian Art, Amaravati is a name to conjure with, and the Andhras who are inheritors of a rich tradition ought in all fairness to be permitted to preserve in their midst these remnants of a glorious era in Indian artistic expression.

K. R.

The Beloved

BY SAHADEVA SURYAPRAKASA RAO

There's a pearly brilliance in her tears,
And, in their flashing light reflected,
I saw worlds and worlds of passion
My whole being athrill with springs of love;
And all the thirst of my heart is quenched.

I saw unending glances tipped with love
Within the blue, blue depths
Of the gen'rous streams of tears
That flowed incessant from her eyes.

I heard the sweet, sweet melodies
Which love fondly, fondly sang through the tangles
Of the bluey wilderness of her hair.

Translated from TELUGU by

M. V. RAMANA RAO.

The Nymph of Darkness

BY D. V. KRISHNA SASTRI

Beloved ! Oh my Beloved !
Oh thou Nymph of Darkness !
Thou Bride of the skies !
Oh my love ! my love !

[and woke
Those sparkling flowers have broke their prison of sleep
Out of the creeping shades of thy jet black tresses !

Their twinkling song they sing
With simmering hearts for me !
And with their fragrant call
Perturb and stir in me
A burning passionate pain
That makes me mad, my love !
Oh ! I cannot bear !

Breaking the woven silence of thy coiling tresses,
The myriad blossomed eyes of a myriad jassamines

For me, for me have oped,
Enow, my Bride of Night !
And with awful pleasure
Of pining asking looks
Thrill my life, Oh Beloved !
Burn my life to ashes !
Oh ! I cannot bear !

In thy curls they raise their heads and peep for me !
Oh how they have known me ! Oh how they do call me !

Oh ! those dancing flowers,
How they break in laughter !
Wrench and fling them onto
Unknown secret shores
Far, far off, my Beloved !,
In the depths of distance !
These mine eyes I cover !
This my soul how hide I ?
Beloved ! Oh my Beloved !
Oh ! I cannot bear !

Oh thou Eternally forlorn ! Oh thou Nymph of Darkness ;
Oh my dread Beloved ! Dost thou not yet pardon ?
Enough, mine own ! Relent ! this thy terrible love-curse !
Oh the scorching unknown pain of strange hell-flames !

Translated from TELUGU by

M. VISVESVARA RAO.

‘He Has Pined Away’

(ANONYMOUS)

He knew not how for him I waited, the Lord of the hill
green with bamboos that have shot up to the sky, swift as a
steed that has bolted. And he, yearning for my pleasaunce,
has pined away like a bull in the summer.

Rendered from TAMIL

Hindu Law Reform

BY V. GOVINDARAJACHARI

Hindu Law, as it is administered in our courts of law at the present day, abounds in anomalies and endless doubts and complexities. In most matters, it is difficult for even the most experienced and well-read lawyer to advise his clients with any degree of confidence. It is again impossible to find anything like a reason or a justification for the application of several of the Hindu Law rules to the Hindu society as it is at present constituted, whatever might have been the justification for their application to the archaic state of society in which they were originally evolved. One may indeed go further and say that some of these rules are such as can hardly do us any credit before the civilised world.

The surprise is that Hindu society which has produced able and intelligent lawyers, who can stand comparison with the lawyers of any other civilised country, should have been so inactive in the matter of setting its own house in order. Indeed we have not heard and we do not hear of Hindu Law Reform, though it must be obvious to even the most casual observer acquainted with the barest outlines of Hindu Law that it stands in need of reform in almost every department. Much of the discredit for this inaction must no doubt fall upon the Bar, which should not only guide and focus public opinion on legal reforms necessary for the progressive and ordered well-being of society, but should itself take a prominent part in initiating the necessary legislation. Whatever that be, the fact remains that where the legislatures could have and ought to have interfered to clear doubts and remove uncertainties in the matter of the administration of Hindu law and to render it more rational and just and to bring it in consonance with modern ideas, the legislatures have failed to interfere and we are left with a system of law which is sub-

stantially the same as was left to us by Vijnanesvara or the other commentators several centuries ago.

The Caste Disabilities Removal Act (XXI of 1850) which provided against forfeiture of rights of property in the case of Hindus renouncing or having been excluded from the communion of the Hindu religion or being deprived of caste, the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act (XV of 1856) which validated the remarriage of Hindu widows, the Hindu Transfers and Bequests Act (Madras Act I of 1914) and the Hindu Disposition of Property Act (XV of 1916) which legalised transfers *inter vivos* or dispositions by will in favour of unborn persons, the Hindu Wills Act (XXI of 1870) now re-enacted in the Indian Succession Act (XXXIX of 1925) which provided for the execution and interpretation of wills by Hindus, the Madras Impartible Estates Act (II of 1904) imposing restrictions on the powers of alienation of holders of impartible estates, are the only instances of legislation in British India affecting, in however slight a degree, the legal rights and status of Hindus. It is obvious that this is a mere flea-bite and the vast field of Hindu Law where legislation is possible and desirable is still untrodden. And legislation of the simplest kind which could effectively put a check to wasteful litigation is conspicuous by its absence.

One fails to see the purpose of elaborate inquiries, for instance, into the factum of a particular adoption or the existence of an oral authority to adopt, which is stoutly asserted on the one side and repudiated on the other. Courts of law are compelled to waste their time listening to the unconvincing or inconclusive testimony of interested witnesses. Witnesses, sometimes in dozens, are brought up several miles from their villages to depose to events which never happened or of which, if they happened at all, they have nothing more than a vague or indistinct recollection. Money is wasted and litigation rendered a good deal costlier than what is either necessary or desirable. There is no reason whatever why the law should not insist that an adoption or an authority to adopt should be evidenced by a registered instrument. I can

scarcely believe that there would be any controversy about, or opposition to, any such legislation.

The Hindu Law of adoption with its perpetual doubts and difficulties is a very fruitful source of litigation. The idea of a 'family council' deciding upon the expediency of substituting an heir by adoption to the deceased husband at the request of a widow who contemplates an adoption "in the proper and *bona fide* performance of a religious duty and neither capriciously nor from a corrupt motive" may be alluring to the imagination, but is as far removed from actualities as anything can possibly be. The requirement that a Hindu widow who is not authorised by her deceased husband to adopt should seek the consent of her husband's *sapindas*, very often places her at the mercy of her husband's avaricious kinsmen who are guided by motives which it would be a travesty of language to characterise as *bona fide*. While the social consequences of such a rule are sufficiently deleterious, the legal aspect is almost disheartening. Questions of the greatest nicety and complexity have arisen in the past and are sure to arise hereafter with reference to this vexed subject of the assent of the *sapindas*, and it is needless to point out the speculative litigation that this deplorable state of things is giving rise to. Who are the persons whose consent must be sought for and obtained? Has a daughter's son to be consulted? One bench of the Madras High Court said 'no' in 1919. Five years later, another Bench of the same Court said 'yes.' Whether the assent of cognatic relations, in the absence of agnates, should be asked for and obtained, and whether it would be legally efficacious, was decided in the affirmative sense only in 1916 by Mr. Justice Spencer and Mr. Justice Venkata Subbarao. The motives of the widow in making the adoption may not be gone into by courts of law, but it is open to the *sapindas* who are approached by her to give their consent to an intended adoption to go into her motives. Again, the motives of the *sapindas* in giving consent or in refusing it are material and are of the utmost importance when the validity of the adoption following such consent or refusal is

impeached. It is a fruitless effort to define the reasons for which it would be proper and the reasons for which it would be improper for a *sapinda* to refuse his consent. The Privy Council says, in the *Urlam* case, that a reversioner is entitled to take into account the secular consequences flowing out of an adoption. Construing this dictum, one learned judge says in the recent *Gollaprolle* case that the refusal of a *sapinda* to consent to an adoption because his reversionary interest will be prejudiced, can in no circumstances be justified, while in the same case another learned judge asserts the contrary. To what extent can a civil court scrutinise and dissect the motives and the reasons which operated upon the minds of the *sapindas*, 'the family council' of the *Vellanki* case? To use an expression familiar to lawyers, is a civil court in the nature of a court of appeal bound and entitled to go into the question of the expediency or otherwise of the adoption, or is it simply a court of revision interfering only when the domestic tribunal was guilty of gross and palpable misconduct?

What if there is only one reversioner of the nearest degree and he refuses his consent for reasons which are *ex facie* selfish and unjust? Can the widow secure the consent of remoter *sapindas* and make a valid adoption? A decision of the Madras High Court answers the question distinctly in the negative. But justice and equity clearly demand an affirmative answer. Again if there are two reversioners of the same degree and one of them gives his consent to adoption and the other does not, and the refusal is based on grounds which are unreasonable or unsustainable, is it open to the widow to make the adoption with the consent of remoter *sapindas*? Justice Ramesam of the Madras High Court was of the opinion that the widow is helpless in such circumstances, but Justices Krishnan and Venkatasubbarao gave expression to the contrary view in the *Gollaprolle* case. There is a good deal to be said in support of the latter view on considerations of fair play, if on no other.

It is not necessary here to do anything more than indicate the doubts and difficulties that surround, at every stage,

a Hindu widow who *bona fide* and with a view to perpetuate the lineage of her deceased husband, intends to adopt a son to him. It would not be an exaggeration to say that she is literally at the mercy of her husband's reversioners who are in most cases, if not invariably, corrupt and avaricious, and whose motives either in giving consent or in refusing it, are collateral to the real issue they are called upon to decide and to advise upon, namely, the expediency of the adoption and the fitness of the boy proposed to be adopted.

The proper solution seems to me to be to enable Hindu widows to adopt irrespective of the consent of *sapindas* except where such an adoption is expressly prohibited by the husband, thus bringing the law of this Presidency into line with what obtains in the Bombay Presidency. I cannot think of any other way of effectively solving the difficulties that we are every day confronted with in the southern Presidency. It is at once simple and rational and would bring about the very-much-desired emancipation of Hindu widows, if it is permissible to use that expression, from the intolerable tyranny of greedy reversioners.

An allied subject is that of alienation by a Hindu widow of properties inherited by her from her deceased husband. In these progressive days when women are claiming and are succeeding in getting equal rights with men in almost every direction, the easiest solution would be to do away altogether with the peculiar and anomalous estate known to Hindu Law as 'widow's estate' and to confer absolute rights of property on women who succeed to the property of their male or their female relations. The Muhammadan Law does not impose any restriction on the powers of alienation of women, nor does the Indian Succession Act. It would be an undeserved insult to the ability and intelligence of Hindu womanhood if we are to suggest, relying upon the worn-out dicta of ancient sages, that Hindu women are unfit to manage worldly affairs and to hold and administer property. I am aware this would be regarded as a drastic and almost revolutionary step to take. But it is bound to come sooner or later, and the sooner it comes, the better for every body concerned. There

is nothing more painful than the spectacle of judges, lawyers and litigants, wasting their time in the attempt to find out whether an alienation by a Hindu widow thirty or forty years ago was supported by necessity or whether it was simply the result of her own personal extravagance or greed, and yet this is one of the staple subjects of litigation in this country. In most cases it is difficult to get anything like satisfactory evidence. It is very often on guess work and conjecture that the ultimate decision is based, the disastrous result of it all being that speculation is encouraged, property changes hands for far less than its real and deserved value, and there is nothing like security of title.

One way of getting over the difficulty may be to enable parties, if they are so minded, to obtain the opinion and sanction of a court of law as to the existence or otherwise of valid and justifiable necessity for a contemplated alienation, somewhat on the lines of 'the originating summons' procedure obtaining in England. All the interested parties, including the next presumptive reversioners, may be represented in such a proceeding and the decision so come to should be binding on the person or persons who ultimately succeed to the estate after the reversion opens. This procedure would have the advantage of recording and perpetuating testimony at a time when it is available and of quieting and dispelling all doubts about title which ordinarily deter *bona fide* purchasers from purchasing property from limited owners.

The Hindu law of succession and inheritance has also come in for a good deal of criticism, and deservedly, at the hands of able and eminent Hindu Judges. There is nothing more monstrous than the preferential right of succession of an agnate of the 14th degree of whose 13th ancestor the *propositus* happens to be a descendant, to the sister or sister's son, or daughter's daughter's son, or sons's daughter, or daughter's daughter, or father's sister. It does not seem to be yet settled whether female relations other than those enumerated above are, or are not, entitled to succeed. Even female *bandhus* whose rights of succession have been recognised can succeed only in the absence of all

male *bandhus*, however remotely the latter may be related to the *propositus*. The obscurity which still pervades the law of succession especially in the case of *bandhus* is a standing scandal to any civilised system of jurisprudence. It is universally acknowledged that a far simpler and clearer law of succession, and one which is more in accordance with natural affection and family ties than the present Hindu law of succession, is very much of a *desideratum*, and I do not think it would be difficult to devise a scheme of succession which possesses the necessary and essential attributes of simplicity and certainty and which chimes in with natural affection and ties of blood without wounding very much the susceptibilities of the ordinary and average Hindu.

I do not mind drastic changes if they should be necessary, but I do believe that it would be quite possible to provide for most cases which will or are likely to arise without kicking up a storm of opposition for the sake of theoretic consistency or regularity, or with a view to provide for fanciful cases which exist more in the imagination of legal theorists than in the every-day world with which the practical lawyer has to deal.

It may not be possible to have all on a sudden an Act which amends and consolidates Hindu Law. The time for enacting a code of that description is not yet, the opinion of Dr. Gour and other eminent lawyers notwithstanding. The reform of Hindu Law may have, for a long time to come, to proceed in a piece-meal fashion, with an amendment here and an amendment there, rendering Hindu Law more simple, more certain and more rational than it now is. And in the fulness of time, we can have and ought to have a consolidated Hindu Code which would, for its lucidity, clarity and rationalism, take its place among the great codes of the world.

A Prose-Epic

BY THE EDITOR

The Government of Madras have removed the ban on *Malapalli*, the famous Telugu novel. The author, Barrister Lakshminarayana, was in prison for one year for having championed the cause of the poor ryots of Palnad, and at the end of the term, he produced this *magnum opus* of his—a veritable epic in prose. The first three parts were published, reviewed, and read with avidity by an admiring public. The fourth and final part was in the printers' hands, when a landlord-ridden Government smelt Bolshevism in a novel of contemporary life and procured its suppression. Sjt. Lakshminarayana, with whom sympathy for the oppressed is a passion, dealt, amongst others, with the life and sufferings of the *Panchama* agricultural labourers, and the inevitable conflict between them and the powerful *Sutra* landlords. He drew touching pictures of the life of the lowly farm-servants and of their leader Sangadas—literally 'servant of society'—who was done to death by an irate master, and of his adventurous brother Venkatadas, who turned a leader of banditti to relieve himself and his comrades from grinding poverty. This was anathema to the men in power, and for over five years now, this precious book has been lost to the Andhra public. Written in the spoken Telugu of to-day, and full of the idealism of the saint and the dreamer that Sjt. Lakshminarayana is, *Malapalli* is the greatest of our social novels. In its range and power, it is greater than even Viresalingam's *Rajasekhara Charitra* and Lakshminarasimham's *Ramachandra Vijayam*. It is the nearest approach, in Telugu, to Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*. We rejoice to think that, with a few minor alterations, the book will once again receive the light of publicity.

South Indian Portraits

By T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN

V

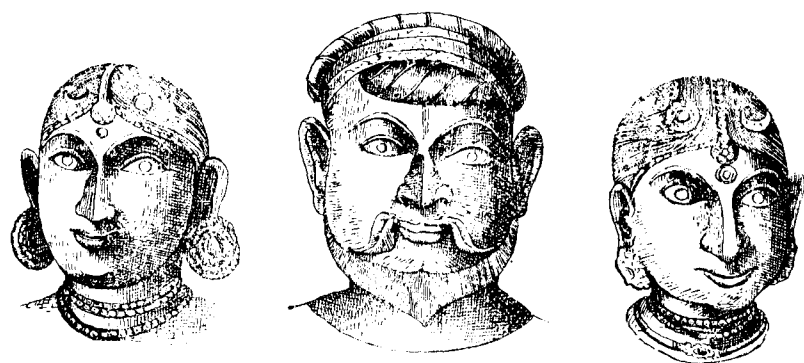
MODERN ART

(Continued)

The Vishnu temples of Conjeevaram and Tirumalai have each a group of bronze statues, the central figure in each of which must have been Lala Todar-Mall. An annual festival in the Conjeevaram temple preserves an historical episode,—the southern expedition of Aurangazebe, about 1688 A.D., causing fright to the temple authorities of Conjeevaram, their removing the idol to Udaiyarpalaiyam,¹ some 200 miles to the south, where the idol was placed safe under the protection of the local chief, his refusal on the subsidence of the panic to allow the removal of the idol back to Conjeevaram, and its rescue from his hands by Lala Todar-Mall who, at the instance of his preceptor, Attan-Jiyar, advanced against him in 1710 A. D. with a strong contingent, terrorised him into compliance and brought the idol safely back to Conjeevaram. This Todar-Mall was the general of the Nawab of the Carnatic, Saadat-Ullah-Khan. The three metal statues in the Conjeevaram temple [Fig. 53] are traditionally known as those of Todar-Mall and his father and mother, but they bear no labels.² At Tirumalai, too, this general seems to have been able to secure a footing, though we do not now know how. Of the four statues of metal which seem to have been placed originally in the temple at Tirumalai, one has now disappeared and two are quite badly mutilated. The one that has disappeared is said to be Todar-Mall's : his name is understood to have been engraved on the shoulder. The only statue in a state of good preserva-

¹Udaiyarpalaiyam Tq., Trichinopoly Dt.

²*MER.* 1920 : 121-3 : 64-5, 1921 : 4 : 9. In *MER.* 1924 : 4 : 9, however the statues are said to be those of Todar-Mall and his two wives, but again, on p. 84, they are said to be statues of Todar-Mall, his father and mother. See also *Madras Law Journal*, vol. 23, p. 144.



THE TODAR-MALL GROUP AT TIRUMALAI

tion is that of Khema-Ram who is said to be the father of Todar-Mall. On the other statues of this group are engraved respectively the names Mata Mohana De and Pita Bi [Fig. 54].¹

Tradition has a story to tell, as piquant as it is tragic, of how Mangammal, queen of the Nayaka line of Madura (1689-1706 A. D.), had a guilty passion in the days of her widowhood for a young man who was her minister, how impelled as much by her own love of power as by the evil counsel of her paramour she refused to hand over the reigns of sovereignty to Vijayaranga-Chokkanatha, her grandson, when he came of age, and how a justly enraged public pulled her from the throne and pushed her into a dungeon and starved her to death, subjecting her to a variant of the curse to which Tantalus had been condemned,— finely flavoured food being placed within reach of sight and smell but beyond the reach of the hand. In confirmation of the story, tradition points to a picture [Fig. 55] painted in the ceiling of a corridor running around the 'Golden Lily Tank' of the temple of Sundara at Madura, in which on one side of a representation of the 'Wedding of Sundara' stands queen Mangammal, attended

¹See *MER.* 1913: 5: 9 and *MysAS. AR.* 1920: 17: 34. The notes furnished by the Madras Epigraphists in their reports show how perfunctorily they studied the statues at both places. The inscription on the shoulder of the statue of Pita Bibi adds that she was the wife of Todar-Mall.

by her grandson, Vijayaranga Chokkanatha, while on the other stands a person who looks a high dignitary of state. Tradition lays malicious stress on the queen appearing bedecked in jewels and finery utterly inappropriate to her unfortunate condition of widowhood, calls attention to the youth and the comeliness of the minister and adds that a piece of sculpture in the corridor [Fig. 56] is a portrait of the young minister who had made the queen the slave of his passion and the tool of his ambition. The features of the statue answer indeed to those of the minister's portrait in colours in the ceiling, but no further circumstances are known that vouch for the accuracy of the tale. A label beside the painted portrait of the minister calls him (Dalavay) Ramappayya, but we have now no knowledge of a person of that name having been Minakshi's minister; we know only that Narasappayya and Achchayya were her ministers, the latter being the person in office at the time when the queen's affair of the heart could have culminated in the tragic denouement of which tradition speaks with high relish.¹ The label might have undergone alteration,—a painter might, in repainting the scene, have ignorantly amended the label by substituting Ramappayya's name, famous in the history of the Madura line, for that of Achchayya, or the minister might have been a Ramappayya later and less renowned than his famous namesake, or the story might be altogether false, or again, tradition got the correct facts but took hold of the wrong evidence and assigned a romantic reason for the minister being in attendance on the queen. No practice is better established than that of a Hindu sovereign being attended by his minister when engaged in worship and Mangammal's minister was merely discharging the duties of his office in accompanying her on an occasion when she attended the festival of 'Sundara's Wedding.'

In the north-west corner of the second circuit of the Vishnu temple at Srirangam there stand two pairs of

¹R. Satyanathan, *History of the Nayakas of Madura*, 124-5, 220-1, 237.

statues. The first pair represents Vijayaranga-Chokkanatha Nayaka of the Madura line (1704-31 A. D.) and his queen, and the second pair represents a brother of Vijayaranga-Chokkanatha and the wife of that brother. They hold their hands out as if they were plying fly-whisks before the idols of the deities of the temple. The statues are made of a core of sandal-wood which is coated over with ivory and so excellent is the workmanship that it is difficult to discern the joints.

'In the Sthanunathaswamin temple at Suchindram¹ there are two stone statues of a king and a prince [Fig. 57]. The tradition connected with them is that they represent Ramavarman and his nephew. It is not unlikely that one of them, the bigger of the two, represents Bala Ramavarman, who . . . was in the place, when the Cochin Raja vowed before the god that he and his successors would not undertake any wars against the Travancore king and his successors. He holds in the right hand an uplifted sword while the left holds the handle of its scabbard whose point is directed downwards. The statue to the proper left of the above is in most respects similar to it. The head-dress is different, the right leg is bereft of *vira-kalalai* and the hands are held in worshipping attitude (*anjali-hasta*). It is not improbable that it represents the crown prince.'² Both uncle and nephew bore the name Bala-Rama-varman, the uncle being the reigning king and the nephew, according to Malabar custom, being the Crown Prince. The uncle was on the throne in 1761 A. D.³ The two statues cannot be considered very fine pieces of work, if we may judge merely from the pose, but the marked individuality of each piece suggests that it is not unlikely that both are real portraits.

Perhaps at the close of the 18th century one Vijayarayar repaired the temple at Senganmal⁴ and had a relief in his own likeness carved on one of its walls.⁵

¹Travancore State.

²TrAS. iv. 112-3.

³There is a suspicion if the statues do not represent earlier members of the Travancore royal line, the bigger statue being considered that of king Ramavarman who ruled about 1700-1725 A. D.

⁴Chingleput Tq. and Dt.

⁵MER. 1916 : 224 of 1916.

Two statues exist of Sarabhoji (1798-1833 A. D.), the Maharatta king of Tanjore,—one of marble [Fig. 58] in the durbar hall of the Tanjore palace, and another of bronze, [Fig. 59] in the Chakrapani temple of Kumbhakonam. The former was executed by the famous English portrait-sculptor, Chantrey, perhaps from portraits given to him by Sarabhoji's English friends. This statue presents the king in the normal attitude of adoration,—hands joined in *anjali*,—though it must have been intended to be set up in the 'Audience Hall.' In the other statue he appears leaner and lankier and his robe fits his person closely. We do not know who the sculptor was who fashioned this bronze, but the technique is purely European.

We have also a relievo-panel of Sarabhoji paying a visit to Schwartz,—the famous German missionary who was his friend, tutor, champion and even philosopher,—when Schwartz lay dying [Fig. 60]. This panel, executed by Flaxman, is one of the treasures of the principal Christian church at Tanjore.

A rude sculptural representation of Lionel Place, Collector of Chingleput, in the very early years of the last century, was placed in the Vishnu temple of Madhuran-takam¹ in gratitude for his having saved the town from being washed away by the waters of the huge tank on its confines on an occasion when an over-bounteous monsoon had filled the tank with more water than its banks could endure.

A Collector of the Salem district, Davis by name, having made a contribution towards the execution of a pillar² in a *mandapa* of the Siva temple at Tiruchengodu,³ in 1823 A. D., 'a figure with hat and a walking stick is carved on one side of the pillar.'⁴

These relievos and statues do not by any means exhaust the sculptures in the south of India which fall into the category of portraits, but they do form a representative collection exhibiting adequately the varieties of material, mode

¹Madhuran-takam Tq., Chingleput Dt.

²Tiruchengodu Tq., Salem Dt.

³ASI.S.AR. 1918 : 16.

and *motif*. Examples could be multiplied indefinitely. At Madura itself in its numerous shrines and their appendages we find statues of various persons whose identity is now unascertainable. The Vishnu temple at Mannargudi,¹ for instance, contains some twenty statues, in every part of the temple from the outer *mandapa* to the halls immediately before the *sanctum sanctorum*, in relief or in the round, free or engaged to a pillar, most of them being about a yard or less in height, but not one is of any merit or significance; the only group of any interest stands in the hall just before the principal shrine and is shown special honours at festivals. We have confined ourselves to instances which are worthy of note for containing a date, or for illustrating a pose or a *motif* or a type of sculpture or a style of technique.

¹Mannargudi Tq., Tanjore Dt.

VI

SAINTS AND PRECEPTORS

Mention, but no more than mention, has to be made of another class of sculptures of which specimens fill practically every south Indian temple to Vishnu or Siva. In the Tamil country every Siva temple contains a set of sixty-three images representing the sixty-three *Nayanmar* or Saints of Tamil Saivism and every Vishnu temple contains a group of sculptures of the *Alvars* or the Saints and the *Acharyas* or the Preceptors of Tamil Vaishnavism. These images are certainly considered portraits by the pious, but a study of any two sets of images makes it palpable that though portraiture might have been intended it was not achieved, except occasionally in the case of the image of so eminent a personality as Ramanuja. A posture or a symbol was originally associated with each saint and every generation of sculptors has followed the convention without attempting to give to each figure an individual expression. The Alvars, the Acharyas and the Nayanmar are not portrayed in these sculptures with any greater fidelity to historic truth than the Buddha or the Boddhisattvas are represented in the numberless paintings or carvings of Buddhist art, of the Tirthankaras in Jain art, of the Lamas by Tibetan artists, or of the Madonna of the christians.

Certain sculptures of Vaishnava Acharyas are attested by tradition and by chronicles to be real portraits and mention may therefore be made of them. The chronicles further give very interesting accounts of how images of the outstanding religious preceptors came to be set up.

Ramanuja, the greatest of the preceptors of Vaishnavism (1018-1138 A.D.), allowed images of himself to be installed in his own life-time. One of the hagiologists says that Ramanuja having renovated a great Vishnu temple at Tirunarayanapuram (Melkote)¹ during a long sojourn in

¹Mysore Dt., Mysore State.

Mysore was about to return to Srirangam when his disciples represented to him in moving terms how greatly they would feel the separation. Thereupon, Ramanuja had an image of himself created¹ and he established in it his powers (*sakti*) and handed it over to his disciples for their worship. According to the same hagiologist when Ramanuja, years later, had become so old as to make his following apprehend that he might not survive long, the disciples prayed him that for their benefit and for the benefit of posterity he would allow an image of him to be set up at Sriperumbudur, his birth-place. On his granting permission, a sculptor cast an image and brought it before him and he thereupon approved of it and embraced it hard so that it might glow with every power (*sakti*) of his. It was then taken to Sriperumbudur and installed there, along with a *mula-vigraha*, on a day appointed by Ramanuja himself. The chronicle adds that Ramanuja, having one day found himself suddenly so weak indeed as to feel that his end was quite at hand, asked what day of the year it was and in reply was told that it was the very day he had appointed for the consecration of the images at Sriperumbudur, some three-hundred miles away.² The hagiologist evidently intended to suggest that the consecration of the images was the cause of the weakness felt by Ramanuja. It is said also that within a few days of his death an image of him was set up at Srirangam.³

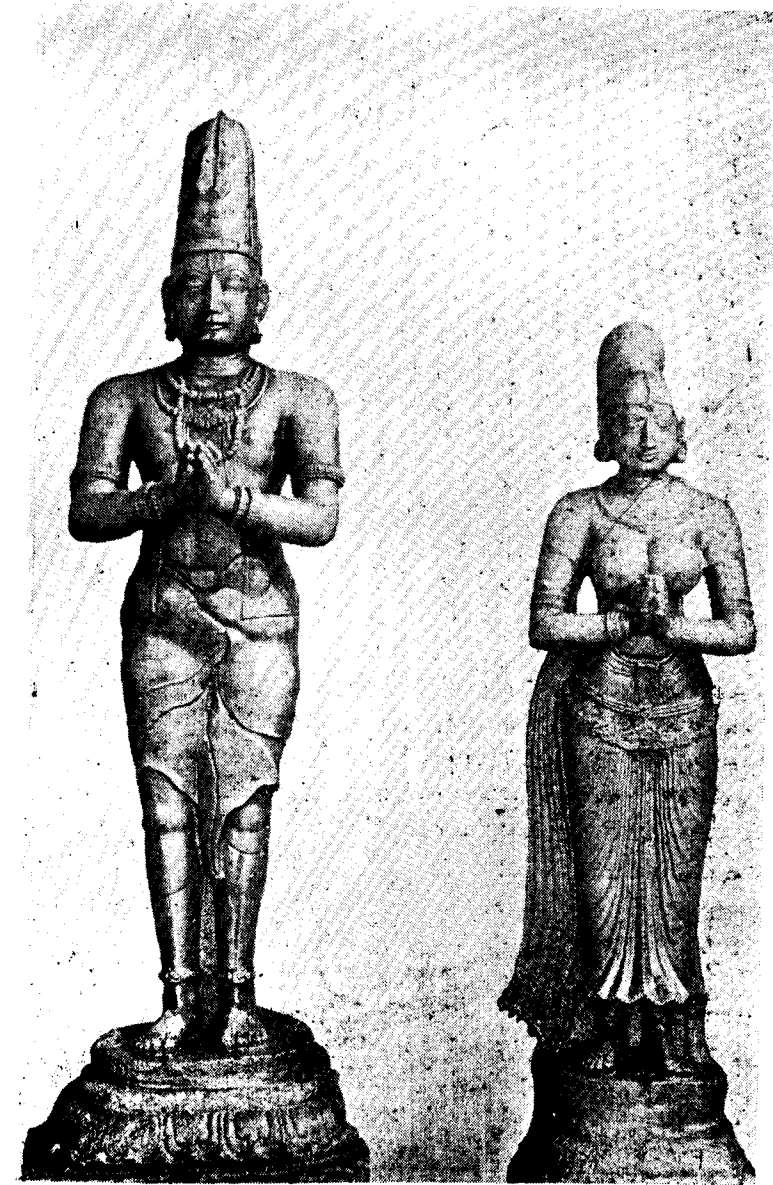
Another hagiologist⁴ confirms the account of Ramanuja permitting an image of himself to be set up at Melkote but gives a different version of his allowing images to be set up when he was approaching the fag-end of his life. According to this hagiologist, Ramanuja having been persuaded that he would be helping his doctrine to spread and flourish if he permitted images of himself to be set up, three images, evidently of metal, were shortly after brought before him

¹ The passage may also mean that he created the image himself.

² Pinbu-Alagiya-Perumal-Jiyar, *Guru-parampara-prabhavam* (6000-padi).

³ *Ib.* But some of the mss. of this work do not contain this piece of information.

⁴ Tritiya - Brahma - tantra - sva - tantra - swami, *Guru-parampara-prabhavam* (3000-padi).



Venkata Ī and his Queen



Krishnadeva-raya

and he thereupon embraced them and directed them to be placed severally at Srirangam, Sriperumbudur and Tirunarayanapuram (Melkote), and he further permitted his image to be installed in every place where his followers were found. Accordingly, on his death, three images were installed in the three places as directed by him and other images were set up in other Vaishnava centres.¹

Tradition says that the shrine of Ramanuja at Srirangam has been reared on the spot where he was interred, that the *mula-vigraha* is placed right above his remains and that this *vigraha* is fashioned out of clay, red-earth and the ochre-coloured garment worn by him in his last days; even now, the cloth is clearly discernible.

A figure of brick and mortar in the third floor of the Vishnu temple at Tirukkoshtiyur² is said to be an image of this Acharya. He had his spiritual initiation at this place from his *guru*, but feeling that the injunction to keep the teaching secret and to impart it to only the elect was wholly unjustifiable and would prevent the gospel reaching the sinful among men, he chose deliberately to break the injunction, mounted the temple and, placing himself at a coign of vantage, proclaimed the sacred teaching to all who would hearken. It is at this spot, marking one of the most significant events in his career, that, by popular account, this image stands.³ Even if this figure had been placed there in Ramanuja's life-time itself, we may take it that it could not long have retained its character as a portrait, for the brick-layer must have retouched the image whenever brick and mortar mouldered away.

A statue of another great Vaishnava preceptor, Vedanta Desika, is said to have been made in very interesting circumstances. He bore the title *sarva-tantra-sva-tantra* and justified it by the versatility of his attainments. A short while before his death he was challenged by a sculptor to maintain

¹See *Ib.* According to this writer, the image first set up at Tirunarayanapuram was a *mula-vigraha*. He makes it appear also that a *mula-vigraha* was installed along with the metal statue which was set up at Srirangam with Ramanuja's approval. For yet another version, see the *Koyil-olugu*.

²Tiruppattur Tq., Ramnad Dt.

³MER. 1924: 2: 5.

that title by making an image of himself. That night Desika was instructed in a dream by God to fashion the image in a sitting attitude, the right hand formed in the *jnana-mudra* and the left holding a book. In the morning Desika sent for the presumptuous sculptor and in his presence modelled the image in wax and then made from it a metal cast. The sculptor was astonished at the remarkable success with which Desika reproduced his own features and figure. His surprise was all the greater when, on his attempting to scrape off with his chisel a little of the metal which he fancied was a trifle superfluous on the cheek, the statue began bleeding at the place where the chisel had grazed it; the sculptor was quite convinced that Desika had performed the difficult task of judging his own features with an accuracy which professed sculptors could not pretend to. Desika had the statue covered up and stowed away for the reason that it represented him all too faithfully in every limb and in every part. Not content with this display of his ability as a practical sculptor Desika furnished further proof of his remarkable attainments in the art by producing a treatise on sculpture. An image of him was installed in the temple of Srirangam immediately after his death. Some time later, it is said, the deity of Srirangam directed that statues of none of the preceptors who came after Desika should be set up in that temple.¹

Manavala-maha-muni, a third great Vaishnava preceptor permitted statues of himself to be set up in his last days; he handed over to his disciples a copper vessel he was accustomed to use and they utilized it for making two statues of him.²

In one of the other Vaishnava chronicles³ we have a story of how a Pandya king, Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya I (c. 1261 A.D.) enlarged greatly the temple at Srirangam and made gifts of jewels to the god, spending 36 lakhs of *pon* (gold pieces), and how the temple authorities refused to grant his request that he might set up a statue of

¹All the information above is derived from the work of the latter of the two hagiologists mentioned above.

²Pillai-Lokarya-Jiyar, *Yatindra-pravana-prabhavam*.

³Koyil-olugu.

himself in the temple. Why this request met with refusal is more than we can now pretend to explain, especially as the chronicle is silent on that head.

This chronicle proceeds to state that the famous Vaishnava saint, Tiru-Mangai-Alvar, a personality of much earlier times, built a shrine in the temple of Srirangam and had a *mula-bhera* and an *utsava-vigraha* of himself installed.

The same chronicle says elsewhere that in 1512 A.D. likenesses were carved and set up, and inscriptions incised, in memory of two *jiyars* and some *ekangis* who, some twenty years earlier, as a protest against the exactions and persecutions of a chieftain, Koneri-ryan, had committed suicide by throwing themselves down from the *gopura* of the temple.

In one of the minor shrines of the Arulala-Perumal temple at Conjeeveram we have an image of Lakshmi-Kumara-Tatacharya, the great *guru* of Venkata I of the Vijayanagara line, but we have no warrant for believing that it is a likeness or was set up either in his own life-time or shortly after. To one who is curious to know how he deserves a place in this temple the answer is plainly written in the numerous inscriptions on its walls which make mention of his attainments and achievements and the numerous ways in which he was of service to the temple.¹

Opposite the shrine of the goddess in the Vishnu (Saranga-pani) temple at Kumbhakonam is a niche in which is placed a figure which is said to represent a certain Lakshmi-Kumara-Tatacharya. We do not know for certain if this person is identical with the *guru* mentioned above, but it is not improbable, for the former calls himself 'Lakshmi-Kumara-Tatacharya of Conjeevaram and Kumbhakonam.'² This tiny shrine is under the control of some persons who are evidently among his descendants and *naivedya* is offered to the image every day by them.³

¹See, for instance, *MER*. 1920: 115-6: 51, and also *Madras Law Journal (Reports)*, vol. 23, pp. 143, 153.

²See, for instance, *MER*. 1920: 531 of 1919.

³There is another tradition that the image represents one Lakshmi-Narsimha-swami of Mysore who, to get cured of stomach-ache, propitiated the god of the temple by renovating portions of it.

VII

MATERIAL, METHOD AND MOTIF

Most of the portrait sculptures in south India are found in temples or *stupas* or in places closely associated with them,— such as corridors or *Mandapas*. We cannot indeed point to more than two instances of sculptures of this class being found in a place not a *stupa* or a temple. One of them is the slab (found along the road leading to Upper Ahobilam) on which Bhira-Rauthu is figured in a simple line-sketch: it must have been set up on the road almost as a mile-stone marking a stage in a devotee's pilgrimage in the flesh and in the spirit to the shrine up the hill. The second is the group in the Nanaghat cave which, though perhaps the scene of Vedic sacrifices, was yet neither temple nor part of one.

That at the present day these sculptures are found almost exclusively in temples must be due to the circumstance that temples are the only ancient monuments which have survived to us. How varied might have been the types of these sculptures had other classes of ancient buildings survived is established by the discovery of the statue of Kanishka and its *devakula* or statue-house and by the discovery of portraits in the remains of the *stupa* of Amaravati. Even the *debris* which covered the ruins at Mathura served a good purpose,— that of preserving for the archæologist and for posterity the vestiges of a structure the like of which have utterly perished elsewhere through lack of even such ignoble protection. The *devagadhs* of Rajaputana seem to have caught up in mediæval times the ancient tradition of which the only surviving evidence is the ruined Kushan *devakula*. They are not temples but are, if the term may be used loosely, mausoleums. The disappearance of other varieties of 'statue-houses' and our ignorance of those types of portrait-sculpture which might have been appropriate to such varieties make it impossible for us to be positive on any aspect of this branch of art.

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Some of these sculptures are placed in the gateways of temples, some are carved in relief on the outer walls of shrines, some on either side of the entrance into them and two might have been placed in the sanctuary itself. We have to infer that the stone sculpture of Mahendravarman in the Trichinopoly cave-temple was installed in the sanctuary and it seems probable that the group of Rajaraja and his queen Loka-maha-devi were placed in the sanctuary of the temple at Tanjore but we cannot cite further instances. The more usual practice is to place them in niches adjacent to the shrines or in embrasures which sometimes look miniature shrines.

The statues are made in almost every variety of material. The stone statues are generally carved out of the stones available in the locality. Stone is the commonest material but brick and mortar are not uncommon. Ramanuja's effigy over his sepulchre seems to be made of clay, red-earth and cloth. We have a set of statues carved in sandal-wood and veneered over with ivory. Those of metal are generally cast in what is technically called *panchaloham* (an alloy of five metals), but we know also of images of bronze and copper.

Marble and other varieties of stone capable of receiving a high degree of polish do not seem to have been at all made use of. Nor do the sculptors seem to have attempted to impart to the sculptures even that little polish which the varieties of stone are capable of taking. The ancient practice of laying a thin coat of lime on the surface of the sculptured stone does not explain why the sculptures were not polished, for the practice was not generally observed even when the sculptures were set up in sheltered places and could not have been observed where they were placed in the open as in the *mandapas* and the outer walls of temples or were carved on the faces of rocks exposed to sun and rain.

The Simhavishnu and Mahendravarman reliefs at Mahabalipuram show traces of a thin coat of plaster having been applied over the carving on stone; perhaps they were painted over suitably. The statues of the Madura Nayakas

are painted to show the complexion of the subjects and to display the magnificence of the dress and the splendour of the ornaments, but the painting is now done so crudely that the statues are rendered despicable. The plastering and painting of stone images is an ancient Indian practice which, however, in south India is still practised only in the portrait gallery at Madura.

The stone sculptures we now have are of various degrees of fulness and finish. The line-engraving of Bhira-Rauthu, the Pallava reliefs at Mahabalipuram which are generally of life-size, the small and almost insignificant figures jutting out of pillars in the *mukha-mandapas* of Mysore temples, the crude piece of stone which does duty for Mr. Place at Madhurantakam but might almost be a palæolith, the statues fully in the round such as the free sitting statue of the anonymous Chola who chose a contemplative attitude, perhaps in relaxation from the cares of sovereignty, the quarter-size statue of Krishna-raya at Chidambaram and the greater than life-size figures of a devotee at Amaravati or of the Nayakas in the *Pudu-Madapam* at Madura,— these are enough to give us an idea of the extraordinary variation we have in size, in quality and in technique. The sculptor who at Amaravati carved the devotee's statue to a scale greater than nature's realised that beside, or in, a *stupa* a statue of the average human height would stand dwarfed.

While the stone-portraits are of all degrees of fulness, proportion and finish, the metallic ones are generally in the round and are cast at least to a fourth of the human height and are almost always of excellent quality. The very earliest portrait statues of metal we have knowledge of must be attributed to the days of Rajaraja I. The statues of that king and of his wife and of Parantaka II and of his queen and of the priest who then officiated in that temple, all which were placed in the great temple of Tanjore by the end of the first-third of the 11th century A. D., must have been of excellent workmanship, if we may judge from the quality of the icons set up in that temple by Rajaraja himself.

The bronze of Sola-ma-devi at Kalahasti is of high quality and the bronzes of the Chola captain, Kettan Adittan, and his sister, installed in the same temple about 1120 A. D., are of equal excellence. The freedom of pose and the vigour of execution which they exhibit furnish proof of the confidence with which the metal workers of those days undertook portraits in bronze. It is superfluous to recount the merits of each of the other portrait-bronzes we have described. The group of Krishna-Raya at Tirumalai is the only known example of repousse-work. Generally executed in half the human size and, sometimes, as in the case of the Kempe-Gauda group at Sivaganga or the Todar-Mall group at Conjeevaram, approaching the full human figure in proportions, the statues in metal are of distinguished appearance and of almost uniform quality. None of them could be pronounced insignificant, though we may have to except the pseudo-Rajaraja and the Seringapatam bronze of Kanthirava, both of which are artistically contemptible. No higher testimony to the artistic genius of the south Indian craftsman could be found than the fact that among a score of metallic statues belonging to some eight centuries not more than two could be pronounced to have fallen short of excellence.

Many of the statues, whether of stone or metal, are individual figures but some are only individuals in a group. Usually, the group is one of a husband and his wife, but, we know of a group of brother and sister,¹ a group of three brothers,² two groups of father and son,³ a group of a king and the heir-apparent, who was not the king's son but nephew⁴ and a group of a nobleman, his father, mother and wife.⁵ We have even a group of a man and a woman who are not known to be in anywise connected with each other except perhaps as joint builders of a part of a temple (one of the reliefs at Tiruvaduturai). We have groups of kings or chiefs of a dynasty as at Madura, Ramesvaram, Tinnevely and Srirangam, and a group of chiefs and their ministers at

¹The Chola captain and his sister

²The Kempe Gowda group.

³Simhavishnu and Mahendra : Kanthirava and Dodda-deva

⁴At Suchindram

⁵The Todar-Mall group at Tirumalai

Ramesvaram, just as in north India we find groups of a king and his ministers, like the Vana-*raja* group at Unhilpur and that of a nobleman and his *divan* at Mount Abu. Occasionally, as in the case of one or two of the Nayakas of Madura, the group includes perhaps a son or even a daughter, and in the case of Tirumala Nayaka, we have in a frieze on the pedestal, an appreciable part of the population of his harem.

Where statues of a number of kings of one dynasty are set up together they are arranged in order of succession.

It is not uncommon for a number of such groups to be set up together so as to form a grand group. The group of Simhavishnu and of his queens stands opposite the group of Mahendravarman and his queens, and the two groups, together with a few other groups, form one major group of striking appearance. Similar major groups are the collections of Vijayanagara kings at Tirumalai and of the Nayakas at Srirangam and at Madura. The full-length statues in the shrines of the Ramesvaram temple and the corridors of the Tinnevely temple and the grand group of the Nayakas at Madura are of great importance to the student of sculpture, for they show how portraiture can be made an integral feature of architecture; these statues and groups in spite of their individual grandeur sink into subdued magnificence in their setting as parts of huge pillars in *mandapas* of generous proportions. The sculptor who would design statues and sculptural groups and the architect who would dispose the groups to effective architectural purpose may each learn a good portion of his art from a close study of the galleries of Madura, Ramesvaram, Tinnevely, and Srirangam. Equally instructive would the study be to the sculptor who would carve single or detached statues, for the sculptors did not consider the statues as mere addenda to, or excrescences upon, architectural pillars, but looked at them as individual *œuvres d'art* and bestowed on them all the skill they were capable of.

Most of these figures are in the standing attitude and only three, Simhavishnu, Gandar-Aditya and the anonymous king

at Nandi are shown seated. Even among the north Indian statues mentioned already, only one of the Kushans and one of the Saisunagas and a few of the Nepalese kings are represented in the sitting posture. Many are the sculptures carved on the stony floors of temples showing a worshipper lying prone, with his head turned towards the deity and his hands stretched above his head and joined in *anjali*, just as if he were prostrating himself in worship. These figures furnish only the rear-view of the devotees and are valueless for a study of portraiture. Equestrian figures, such as that of Arya-natha, are very rare, and might have been set up to commemorate warriors. We know of only a few examples, all in Mysore, of a person being shown leaning on a staff; probably these represent members of a particular group or sect.

The most common mode of disposing the hands of the statues, the joining them in *anjali* or salutation, is certainly due to the statues being generally located in temples, but we have a unique example, at Tanjore, of a king, Sarabhoji, standing with hands joined in salutation, not in a temple, but in his Hall of Audience. The devotee's statue at Amaravati holds some lotus-buds in its hands which are joined in worship and the bronze of Sola-ma-devi holds a flower between its fingers. Between the folded palms of the bronze of the chieftain-devotee found at Gandarkottai we find a rosary of a few beads.

In the Pallava portrait-relievs the principal figures generally point with the right hand towards the sanctuary and they occasionally lead their companions with the left. The builder of a *mandapa* in the Tiruvisalur temple stretches forth his hands in silent solicitation of boons. The statues of the Vijayaranga-Chokkanatha group at Srirangam stand as if they were plying the fly-whisk in the presence of the deity. While the mediæval king at Kumbhakonam has devotion enough to keep his sword sheathed, the king at Suchindram, mindful of his being the guardian of the god and his temple, has drawn his sword from the scabbard and holds it aloft in warning to the evil-minded.

Three statues demand attention for the exceptional treatment of the hands. Simhavishnu's right hand is in the *chin-mudra* and his queens stand listening to him. Simhavishnu's seated posture, the serenity of his countenance, the *chin-mudra* and the listening attitude of his queens seem to suggest that he is expounding some of the eternal verities to his queens and that they are listening to him in rapt attention. The statue at Nandi which according to tradition represents a Chola king, shows him seated and with the *chin-mudra*. The bronze statue of Vishnuvardhana gives him also the same *mudra*. Royal builders of temples not being normally installed in the seated form in the temples which they built and it being rarer still for them to affect the *chin-mudra* we may indulge a suspicion that there were circumstances in the lives of these kings justifying both the seated attitude and the *mudra*, but we are not able now to discover what those circumstances might have been,—not even in the case of Vishnuvardhana. The appropriateness of these *mudras* for these figures cannot be now pronounced upon, no means being available to us of ascertaining if or how the subjects of the portraits deserved them.

Men and women of every grade of society are subjects of portraiture. Kings are common and ministers not rare. The Chola captain comes from the army and Lakshmi-Dasi comes from the ranks of courtezans. Shrines are raised over images of religious preceptors like Ramanuja and niches are found for a temple musician playing a *vina* and for the reciter of a 'Sacred Decad.'

The catholicism of which Brahmanism is capable is illustrated by the figures of two Europeans,—Place and Davis,—being allowed to be set up in temples.

The sculptures are often given labels containing the names of the persons represented, the earliest known instances being that of Kanishka in north India (if we omit the other Kushans and Saisunagas), those of the Nanaghat group in the Dekkhan, and those of Simhavishnu and Mahendravarman at Mahabalipuram in south India. The labels were engraved on the pedestals, as in many of the

bronzes, or on the upper curves of the niches, as in the Mahabalipuram cave-temple, or on the drapery of the figure as in the Kanishka statue, or even on the shoulder as in the Vijayanagara and Todar-Mall statues at Tirumalai. Sometimes, an inscription runs beside the sculptures setting forth the circumstances in which, and the persons for whom, they were executed. But, often, the figures were left without any indications of either identity or purpose.

None of the figures bears any indication of whose handiwork it is; the sculptors have studiously refrained from signing them. Tradition says of Ramanuja and Vedanta Desika, obliquely in the case of the former and directly in that of the latter, that they fashioned their own images, but we have no means of testing the reliability of the tradition.

VIII

THE CRAVING FOR PORTRAITURE

How are we to account for the *penchant* which the south Indian has undoubtedly had for centuries for carving and installing sculptures which he intended to be statues?

Some statues were set up by the subjects themselves, but anyone could, it seems, have statues set up for himself or for any one else. A Chola queen had an image of her husband carved and another had images of her parents set up. A Satakarni queen had a group fashioned to represent herself, her husband, father-in-law, father and sons. Rajendra installed a bronze of his step-mother and another of his priest. Tirumala Nayaka set up a gallery of likenesses of his ancestors and of a prime-minister of his dynasty. A sister presented a bronze of her brother and, evidently, followed it up with one of herself. A feudatory set up statues both of his father-in-law and his over-lord, the Vijayanagara king. An officer set up bronzes of himself and a colleague. Disciples consecrated statues to their preceptors. Nor were restrictions placed on images of a person being set up in a number of places.

Some of the figures, such as those of Gandar-Aditya, the Chola captain, and all the Madura Nayakas, except Tirumala Nayaka, were carved and set up after the death of the persons represented. If tradition speaks true, Tirumala set up statues to three generations of his predecessors on the throne and the citizens of Srirangam set up likenesses of persons who had died some twenty years before. But many of the statues were set up in the life-time of the subject himself, as is evident from the history of the Satakarni relieves and as is expressly stated in respect of the image of Mahendravarman at Trichinopoly and the bronzes which the devotees of Annur, Tirukkannapuram and Kalahasti gave away along with their gifts for perpetual lamps. Almost all the hagiologists who speak of images being installed in the

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likenesses of the great Vaishnava Acharyas say that they were set up while they were yet alive. But, one of the chronicles says that Ramanuja felt very weak at the time when his image was being consecrated at his birth-place, perhaps because his 'powers' were being transplanted from his body into the image. Another hagiologist records that though Vedanta-Desika cast his own image, yet he had it stowed away because of its supreme perfection as a likeness. These two accounts suggest that it was considered hazardous to set up a statue in the subject's life-time, and especially so if it was a good likeness, but we have irrefragible proof of a practice, dating at least from the times of the Satakarni relieves, of living persons being represented in portraits.

Statues accumulate under one roof through a variety of causes. Numerous devotees contribute towards the construction of edifices such as the architectural appendages of the Amaravati *stupa* and each of them who can afford it puts in a figure of himself. Almost every member of the Pallava dynasty in the seventh century thinks it his duty to embellish Mahabalipuram and leaves behind him a mark of his activity by including his own likeness among the sculptures which he gets carved out of the rocks scattered pell-mell on the surf-beaten shore. Perhaps the builder of a temple, or it may be the builder of an extension, has a relieve or other sculpture carved in it to represent himself; another devotee builds a minor shrine or repairs the old temple and installs a figure of himself; a third devotee seeks to distinguish himself over others by setting up a full-fledged statue in his own image, perhaps getting permission for it by valuable gifts to the temple, and he is in turn emulated by others: thus accumulates a series of sculptures representing unrelated individuals. The temple becomes popular at one time or another in its history and worshippers who are anxious to leave permanent memorials of their devotion set up statues of themselves in the attitude of worship. One member of a family—it is a dynasty of potentates in

the Tirumalai temple,— starts paying his devotions to the deity of that temple and his descendants and other members of his family follow in his wake treating the god of the temple as their *kula devata* with the result that every important member of the family finds for himself a niche, however small, in that temple. Or a king, such as a Nayaka of Madura, becomes a passionate devotee of the deity of a temple, often the principal one in his capital, as in the case of Madura, and makes lavish gifts of jewellery to the image and extensive grants of land to the temple and starts making architectural additions on a grand scale. When the work is complete, he sets up at least a statue of himself and, if more ambitious, he installs statues of his predecessors as well. All of them are mindful of the transitoriness of physical life and the shortness of the period in which they could in their proper person keep worshipping the deity enshrined in a temple and being anxious to prolong their devotion beyond even this life, at least so long as temple and carved-stone or cast-metal, would endure, they install statues of themselves in the temple with their hands joined in salutation. They have gone their way and the world has not known them for over a thousand years, and yet their statues now stand in the temples rendering salutations which in the thousand years have lost no whit in sincerity. Some devotees have a fascination for burning perpetual lamps in temples for their merit and they fancy a partiality for having themselves set up in such form that, though turned into stone or metal, they could yet be seen engaged in perpetual service to the deity. So, instead of having the hands of the statue joined in salutation, they have a lamp put into them, so that the figure, generally of metal, might stand for all time holding a burning lamp before the deity for the illumination of the shrine. A similar motive is exemplified in the Vijayaranga-Chokkanatha group which stands with hands stretched out wielding fly-whisks.

Every variety of motive seems to have incited men to set up statues. The builder of a *stupa* or a temple is

anxious to commemorate his having accomplished the pious task he had set himself and carves a figure of himself in it. A king desires to enhance the attractions of the chief shrine of his capital by architectural additions to it and takes the opportunity of carving out immortality for himself in his own image in stone. A king protects with uplifted sword the sacred precincts of the Suchindram temple and another king follows as an escort in the train of the image of another deity of a temple which he himself had built. A general, Todar-Mall, brings the deity of Conjeevaram back from exile and either commemorates the event, or it is commemorated, by the installation of statues of him and his family in the temple. Queen Sembiayan-ma-devi builds a temple in the name of her husband, king Gandar-Aditya, and she carves in it a relief of him. Princess Kundavai has such respect for her parents that she installs images of them in a temple which her brother built. Rajaraja himself seems to have sanctioned the inclusion of a likeness of a priest among the images set up in that temple. The memory of the humble but devout services of the chanters of hymns and the musicians attached to a temple is also perpetuated. Even kings and queens desire to stand for ever before the deity, performing services such as those of waving fly-whisks and they take pride in representing themselves as engaged in such services. One devotee portrays himself asking for boons. Other devotees found endowments for twilight lamps and place statues of themselves in the temple, perhaps in the spirit in which Hemadri enjoins that a donor should accompany his gifts with his own image. Disconsolate at the death of her brother, a Chola Captain, and anxious to secure his salvation, a lady places a bronze likeness of him in a temple, and later, she places a likeness of herself in the temple in the evident hope that the Lord will be merciful to her who stands suing for ever for His grace. A tower is erected on the spot where a certain person planted a spear and some persons are figured in it holding spears. Figures of religious men, *jiyars* and *ekangis*, who immolated themselves by falling from a temple

gopura in protest against the tyranny of a chief are, some twenty-five years later, carved in a stone and set up in the temple by grateful citizens. Religious fervour blends with every one of these motives and every figure, not excluding those which do not join the hands in salutation, is eloquently expressive of deep and strong devotion.

The predominance of this element of devotion explains why many of the portraits in stone are executed very crudely. The excellence of even the early sculptures such as those at Amaravati or Mahabalipuram precludes the suspicion that the crudeness might be due to want of sculptural skill. The prominence sought to be given to the Satakarni statue in its setting in the *stupa* of Amaravati and the grandeur of groups such as the one at Madura make it improbable that temple-builders had no craving to put their devotion into arresting shape. The evidences we have of the wealth of the Satkarnis, the Pallavas and the Nayakas, for instance, must warn us against assuming that the lack of finish was due to the necessity for observing parsimony. Knowing as we do how lavish Krishna-raya was, we cannot pretend that the comparative crudity of his statue at Chidambaram must have been due to reasons of economy. The crude portraits are often found in temples of liberal dimensions and of excellent workmanship. The explanation therefore seems to lie in the circumstance that many, if not most of the temple-builders, while desirous of putting in effigies of themselves as devotees, were not so wanting in the humility of true devotion as to raise costly and grandiose monuments to themselves. It was not the pride of having built the temple but the zeal for keeping for ever in the presence of the deity of the temple in an unceasing salutation or engaged in such interminable service to the deity as the holding of a light or the wielding of a fly-whisk that prompted the builder to instal his own effigy in the temple. For this purpose it was immaterial whether the figure was artistically perfect or was merely carved into a rough resemblance to the human shape.

Matrimony

By NANALAL DULPATRAM-KAVI, M.A.¹

Matrimony is a vow to blossom our life,
Is a sure step on our way to the place of eternal bliss,
An imperative course to all mortal beings.
To marry is to step into divinity.²

Translated from GUJARATI by
G. BIJOY REDDY.

¹This and the next poem are from his famous play, *Indukumar*.

²Instead of saying that a man is married, the young man of Gujarat says nowadays that he has stepped into divinity.

The Kokil

By NANALAL DULPATRAM-KAVI, M.A.

What is this? Is it a Kokil of the woods?

Yes, Yes, it is:

The harbinger and court-musician of spring:

The first coo of the dawn!

Nectar-sweet note of heaven!

The primal hum of the unfolding buds!

A song from the bower of joy!

The speech of the spring on the brink of the world!

The creator, hiding behind the physical

phenomenon,

Blows the enthusiasm of the new age into

his creation.

The soothing song of the celestial city

Comes down crawling from the summits of the skies,

Like the thrilling notes of the pleasing flute of love.

Profusely adorned is the creeper *vasantika*.

Its smell inundates the whole world.

Life has expressed itself in the form of the sun.

The moon of love reflected from eye to eye.

The thrill of the lake found vent in the ripples.

On the waters, danced gently the *kamala* and *kumud*.

Kokil!

Thou art imbued with power to awaken

the entire world.

O lovers of the lovely!

Why are you, yet wrapped up in the folds

of slumber and drowsiness?

Translated from GUJARATI by

G. BIJOY REDDI.

Mukul Dey: Painter-Etcher

BY O. C. GANGOLY

The undue space and emphasis usually given in our daily press to political incidents and happenings have a tendency to put out of focus events of much more serious consequence for the future history of India. Too much sound and energy are wasted in trumpeting the progress of the struggle for political freedom, while very little, if at all anything, is done in the daily press to record the significant facts and incidents which are slowly working out the cultural emancipation of India.

Indeed, it is with some pride that we can recall one auspicious and significant afternoon in December, several years ago, when the writer kept away from a huge *pandal*, (into which nearly all Calcutta had flocked to listen to the oration of the Congress President)—to steal into a modest little hall, a few hundred feet away, where a handful of lovers of Indian culture had assembled to honour the birth of Modern Indian Art. The little pictures, quite miniature in size, and restrained in their colour schemes, conveyed in their mute eloquence, to those who understand their meaning—a message for a new awakening of life, for a deliverance from the then prevailing orgy of foreignism, in thought and aspiration, for a new spiritual consciousness—in which a group of Indian artists sought, found and expressed their old Indian soul. The little exhibition became an annual event and the movement grew and expanded, creating little centres in all parts of India, and its fame travelled beyond the seas to earn the laurels of foreign appreciation. From the very beginning, the movement has received scant attention from Indians themselves. And even to-day, when Indian Art has become fashionable in some quarters, it is very little understood by Indians themselves. To Gandhi, the spirit-

ual politician, we respectfully bow our obedient assent,—with the call of Tagore, the poet, we readily mingle our voice to invite the East and the West to meet on the altar of humanity—in Bose, the mystic and mysterious scientist, we readily recognize the *rishi* of old, easily bridging the gulf between the living and the non-living,—but the modern Indian Artist leaves us cold. His works are, as yet, a sealed book to many of us. We refuse to look at them, and their messages knock, in vain, on the barred gates of our atrophied sense of Form and Beauty. In fact, Art has no place in our modern life. It is neither an educational force, nor the pastime of our cultured *dilettantes*. It is certainly a forbidden fruit to our Universities. The third eye of our aesthetic vision, it appears, is not destined to open before the auspicious dawn of political autonomy, and the red-letter day of a cultured Swaraj. In the meantime, the neglected exponent of cultured freedom plies his silent pencils and mute brushes—in the cold neglect of his indifferent contemporaries,—and buries himself in the deep seclusion of his own studio, strenuously striving to save the soul of India from the dusty clouds of political strifes, keeping the flame of Art burning amidst the storms of political controversy, with no help from anybody save the appreciative smiles of friends other than Indians. A Nandalal Bose, a Khitin Mazumdar, a Rama Rao, plods on his weary way, alone and uncared for, holding aloft the high ideals and traditions of his racial art,—one of the richest gifts of India to the spiritual treasures of the world. And the life-work of each of these silent workers for the spiritual destiny of India has a peculiar story to tell. While some of them made it a cult to cut themselves off from any contact with the West, others drank deep at the fountain-heads of the streams of Western Art, and in a broad eclectic spirit took their lessons wherever they found them. Many of them stayed at home, confined within the tariff-walls of Ajantan frescoes and Rajput drawings, while the more adventurous in spirit boldly crossed the seas to finish their education, to broaden their outlook, and to strengthen their

native Indian vision by contact with points of view different from their own.

Indian artists who go abroad to finish their art-education seldom return with their personal vision undimmed or untarnished by the dazzling light-rays of the West. And the catastrophe is generally explained by the fact that it is the mediocre or the miniature artist who usually succumbs to the methods of Western Art; for, having no point of view of his own, he can only borrow from others, and his lack of individual vision forces him to an imitation of exotic methods,—not only in language, but also in ideas. To the average run of artists who go abroad, Mukul Dey has proved an honourable exception, an example which is sure to be of great and significant values. For, he was already an accomplished artist, with a distinctly native and indigenous outlook, (carefully trained under the inspiring direction of Dr. Abanindranath Tagore), before the call of the West came to him. Indeed his native talent had already developed in unmistakable traits in his masterpiece,—“The Eclipse,” one of his earliest water-colours (reproduced, in a later version, in a fine etching) and also in his remarkable series of portrait studies. Indeed, before his sojourn in England, his artistic vision had been trained to react to his own indigenous surroundings, and to forge a definite individual language peculiar to himself—yet shaped by the more fundamental heritage of his race. For he duly paid his homage to the shrines of Ajanta and Bagh, spending months of strenuous apprenticeship in assimilating the language of old Indian Art, the story of which is charmingly related in his volume, *My Pilgrimages to Ajanta and Bagh*. With all his talents properly disciplined and his vision correctly oriented and attuned to the art of his racial genius, he had nothing to lose and everything to gain by his contact with the West. And this is exactly what has happened.

From the very beginning, Dey had nursed a burning desire to be an artist in Etching,—a medium of peculiar difficulties, and wholly foreign to the traditions of Indian Art. And it

is indeed a marvel that an Indian artist should have mastered an art so truly Western as the dry point. His great success in this, to India, a novel medium, opens a new path for the development of modern Indian Art,—hitherto confined to the somewhat narrow boundaries of water-colour, — a path in which his success will no doubt lead many followers to experiment in moods of new and more adventurous imagination. For, Dey has already given us an earnest of the possibilities, in this medium, of the mystic and imaginative *motifs* of Indian themes in his intricate yet entrancing symbolism of “The Sacred Tree.” In his brilliant series of portraits we find the artist in another and no less interesting phase. He is indeed a portraitist of great distinction and power. His portraits of Einstein, R. B. Cunningham Graham, W. W. Pearson, and Dr. Rabindranath Tagore display a keen insight for characterization and an eye for essentials which are truly wonderful qualities which were clearly anticipated in his charming and delicate pencil sketch of the famous Southern Indian musician, Seshanna, made many years ago.

Yet on the threshold of his career, Dey is destined to achieve great things, if one may judge from the splendid fruits of his talent gathered in an exhibition recently held at Calcutta,—the first after his return to India to be followed, let us hope, by many more. We hope our welcome to the work of this able pioneer in a new field will be extended in a warm appreciation and response in a practical shape. For it is seldom realised in India, that Art is a delicate plant that only grows with the sweet dews of appreciation, and quickly withers in the arid sands of neglect.

Environment and Culture

BY P. T. SRINIVASA AIYANGAR

“It is the task of ethnology to study the manifestations of life among a definite portion of mankind, whereas that of anthropology is the study of the human organism.

. . . The manifestations of human life have their source in the human organism, and they . . . ultimately react on the human organism. . . . All human impulses have as their ultimate aim self-preservation and the propagation of the species. But . . . the manifestations of human life are conditioned not only by the human organism, but also by the *milieu*. Even where the human organism is the same, a change of *milieu* produces a change in the manifestations of life; and these in turn react on the human organism.”¹

Hence anthropological methods have so far but led to an ever-changing series of classifications of the human species into the varieties called races; whereas ethnology, which studies the life of people from the geographical point of view has been more fruitful of results. It is proposed in this study to follow the ethnological method and trace the growth of human culture in South India in ancient times as conditioned by the physiographic environment in which the people lived.

The ancient Tamils noted that the habitable parts of the earth's surface were divisible into five regions or *Tinai*s² as they named it. *Tinai* seems to be derived from a root *tit*,³ or *tin*,⁴ which means a stretch of land and has given birth to the words *tittu*,⁵ a sand-bank, a little hill, a dry spot in a river bed, *tittai*,⁶ *tidar*,⁷ *tidal*,⁸ a sand-bank, a flat shoal, highland, *tinnai*,⁹ a raised platform. The root

¹M. Schmidt, *The Primitive Races of Mankind*, tr. by A. K. Dallas, 23.

²தின்னா ³திட ⁴திண் ⁵திட்டு ⁶திட்டை
⁷திடர் ⁸திடல் ⁹திண்ணை

tin also means strength, firmness, and the word *tinai*, was used also in the sense of the earth in general. The ancient Tamils observed that the land-surface of the earth consisted of five natural regions and the manifestations of human life were conditioned by the characteristics of the *milieu* in which the tribe has grown. The five *tinai*s were called (1) *Palai*,¹ dry waterless sandy regions, (2) *Kurinja*,² the hill country (3) *Mullai*,³ the jungly tracts that intervene between the uplands and the lowlands, (4) *Marudam*,⁴ the lower courses of rivers, the peneplain worn down by centuries of erosion till its level has become approximately the same as that of the river in flood, and (5) *Neydal*,⁵ the littoral tract, that which skirts the sea. All these five kinds of natural regions are found in the Tamil country, though in a small scale, and as man has continuously inhabited South India since he first appeared on the globe, he successively passed from region to region and developed therein the stages of culture which each was calculated to produce.

The earliest region to be inhabited by man was the *Kurinja*, the tracts where stand the low hills resulting from the age-long erosion of the Deccan plateau by the never failing yearly monsoon rains. Below the hilly regions was the thickly wooded tropical forest named after the demon Dandaka, in which abounded the rivals of early man in the struggle for existence—his big-limbed foes, the lion, the tiger the elephant, the wild buffalo, the python, as well as the minute insect pests which are even more destructive of human life than the larger animals. In the *Kurinja* early man could easily find shelter from the sun and the rain and from his animal foes, behind boulders and within natural caves. He had not then invented pots for storing water, but he found reservoirs of water in the rocky pits which abounded in the hilly region when the natural spring failed him. The pebbles that he could pick up from under his feet served him as a primitive tool and the abundant supply of flints of various shapes stimulated his inventiveness and he learnt to

¹பாலை²குறிஞ்சி³முல்லை⁴மருதம்⁵நெய்தல்

shape the axes, and the spears, the choppers and the scrapers that he needed. Hence was evolved in this region the earliest stage of human culture, that called palæolithic; the artefacts belonging to this stage are chiefly found in the *kurinji* regions which abound in the Cuddapah, Nellore, North Arcot and Chingleput districts.

Early man in *kurinji* land at first subsisted on fruits, nuts and tubers. But the variations in the supply of these articles of food due to seasonal changes soon impelled him to add the flesh of animals to his dietary. This fact, more than the necessity for guarding himself against his animal foes, made him an expert hunter. Hence man's first profession was that of the hunter, and his earliest mode of life, that of the nomad. Palæolithic implements all the world over are of the same patterns and this proves that the early man was a great wanderer over the surface of the earth.

This environment in the *kurinji* regions also led to two other very great inventions of the hunter-stage of human culture, namely the bow and arrow, and the process of making fire. The bamboo grows abundantly in the *kurinji* regions of Southern India and the *kuravar*,¹ as the inhabitants of that land were called, shrewdly noted the elasticity of the trunk of the bamboo and bent split bamboos, tied a bit of dried creeper to them and learnt to shoot thence long thorns. This was the origin of the bow in the use of which the Indian hillman has always been an expert, as is proved by the facts that the Indian bowman was a much prized component of the armies of Darius and Xerxes, and the Indian shikari to-day can kill a tiger by discharging a single arrow from his bow.

The other invention of the early *kuravar*, the greatest of human inventions, was the making of fire. Early in the palæolithic age, the inhabitants of the *kurinji* land noted the origin of forest fires by the violent friction of bamboo stems against one another during the fierce monsoon

¹குறவர்

winds and learnt therefrom that he could start a fire by rubbing together two pieces of wood. The first use to which fire was put was the roasting of the meat of the animals which they hunted.

While the males of the settlement were out hunting, the women were engaged in picking fruits, digging for roots, and garnering the seeds of the cereals that grew of their own accord around their places of abode, especially wild rice,¹ bamboo-rice,² and panicum.³

The other duty of women was to look after their children. Man at this stage of culture did not learn to build houses. They were scarcely necessary, for the South Indian climate was so beneficent that no shelter other than the covert afforded by trees or big boulders or natural caves was needed for protection from sun and rain. Houses were first built by man not so much for shelter as for the safe storage of primitive wealth in the form of food-stuffs and the early palæolithic man had not yet felt the need of storing provisions. The necessities of a nomad life and the want of permanent homes did not encourage the free development of domestic instincts on the part of the men; hence the matriarchal form of tribal life was first developed.

Another circumstance encouraged the formation of this type of life. Primitive man was not encumbered with elaborate forms of the marriage-rite. Love at first sight and its immediate consummation, followed in some cases very leisurely by a tribal feast, constituted the wedding ceremony. The marriage tie, we may take it, was not always of a very permanent character. All these causes, and more especially the want of development of personal property and a sense of attachment to a permanent house, encouraged the persistence during long periods of the matriarchate.

Love of personal adornment has always characterised men and more especially, women. The *kurava* women

ஐவனநல்

முககிலுரிசி

தினை

spent their leisure moments in picking shells and stringing them together for purpose of making garlands of them for decorating their persons. Their lovers presented them with trophies of hunt, like the claws of the tiger which they shot, and these, worn round the neck, became, in much later times, the proto-type of the *tali*, so much prized in South India as a symbol of a married woman. Another kind of personal adornment was the leaf-garment, a number of leaves tied together with a bit of dried creeper and worn round the waist, a custom which still prevails among the most primitive of the jungle tribes.

The *palai*, the dry sandy desert, can scarcely be considered as a subdivision of the habitable regions of the earth's surface. When drawn by the chase of the wild animals, the sturdy hunter would be compelled to make a temporary abode in the *palai* region. But the call of the desert finds an echo in the bosoms of those who are born with a love of adventure, and wander-lust is the main motive power that impels the lives of many men who possess strong sinews and a stout heart. The men who lived in the desert region for a short time or all their lives were *Maravar*,¹ men of *Maram*,² heroism, and *Kalvar*,³ the strong men, (from *kal*,⁴ strength, hence *kaliru*,⁵ the elephant, the strong animal *par excellence*, also the shark and *kal*,⁶ liquor, the strength-giver, and *kalam*,⁷ the field of battle). The *palai* region being infertile and its men being noted for prowess in arms, the *maravar* and the *kallar* took in later times the profession of soldiering and of preying on the rich but weakly inhabitants of other regions and *maram* has come to mean cruelty, and *kallar*, thieves. But in early times men took to the *palai* regions chiefly on account of their love of adventure. Life in these regions must have accentuated the matriarchal organisation of tribal life, for while the men were roving through the desert, the women and children were thrown in each other's company to enjoy whatever domestic amenities were available.

¹மறவர்

²மறம்

³கன்வர்

⁴கன்

⁵கரிது

⁶கன்

⁷கனம்

When human beings multiplied in the *kurinji* regions and the available food supply began to shrink, they began to migrate to the next region, the *mullai* or forest land. By that time they had taken the next great step in the advancement of human culture, the domestication of animals like the buffalo, the cow, the sheep and the goat,—the dog having already been domesticated in the *kuravar* stage. This led to the growth of the second rung in the ladder of human progress, the pastoral culture. Cattle breed fast, especially in the *mullai*, and hence arose the institution of private property, the possession of which facilitated the fission of tribes into families.

The primitive form of what may be called natural marriage—the union of lovers at first sight, unimpeded by the observance of marriage-rites and formalized merely by the presentation of a *tali* of tiger's claws and a garment of strung leaves for the waist, was called *kalavu*¹ in early Tamil literature, and was, in the pastoral regions, replaced by *karpu*², in which the marriage-ritual preceded the consummation of love. The essential portion of this ceremony was the feasting of the men and women of the tribe underneath a *pandal*, the ordinary tenement of pastoral men decorated with flowers and leaves.³

The institution of the *karpu* form of marriage and the development of private property led to the evolution of the patriarchal form of society, as the father of the family, being the possessor of a large growing herd of cattle, acquired the great influence of wealth. The joint family system now arose because pasture lands parcelled out into tiny bits would become too small to maintain a flock: and the family which resulted from the sub-division of the tribe, could maintain itself against competition only if its members held together and constituted a growing unit. The patriarchal head of a large family developed into a king. That the institution of kingship first arose among the pastoral tribes in

¹கலவு²கற்பு³Aham, 86

mullai land is proved by the facts that the Tamil word for a king, *kon*,¹ also means a cowherd and that for a queen, *aychchi*,² means a cowherdess.

Pastoral life outside India, as in the steppes of Central Asia, differed from the life of the *idaiyar*³ of the *mullai* land, *i.e.* the people of the mid-region, between the hills and the plains, in two respects: (1) the use of tents, (2) the constant shifting of the herdsmen tribes from one patch of grass land to another. The invention of tents was needless in South India on account of the equability of the climate all the year round. A few fan-like palmyra tree leaves thrown on a frame of dried sticks propped up by some bamboo pillars and topped by a broken which proved enough to afford shelter to man and beast. The fertility of the soil and the periodicity of the monsoon ensured the growth of pasture on the same spot year after year. So that it was not necessary as in the steppes to break tent when the grass round a settlement was eaten up by the herd or parched up by the summer sun and to seek pastures new. The pastoral life in South India hence was not semi-nomad but was a settled life capable of developing the amenities of civilisation.

The life of ease made possible by the leisurely tendance of cattle in the forest led to the invention of the flute, the *kulal*.⁴ The flute was a bit of bamboo with a few holes drilled along its length and from it was produced mellifluous music which relieved the cowherd of the *ennui* due to the long hours of waiting while the cattle grazed.

One section of the pastoral people were the *kurumbar*⁵ who tended the short-legged well-fleeced variety of sheep called the *kurumbadu*.⁶ They learned to weave *kambalis* from the wool of their sheep and even to-day these *Kurumbar* inhabit the *mullai* regions of the Madras Presidency and follow their traditional occupation of *kambali* weaving, though the irrepressible steam-engine has now established itself in *mullai* tracts and the weaving of wool

¹கோன்²ஆய்ச்சி³இடையர்⁴குழல்⁵குறும்பர்⁶குறும்பாடு

with the power-loom is depriving the *kurumbar* as also other kinds of handicraftsmen of their age-long means of earning their daily bread.

The next region to be occupied was the *neydal*, the sea-board. The broad bosom of the sea, heaving and falling as if animated, invited the adventure-loving men with broad chests and finely-chiselled muscles to court its dangers and venture forth to obtain its inexhaustible wealth of tasty fish. From fishing near the coast, they went on to fish in deeper waters. Hence the environment turned the *paradavar*,¹ as the inhabitants of the littoral tracts were called, into boat-builders and fishermen. The first boats were primitive canoes made of two logs tied together. Catamarans of several logs bound together to form a float or *toni*, wicker-work basket covered with hide, followed next. The chief produce of this region was fish and salt. The *paradavar* had to take them into the interior and barter them for other forms of food-stuff. Their environment again made the *paradavar* turn merchants. Placing their wares in double bags on the backs of oxen as their modern day descendents, the *balajis*, do to-day, they trudged along the marshy paths and exchanged their goods for the produce of riverine plains. From the *paradavar* also rose the race of ancient Indian sailors who later carried Indian goods in boats to Africa and Arabia in the West and to Malaya and China in the East.

The last region to be occupied was the *marudam*, the low-lying plains between the *mullai* and the *neydal*, and that was at the close of the palæolithic period. With the neolithic age began modern civilization. The domestication of plants especially the rice, the plantain, the sugar-cane and the mango, probably begun in the relatively settled life of the pastoral age, was completed.

The arability of the land in this region taught the *ulavar*,² the ploughmen of the *marudam*, the method of raising cereals after ploughing the ground and the easy

¹பரதவர்

²உழவர்

slope of the land in the margin of the rivers taught the *Vellalar*,¹ the rulers of the flood, the method of conveying the life-giving water to their fields. Thus were the arts of agriculture developed to such perfection in early days that modern science can add but little to the traditional wisdom of the South Indian farmer. Beyond the river-valleys lay the land whose soil was made by the mixture of the rain-washed detritus of the traprock of the Western Ghats and the decaying vegetation of the Dandaka forest. This was the birth-place of the cotton plant and neolithic man learnt to spin the cotton fibre into thread and weave the thread into cotton cloth.

Men now began to build houses of timber wherein to stock their superfluous store of food grain and cotton cloth. The barter of superfluous articles for things which were not easily available in the *marudam* region, like the salt and the sea-fish, with the *paradavar*, and milk and milk-products, especially ghee, with the *idayar*, and stones and stone tools (and after the discovery of iron, iron-tools) with the *kuravar*, led to the development of carts for transport by land, and the circle of the evolution of civilisation was complete. The perfection of neolithic culture and the arts and industries of the *marudam* region represent the last great step of human civilisation, for, since neolithic times no new food-producing plants have been domesticated and no new process of making cloth to cover the body has been invented. The discovery of metals, from iron in ancient times to aluminium in our own times, and the invention of steam and oil gas engines have but rendered, quick and easy, ancient methods of agriculture and manufacture and speeded up transport, but they have not produced either new food-stuffs or means of shielding the skin from the sun and rain and changes of atmospheric temperature.

The five subdivisions of the habitable regions occur contiguous to each other and in a small fraction of the earth's surface in India south of the Vindhyas. It is therefore easy

¹வெள்ளாளர்

to understand how increase of population and alterations in the natural supply of food-stuffs brought about here at different periods the migration of men from region to region and the consequent development of the different stages of human culture, the hunter, the nomad, the pastoral, the coastal and the agricultural, due to the differing stimuli provided by the changing *milieu*. In other words, the geographic control of the growth of human civilization can be worked out and set forth clear as on a map by a study of man's progress in this restricted portion of the surface of the earth. Outside India, these five natural regions occur on a vast scale, e. g. the *mullai*, the vast steppe land extending from the Carpathians to the foot hills of the Altai, the *kurinji* or the great mountain chain from the Pyrenees to the Himalayas and beyond forming a grand girdle round the waist of mother earth, the *neydal*, the coasts of the Mediterranean sea, the Indian and the Atlantic oceans, and the *palai*, the great desert of Sahara and its continuation in Arabia, Persia and Mongolia. Did the passage from stage to stage of civilisation first occur in the restricted region of South India and thence spread to the vaster tracts beyond or *vice versa*? The problem is almost insoluble at present. But it may be pointed out that the migration of population from region to region and the consequent development of higher and higher forms of culture is more likely to have taken place in a restricted portion of the earth's surface where migration from region to region is easy, than in tracts of immense extent. It will help us to understand the ancient history of man if we imagine that nature's laboratory, was, and her first experiments in human culture with the geographic forces available to her were conducted in, Dakshinapatha, India south of the Vindhyas, and not in the great physiographic division of Eurasia and Africa. It is more likely that these different cultures of ancient times sent out offshoots to appropriate regions outside India so that Nature might reproduce on a larger scale what she had succeeded in achieving on a smaller scale in India, than that she produced these cultures on a

magnificent scale outside India and then squeezed minified copies of each stage of civilisation into Southern India so as to make it a complete anthropological museum.

Many writers of Indian history seem to hold it as an incontrovertible axiom that the fertile land of India with her wonderful wealth of minerals underground and vegetables and animals overground should yet depend on importations from barren countries beyond her borders for her human inhabitants and for the various cultures that adorn the pages of her history. Some writers conduct the ancient "Dravidians" with the accuracy of a Cook's guide through the north-eastern or north-western mountain passes to the western or the eastern coast of India and drop them with a ready-made foreign culture on the banks of the Kaveri or the Vaigai. Others discover an Aryan race and an Aryan culture redolent of the Indian soil but yet crossing the north-west gates of India and creeping slowly along banks of the Sindhu and the Ganga without leaving a trace of that culture in the imagined land of its birth. But the above account of the continuous evolution of South Indian Culture—whose growth in South India is evidenced by the presence of artefacts of the palæolithic, neolithic and early iron ages throughout the country, and is traceable in the earliest strata of Tamil language and literature, shows us that the growth of civilization in the Tamil land is entirely due to geographical causes operating *in situ* and not to historical events such as incursions of foreigners.

Besides cooking and clothing, another great invention of man is speech. Speech may be either rhythmic or arhythmic. Whether prose preceded poetry in speech as is assumed by most people, or whether, as is more probable, poetry and prose were later differentiations of an original method of speech which was partly rhythmic and partly arhythmic, it is difficult to determine; but it is certain that in the development of literature, poetry preceded prose by long ages. The words *pan*¹ and *pan*² meaning, a piece of music, (whence *padu*,³ sing, *pattu*,)⁴

¹பாண்²பாண்³பாடு⁴பாட்டு

belong to the earliest stratum of Tamil, thus proving that singing was one of the earliest recreations of the Tamils. The *panar*,¹ originally singers and after the institution of kingship in the pastoral stage of culture, royal bards and panegyrists, followed an ancient and honoured, though ill-rewarded, profession among the Tamils. The ancient *panars* were the friends and counsellors of kings during the long ages when the pure Tamil culture flourished, but when Aryan culture from North India mingled with that of South India during historic times, the persistence of the *panar* in the over-indulgence in meat-food and drinking of ardent spirits brought about their social degradation into one of the lowest and most untouchable castes of South India.

¹ *பாணர்*

A Glimpse into Sinhalese Poetry

BY J. VIJAYATUNGA

I really ought to have given this a sub-title to qualify the word 'glimpse,' for it is only a merest glimpse at a long range that I am able to give and writing as I am for those who, for aught I know, may not be very clear as to where *Simhala Dvipa* is.

It may be stated that the Sinhalese began to have a literature and began to find means of preserving that literature with the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon by Mahinda, the son of Asoka. Naturally then, they followed very closely the practices and ideas of their civilizers. The earliest examples of writing are the inscriptions of Devanampiya Tissa, who was the first convert of Mahinda. These inscriptions are carved on stone-pillars which are exactly similar to the Asoka pillars. The subject matter of the inscriptions is also very similar to those of Asoka. They usually commemorate some religious or historical event and the date is given as being in such and such an year of the King *Devanampiya* Tissa and so on. The script of these inscriptions as well as the language are very different from later day Sinhalese, and require experts to decipher them. However, it is correct to say that literature began for us with the advent of Buddhism. Naturally also, therefore, the early attempts at perpetuating ideas, whether on stone or *ola* leaf, were limited mostly to religious matters. Our great history, the *Mahavansa*, though it traces a royal dynasty, is permeated through and through with religious dissertations and is actually more a history of the *Sangha* and religion than of kings, successions and wars. This was quite right, for history ought to be the history of civilisation, and individuals should be no more than landmarks, and for us, as for all Eastern nations, civilisation and progress has meant the growth and advance of religion.

And so, as with the 'poetry of India, our poetry, if not

directly religious, is placed against a background of religion. The initiative in every instance came to the Sinhalese from India. But one would be overlooking a good deal who said that they did not develop any characteristics of their own. Thus, while our scientific works—those pertaining to medicine, astronomy or astrology—are in Sanskrit and our religious *lipi* and *granthas* in Pali, our poetry is in a dialect which has come to be known as *Elu*. Sanskrit and Pali words preponderate, but the remainder is no doubt the language of the aboriginal people and this mixed language is *Elu*.

I need not lengthen out these prefatory remarks and shall content myself with giving a few examples of our poetry. The ultimate aim of our poetry has been not to give pleasure but to moralise and to teach. In this it is different from Indian religious poetry, for the obvious reason that the teaching of the Buddha did not stop at any transient worldly pleasure but rested, from the examination of fundamental causes, on ultimate truths. The Sinhalese poet had to be very restrained; he did not have the freedom to burst into lyrical ecstasy, which under religious excuses, his Indian brother managed to obtain. Take, for example, our great poem the *Guttala Kavya*. This is not an early work, having been written about 500 years ago. The story is about an incarnation of the Bodhisattva when he was born as Guttala, an expert *veena* player. It relates how Guttala was persuaded much against his inclination to take one Musila as pupil. The pupil having learned the art thoroughly from his master, challenged him to a contest at the Court—Guttala was the Court musician—intending to oust the aged master from his office. Guttala was more overwhelmed by the ingratitude of human nature than by any likelihood of impending degradation and defeat and was sitting disconsolate in the forest when the *Devas* approached him, bade him take heart, and promised their help. Guttala returned to the contest. To the surprise of everybody, Guttala performed the most marvellous feats such as snapping off his *veena*

strings till there was only one left. But so wonderful was the music produced by the single string that the *Devas* descended from Heaven and danced to his music. There is the defeat of ingratitude and the victory of Guttala, who was incidentally the Bodhisattva. The theme is grand and allows the poet a great range in which to traverse. From descriptions of the king's capital he plunges into highly artistic descriptions of the descent of the angels and of their dancing. Here is a transliteration of a short-lined quatrain:

*Dutu dutu danan situ
Thutu karana sav siri utu
Samaga mal pol vatū
Geval karava demin sanga satu*

It means:—

Donating for the use of the *Sangha* houses situated in the midst of parks with flowers and cocoanut palms of such beauty as to gladden the eye of anybody. . . . (This refers to the King Parakrama Bahu, though which one of that name is not clear).

While proceeding to a description of the age and its special characteristics, he makes mention of the fact that the king has donated such and such to the *Sangha*. Observe the subtle hint, an invitation to others also to make similar donations. The author of the *Guttala Kavya*, by the way, was a *Bhikku* by name Vettawa. Though the idea looks simple, it is put in an exquisite form which can be felt only by one who knows the language. The poem begins with those short-lined quatrains. There are 224 such quatrains, and then with the increasing solemnity of the story, the poet uses a more dignified and a slow-moving metre. Stanzas 225 to 242 are in this metre; then, to introduce a change and quicken the interest of his audience, he resumes the more brisk short-foot lines, and we have 45 more shorter stanzas. Then the theme very appropriately assumes again a tone deeper than before and the author takes a quite complicated metre. I shall give the

transliteration of the stanza which describes the dancing of the Heavenly Beings as they danced to the accompaniment of Guttala's music. It is as follows :—

Ru rese andina lese ath lela didi viduliya paba
Ran rase ekvana lese vena nada nupa taba taba
Kampase dena sera lese desa bala bala nethagin sabha
Mam kese pavasami ese vara sura landun dun ranga subha

Like figures of a picture moving their hands with the grace and lightness of lightning flashes, keeping time with their feet to the music with the beauty and soft (want of harshness) harmony with which gold mixes with mercury, sending such sharp piercing flashes of looks at the members of the audience like the arrows despatched by Cupid, that being how these Heavenly *Devas* danced, how can I possibly describe that scene?

This metre is varied by other kinds and towards the close of the story the author adopts the short metre with which he began.

I shall now give an example of Sinhalese poetry from the poet Alagiyawanna Mohottala or Mohotti.¹ Alagiyawanna wrote a number of books among which I might mention *Sevul Sandesaya* and *Parangi Hatana*. The latter is the history of our struggle with the Portuguese. I shall quote from his more popular work *Subha Sitaya* which is now a school text-book. It contains one hundred and one stanzas of a uniform metre, and in poetical diction of the highest order, full of imagery, similes and metaphors, extols the Dhamma of the Buddha and the virtues in general.

Here is a typical one :—

Nidos guna barana sadaham kirula dara
Vesas sil senaga gena math shuranga ara
Keles rupun sindha nenaka gini noma hera
Sathos raja sirin peminev nivan pura

¹My mother comes from a long-standing family by the name of Mohotti and they claim kinship with the great poet. Perhaps some day if I become sufficiently great, some scholar might come forth with an up-to-date genealogical table as has happened to Mussolini recently !

It means :—

Dressed in the robe of virtue, crowned with the crown of Duty or Righteousness, accompanied by the army of the Precepts of Right Living, mounted upon the horse of Mettha (or Love), having cut down the enemy army of Desires by the sword of wisdom, arrive at the citadel of Nirvana with a joyful heart.

The similes and the idea may appear to be commonplace but to one acquainted with the language, the charm of the words and their musical rhythm is very appealing.

If there is any truth in the surmise that Alagiyawanna was an ancestor of mine, I shall be proud of him for one reason more than for anything else. That is that he possessed a sense of humour as may be understood from this verse he is said to have written on his death-bed addressed to *Mara*, or the Lord of Death.

Kath nethayi nosithanna maruva mage perabale
Math mage vage danno ma nodamathi kele
Math gathim nam Yama rajugen oya Maru Nile
Tath thage abuvath natavami mama dorapile.

Do not think, *O Mara*, that I am so helpless. Those who know me will not leave me in the lurch (lit. to leave in the forest. *Kele* means 'forest' and rhymes with the other endings. Also it is an idiom among us meaning 'to desert a man'). If I also should get from *Yama* your office, beware, I shall make you, *O damnable one*, and your spouse dance on the door-step. (*dora pile*, means door-step; here again, it is a current idiom, while rhyming with the other endings).

I shall now give one example from *Selalihini Sandhesaya* of the famous poet *Sri Rahula* who lived in more recent times. The *Selalihini* is a bird somewhat like the myna but with more beautiful plumage and sings more sweetly too. According to an old custom of employing birds to carry messages, the poet sends this bird on an imaginary errand and thereby gives a most poetical description of the scenic beauties of our land, its cities, with their history, and that of the reigning monarch, and in passing, pays a tribute to the

Buddha's Dhamma. In the following verse, he instructs the bird where to rest for the night during the flight :

*Nimal sandha pahan veni vekki pita udula
Supul mal' yahan liya madu liya gepela
Ekal kelina vana dev liya deka komala
Usal rukaka sethapev lapalu sihilala*

"On the sands which resemble the cloud-disturbed moon, among the flowers, on the creepers, among the rows of trees, there are the wood-nymphs carolling. On a *Sal* tree which is cooled and cheered by the sight of these beautiful creatures, go make the rest for the night."

Sri Rahula employs a large range of metres in this poem and his similes and metaphors are of the highest order. We have not been free from the 'oriental' characteristic of exaggeration for the sake of effect, and there has been among us also a tendency to use stereotyped similes and metaphors as among the Chinese and I believe among our kinsmen, the Indians.

With regard to love poetry, ours is not even as rich as Indian literature. At least taking shelter under the love-affairs of Radha and Krishna, the Indian poets have produced some good love-poetry. They lack only that human sincerity which is a prominent feature of English poetry. But a wrong interpretation of Buddhism has been responsible for the restraint we have imposed on ourselves in this, the chief field for the expression of human emotion. However, I shall conclude this paper with some extant specimens.

Raja Sinha II was one of our later kings whose reign was disturbed by the encroachments of the Portuguese. He was a great patron of poetry and was himself a poet of no mean order. True to his poetic nature—but against his better judgment, he married a princess much younger in age. She was also a poetess and of a romantic turn of mind. The Chamberlain of the king's household was a dashing young man by the name of Daskhon. An affair grew up between these two. The king detected it and threw Daskhon into prison to await his trial. Among the many

passionate poems that the Queen wrote to her lover while he languished in prison was this :

*Thun kala thumula vanaye mal rasa novindha
Kanthala gajan kopulatha bingu ronata veda
Kunthala pahara veni ginjuduta asuva inda
Pinkala hita nuveni nuba thevenu kumatada*

"The bee forsakes the pleasure of the sandal-scented wood and enters the ear of the elephant mistaking it to be a store-house of honey. With one flap of the giant ear is the foolish one crushed. Similarly art thou placed, O erst-while fortunate one and thy repentance availeth not."

To this Daskhon replied in the following strain :

*Visas kamalava rasa pahasa novindha ma
Dasis duni porana esa dutu pamana tama
Mesas nube amayuru pahasa lath mama
Masis ekak giyenam nube namata kima*

"If of old Ravan paid with his ten heads for an unfulfilled love, what matters it if I sacrifice one head in thy name?"

Daskhon was doomed to death and as he was passing to the place of execution, the grief-stricken queen thus spoke:—

*Sakman karana maluwe di deka hada
Sith santhosin dun muva mee bivadha
Ikman gaman himi ada oba yanavada
Daskhon mage namata jivita denavada*

"Ah! it was on this fateful balcony that we first met and that you deigned to drink the honey of my proffered lips. And now goest thou, my Beloved, on a quick journey? Givest thou, O Daskhon, for my name thy life?"

Divine Omnipotence :

A MEDIÆVAL VIEW

BY S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI

Speaking of the problem of evil and the notions that have contributed to obscure it and make it appear more difficult of solution than it perhaps really is, Prof. Pringle-Pattison draws special attention to "the stress laid on the idea of omnipotence and . . . the purely hedonistic character of the ideal contemplated." On the first of those he goes on to say that the will of God is conceived as "the will of a despot. And we must remember how closely the associations of oriental monarchy have bound themselves round the God-idea."¹ Whether and how far this idea of despotic monarchy is oriental, it is for the historian to settle. But it is worth noting that at least one Indian (and so far oriental) idea of God appears to make room for all the ethical content stressed by Prof. Pringle-Pattison showing itself as to that extent not affected by any ideas of political despotism. The main object of this paper is to present that philosophical idea as briefly as possible.

At least one variety of Indian theism comprising the schools of Saivism associated with the "Saiva Siddhanta," recognises what one may call the limitation of God by moral considerations. The view is common to the Vedanta also in so far as it is theistic. The latter states that God engages in creation, not for gaining any purpose of his own, but in sport; in so far as this sport entails suffering to others, it appears to involve cruelty and partiality of dispensation; but these defects are only apparent, since God in His dispensation is strictly guided by the accumulated merit and demerit of the souls who enjoy or suffer. He does not give them anything other than what they deserve. Nor is there any point in saying that prior to creation, there was no such distinction

¹The Idea of God, 403.

DIVINE OMNIPOTENCE

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of desert, for creation did not take place at a particular time; it is beginningless. Whether such a notion is philosophically satisfactory is a different question. The non-dualistic schools of Indian philosophy, though based on the Vedanta, did not think so; they, therefore, treated these theistic notions as possessed of a degree of truth merely, (though a high degree of truth, no doubt), while the Supreme Reality is something inclusive of all this and yet transcending it, the One Changeless Brahman, of which all else are appearances. It has been contended with a great deal of logic and learning that one presentation of Saivite theism too (that of Nilakantha) recognises only the phenomenal worth of theistic ideas, absolutism being the conclusion ultimately acceptable to that school of philosophy. However that may be, it is worth noting *firstly* that in so far as Absolutism is advocated at all, it is not because the notion of God is conceived in the first place or at any time as devoid of ethical content, and *secondly* that this ethical content, conceived even as a limitation, certainly characterises the theistic idea of the God head.

Saivism carries the idea to the extent of recognising three primal entities, the Lord, the Soul and the Bonds. The latter two are as beginningless (in time) as the first, though with the realisation of the Lord, the other two lose their militant individuality and disappear.¹ One of the Bonds is Karma, the accumulated merit and demerit of the individual, whereby his experiences, good and bad, in this life are directed. Every act, good or bad, leaves its traces behind, and these traces cannot be wiped out except by enjoyment of the consequences. Once they have been enjoyed to the full, the individual becomes pure, just as copper covered with verdigris is purified by cleaning with dung. The sufferings of the Soul are inevitable, being but the consequences of former deeds; but they, at the same time, evidence the grace of God, who can elevate the soul only by such means of purification. It is not open to him to annul at will a law of the physical or moral realm.

¹Tiru-Mular says: படியினைப்போல் பசுபாசமுஞ், படியனுதிற் பசுபாசநிலாவே

This idea of limitation is very well presented by Haradattacharya (a Saivite propagandist who is said to have lived in the ninth century A. D. but who more probably belonged to the eleventh century A. D.)¹ and by Srikantha, otherwise known as Nilakantha Sivacharya, who wrote a commentary on the Vedanta sutras and about whose date, there are at least three widely divergent views. Haradattacharya in his *Sruti-Sukti-Mala* says: "Who, indeed, even if armed with the command of the Lord, can alter the potency of things, determined by their own nature?" The point discussed is whether Siva can take on the form of Vishnu; 'no,' says the author, for the latter is born again and again of the womb, an experience necessitated in his case by the evil act of killing the wife of Bhrigu;² such experience is not possible for Siva who is eternally free from sin. Siva, no doubt, is omnipotent, but this does not imply his freedom to set at nought the laws of the physical and the moral universe. This idea is further exemplified by the words put into the mouth of Siva by the *Brahmanda Purana*.

¹The date of the death of this Saivite devotee is traditionally fixed at 879 A. D. in the light of an obituary verse, which states that he departed this life on a Friday which was the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Pushya of the cyclic year *Vilambi* and *Kali-year* 3979. Unfortunately, the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Pushya in that year happens to be a Thursday: while the fifth day of the dark half happens to be Friday. There is evidently an error either in the *Kali-year*, or in the other details given. In view of the fact that *tithis* are usually better remembered for the purpose of annual commemorations, it is permissible to assume that the mistake is in respect of the *Kali-year*. The nearest *Vilambi* satisfying the other details is 1119 A. D. (I am greatly obliged to Mr. S. R. Ranganathan, the University Librarian, for looking up and checking these details.)

²The story may be set out here in some detail. Once upon a time, it is said, the Asuras, hard pressed by Vishnu and Indra, took sanctuary in the hermitage of Bhrigu. Bhrigu's consort, who gave them shelter, promised them immunity from harm, the hermitage being a holy place. When Vishnu arrived on the scene, however, he would recognise no claims of sanctuary and since Bhrigu's wife insisted on sheltering the enemies of the Gods, he killed her with his discus. In thus killing a defenceless woman (and that, not even in battle), he committed a heinous sin. When Bhrigu returned to his hermitage, his anger knew no bounds. Realising that nothing he could call down in the shape of vengeance would meet the situation, he invoked the Supreme Lord, the internal ruler, and in His name caused Vishnu to suffer the torments of hell in ten incarnations. This is the curse from which Vishnu sought relief by penance. Since the punishment had not been invoked to satisfy a particular will (that of Bhrigu) but in the name of the universal sustainer of law, Siva expresses his inability to remove the curse.

Vishnu, terrified at the curse laid on him by Bhrigu, performed severe austerities till Siva appeared to him well pleased and asked him what he desired. When, however, Vishnu requests to be released of the curse, Siva replies that he cannot annul the punishment awarded by himself (in the form of Bhrigu). Not even His supreme satisfaction with the austerities practised by Vishnu could avail to make him cancel the punishment, as such cancellation was not possible.

Two ideas stand out prominently: the first is that God is gracious, and the second is that the sufferings of humanity are only a means of manifesting His grace, since it is not competent even for Him to annul a single law—physical or moral. Srikantha's treatment of the latter point is worth noting in some detail. The question at issue is whether in the case of the person who has devoted himself to the Lord, the accumulated dispositions left by good and evil deeds (his Karma, good and bad) leave him at death or continue for a longer period. The doubt is due to two causes, *firstly*, the scriptural prescription of a path beginning with light, etc. (called the Path of the Gods, for short) at the end of which only, one realises Brahman, and *secondly* the mention in some texts of the crossing of the river Viraja, only on the accomplishment of which a man's good and evil deeds leave him. Some commentators like Madhva and Vallabhacharya take the relevant *sutras* to refer to a different topic. Sankara, Bhaskara, Ramanuja, Nimbarka, Srikantha and Vignana Bhikshu understand the reference to be to the topic above set forth. It is significant that of all these authorities Srikantha alone transposes the order of two of the *sutras*,—namely *sutras* 29 and 30. The significance of the variation will become apparent on a consideration of the whole topic which, as set out by Srikantha, covers the four *sutras* III, iii, 27-30. Three of these, 27, 28 and 29, set forth the *prima facie* view that since there is nothing further to be gained after death, the good and evil Karma leave a person when he dies. This of course applies only to him who by meditation on Brahman has qualified for realisation; in the case of others, this Karma endures through a succes-

sion of lives, until the souls become fit for the grace of God. Since a devotee of the kind mentioned is said to enter on the Path of the Gods and then realise Brahman, the shaking off of good and evil deeds must precede the entry on the Path. There is, however, a difficulty in understanding the progress along the Path of the Gods, in the absence of a body, for the gross body has ceased to exist and if there is no *Karma* left, there can be no body at all. This need not deter us, however, it is said, for devotion to Brahman by its own power is capable of endowing the soul with a subtle body and taking it along the Path. Others may not find it possible to acquire such a body or to adopt such a mode of progression, but special powers may be expected in a devotee of Brahman, just as special favours not given to others are gained by those who serve the king.

Srikantha refutes this position in *sutra* 30. If a man's *Karma* leaves him at death, he is liberated at that very moment. How then can it be said that he first passes along the Path of the Gods and then only realises Brahman? Meditation may indeed have the power of endowing the soul with all the pleasant experiences on the Path, such as the discussion with the moon and so on. But, of itself, it cannot explain *samsara* and until the intellect is expanded in the final realisation of Brahman, the soul with its understanding limited continues in a state of *samsara*, which cannot be explained except on the hypothesis that a residue of *Karma* continues even after death. This lasts till the crossing of the river Viraja, that is, in other words, till the full realisation of Siva who is the Supreme Lord, after crossing all the intermediate stages presided over by the lesser divinity, Vishnu.

There are then two stages, the one of bondage and the other of release; the former continues until the latter supervenes. And though the Lord may show grace in respect of the latter, he cannot cause or sustain bondage except through *Karma*. Nor is it of any avail to say that the following the Path may be due to the will of the Lord, for that will itself is said by us to be at the root of

Karma. There is not indeed in one view any merit or demerit except as determined by the will of the Lord as bringing about the performance of what is enjoined or forbidden.¹ The Lord is free to act in the sense that He is not controlled by anyone else, but he must pay heed to the instruments that are to be used and the laws that they subserve. In the words of the Siddha-Guru quoted in the *Sarva-Darsana-Samgraha*, 'It belongs to independence to be uncontrolled and itself to employ means, etc., this is an agent's true independence and not the acting irrespectively of works, etc.'² The Saiva theist has as little sympathy as Prof. Pringle-Pattison with the "notion of outright creation" which "might give us a world of automata receiving their daily doles of pleasure, but could give us neither the minds nor the characters we know."³

Srikantha's treatment of the *sutras* in question may incidentally serve to throw some light on the question of his date especially in relation to that of Ramanuja. There are undoubtedly numerous points of similarity, doctrinal and verbal, between the commentaries of these two. It has been suggested that Srikantha took over all these passages from Ramanuja;⁴ the other possibility of Ramanuja having borrowed from Srikantha has also been argued with great plausibility. The present context, which is a case not of resemblance, but difference, seems to be more definite in its indication. Srikantha's treatment of the whole topic is very precise and clear cut; the first three *sutras* (27, 28, and 29) set out a *prima facie* view which is refuted by *Sutra* 30.⁵ Bhaskara treats the

¹*Brahma Mimamsa*, III. iii. 30.

²Cowell and Gough's translation, II 6.

³*The Idea of God*, 405.

⁴The most recent exposition of this view is in an article on "The Age of Srikantha" in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras. The case against this position has been ably set forth in the *Jignyasa*, I, part 2.

⁵The relevant passages from the commentaries of Srikantha, Nimbarka and Ramanuja are set out as 4 (a), (b) and (c), in the appended list of quotations.

whole topic as establishing the *siddhanta* that good and bad deeds forsake the enlightened one at his death, the contrary view not being expressed at all. Sankara and Vijnana Bhikshu interpret *sutras* 29 and 30 as limiting the progress along the Path of the Gods only to a certain class of devotees; where attainment of the highest unity is intended, there is no preliminary going involved. The presence or absence of such going must be determined with reference to the person and the object; a road has to be taken to go to another village, but not to recover from sickness. A person who is free from desire and is thus non-moving does not go to Brahman but attains freedom by the intuition of the self. The interpretations of Madhva and Vallabhacharya have no bearing at all on the present topic. Nimbarka treats the whole topic as establishing the *siddhanta* in much the same way as Bahaskra, the difficulty about the absence of a body being mentioned and met in what is for him the last *sutra*, but is for Srikantha the penultimate one. The method of meeting the difficulty and the illustration thereof are just what are put into the mouth of the upholder of the *prima facie* view by Srikantha; the destruction of *Karma* along with the physical body need not stand in the way of progress along the Path of the Gods, for meditation on Brahman endows the individual by its own power with a subtle body. The illustration is that of the person who gains terrestrial welfare by the service of a king. As Srikantha is quite clearly criticising this view and as no other known commentary (with the exception of the *Sri-Bhashya* of Ramanuja to which we shall turn presently) sets it forth as it is presented by Nimbarka, the conclusion that Srikantha succeeded Nimbarka would appear inevitable. And since the latter is generally supposed to have succeeded Ramanuja and preceded Madhva, it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that Srikantha succeeded Ramanuja also.¹

¹See Prof. S. Radhakrishnan's *Indian Philosophy*, ii. 751. The same author assigns Srikantha to the 14th century A. D. without indicating any grounds for his view. The statement about Nimbarka agrees with the generally accepted view. Dr. V. S. Ghate believes that the date of

This conclusion is reinforced by a consideration of Ramanuja's own commentary. His final position is the same as that of Nimbarka, that the meditation of Brahman (*Vidya*) by its potency secures a subtle body for the devotee, where-with he proceeds on the Path of the Gods. The illustration given by him is, however, different. He is interested in proving that a body of some kind is possible even in the absence of *Karma*; and *Vidya* though by itself incapable of bringing a body into existence, is yet capable of conserving a body once created; *Vidya* then conserves the subtle body, even when the gross body and the *Karma* which caused it are destroyed. This is analogous to a tank originally dug for irrigation purposes continuing to exist and serve a different purpose, that of supplying drinking water. This is not the illustration noticed by Srikantha in his statement of the *prima facie* view. It cannot be concluded, therefore, that he either ignored the view or that he preceded Ramanuja; for he does notice Nimbarka's illustration and Nimbarka is believed to have succeeded Ramanuja.

And further, the argument used by Srikantha to support his own position is a sufficient answer to Ramanuja, though his illustration is not specifically dealt with. At the stage at which Srikantha tackles it, the question is no longer the necessity or the possibility of a body, subtle or gross. The whole idea of progression along a Path implies non-realisation of Brahman, i.e. in other words a state of bondage or *samsara*. Between bondage and release there cannot be a *tertium quid*. If release has been attained, there can be no further limitation of intellect such as is characteristic of progress along the Path; short of release, there is *samsara*, which cannot exist but for some residual traces of *Karma*. Whether there be a subtle body or not (and Srikantha does recognise the continuance of a subtle body) *samsara* does continue, until the end of the Path is reached and this can be explained only on the

Nimbarka's death is probably 1162 A. D. Pandit Vindhyeswari Prasad Dvivedin, the Editor of the *Vedanta Parijata Saurabham*, believes that Nimbarka must have lived some time between 1089 Vikrama Era and 1199 Vikrama Era, the reputed dates of Vishnu-Swamin and Madhvacharya, between whom Nimbarka is supposed to have come.

hypothesis that the whole of man's *Karma* does not abandon him when he dies.

There is yet another consideration for taking Srikantha to have succeeded Ramanuja. It has been already said that the numerous similarities between the two commentaries suggest that one of the two authors must have had access to the work of the other. If Ramanuja had been the borrower, it sounds exceedingly improbable that he would have passed by in silence the transposition of *sutras* 29 and 30 clearly effected by Srikantha without any known warrant. Such a departure from precedent is sure to have attracted the hostile attentions of Ramanuja, especially when it was used to bolster up a conclusion which found no favour with him.

And yet it must be admitted that the above arguments are by no means conclusive. Ramanuja's treatment of the topic is not as natural as even that of Srikantha. It begins with the *siddhanta*, states a *prima facie* view in the middle and then establishes the *siddhanta* again, a procedure which is certainly unusual. This would suggest the possibility of Ramanuja having been conscious of strong arguments for the *prima facie* view, and twisting the topic so as to make it meet that view. It has also to be noted that neither Sankara nor Bhaskara notices any objection to progress along the Path, based on the absence of a body. So that it is not absolutely improbable that Ramanuja's treatment was devised to meet Srikantha's own position. This view, however, would have to find an explanation for the facts that Srikantha is aware of the argument about a subtle body being secured by meditation on Brahman, that he himself seems to set no great store by the presence of a subtle body for the possibility of its being caused otherwise than by *karma*, and that Ramanuja's commentary contains no answer to the real core of Srikantha's argument that short of beatitude there is *Samsara* which cannot exist but for *karma*. All that could be inferred from Ramanuja's unusual handling of the topic is therefore that by his time some critics had fastened on the absence of a body as a sufficient objection to progression along the Path unless the

continuance of *Karma* in some form was admitted and that Ramanuja realised the necessity for meeting their arguments. There is no room to think that Srikantha was one of those critics.

There is also another possibility to be considered. Similarities, even as strong as those in the present case, may be evidence, not of borrowing *inter se*, but of copying from a common source. Such a hypothesis would ordinarily be ruled out by the law of parsimony, but in view of the tradition that Ramanuja derived his inspiration from the Bodhayana *Vritti* on the Brahma Sutras (an ancient work now perhaps irretrievably lost) the suggestion comes within the bounds of possibility. Srikantha may also have drawn from Bodhayana, as Ramanuja did, with this possible difference that while Ramanuja remained faithful to the master throughout, Nilakantha ventured to disagree in some details. This may explain both the similarities and the divergences. In such a case we are left with no guidance as to Srikantha's date except that he must have come after Bodhayana. But till this *Vritti* or some manifestly satisfactory account of its doctrines comes to light, the hypothesis is bound to remain barren, though there can be no difficulty in finding a certain amount of material which harmonises with that suggestion better than with any other.¹

¹Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's *Manimekhalai*, published since the above lines were written, adds to our knowledge of Bodhayana, *vritti* in the light of a reference thereto in the *Prapancha hridaya* (Trivandrum Sanskrit series, No. XLV). It appears fairly clear from this reference that Bodhayana wrote a *vritti* on both the Mimamsas,—which in his time seem to have been treated as constituting one *sastra* in two parts, not two different branches of knowledge—and that this commentary went by the name of *Krtakoti*. The present writer has not yet had an opportunity of seeing the work in question; and he does not know whether the antiquity and value of the work have been sufficiently tested. But it is worth noting that both Ramanuja and Srikantha affect to treat the Purva and Uthara Mimamsas as earlier and later parts of one science, possibly deriving the suggestion from Bodhayana's treatment. Here, again, it is difficult to say whether the borrowing was direct in both cases or indirect in one of them. Ramanuja's treatment is, as usual, fuller. "Hence the earlier and later Mimamsa" he says, "are separate only in so far as there is a difference of matter to be taught by each; in the same way as the two halves of the Purva Mimamsa-Sutras, consisting of six *adhyayas* each, are separate; and as each *adhyaya* is separate" (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XLVIII, P. 5). The same idea is expressed by

The *Sivajnanabodha*, the corner-stone of the Saiva Siddhanta says that the union of souls with bondage (*samsara*) takes place at the will of the Lord, in conformity with the *karma* of the individuals (*Karmnusaratha*). The Tamil version of this work was produced by Meykanda whose date is roughly fixed at 1200 A. D. from a reference in a work by Umapati Siva who was fourth in the line of spiritual descent from Meykanda. The considerations discussed above would lead us to assign Srikantha also to much about the same period. It has also to be noted that in the religious literature of the period, Divine sway is conceived somewhat on the model of human sovereignty. So that, at about the time the barons of England were wresting from an unwilling monarch the recognition of elementary rights of person and property, we had in this country a conception of a Divine Ruler whose fiat was law, not as the arbitrary command of an "Oriental despot," but only as conforming to supreme ethical considerations. How far the conception of political monarchy also conformed to this ideal, it is for the historian to consider.

Srikantha, who illustrates the use of *athah* in the Purva Mimamsa Sutras, to mark the commencement of a new chapter. Ramanuja goes on to elaborate his idea saying that all the knowledge from "then, therefore, the inquiry into religious duty" up to "for them there is no return, because of Scriptural statement," is one *sastra*, an idea found in Srikantha also, almost in the same words.

Quotations

- (1) कोवा विपर्यसितुमर्हति वस्तुशक्तिस्तत्त्वभावनियतां भवदायकानि ।
- (2) आत्मनैव कृतां शिक्षां नात्मना नाशयाम्यहम् ॥
- (3) The reference is to two sutras in the third quarter of the third chapter of the *Brahma Mimamsa* :

29. उपपन्नस्तल्लक्षणार्थोपलब्धेर्लोकवत् ॥

30. गतेरर्थवत्त्वमुभयथाऽन्यथाहि विरोधः ॥

Two other sutras, 27 and 28 constitute along with the above, the whole Topic, according to Srikantha. These are :

27. सांपराये तर्तव्याभावात् तथा हान्ये ॥

28. छन्दत उभयाविरोधात् ॥

- (4) (a) लोकवत्, यथा लोके राजाश्रितानां पुरुषाणामनितरं पुरुष-साधारणं सर्वार्थसिद्धिः। अतो मार्गश्रुतिरपि न बाध्यते देहवियोग-काले सकलकर्मक्षयेऽपि विद्यामाहात्म्याद्विज्ञाशरीरावस्थानेन मार्ग-गतिः.....यद्यपि विद्यासामर्थ्यादिवयानेन गतिस्तत्तद्देशविहारचन्द्रसंवादादिकमग्रिमविहारादिवदुपपद्यते, तथाऽपि यावद्ब्रह्मप्राप्तिधीसंकोचरूपं संसारानुवृत्तिः विद्यासामर्थ्यान्नापपद्यत इति तन्मूलभूतकर्मलेशानुवृत्तिरवश्यमेष्टव्या। (Srikantha.)
- (b) ब्रह्मोपासकस्य शरीरवियोगकाले सर्वकर्मक्षयेऽपि पन्था उपपन्नः।यथा भूपसेवकस्य भौमार्थसिद्धिस्तद्वत्। सस्थूलशरीर-सर्वकर्मक्षयेऽपि विद्याप्रभावाद्विशिष्टस्थानगमनार्थं सूक्ष्मशरीरमनुवर्तते ॥ (Nimbarka.)
- (c) III, 3, 30. सुकृतदुष्कृतयोरेकदेशस्य देहवियोगकाले हानिः शेष-स्य पञ्चादित्युभयथा कर्मक्षये सत्येव गतेरर्थवत्त्वम्=देवयानगतिश्च-तेरर्थवत्त्वमित्यर्थः।.....देहवियोगकाले एष हि सर्वकर्मक्षये सूक्ष्मशरीरस्यापि नाशः स्यात् तथा सति केवलस्यात्मनो गमनं नोपपद्यते ॥

III, 3, 30. उपपन्न एवोत्क्रान्तिकाले सर्वकर्मक्षयः।.....क्षीण-कर्मणोऽप्याविर्भूतस्वरूपस्य देहसम्बन्धलक्षणार्थोपलब्धेः.....

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.....अतः क्षीणकर्मणोऽपि सूक्ष्मशरीरयुक्तस्य देवयानेन गमन-
मुपपद्यते । कथं सूक्ष्मशरीरमपि आरम्भक कर्मविनाशोऽवतिष्ठत
इति चेत् ? विद्यामाहात्म्यादिति ब्रूमः । विद्या हि स्वयं सूक्ष्म शरी-
रस्याऽनारम्भिकाऽपि प्राकृतसुखदुःखोपभोगसाधनस्थूलशरीरस्य
सर्वकर्मणां च निरवशेषक्षयेऽपि स्वफलभूतब्रह्मप्राप्तिप्रदानाय देव-
यानेन पथेन गमयितुं सूक्ष्मशरीरं स्थापयति लोकवत्=यथा लोके
सस्यादिसमृद्धयर्थमारब्धे तदाकादिके तद्धेतुषु तदिच्छादिषु विनष्टे-
ष्वपि तदेव तदाकादिकमशिथिलं कुर्वन्तस्तत्र पानीयपानादिकं
कुर्वन्ति, तद्वत् ॥

(Ramanuja)

Western Home-Life:

AS AN EASTERNER SEES IT

BY L. V. B. CHOWDARY

The Home is the centre of life in every country and community. Even in pre-historic times, man built a home for himself where his activities were centred. No doubt, home-life was then in its crudest form and confined to the narrowest limits. But man's activities too were very limited in those times. The Home is also a social unit. In the early stages of human development, the Home could not have been a social unit, since there was no settled community, but as civilization advanced, it became more and more a unit of society. And it is very much so now. Not only in civilized communities, but even amongst barbarians, we may find the rudiments of the Home as a social unit. The Home is, in all its essentials, common both to Eastern and Western communities. If we leave out the variations due to race, climate, geography or culture, then, the Western Home is not very much different from the Hindu Home. The interests and impulses, the ideas and ideals that dominate and govern the Home are the same to all nationalities and communities.

In this article I shall treat largely of English home-life, because I know it best and also because it is typical of what we conceive to be Western home-life.

CONSTITUTION OF THE HOME

The Western Home consists of husband and wife and family-servants, and often a dog or a cat also. It is not a joint family in any sense but is a unitary one. The father, his sons, their children and grand-children do not live together for generations like a small community, because the Westerner does not care to live in groups. He is essentially a man who loves the solitude of his Home and the comforts of family-life. His wife and children are just enough

responsibility to tend and care for. When his children grow up and get married, they themselves seek to live their own lives. It is quite wrong to say that they are forcibly cut off from the parent stock to drift along as best they can. As a matter of fact, some parents try to have their married sons at home and some married children do live in the old Home with their parents.

The father in the West is the head of the family more than he is in the Hindu joint family, where the system of coparcenary makes him the manager of the family and a trustee for his children. The mother has until recently occupied a somewhat subordinate position in the matter of real authority in the Home but of late, her influence has increased by leaps and bounds. Now she shares the leadership of the family with her husband. The sons and daughters remain with their parents until they grow up and enter into some walk of life or other, or get married.

In every community, there have been hereditary servants. Hereditary service is a very mild form of slavery and serfdom. In the West, it is a product of Feudalism which gave nobility to birth and servility to servants. In Western countries, aristocratic families still possess hereditary servants though the latter are fast disappearing. The hereditary servants form part of the household and they share the joys and sorrows of the family they serve. Their prosperity is linked with the well-being of their masters and they serve their masters very faithfully and obediently. And the masters in their turn treat them with kindness and affection and look after their interests. Those who have no hereditary servants keep ordinary servants who are with them until their services are dispensed with. And they do not belong to, or form part of, the family.

Sometimes a dog or a cat becomes an appanage to the household. Either the parents or their issue may make a pet of it. A dog is very good company to man and will accompany him on his walks. Besides, it protects the house and its surroundings. A cat is a very pretty domestic animal and may become a toy in the hands of a woman.

MAINTENANCE OF THE HOME

As everywhere else, the father has in the Western Home been the bread-winner. It has been his duty and custom to provide his wife and children with food, clothing and shelter. Now this sole responsibility to maintain the Home has been very seriously challenged by his wife. She thinks that she is entitled to contribute to the family exchequer and she is so doing by her manual or intellectual labour, especially in the lower-middle and labouring classes. The women of the aristocratic and upper-middle classes are still fed and clothed by their husbands, but they also have begun to realise the insidiousness of economic dependence, and so, some of them at least have taken to various vocations to earn money. When the husband alone earns and maintains the Home, he expects the wife to confine herself solely to the limits of the household and does not like to allow her much scope for activities outside the home-life and the development of her individuality. The wife of to-day is not content with mere house-keeping. So she says she can as well earn and not be a slave in the kitchen. If necessary, mechanical devices may be employed to help doing the domestic work.

MANAGEMENT OF THE HOUSEHOLD

From the earliest times, woman has been considered the Queen of the Home. But her power in the house was limited to the internal management of the household. On the other hand, man has had for centuries the sole control of the Home and its affairs. Now the wife has undermined his supreme authority by exacting equal status and voice with her husband. But it is still her job generally to look after the food. In cases where servants are a luxury, she cooks and serves the food herself, even without the help of a char-woman. But in rich and aristocratic houses, there are butlers who are heads of servants, and these are often hereditary men. They allot work to the servants and get things done by them. They are given some discretionary powers in the management of the kitchen, etc., and they use their powers autocratically, though within certain well-

defined limits. But of course, the ultimate responsibility of seeing every one in the family properly fed falls upon the wife, and it is not infrequently that she gets the blame for a bad dinner. Still, there are exceptions. If 'My Lady' is as much a social 'out-going' person as 'My Lord,' then, the butler may get into all the trouble that any one can get into for a spoiled appetite. The domestic purse is in her hands and she uses it according to her discretion.

Both father and mother are responsible for their children's well-being. There are of course father's or mother's 'darlings' to whom the father or mother may be especially 'nice.' But on the whole, both husband and wife share equally the joys and sorrows the children bring. They feel equal responsibility for their proper upbringing, education and settling down in life. In India, the father has taken, and he is still taking, the chief part in the conduct of his children's education. In the West too, the father has had up till recently greater voice with regard to his children but the mother has successfully challenged his exclusive right in that respect also. Now they have, concerning their children, equal authority and responsibility and equal rights and duties. On the other hand, boys and girls respect and obey both their parents equally. They receive the utmost kindness and consideration from their parents, who love and cherish them and become their friends and companions. Children in the West often love their parents because they are brought up lovingly by the parents who become, as it were, their sweet-hearts and playmates. They generally respect their father and mother because they are often given the best their parents can afford and because everything is done for their good. They also obey their parents not so much because they fear their displeasure as because they feel that they ought, in loving duty, to obey. As a rule, the relations between parents and children are like those between chums and lovers. We, in the East, do not know or experience half the joys of parental companionship and intimacy that Western children are privileged to know and experience.

Now for the servants. If there is a butler in the house,

who is, as I have already mentioned, the head of the servants and who has a supervision over them, he is responsible for their proper behaviour and good service. He and other servants are equally subject to the authority of both husband and wife and they obey them both equally. But the husband may have a valet who is his personal servant just as his wife may engage a woman as her personal maid. These servants obey their respective masters primarily, and on the whole neither the husband nor the wife has any rights over the servant of the other. But the wife has a general supervising control over the domestic servants. The servants in the West are treated fairly well. They are in fact much better treated than we treat ours. If the servant is born and bred on the estate or in the service of the master, he is treated like a member of the family, though as a subordinate one. Even if he is a servant employed for the time being, he is treated well because, for one thing, slave-driving is not appreciated by the Westerners in their own homes, and for another, the servants themselves do not put up with ill-treatment. Western countries have for a long time had some sort of stir among the people, and the labouring classes have got out of the way of thinking that they are inferior beings born to slave and to be trampled upon.¹

DOMESTIC LIFE

Routine work in any Home may be dull to its members

¹It is becoming increasingly difficult to get proper domestic servants. The boys and girls, the young men and young women who used to flock to houses for employment, have almost suddenly taken a dislike to domestic employment since the War. The late War has brought about great changes not only in political and economic spheres but in men's minds also. Since the war, there has been a widespread social awakening in the West among the working classes and they do not like to be mere menials. Political radicalism and socialism have enhanced and strengthened the 'I am as good as you are' feeling. Besides, there has been a great increase in the wants and desires of men and women. Working men and women now want more freedom, more money and less work, to enjoy the comforts of life. Consequently, there has arisen a domestic servants' problem in most of the countries of Europe and America. In the U.S.A. I am told that it is a luxury to have a white servant. Any white man with any brains in that country starts on his own to make money. He does not find any reason to work for others.

but it is full of interest to strangers to whom it is a new thing. In the West it is generally cold during the greater part of the year, and snow, hail and fog are not uncommon there. So the manner of going to bed and getting up in the morning is different from ours. People in the West generally retire and rise later than we do. On wintry days this is occasioned by cold. In summer too they retire late because they have the sun there till 10 in the evening. They may like to get up early, but then they may not have had enough sleep. In winter and all through the cold spell, that is, for about eight months in the year, they have fire or central heating in their houses and if they can afford it, they will have them in their bedrooms also. Except when it is hot, which is a rare occurrence in countries like England, people sleep *in* the bed under blankets and rugs, which are tucked right under the bed. Sometimes a silk quilt also is spread on the top of the blankets and rugs. You get into the bed as if you are getting into a sack which is from 4 to 6 inches high. When they go to bed, they put on *pyjamas* which are a short shirt and a loose pants. When it is cold, they put hot water bottles in the bed to warm it. The bottles are made either of stone or of rubber. It is customary to wish 'good-night' when retiring for the night and the wish is generally accompanied either by a kiss or a shake of hands. Family members like parents, brothers, sisters, sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law kiss each other good-night. Sometimes close friends have the same privilege. All others must be content with the shaking of hands or a smile. Men do not kiss men, even though they are bosom friends or loving brothers, but the women kiss not only men but women also. Women kiss each other on even a slender acquaintance and on every pretext. They sometimes kiss even their worst women-enemies. It is quite amusing to see some women pecking away at each other. In the case of 'grown-ups' the kiss is given either on the cheek or the forehead.

In the morning, one may hear a knock or two at the door of one's bedroom, which means that the servant is waking

one up or bringing up bed-tea. In cold countries, one must have something hot as soon as he wakes up to warm his body and to move his bowels. So they take a cup of hot tea in England and they may munch a biscuit or two at the same time. There is no bed-tea in Latin countries, but hot coffee is taken in Northern countries like Germany. After the bed-tea, hot water, except in summer, is brought for your toilet. After toilet, the general rule is to dress before one comes down for breakfast. As you come down, you wish, 'good morning' to whomsoever you meet for the first time in the morning, and you are in turn wished. As in the case of retiring for the night, you may bestow or be bestowed upon a kiss or a peck on the mouth, cheek, brow, nose or chin by the members of the family, or by those who consider themselves privileged to do so. You start your day with good wishes all round, and if it is not fruitful or happy, it is nobody's fault. At breakfast, a person finds his favourite newspaper ready on the table and he will have a glance through it. The newspaper in Europe has become a necessary item in the breakfast. You can as well think of breakfast without bread and butter as without your favourite newspaper. Almost all the important newspapers in the West are published in the morning and they are sent out very early indeed. You can get your paper by 6-30 A.M. by which time many people will not get up. It is not uncommon that, in ordinary houses or when there is no company, the adult members will be reading their newspapers at the breakfast-table as if they were munching their bread or biscuits. All the members of the family sit together at the same time and if possible at the same table for their meals, and if one finishes sooner, he will wait for the rest to finish their eating unless he has something to do and has got to get away. In that case he excuses himself. In the West people eat slowly and at leisure and they have made the eating time an occasion for conversation and social intercourse. So all sorts of things including those just read in the paper or those which they forgot to mention the previous evening and were remembered over night, may be

talked of or discussed about. When eating food, people in the West observe what are called 'table manners.' They are the unframed rules or conventions which guide the conduct of persons at the dinner-table and the manner of eating their food. In accordance with these manners, you should not, for instance, make noise with your knives and forks or when you are taking your soup nor should you eat your peas with a knife. If your neighbour at the table wants salt, you should pass it on to him and he must say 'thank you' to you. If he wants anything, he must very nicely ask you 'Will you please' or 'would you mind' to pass it on. You are expected to look pleasant and to be enjoying your food. Eating in silence is bad form. Children also come under the authority of table manners. Parents are very strict at the table with their children. They should not grin or wink at others, but they are not expected to chatter away. They should eat in silence when there is company and leave the elders to do all the talking in the name of good manners. Even when there are no visitors, they have not much chance to prattle.

The second meal in England is luncheon and it is eaten either in the office where it is taken or in a restaurant near the place of work. But sometimes the man or woman may come home for it. The leisured classes may go out to a good restaurant and have a 'jolly good food' or they may have a sumptuous meal in their own home. In any case, it is quite an enjoyable meal for them, but, for those who work or labour, it is a hurried meal. In the country, in England, the midday meal is considered dinner, i.e., the chief meal of the day, so that all the nicest things of the day are eaten at that meal between 12-30 and 1-30. The French and other Latin peoples have a very light breakfast which is generally eaten in their bed-rooms, but they make the eating of lunch an art. One must see a Frenchman eating his lunch to realise what extraordinary lust for eating there is in the human heart and how a man can fall in love with his food. You would think he is violently flirting with his adored, nay more, that he is realising the raptures of a fulfilled

love. He is all joy—his eyes dancing merrily and happily and his tongue wagging like the proverbial tail of the dog.

Tea is generally taken at 4 in the after-noon. But in the country and by the artisan and labouring classes in the towns and cities, what is called 'high tea,' is taken between 5 and 6-30 P.M. When high tea is taken, there is no evening dinner at 7 or 8 o'clock. There is only supper which is a light meal consisting of some hot broth, or soup with bread and butter and with an occasional toast. High tea and light supper are very convenient in summer, to those who are employed in some service or other, because after the tea they can go out with their family to enjoy the sun and the air and they can return in time for a light supper and then sleep. The moneyed classes with plenty of leisure can really have a very enjoyable tea. They can have it in their beautifully decorated and warmly comfortable drawing-room in winter, and in summer, they may partake of it on the spacious terrace of their country mansion or under the glorious chestnut tree or in the neatly trimmed lawn. If they care, they can go to the dansant where they can have exquisite tea over some pleasant gossip or take a turn in the dance floor to the tunes of the latest jazz.

In well-to-do families, dinner is the principal meal which is got up as luxurious and enjoyable as possible. The Englishman loves a good table but he loves also a bit of show and ceremony. Dinner in an English Home is made an occasion for the display of the status, wealth and dignity of the family. Men and women dress for it and the servants are neatest and on their best behaviour. As many members of the family as can possibly muster are present at the dinner. With all the formality and austerity of the occasion, it is a very enjoyable meal and the gathering is after all a family one. The diners have a pleasant and even a merry time. Dinner is the most important meal and the best occasion for social intercourse in other Western countries also. Westerners as a people drink and on the Continent of Europe wines, spirits and

beverages are taken at odd times and at all meals. But it is at dinner that the English drink best and most. After dinner, they withdraw to the drawing-room when the mother or the girl may play on the piano and the boys may help them with music. There may be a general conversation or there may be a game of cards, billiards or draughts. Or they may put the gramophone on and dance to it. The time after dinner is the best time for family conversation and the most intimate family relations. In fact, it is the life-breath of a home.

In big houses, servants have separate quarters to sleep or to live in, and they take their meals in the kitchen. They have separate crockery for their use. Among peasants you find an agricultural servant taking his meal at his master's table, and in the houses of fairly big farmers also the servant may, when there are no visitors, occupy a corner of the family table. In the lower-middle classes, the maid servant or the charwoman, if there is any, has generally her meals with the family. Even though one who is in some pretty decent job, or is earning fairly well and has therefore some sort of social status, may not like the servant to sit with him when there are others, he will find it convenient to let the servant take her meals at the same table along with him or his wife.

The relations *inter se* of the members of the family are, on the whole, cordial and affectionate. As I have mentioned above, the parents love their children and are very friendly and social with them, and the children in their turn love and respect their parents. Among the children themselves, there is affection and friendship and they are often playmates and 'pals.' From their very childhood, boys and girls are taught to control their feelings and emotions and they are not allowed to get into fits of anger or to burst out crying. Bad temper in children is detested most in the West and every sort of worrying and vexing and of getting sulky or cross is discountenanced. Children are also taught what

to expect from and what to give to each other, and they are content and happy if they are not worried or interfered with by their brothers or sisters. There seems to be a general understanding among them that they should live in harmony and friendship and every one tries his or her best to maintain and reinforce an *esprit de corps*.

MARRIAGE

Marriage is really more of a social event than of a family affair. All the same, it is an occurrence of great importance to the Home, not only because it is the foundation of another Home, but also because, being the greatest event in a man's or woman's life, it causes vibrations and changes in the Home-life. In India our Aryan ancestors chose their spouses themselves, but owing to various causes into which we need not go here, the present practice of marriage has come into operation and it permits parents to select the bride or bridegroom for their son or daughter. And for many centuries past, early marriage has been the rule in Hindu Society in many parts of India. But in Europe, people, like our ancestors of old, let their sons and daughters select spouses for themselves, of their own free-will. This self-choice, *Swayamvara*, is the principle underlying the marriage system in the West, though we know that it is not always put into practice. There is no doubt that, until recently, parents had a controlling voice in the choice of spouses by their sons and particularly by their daughters, and that even to-day in Latin countries like France and Spain, boys and girls have got very much to consider, though not obey, the wishes of their parents on the question of marriage. Yet, self-choosing is a recognised fact. Before the choice is made, courtship is begun which is mainly the man's business. In Victorian days, wooing was not possible until the father gave permission to do so to the young man who was seeking his daughter's hand. So, in a way, the choice had already been made, before the girl blushing said 'yes' to the outpourings of a nervous and excited youth

which went by the polite name of 'a proposal of marriage.' But the leave of the father to court his daughter no way bound the daughter to accept the youth. If she did not accept him, the mere fact of the permission given by the father to woo, would not weigh against her. Now a days no permission of the father is sought or given for a young man to pay his addresses to the lady of his fancy. People were very particular about introductions in the days gone by, and a girl could not speak to a man who was not properly introduced to her. In these post-war days, no introductions are insisted on, and if a boy and a girl *will* talk to one another, nobody can stop them from doing so. Girls are going out so much and without chaperons too—a thing which was never heard of in pre-war days—you can meet them in all sorts of places. It is quite in order to go up to a girl in a dancing-hall or a restaurant, and ask for the pleasure of a dance with her, though you will have to do so with a bow to the gentleman or lady with whom she is. There are, I grant, people who even to-day insist upon introductions on such occasions, but I am afraid their number is already small. I think the girl would not be too particular about having been introduced before, if the young man looks pleasant and respectable. In the olden days, courting used to be entirely one-sided and even in these ultra-modern days, woman does not actually propose (except on the stage in a play that has Leap Year in it). She does not mind to reciprocate wooing which may occasionally degenerate into flirtation and also to lead up to the actual proposal.

In the pre-war years, especially in what are called the Victorian times, girls did not go about very much and their male acquaintances were not many. At the present time, girls know everybody and everything worth knowing about, and they have no illusions about the male human beings. They are not easily taken in by the honeyed words of designing young men as the maidens of the Victorian Era used to be, and they have no faith in

high-sounding sentimental phrases. They heartily distrust all things that savour of romanticism. As a matter of fact, the girl of to-day has become prosaic and it is not easy to please her. So, courtship has become very arduous for a young man of to-day and he will meet with a burst of laughter from the girl, if he proceeds to propose in the orthodox manner. But, on the other hand, the present-day girl possesses a good deal of commonsense and she is capable of wide sympathies and strong loyalties. She realises that one cannot live or be happy on the mere vapourings of love and romance. So, she assesses the benefits or comforts she may derive from marrying a particular youth and if she finds them satisfactory, she will marry him provided she is sure she will not be unhappy with him. A maxim that is a favourite with many girls to-day is that, 'it is better to marry the man who loves you, than to marry the man you love.' In most cases, the wooing is begun at the present time in a worldly-wise and friendly way and neither the garden nor the drawing-room is necessary for the progress of courtship. Keeping company and chatting are in themselves a mild form of wooing and they are done in public without offending public decency. No holding of hand under a chestnut tree or kneeling down on the wet grass is required for the declaration of one's love for the girl of his choice. The question containing the meaning 'Will you marry me' may pleasantly and without embarrassment be asked, and the reply meaning 'I will' as pleasantly and without any agitation be given. The old outlook on the questions of courtship and marriage has radically changed in the West and marriage is not as great a sentimental affair as it was until recently. It is, however, far from true to argue that love and romance have lost their fascination for the human heart and that marriage has become a mere safety-valve for the comforts of family life and for the satisfaction of the animal impulses in man. In spite of what has been said above, there are many more marriages in the West that are brought about

by love and romance than anywhere else in the world. It is absurd to contend that marriage is a failure in the West. It has never been a failure and will be much less so in the future with increasing safeguards and remedies. A hundred, a thousand, and even a hundred thousand divorces, are not any index to the success or failure of marriage in the West as an institution, and the lack of a most humane remedy for the misery of an unhappy married life (i.e., divorce) does not show us the real state of marital relations in any community. It is high time we removed the beam in our eye before we pointed at the mote in our neighbour's. Love and romance may have discarded their old garb but they have put on a new and more durable one.

When the couple agree to marry, they get engaged and the fact is demonstrated by the wearing by the girl on the finger next after the little finger of her left hand, of a ring with a stone, bought for the purpose by the prospective bridegroom. The parents' consent is sought, and in some cases, even before the couple are actually engaged. If the consent is forthcoming, it is well and good. Even if it is not, there will not, in most cases, be any change in the *status quo*. In the higher classes or among the rich people, a day is fixed for announcing the engagement and it is announced amidst a group of relatives and friends who come over for the occasion. There is, of course, a dinner and a dance then.

A day is fixed by consent for the marriage. There is no *lagnam* in the Western system and one day is as good as another for the Westerners. Marriage should, however, take place between 8 or 9 A.M. and 3 P.M. After three in the afternoon, no marriage can be performed. In the West, people can get married in a Registry Office under the authority of the Civic Marriage Act. The bride and bridegroom simply go to the Marriage Registry Office accompanied by two or more witnesses. The Registrar takes down particulars about them and asks them whether they wish to become man and wife. When the couple

say 'yes,' the marriage is made. The witnesses are there for the purpose of identifying the couple and bearing testimony to the marriage. The Registrar gives the newly-married couple a marriage certificate and the civil marriage is completed. Generally speaking, civil marriage is not very much in vogue in England, though poor people and those who are divorced find it very useful and convenient.

The marriage celebration in the West is a very short one, when compared with ours. It lasts only for a few hours, whereas our celebrations last from 1½ to 5 days. Excepting very close friends and relatives, nobody goes to the bride's and bridegroom's house to stay for marriage. Two weeks before marriage takes place, bans are published in the church of the place where either the bride or bridegroom lives, or has resided for some time prior to the marriage, or where the marriage ceremony takes place. A license also is taken to perform the marriage. A system of licensing even religious marriages has been in force in the Western countries and so there is there a uniformity of marriages. Either on the previous evening or on the morning of the marriage, the bridegroom will have come to the place where the marriage is to take place. But he does not stay in the same house as the bride. The bridegroom goes to the church accompanied by his best man, relatives and friends. He goes there a few minutes before the bride and waits for her arrival. The best man is generally the bridegroom's best friend and he is there to assist his friend at the marriage. He is the custodian of the wedding-ring. When the bride arrives in the company of her father, brother or some one who is to give her away at the wedding, she is received at the church entrance by the bridegroom who then leads her to the altar accompanied by his best man and the giver-away of the bride (*kanya data*). Those who are not already seated in the church follow them. The bride's people sit on the left side of the church and the bridegroom's on the right side

of it. The bride stands or kneels on the left side of the bridegroom. Every one in the church gets up when the pair enters. The marriage service is not very long. Soon we hear the priest asking the bride and the groom whether they will take one another for husband and wife. When the priest puts the question, "so and so, wilt thou take this woman or man (as the case may be) so and so (here the name is given) for your lawful wife or husband, etc.," every one looks up with interest and awaits with eagerness the reply 'I will' from either of the pair. The vow 'I will' taken by the bridal pair before the altar in the presence of the priest and of a gathering, has as much religious significance in the West as the *pramanam* before the Fire among the Hindus. It is a common notion that either of the couple will not say 'I will' heartily, cheerfully or boldly, if he or she does not like the other party to the marriage, and that the bride who does not like the bridegroom, will generally say it with tears in her eyes. So the answer 'I will' is considered to be an index of the feelings of the bride or bridegroom. After the question and answer, the wedding-ring is handed over to the bridegroom by the best man, and the bridegroom puts it on the left finger of his bride. When the wedding-ring, which takes in the West the place of our *Mangalasutram*, is put on, the vow of chastity is sealed by the couple with a kiss. Soon after, the priest gives the benediction and the marriage register is signed by the newly-married couple and their parents and a few elderly relatives and friends. When the bride and bridegroom come out of the church after the ceremony, they are greeted with a shower of *confetti* and a burst of enthusiasm and delight. The wedding party will then drive to the place where the wedding breakfast is arranged by the bride's parents.

The wedding breakfast is quite a delightful affair. Many rich and delicious dishes are served and there is a goodly supply of liquor. But the chief characteristic of the wedding breakfast is the wedding cake. The bride

cuts the cake with the knife handed over by the bridegroom and the cake is distributed to the guests. It is also sent to the friends and relatives who have not attended the wedding or come to the breakfast. During the breakfast, the health and happiness of the bridal pair are drunk to and there are toasts also to the health of the bride's and bridegroom's parents. The toasts are accompanied by complimentary and graceful little speeches which express the hope and the good wishes of the guests gathered there, for the happiness of the bridal couple. When the breakfast is over, the couple get ready to start on their honeymoon. Everyone is anxious to have a last look at them and wish them all the happiness in the world. The honeymoon car moves and behold! there is a rain of *confetti* and shouts of laughter and joy rend the air. The inevitable old boot and the lucky horse-shoe hang swingingly at the back of the car. This old boot and horse-shoe affair is a worn out, age-long secret, yet, the couple is pleasantly surprised if, by chance, it happens to see them when it is just a few yards away from the starting place.

If the couple can afford it, they choose to spend the honeymoon in a foreign country. The poor spend their honeymoon somewhere in the country and if they cannot do even that, in their own homes. The honeymoon is supposed to be an exceedingly delightful and happy affair and it is so in the case of the bride and the groom who really love one another. Otherwise there will be no honey in the moon. And it may occasionally turn out to be a green moon which is worse than a blue moon. But on the whole, the institution is very beneficial and works well. The honeymoon is the time for understanding and sympathising with the spouse, and we all know that without understanding and sympathy even the best of marriages go to pieces. Moreover when you are newly married, you want to be away on your own with your beloved. When you are first probing into the depths of love and are enjoying for the first time, the fruits of youth, you would like to be left to

yourselves and would intensely dislike anybody to be anywhere near you, to pry into your intimacies and love differences. You want to belong to your beloved, body and soul, and you crave to be absorbed in her love. And it is more than impossible to do so, when you are in a crowd of people who have friendly or family claims on your company and take you away from your beloved and divert your attention from her. If you and your bride are happy in the first days of your married life, then, there is greater chance of your marriage becoming a success. This is the primary reason why a married son would like to live his own life apart from his father's home. I think the honeymoon is a very beneficial institution which we will do well to start in India.

Land Mortgage Banks

BY THE HON'BLE V. RAMADAS PANTULU

A well-organised system of rural credit is the greatest economic need of India. The central problem of our rural economics may be summed up in one word. The chronic indebtedness and poverty of the ryot leads to low agricultural production, and low agricultural production in its turn leads to increased indebtedness and poverty. It is indeed moving in a vicious circle. Low agricultural production carries with it three economic implications. *First* of all, it means that the quantity of the produce raised by the nation, per head of the population, is less than what is required for the economic needs of the people. It is an admitted fact that vast masses of our people are under-fed and meagerly-clad, that many of them go without a full-meal a day and many others without two meals. *Secondly*, low production means that the unit of produce got from land in India is less than the unit of produce obtained from an equal area of land in other countries.¹ *Thirdly*, low production also signifies inferior quality of the products and the consequent disadvantages they suffer from in the world's markets in competition with those of other countries. Indian products not only fetch unremunerative prices but are sometimes driven out of those markets. The extent of rural indebtedness and peasants' poverty have been the subjects of numerous piece-meal investigations by official and non-official agencies, but so far as I know, no comprehensive survey of it was conducted by any agency. On a rough estimate it is believed that the rural indebtedness of British India (excluding the States) is six hundred crores of rupees and that of Madras Presidency ninety crores. As for the causes of indebtedness, the enquiry made by the Committee appointed to investigate into

¹I quoted some telling figures comparing the production of staple and commercial crops in India with that in other countries in my article on Rural Reconstruction at page 100 of *Triveni*. The figures were taken from the International Year Book of Agricultural Statistics for 1909 to 1921 which may be usefully consulted in this connection.

the causes of the agrarian riots which occurred in the Deccan in 1875 is, I believe, fuller and more reliable than other enquiries. The findings of the Committee were not merely confined to the immediate causes of the riots but covered a wide economic ground. Sir Frederic Nicholson who examined the causes of agricultural indebtedness in Madras Presidency pointed out that the findings of the Deccan Committee were of general applicability to India, notwithstanding the fact that the inquiries of the Committee were confined to a comparatively small area. It may be that the causes enumerated by the Committee will not be found to operate in the same measure and to the same degree in all Provinces but will be found to be at work more or less all over India, some more predominantly in some Provinces, and others in some other Provinces. The findings of the Committee regarding rural indebtedness are thus summarised by Sir Nicholson himself: (1) Poverty with unproductive soil, precarious climate, and irregularity of income (2) ignorance and improvidence (3) extravagance (4) ancestral debt (5) expansion of credit (6) increase of population without corresponding increase of returns (7) facilities for borrowing owing to influence of money-lenders (8) the Limitation Laws, as leading to renewals on usurious terms including compound interest (9) revenue system of fixed demand. It seems to me that the findings of the Committee are defective at least in one material particular in so far as they omit to mention a very potent cause which appears to have contributed in no small measure to the reduction in the peasants' resources; it is the destruction of Cottage Industries and the consequent loss of income to the ryot by a subsidiary occupation in the off season. Excessive fragmentation of holdings which renders agricultural industry uneconomic and certain other factors are also not mentioned in the findings of the Commission but they may perhaps be brought under one or other of the heads summarised above.

It is true that the indebtedness of the ryot is not a recent evil. It has been an age-long problem. But there are two recent features of it which are causing alarm and anxiety. It is growing in *volume* rapidly. It is also becoming more and more *unproductive*. That rural indebtedness has grown considerably in the last 4 or 5 decades is conceded by no less an official authority than Sir Edward Maclagan. In his brief but illumi-

nating conspectus of the situation as it stood in 1911, he observed as follows:—"It has long been recognised that indebtedness is no new thing in India. The writings of Murno, Elphinstone and others make it clear that there was much debt even at the beginning of our rule. But it is also acknowledged that the indebtedness has risen considerably during our rule and more especially in the last half a century. The reports recorded from time to time and the evidence of annual sale and mortgage data show clearly there has been a very considerable increase of debt during the last half a century." Indebtedness may not in itself be an evil. Debt when productive is as helpful to an agriculturist as capital advanced is to an industrialist. If the growing debt is also becoming increasingly unproductive, as it unquestionably is, then there is real cause for grave anxiety. The agriculturist himself cannot be wholly acquitted of blame for this unfortunate position. It is useless to deny that the agricultural population have had their share of the benefits which have accrued to the country at large by the improvement of communications, by big irrigation schemes, by the opening up of trade and other facilities which developed in the last fifty years. These factors have contributed to impart enhanced values to land as well as to agricultural raw products. The system of land settlement and record of rights, defective as it is, has invested individual ownership in land with an authoritative estimate of value and therefore agricultural land has become a coveted security and in consequence enhanced the borrowing power of the ryot. So the increase in the volume of debt is partly to be accounted for by the facilities these factors have contributed to the borrowing capacity of the ryot. But the tragedy of the situation is that these advantages are not availed of by the ryot to improve his economic condition; on the other hand he is saddled with a heavier load of unproductive debt. At present the ryot is actually weighed down and is groaning under the burden which he carries on his either shoulder, chronic indebtedness and traditional illiteracy. The consequence is that the rural population now lives in an atmosphere of utter depression. Unless the vicious course of rural unproductive indebtedness is arrested, it is bound to lead to economic paralysis if not to economic death.

HOW TO REDEEM AGRICULTURAL DEBT

What are the remedies for this grave evil? Several have been suggested and some are being tried. Leaving aside such drastic remedies as the overhauling of the land revenue system, radically altering the laws of inheritance and partition, emigration and birth-control to relieve pressure on the soil and the like, the remedies which can be attempted and are likely to be fruitful may be grouped under five heads; (1) removing from the peasant, as far as possible, all causes for uneconomic borrowings and inducing him to confine his wants, within practicable limits, to legitimate objects; (2) adoption of measures to ensure for the peasant fair treatment in the determination and recovery of debts claimed against him, by the improvement in the provisions of the processual and contractual laws (3) adoption of measures calculated to prevent the peasant from experiencing the more serious consequences of indebtedness such as the loss of land or the permanent impairment of capital by restricting the power of alienation over the land (4) relieving pressure on the land by promoting schemes for the reclamation of fresh land and creation of subsidiary occupation; and (5) devising means by which the peasant may obtain such money as he really wants for economic objects on easier terms than are now available and with less disastrous results; in other words, measures undertaken with the object of providing and maintaining credit or redeeming debt. When further analysed, all these remedies centre themselves round one essential factor, the supply of capital and credit on a judicious, controlled and regulated system to the agriculturist. Without providing for capital and credit it is perfectly useless to talk of improved methods of agriculture, making agriculture a paying industry, organising the peasants, and so forth. It is a mistake to suppose that agriculture yields a quick annual return and is therefore a self-supporting industry which can finance itself. Mr. Wolff is absolutely right when he says that "under pressure of advancing times, agriculture has long since become far from the easy, self-rewarding, occupation which it is understood to have once been, a business of money and enterprise like all other business, having the same tasks set to it but not the same means at its disposal wherewith to accomplish the

task." This statement is equally true of India, although Mr. Wolff was speaking about other countries.

RURAL CREDIT AND AGENCIES TO DISPENSE IT:
LAND MORTGAGE BANKS

Credit granted for the promotion of any line of agriculture is called Rural Credit and is of two varieties, the short term credit and the long term credit. Of late, intermediate credit, in between those two varieties, is coming into great prominence, specially since the passing of the Intermediate Farm Loan Act of 1923 to supplant the Federal Farm Loan Act of 1916 in America. For our present purposes intermediate loans may be classed with short term credit. Short term credit is, generally speaking, working capital of agricultural industry to meet the current needs of the husbandman, such as cultivation expenses, cost of small repairs, purchase of seeds and manures and so forth. This form of credit should be supplied to him on the security of his current and future income from land over a short period of 2 or 3 years and on personal guarantee and surety-ship. The Co-operative Credit Societies which are established on the German model of Raiffeison type with mutual guarantee and unlimited liability of the members are the best agencies for liberating this form of financial accommodation to the agriculturist. This variety of short term credit and the village primary societies which dispense them are not suited for satisfying the larger needs of the cultivator for purchasing land, effecting permanent improvements to his holding, converting uneconomic holdings into more economic ones by sinking costly wells or installing valuable machinery, discharging prior debts and so forth. Needs of this kind could be satisfied only by long term credit. This form of credit is advanced on the security of the ryots' permanent wealth, namely, his lands and houses, contradistinguished from his temporary wealth, his annual harvest. So in every country two types of institutions are installed to work side by side to satisfy both kinds of credit needs of the ryot. In some parts of India, especially in Madras, the slogan of the rural credit society being utilised to serve all the credit needs of a member has gained currency and the 10 or 12 year land mortgage loans have become a feature of these Madras societies. They are encouraged. In some districts they form 90 % of the total loans and on the average 50 % of the loans are

on land mortgages. This combination of the short term (personal security) finance with long term (real security) finance, in which some orthodox co-operators in Madras have pathetic faith, is responsible for a great deal of dislocation in the financial adjustments of the movement. The indisputable fact is that the long term credit cannot be rationally dispensed on business principles by the rural credit societies¹.

The essential features of this variety of loan are, *firstly*, the sum advanced to the ryot should be sufficiently large to effectively start him on his business by placing in his hands funds required not only to lift his old debts but also to leave a surplus to serve as capital wherewith to improve the land so as to ensure increased returns. Persons who are mostly benefitted by this form of credit are those who absorb comparatively large loans and who can offer substantial security. Persons with small uneconomic holdings and slender security to offer, and landless tenants, cannot be helped with this kind of accommodation. In countries whose holdings are large and yield large returns and profits, even joint-stock banks finance land-holding classes on security of land and therefore Co-operative credit has no hold on countries like England and the United States of America. But in countries like India with small and scattered holdings which leave precarious margins of profit, joint-stock banks will not advance money on the security of land. The obstacles to such lending are the meagre value of the collateral securities offered, the dissipation of the banks' resources over a wide area among numerous borrowers, and the need to establish close control and watch over the activities of the borrower, without which the loans and their recovery will not be safe. *Secondly*, the loan should be made repayable from the margin of profits on his holdings, without putting the ryot to the necessity of borrowing from another source to discharge it, or selling his holding to raise the money to meet the creditors' demand. In other words, the long

¹The reasons for it are summarised thus by the Baroda Committee (1) The overshadowing of personal credit by mortgage may entail a neglect of co-operative principles. (2) The combination of short term business financed out of deposits of short dated credits with long term loans financed out of funds raised on specific security is unsound and risky. (3) The inquiry and valuation preliminary to grant of loans have to be entrusted to a trained agency controlled by and responsible to some central organisation. (4) The maintenance of valuable documents, title deeds, etc., cannot be entrusted to ordinary village societies.

term loan has to be spread over a long term of years and recovered in small dribblets. The maximum time allowed for repaying such loans is 30 years in Finland, 33 years in Chile, 36½ years in Newzealand, 42 years in Australia, 50 years in Italy and Japan, 54½ years in Austria, 55½ years in Switzerland, 60 years in Denmark, 63 years in Hungary, 68½ years in Ireland and 75 years in France. No individual money-lender or joint-stock companies can afford to "tie up their capital and take it back in dribblets as it is refunded bit by bit out of the earnings or savings from the soil during a long series of years." It is therefore only a special type of institutions known as Land Credit Institutions or Land Mortgage Banks, that can embark upon this kind of Banking.

TYPES OF LAND MORTGAGE BANKS

The right way to study the characteristic features of Land Mortgage Banks is to study the institutions themselves as they are now functioning in various countries all over the world. How far any particular type of Land Bank can be adapted to the conditions of India can be accurately judged only by that process. Full and accurate accounts of their working are available¹. When we deal with Co-operative organisations or Land Credit Associations it is well to remember one fact, namely, that the organisations have sprung up more as practical solutions of peculiar local difficulties and were not conceived at their inception as embodiments of any definite theory of economic organisation. But, for facility of study, the process is often reversed and the common aspects and principles which may be extracted from the institutional features are first expounded and the institutions themselves are cited as illustrations of those principles. However helpful this method might be for purposes of academic study, it should not lead us into the mistaken path of selecting one or other type of such institutions *on a priori*

¹J. R. Cahill's report to the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries in England as a result of his inquiry into Agricultural Credit and Agricultural Co-operation in Germany; the report of the American Commission appointed to investigate the Co-operative agricultural finances, production and rural life; and the report of the National Monetary Commission may be profitably consulted. The report of the Baroda Land Mortgage Committee 1924-25 also contains an account of Land Mortgage Banks in Germany, Hungary, Austria, Russia, Italy, France, United States and Egypt. Mr. Strickland's *Studies in European Co-operation*, Vol. II also contains a brief but a clear description of Land Mortgage Banks in various countries.

grounds of its inherent merits without regard to the peculiar needs of Indian rural economy and social and political conditions. A detailed description of the various kinds of Land Mortgage Banks cannot be attempted here. They may be classified in different ways on different principles. For instance, they may be divided into *public*, *semi-public* and *private*. Public Land Banks are owned and operated by the State. They are practically Departments of Government. They own no share capital. They obtain the funds required for granting loans either by appropriation (budget grants) or by issue of debentures guaranteed by the State. The profits are either devoted to some public purpose or utilised for extension of business. Semi-public Land Credit associations are those in which the State is a part owner and participates in the management or control or assumes a responsibility of some sort. Private Land Banks (so also semi-public ones) may be associations of borrowers or of lenders (that is, Joint Stock Companies) who carry on land mortgage credit operations with the minimum of State interference. When they are Joint Stock Companies, their aim is to make profits and declare as large a dividend as possible. When they are associations of borrowers, "they have no capital stock or lucrative object, and if they happen to accumulate a surplus from earnings or savings, it belongs to the members and is distributed in rebates of principal and interest in proportion to the amounts paid up on their loans." Another basis on which Land Credit Associations may be classified is this: they may be co-operative, non-co-operative, or quasi-co-operative. The co-operative type is represented by the Prussian Farm Mortgage Mutual Credit Associations, which are associations of borrowers. They have no capital. They aim at keeping interest low and do not aim at profit. Each member pays a small entrance fee to meet the necessary expenses, initial cost of land valuations and other incidental charges. Credit is created by the issue of mortgage bonds bearing interest and made payable to bearer and these bonds are regarded as perfect types of secure investment and are quoted on the Exchanges throughout the German Empire. The attempt to co-ordinate the activities of the local *landschaftens* through a central *landschaften* made in 1873 did not prove successful.¹

¹For a description of the features of typical co-operative Farm Mortgage Mutual Associations, see pages 76 to 96 of Morman's excellent book on Rural Credits.

The Federal Farm Loan Banks of the United States of America are also illustrative of the co-operative type.¹ The non-co-operative type is represented by the numerous commercial and Joint Stock Land Mortgage Banks working all over the Continent of Europe. They work for profits and declare dividends, but the State exercises control over their operations in order to ensure that they do not work hardship to borrowers and that they fulfil their obligations to their investors or debenture holders. They are mostly based on the French model of *Credit Foncier de France*. The Agricultural Bank of Egypt is also illustrative of the non-co-operative commercial type.

In between these two types, there are institutions which combine co-operative and commercial ideals in varying proportions and so quasi-co-operative in character. Associations with membership of borrowers and non-borrowers, operating over fairly large areas and formed with share capital and on limited liability basis, but in which each member has a single vote irrespective of his share capital and the dividend on share capital is fixed at a low minimum, may be taken as illustrations of quasi-co-operative type. The Hungarian Land Mortgage Institute for large land owners and the National Small Holdings Land Mortgage Institutes are examples of quasi-co-operative land banks.

LAND MORTGAGE BANK THAT SUITS INDIA

The question which merits our serious consideration is, what is the form of Land Mortgage Bank which suits India best? So far as relief to small agriculturists and owners of small holdings is concerned, it is, I believe, now fairly well accepted

¹The Federal Farm Loan Act of 1916 is intended to strengthen Farmers' Associations with State help. At the top is the Federal Loan Board. There are 12 Land Banks operating under the management of Directors appointed by the Loan Board. The Secretary or Treasurer is authorised to make deposits in these banks till they themselves own 50 million dollars. The Farmers' Loan Associations subscribe to the share capital in the Federal Banks. The Farmers' Associations consist of 10 or more farmers and each association is empowered to send a loan application for an amount of not less than 20,000 dollars. The association is the co-operative agency through which loans are initiated, the application of their proceeds is supervised, collections are made and local interests of borrowers are reserved. Each member should subscribe 5% of his loan as share capital. The value of a single share is 5 dollars. The Federal Banks issue loans equal to the value of the mortgages held, on the approval of the Federal Farm Loan Board.

that land mortgage banks on a quasi-co-operative basis will be most efficacious. I call them quasi-co-operative, because no scheme which has yet been propounded, puts them on a fully co-operative basis, although there are substantial elements of the co-operative ideals in all of them.¹ They are conceived as limited liability associations of borrowers with a few non-borrowing individuals thrown in for attracting the talent and organising capacity needed to make the management efficient. The number of shares owned by the members are limited, the rule of 'one man, one vote' irrespective of the share capital subscribed by them is generally observed, dividends are restricted to a low figure and the goal of gradual elimination of non-borrowers is kept in view to import a co-operative spirit into them. The fact however remains that the work of a Mortgage Bank "is recognised on all hands to be extremely impersonal and as devoid of the human element as possible", and that the human and personal elements which are the chief characteristics of the Raiffeisen type of societies cannot be infused into them in any appreciable measure. While mutual knowledge of, and control over, each other among members is the insistent feature of the unlimited liability credit society, the insistence in the case of a land mortgage credit limited liability society is on the capacity and business habits of the directorate in order to ensure sound valuation of security, careful investigation of titles, and correct assessment of borrowers' credit and efficient management of affairs².

¹The first Land mortgage Bank for financing agriculture in India was registered in London in 1863 with Mr. Samuel Laing, Finance Member of the India Government from 1860-62, as its first Chairman. It had agencies in the cities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras and sub-agents in all principal towns and districts in Bengal, Madras, Bombay, Sindh, United provinces and Oudh. It financed the larger landlords. It was wound up in 1885. If commercial Land Mortgage Banks are to be revived, they will be useful to finance bigger landlords and zamindars.

²Punjab. The Jhang Co-operative Mortgage Bank in the Punjab was started in 1920. The working capital of the Bank is obtained by the issue of shares, debentures and deposits from members and non-members. Members who borrow from the bank must hold one share of Rs 10 for every Rs. 500 borrowed. The Bank is on an unlimited liability basis. The maximum limit of the loan is 15 times the estimated annual net income of the land mortgaged minus the land revenue thereon. The rate of interest on loans is 8% and their maximum is 20 years. The profits of the bank are indivisible and are credited to the reserve fund which is invested outside the bank and maintained as security for the debenture holders. But there are various conditions attached to the loan which are harsh and do not conduce to the popularity of the scheme.

So far as I know, the conditions of the various provinces in India do not so materially vary as to require distinct types of Land Mortgage Banks for the several provinces. At one time I was of that view. But I find on further investigation that a single model will suit the whole of India—of course with variations in details of management and working dictated by local conditions. In the matter of supply of long term credit, the needs and economic conditions of agriculturists in the different provinces are almost the same. There are no doubt complications arising from the incidents of land tenures prevailing in the different provinces; in some parts, as in the ryotwari and permanently settled tracts of the Madras Presidency, ryots have heritable and transferable rights in their occupancy holdings, while the *varum-pattadars* of Malabar have no rights whatever in the land. In between these two extremes, there are various tenancies with qualified occupancy and limited rights of transfer subject to certain charges as in Bengal and United Provinces. But these complications only affect the nature and value of the security that is offered, but do not affect the features of the long term credit or the kind of institution that is required to dispense it. The poor ryots with small holdings cannot afford to secure credit except through organisations based on mutual association and guarantee, and the Co-operative Land Mortgage Bank is a

Madras. In 1924-25, a scheme for special Land Mortgage Banks was sanctioned and two were registered in that year. Ten such banks were constituted by the end of June 1927, operating over very restricted areas of compact groups of villages. These are formed on a limited liability basis with share capital, the borrowing power being limited to a multiple of the paid up capital (ordinarily 8 times). The banks raise credit by issuing debentures on the strength of the agricultural lands which the borrowing members hypothecate to it; debentures carry interest at 7% when sold to the public. The Government have agreed to purchase at 6½% debentures equal in value to those which the Banks are able to sell in the market, subject to a limit of Rs. 50,000 to any one bank and Rs. 2½ lakhs for the whole Presidency. The banks lend at 9% and the maximum amount of the loan does not exceed Rs. 2,000. The scheme is not popular and little progress is recorded. Apart from the high proportion of share capital, low maximum individual borrowing power, limited area of operations, and the high rate of 9% interest on loans, the circumstance that these small banks are unable to command sufficient confidence to sell debentures, stands in the way of the further progress of the working of these banks. Only two of these banks, the one at Gudalavalleru near Masulipatam and the one at Conjeevaram are doing any business worth the name. Recently the Madras Central Urban Bank floated uncovered debentures of 20 years' period at 5% to raise long term money to buy the debentures of some of these banks and give a lifting hand to those which are able to enlist a certain amount of local support. One bank was already helped in this manner and the others will be, if necessary.

legitimate application of that principle. The funds of such a bank can best be raised only on the collective guarantee of the properties mortgaged by the members. It follows that the members who thus created the credit should have a voice in the management of their bank on well-recognised principles of democratically controlled credit of co-operative institutions. As a productive organisation, agriculture will remain for a long time to come in India an individual effort or a family effort at best. But for specific purposes, associated efforts of agriculturists can be, and ought to be, organised. Credit is unquestionably one of those special purposes which will be productive of the best results, and results so far achieved are encouraging. Perhaps purchase of agricultural requirements and marketing are other special purposes where agricultural organisations on co-operative basis will help the economic uplift of the ryots. The schemes recommended for the Punjab, Madras and Bombay, and the States of Baroda and Mysore are of the co-operative type. In other provinces, there is little activity in the field of Land Mortgage Banking.

The XV Madras Provincial Co-operative Conference approved the establishment of a Central Land Mortgage Bank to float debentures and to finance these primary Land Mortgage Banks and appointed a Committee to prepare a scheme for the purpose. The Committee has just reported suggesting a Central Land Mortgage Bank with a share capital of 10 lakhs and a borrowing power of 25 times the paid-up share capital and reserve fund. The Bank may admit non-mortgage credit societies and individuals also as members, but shall lend only to primary Land Mortgage Banks holding shares. The debentures shall not carry interest exceeding 6%, the loans to primary Land Mortgage Banks not more than 7%, and the loans to members of the primary banks not more than 8%. The scheme is a far-reaching one and if given effect to, will herald a new era in Co-operative land mortgage credit in Madras.

Bombay. A Committee known as the Gujarat Committee—so called because it was appointed by the Gujarat Divisional Co-operative Conference—recommended a scheme for adoption in Bombay. It contemplated a Mortgage Bank for a 'district' which signified not a revenue division known as a district, but a tract with more or less similar agricultural and economic conditions. Borrowers should be members and should contribute share capital up to one-twentieth of their borrowings. Dividends on shares are restricted to the rate of interest payable on the mortgage bonds to be issued by the Bank. These bonds may be issued periodically up to the limit of the loans outstanding in societies for ten to fifty years at 5%. Loan should not exceed $33\frac{1}{3}\%$ of the value of the mortgaged land and the rate of interest on it should not exceed 6 to 7 $\frac{1}{2}\%$. The recovery of the loans is to be facilitated by power of foreclosure by speedy procedure being given to the Bank. It is understood that the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Bank will finance these banks and that Government agreed to buy debentures to the value of 5 lakhs from the Provincial Bank.

DEFECT OF THE SCHEMES—WANT OF CENTRAL ORGANISATION

The chief defect of the schemes hitherto set on foot consists in the weak position which the small primary Mortgage Banks occupy in relation to the outside money-market. They are unable to attract money by the sale of their debentures. The causes which operate against ordinary rural credit societies attracting deposits operate also in the case of these primary mortgage credit associations. The depositors in the one case and investors in the other, look to the efficiency of the management of the society and to the certainty of the punctual payment of interest and the repayment of the deposit or investment on due dates. The way in which existing credit societies are managed does not tend to instil confidence into the minds of the would-be purchasers of debentures to be floated by the primary Mortgage Banks. It is therefore perfectly useless to persist in the present schemes, for

Baroda. The Baroda scheme is an interesting one. The Bank's constitution provided for the supply of initial capital and working expenses by the Government for a temporary period and for the ultimate devolution of control, management and ownership from the Government to the members of the institution. The borrowers should become members of the bank, taking shares of the face value of 10% of their borrowings. The bulk of the working capital of the bank is to be raised by issuing bonds. These are exempted from income-tax and stamp duty. The Baroda Government is to underwrite the issue of the bank's bonds up to ten lakhs of rupees. The loans will be up to 50% of the value of the property offered as mortgage and the rate of interest is not to exceed the rate charged on the bonds by more than 1%. As links between the bank and the borrowers, Taluka Land Mortgage Associations should be started. They will be advisory bodies to begin with and will eventually develop into branch associations of the bank for transacting its business partially.

Mysore. The Co-operative Committee appointed by the Mysore Government under the presidency of Mr. (Now Sir) Lallubhai Samaldas, recommended the establishment of a Land Mortgage Bank with a share capital of 10 lakhs and with authority to issue debentures of not more than 50 lakhs of rupees, payable at the end of 25 years, but redeemable by the bank after the lapse of ten years on 6 months' previous notice and carrying interest at $6\frac{1}{2}\%$, payment of which should be guaranteed by the Mysore Government. The loans to borrowers should bear interest not exceeding 8% and the period is not to exceed 25 years. The maximum of the loan amount should be Rs. 5,000, but may be raised to Rs. 10,000 in exceptional cases. The bank is to be invested with powers to recall the loan not used for the purpose specified in the application and also to foreclose the mortgage on default by the borrower. No action was taken by the Mysore Government for a long time and it appears that very recently some cautious legislation was passed to instal a Land Mortgage Bank with State aid in one district, where conditions are supposed to be favourable for the experiment.

they will not make any headway in the near future. I still adhere to the view I expressed in my evidence before the Royal Commission on Agriculture that the so-called Land Mortgage Banks now started are a mere eyewash or apology for a real scheme of Land Mortgage Banking. The solution of the problem lies in the same direction that we took to promote ordinary rural credit, namely, the founding of the Central Mortgage Associations to finance these primary Land Banks, just as we started Central Banks to finance rural credit societies which were unable to finance themselves. Whether there should be more than one such central institution in a province is a matter of detail. Nevertheless here also we may profit by our past history. The Central Bank at Madras (the Madras Central Urban Bank) was first started to finance rural societies directly, and as business grew in volume, Central Banks were multiplied in the districts and the one at Madras became the apex bank, so to speak. Similarly we may start with establishing central financing institutions at the headquarters of the provinces to float debentures and finance the primary Land Mortgage Banks. It is gratifying to note that this scheme found favour with the All-India Conference of Registrars of Co-operative Societies held at Bombay in 1926. A portion of the resolution passed by that conference is reproduced below :—

(1) Mortgage banks based on co-operative principles are desirable in many parts of India. No transaction should be undertaken which is not economically profitable to the borrower.

United Provinces. In his evidence before the Agricultural Commission, Mr. Oakland, the Chairman of the U.P. Co-operative Committee, adhered to the view that there was no need for Land Mortgage Banks and it is no wonder that there is no move in the matter in that province.

Bengal. So far as my information goes, the Naogoar Ganja Mahal Co-operative Bank is the only co-operative organisation in Bengal providing land mortgage credit. It also grants cash credit advances to its members. For over half a century, however, loans on land mortgages have been dispensed by what are called Loan Offices operating in several districts. These offices finance mainly landlords on the security of their landed estates. (Patni and Zamindari.) One of the earliest of such offices was the Faridpur Loan Office, Ltd. founded in 1865. There followed in the next decade, the Mymensingh, Barisal, and Jessore Loan Offices. Some of them advance money also on houses, jewellery and gold. But they do not lend to either the agriculturist or for land improvement. So they do not serve the purpose of affording long term accommodation to ryots.

Burma. In Burma there was much activity and a Bill providing for a Land Mortgage Bank practically owned and managed by the Government was introduced, but the scheme did not ultimately materialise.

(2) *Objects :* The principal objects should be :

- (a) The redemption of the land and houses of agriculturists.
- (b) The improvement of lands and methods of cultivation and the building of houses of agriculturists.
- (c) The liquidation of old debts, and,
- (d) The purchase of land in *special* cases to be prescribed in the bye-laws. (The caution is evidently to prevent land speculation and indiscriminate borrowing to buy land).

(3) *Area and management.* The area of operations should be the smallest unit consistent with competent management. The imposition of liability on village credit societies or the confinement of mortgage loans to members of such societies are not recommended, but the Bank should consult the village societies in the case of all loans to members of such a society. Punctuality in repayment should be rigidly enforced in Mortgage Banks.

(4) *Finance.* A reasonable total of share money should be held by each Bank in order to reassuring the investing public.

In provinces in which the property can be sold on foreclosure, no loan should exceed half the value of the mortgaged properties.

No excess liability is required beyond the amount actually borrowed by a member *plus* his share money. If no excess liability is imposed, the share money of a borrower should not be less than 1/20 of his loan.

The minimum loan should be such as to repay the costs of the transaction to the Bank. Each Bank should prescribe in its bye-laws a maximum loan from time to time according to its financial position.

Debentures should be issued by a central financing body in each province rather than by separate Mortgage Banks.

The resolution proceeds to state the help which the Government and the Imperial Bank should render.

The Committee appointed by the XV Madras Provincial Co-operative Conference and the Townsend Committee have both advocated a Central Land Mortgage Bank. Mr. Wolff¹ in

¹I fail to see why Mr. Wolff tries to absolve the Government of India altogether from the responsibility of placing the Land Mortgage Bank's debentures on a methodical and marketable basis. He is not unaware that the State shoulders the responsibility in almost all the western countries. What is not only possible but successful in other

reviewing the Townsend Committee's Report in a recent communication to the Madras Registrar expressed his concurrence in that proposal. He says, "I see that, the same as elsewhere, you are busy on schemes for introducing co-operative mortgage credit, unquestionably a great desideratum. Strickland's scheme will not do at all. None of the schemes thus far put to the test appear to have proved successful. I myself know too little about practical conditions in India to be able to judge at all with confidence. Lallubhai Samaladas writes to me that my difficulty about title does not really stand seriously in the way. Unquestionably you will have to begin with some fairy assisting at the outset with a guarantee and I should say an organisation for placing the bonds methodically. But, so far as I can judge, I should prefer to see that good fairy taking the shape of some well-meaning association or company other than the Government, some society that could take up the matter in a business-like way and qualified to organise the sale of bonds according to business usages. The matter is of distinct importance and I hope that in the attempt to square the circle you may be successful."

The substance of these schemes is that a Central Land Mortgage Bank with primary Land Mortgage Banks, other co-operative societies, and individuals as shareholding members, should be formed to raise credit by floating debentures to finance the primary Land Mortgage Banks. Individuals and the other co-operative societies cannot borrow. The Central Land Mortgage Bank alone should float debentures. If more than one agency were to float debentures, then there will be conflict between them. The rates of interest on debentures, their market quotations and their negotiability will vary with the agency floating them and the local conditions prevailing in the neighbourhood of such agency. It will also lead to competition among the several banks in marketing their bonds. The debentures will be floated on the strength of the mortgages taken by the primary Land Mortgage Banks from their members and transferred to the Central Land Mortgage Bank. The value of such debentures shall not exceed 50% of the value of the properties mortgaged by the members of the primary banks or the amount

countries—co-operative mortgage credit—becomes in India a scheme "to square the circle". Why? Because the State is content to look on.

of the total loans advanced by the primary banks, whichever is less. Interest on debentures should not exceed 6%, that on loans to primary banks 7%, and that on loans to members of the primary banks 8%. The Central Mortgage Bank's borrowing power would be 25 times the paid-up share capital and reserve fund. The duration of the debentures will be 30 years and they will be redeemable on 6 months' notice.

The Provincial Co-operative Bank might perhaps be able to do this work and save us the trouble and expense and risks involved in evolving a new institution which will take time to establish its credit and whose success will depend upon the kind of management it secures. Official opinion is however against this idea. Three considerations weighed with me in yielding to the objections raised against the Provincial Bank doing it. *Firstly*, the Provincial Co-operative Bank, (the Madras Central Urban Bank) does not by its very constitution possess any control and is not in a position to exercise any regulating authority over the primary Land Mortgage Banks: without such control and regulation the finance will not be safe. *Secondly*, the Provincial Bank has by a process of evolution become an apex bank so far as the existing credit institutions are concerned, and deals only with Central Banks. The establishment of direct relations between it and the primary Land Mortgage Banks will involve a radical revision of its constitution. *Thirdly*, there are certain risks involved in mixing up in the Provincial Bank the two kinds of credit, ordinary credit and land mortgage credit, which are to be ultimately dispensed by two types of institutions which differ widely in their constitution, tradition, outlook and resources. But none of these objections can weigh against the Provincial Bank carrying on the work as the Managing Agents of the Central Land Mortgage Bank and the arrangement has undoubted advantages to the Land Mortgage Banks, for it will not only reduce the cost of working the central agency and release greater margin of working expenses for the primary banks, but will also give greater credit and liquidity to the debentures than if they were floated by a new agency not known to the money market.

MANAGEMENT AND COST OF WORKING OF A LAND MORTGAGE BANK

The success of the land credit institutions depends largely

upon the efficiency with which land is valuated, titles are investigated and the credit of borrowers is assessed. Valuation and inspection involve payment for expert services and legal advice. Inefficient management is beset with risks and dangers not only to the members but also to investors. If debentures are issued without care and except under proper control, the farmers' credit would be ruined very soon and the investing public will be exposed to grave risks. If a bank issues debentures of the value of a lakh of rupees backed by security of land worth Rs. 50,000, the position is, we have a real value of Rs. 50,000 and a paper value of Rs. 50,000 which is worthless. The one problem connected with bonds and debentures is to make them more and more liquid that is, create the greatest possible facilities to convert them into cash assets in cases of urgency. This aim is secured mainly by creating confidence in the *value* and *stability* of the real wealth or security on which they are based. All these objects cannot be secured without due provision for efficient internal management and strict supervision. At the same time the management should not be made very costly, for the cost will ultimately fall on the borrower, and any system of levying commission or other incidental expenses for contracting the loans or for renewing them should be discountenanced. The duty of the office establishment mainly relates to the duty of issuing loans and effecting recoveries and maintenance of accounts. The working cost will depend upon the volume of transactions and other circumstances. Mr. Strickland fixed it at 1 to 2% of the total transactions. A Committee of the Madras Provincial Co-operative Union fixed it at 3%. This is clearly an excessive estimate. It must be kept down below 2%, so as not to raise the lending rate above 8%. On this basis, I calculate that primary banks with less than 4 lakhs annual transactions cannot make both ends meet if properly staffed.

SUMMARY OF THE SCHEME

From the foregoing discussions of principles and precedents, I believe the following essential features of the scheme emerge and hope that they will be accepted, to put an end to an interminable controversy which resulted in procrastination and prevented definite action being taken hitherto:—

- (i) A scheme of land mortgage banks based on co-

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operative principles is required for many parts of India and can be made to conform to a single type, with modifications in details of working according to local conditions.

(ii) The existing rural credit societies should not be utilised to dispense long term land mortgage credit, nor should such credit through Land Mortgage Banks be restricted to members of rural societies.

(iii) There should be a central financing Land Mortgage Bank for each province to raise credit by debentures and to finance the primary Land Mortgage Banks.

(iv) The Primary Land Mortgage Banks should be constituted with share capital proportioned to borrowings and on a limited liability basis¹.

(v) Loans should not exceed 50% of the value of the property mortgaged². The minimum loan should be such as to repay the costs of the transaction and the maximum must be fixed by each bank in its bye-laws from time to time according to its financial position.

(vi) The cost of management should be kept, below 2% so that the loans may not carry interest exceeding 8% as far as

¹The reasons for insisting on share capital are thus summarised by the Baroda Committee. The first and the most important consideration is that the small share capital amounting to 5% of the loan held in cash and 5% as a reserve liability of the shareholders form a very good guarantee for the bonds issued by the Bank. It is an additional attraction for the bond-holder. The second reason why we recommend this feature is that it enables the Bank first to give loans up to the amount of its share capital and thus makes for economy. In the absence of such funds in the hands of the bank, it would have either to issue bonds every time a loan is required, or to issue bonds for a good round sum and hold the proceeds in its hands till the loans are made. The third reason why we have recommended the capital feature is that the shareholder has a sort of tangible interest in the Bank.

²It is true that the loan advanced usually bears a definite ratio to the market value of the security, one-third, half, or two-thirds. But this circumstance has no bearing on the arrangement for admitting the mortgage. The market value is sometimes determined by peculiar standards. Speculations, competitions, fancy and even sentiment may account for abnormal values. The true standpoint therefore from which the maximum of the loan should in practice be fixed, should be with reference to the net returns from the land which remain after deducting cultivation expenses, value of necessary repairs, taxes and the farmers' subsistence. If a further allowance is made to compensate the ryot for his personal labour which he renders free, than the returns are still further reduced and approximately correspond to fair rent on the land. It will be impossible to effectively improve the economic condition of the indebted ryot if he is permitted to oblige himself to pay a larger annuity than the revenue of the mortgaged properties. It is on these lines that in France and in certain other countries, limitations are imposed on the licensed land credit companies regarding maximum instalments demandable by them.

possible. The area of operation should not be too small where a costly establishment is maintained.

(vii) The maximum period for repayment of loan must be 20 to 30 years according to local conditions, according to a convenient system of instalments¹.

(viii) The State should help the scheme by subscribing for debentures, guaranteeing interest on them for some time, contributing in the initial stages towards the cost of valuation of lands, by making land mortgage debentures trustee securities, by exempting the Land Mortgage Banks from income tax, super tax, stamp duty, registration fees and the like, and by investing these banks with power to foreclose.

GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS LAND MORTGAGE BANKS

It has to be painfully admitted that the attitude of the Government of India as well as of the local Governments has hitherto been one of indifference, if not of apathy, to Land Mortgage Banks. The Government of India takes convenient shelter under the plea that the subject is a provincial one in the transferred departments. All that Sir Mahammad Habibulla could say in the debate raised by me in the Council of State regarding Land Mortgage Banks was that he referred the resolution passed by the ninth Conference of Registrars on the subject in 1926 to the local Governments and all that could be

¹Various modes of repayment of the loan are in use in different localities. The two most commonly adopted are these:—(1) By equal instalments of a specified portion of the principal, with interest annually or semi-annually. For example, if a sum of Rs. 1,000 is borrowed repayable in 25 years, the borrower makes 25 annual payments of Rs. 40 each, together with interest on the balance of the principal remaining unpaid in each year. This is the most common method. (2) By amortization proper, that is, by paying off a debt by regular instalments within a time fixed in advance. The annuity to be paid to amortize the debt is determined by the length of the credit and the agreed rate of interest and remaining level during the entire period. Suppose a borrower gives a mortgage for Rs. 1,000 with 5% interest. Suppose a total of 7% a year, in other words, the annual payment will be Rs. 70. It remains the same throughout, while the annual payments are the same, the amount of payment towards principal steadily increases. This is the model adopted by the French Land Mortgage Banks and has many advantages. Amortization tables for various rates and periods are hung up for borrowers' information on the Banks' walls, so that the borrower may determine his own rate of interest and period of repayment, as they suit him best. This method is sometimes called the system of equated payments.

done with any resolution that the Council might pass, was a mere repetition of the same process. I do not complain in the least of want of either sympathy or understanding on Sir Muhammed Habibullah's part. He is a genuine friend of the agriculturist. But I do complain of indifference, nay even of apathy, on the part of the Government of India and Local Governments to the problem of Land Mortgage Banks. I cannot but regret also the lack of enthusiasm in the matter on the part of co-operators in the province. I have not read a single full-dress debate in any Provincial Council on the straight issue of establishing Land Mortgage Banks to relieve unproductive agricultural indebtedness, especially having regard to the fact that the Government of India definitely shifted the burden on to the shoulders of the Provincial Governments. The time has perhaps come for co-operators to run their own candidates to the several legislatures in the country to constantly keep the co-operative problems before the executive and the Councils. In any country the State's responsibility to safeguard the economic interests of the agriculturist is obvious; in India it is more imperative where land is the chief national asset, agriculture the predominant industry, and land revenue the main source of the State's income. The State is bound to preserve land which is the national asset in an efficient condition of economic productivity for the benefit of future generations. There are grave dangers which the State will incur if the condition of the peasantry becomes intolerable and by the growth of a landless proletariat. I cannot do better than quote the note of warning sounded by Sir Edward MacLagan in this connection.

"It is necessary for Government, not only in the interests of the people but also in its own interests, to see that the evil does not spread too far and that its consequences are mitigated as much as possible. It must, in the first place, be remembered that if a large body of people is oppressed by a load of debt, they must necessarily become dispirited and discontented not only with the load of the debt itself, but also with the classes to whom the severity of the debt is attributed. It is further impossible for the Government to view with equanimity any large increase in wasteful and unnecessary expenditure by which the balance at the disposal of the peasant for improving agriculture is seriously reduced. There are also

certain consequences of indebtedness such as mortgage or sale of land which lead directly to class discontent, and occasions will arise when the intervention of Government is necessary to prevent the growth of a large body of discontented agriculturists who have lost possession of their ancestral properties."

He proceeds to illustrate these dangers thus :

"The Sonthal rebellion of 1855 was due to an outburst of the peasant debtors against their creditors and there was a good deal of the same sort of thing in the United Provinces during the course of the Mutiny in 1857. The same cause was the origin of the Deccan riots of 1875 and of the riots at Ajmere in 1891. It was therefore held by many competent authorities that the constant transfer of lands from the peasants to the creditor-class entailed a political danger and that the Government could not afford to wait till the danger came to a crisis." Apart from these risks, I hope that the Government will realise the great benefits that will accrue from the early establishment of Land Mortgage Banks to the Indian peasant. Mr. Herrick thus summarises these benefits. "The chief if not the only lesson to be learnt by the study of European Land Credit systems are the wonderful benefits to the farmers, of unrecallable long term reducible loans, and the ease and abundance in which money may be obtained for them by the issue of debentures or mortgage bonds, secured either by the solidarity of the group of landowners or by the assets of a company officially supervised and properly managed." To finance the farmer adequately and satisfactorily is to usher in an era of prosperous rural life and to lay the foundation of economic Swaraj. It is the right way to set about in reconstructing New India.

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 atleast SIX WEEKS in advance of the day of publication of the Journal.]

The Star, Adyar, Madras. (Annual subscription Rs. 4-8-0. Published every month.)

We have great pleasure in welcoming *The Star* into the ranks of journalism. Its special function is to spread far and wide the message of the Lord of Love—the Bodhisattva Maitreya—through His chosen vehicle, Mr. J. Krishnamurti. To a large and rapidly expanding circle of admirers, Mr. Krishnamurti—or 'Krishnaji,' as he is called with reverent affection—is the messenger of truth, the giver of strength to those that are sad and heavy-laden. His illuminating talks to a group of disciples are being published serially in *The Star* as also his poems. We are glad to notice that even those who do not belong to the Order of the Star have been invited to write to the journal.

Like so much else that proceeds from Adyar, *The Star* displays exquisite taste in printing and get-up. The May number, commemorating Mr. Krishnamurti's birthday, is a superb production and contains valuable articles by Lady Emily Lutyens and Mr. K. S. Chandrasekhara Iyer. We expect that, in course of time, the journal will be enriched by coloured reproductions from master-artists.

The Star and the *Triveni* were born almost simultaneously. And we feel they have a similarity of ideals and outlook. We wish our charming contemporary a long life of devoted service in the cause of Beauty and Truth.

K. R.

GANGOLY, O. C.—*The Art of Jana* (*Little Books on Asiatic Art*) (Vol. 2), Rs. 4-8-0. (Published by the Manager, The "Sudham", Calcutta).

Very few are the works in English which treat of Indian expansion beyond the seas, and even they have been published only in recent years. English writers have been very chary of utilising the vast material collected in the various countries over which India had cast her spell in ages long past, and the Indian people, who have naturally to rely on books in the English language, have been grossly ignorant of the achievements of their forefathers in lands to which they had gone on what was obviously a cultural conquest. Recently, however, we have had a few books in English which have attempted to give us an idea of the range of that conquest and the firmness of the grip of that culture in lands far from India, but still not too far removed for the venturesome Indian not only to sail to and settle in, but also to convert to 'Indianism'—if we may be permitted to coin a much needed term. Still, they are intended for specialists and they can make no appeal to the average reader who cannot have a large library of costly books at his disposal. We have, therefore, felt very often that there is a great need of a series of works written in a popular style and illustrated adequately, though not sumptuously. To us it is a pleasure, therefore, to see Mr. Gangoly's book on *'The Art of Java'* exactly satisfying the need we have felt. Mr. Gangoly is not a specialist on the Art of Java, but he has the advantage of a highly trained feeling for the best in Art and a fine appreciation of the qualities and the essentials of the Art of the mother country itself. He knows how to present his subject with lucidity and he does not lose sight of proportions in dealing with the relation of Indian to Indonesian Art. He has a fine taste and he knows what illustrations to choose. Mr. Gangoly is, in fact, the foremost Indian Art-critic and it is no surprise that his book takes rank as a classic among popular presentations of aspects of Indonesian Art. In the format, in the get-up, in the letter-press and in the illustrations, we have the best that we can have for the price. Indeed, the price is astonishingly low, considering how excellent the book is in every feature. To every lover of Art, the book is an excellent bargain and a valuable possession.

No book can bring home to the average reader as this one the strength of the feeling for Art which dominated the psychological life of the ancient Indian. One feels almost as if what time and the barbarian have reduced to ruins in India are

to be found fairly well-preserved in Java: the sculptures seem almost to have been transported from India and deposited in that island. The great monument at Boro-Budur, which in many ways typifies the Hinduised Art of Java, is remarkable for the entire absence of any element which may, by any chance, be called Javanese: even the physiognomy of the faces is distinctly Hindu and the type is not to be mistaken.

More remarkable even than the identity of feeling, sentiment, conception and powers of execution between the Art of India and that of Java, is the very interesting development which Java has given to certain characteristic Hindu notions. Most of the conceptions are foreign to Hinduism, but it is difficult to say how far they were deviations from, or the logical or the artistic sequels to, the general lines of Hindu thought and feeling. One such interesting development is the Javanese practice of setting up a portrait-statue of a deceased potentate as the idol in a temple and worshipping it as an image of God. The Indian custom of building temples as memorials to deceased persons and naming the image installed in them after the deceased led probably, on Javanese soil, to the practice of investing images so installed with the features of the deceased. But in India itself the practice remains unknown. Indeed, the available evidence points to a possibility of a God being created, not as in Java, in the image of a man, but of man being created, as in the Bible, in the image of God: no other interpretation can be placed on an inscription—the only record so far discovered which speaks to the practice—at Harihar in the Davanagere Taluk of the Mysore State (see *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. II Dg. 59) dated 1280 A. D. in which we are told that Saluva Tikkana directed by Isvara, installed his master, King Mahadeva, in the image of the God Lakshmi-Narayana. In Java, the practice seems to have obtained in temples built to the various Gods: a statue of King Anusapati (1249 A. D.) is said to have been set up as an image of Siva, a statue of King Erlanga shows him as Vishnu riding Garuda. Kretarajasa's statue is a so-called Hari-Hara, and Queen Dedes was sculptured as Pranjnanaparamita. But in India we have not so far chanced on any example of a memorial temple to Vishnu.

Apothor interesting development in Java is 'passion' similar to the passion which in the Indian continent has given us Hari-Hara—but a passion of Saivism and Buddhism: we have

a temple with Siva in the main cell and a Buddha above it, and we have a *stupa-linga*, and we meet also with an assertion, in a Javanese work, that Siva is identical with Buddha.

From which part of India did Java derive its Art? Mr. Gangoly is evidently inclined to agree with Dr. Kern's view that the sanctuary of Siva at Kunjara-Kona (near Hampi, South India) was the prototype of the first temple of Java. One would like to have a statement of the grounds on which the view is based, for the architecture of Anegundi, with which Kunjara-Kona is identified, is too little known to enable anyone to pronounce an opinion on Dr. Kern's view.

GANGOLY O. C.—*Southern Indian Bronzes (First Series) (Little Books on Asiatic Art, Vol. 1)*. Published by the Manager, 'Rupam' Calcutta, Rs. 2-4-0.

This book is in effect a popular issue of the author's famous earlier book, *South Indian Bronzes*, though some of the illustrations are new. It is, however, a disappointing production, as Mr. Gangoly has failed to take note of the very valuable books in this field of Gopinatha Rao and Krishna Sastri, whose work is not even mentioned in the Bibliography. It is hoped that, in the second series which Mr. Gangoly promises, he will endeavour to do justice to himself and to the subject.

T. G. A.

TELUGU

SAHADEVA SURYAPRAKASA RAO: *Munimapu*

Nothing is so characteristic of the Literary Renaissance in Andhra as the rapid emergence into notice of a number of youngmen devoted, heart and soul, to lyric poetry. Most of them are still at College and some not yet out of their teens. More than a decade ago, there were a few solitary reapers like Rayaprolu Subba Rao and Abburi Ramakrishna Rao, but now we seem to be having a rich harvest garnered by the loving hands of modern Andhra students. Suryaprakasa Rao, whose occasional poems are here presented in book-form, is undoubtedly a poet of great promise. Like most youngsters of our day, he feels that the times are out of joint, that there is much more of sorrow and weariness in the world than of joy

and sunshine. This vein of pessimism is also a feature of the poetry of Krishna Sastri; and in his attitude towards life and even in his vocabulary and turns of phrase, Suryaprakasa Rao reminds us of the elder poet. The poems are most of them addressed to 'the beloved' and pour forth the heart's agony of one who has experienced 'the pangs of despised love.' The young poet has remarkable facility of expression, though there is a marked bias in favour of highly Sanskritic *samasas*.

What we have before us is so scanty and so full of the single theme of love, that it is not possible to judge of his poetry as a whole. We look forward to longer and more sustained pieces as well as a greater variety of themes, and maybe the triumphant note of fulfilled love as in Nayani Subba Rao's *Phala Sruthi*.

We believe that the future is full of hope for Telugu poetry and this slender volume has strengthened that belief.

K. R.

V. SREERAMULU B.A., L.T., (M. H. School Narasaraopet)
A Text Book of Physics in Telugu: (Price Rs. 2.)

This text-book is written for High School forms in accordance with the S.S.L.C. syllabus of C. Group Physics, and contains all that a student sitting for the Physics examination of the S.S.L.C. requires.

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