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MANAGER'S NOTICE

Vol. II. No. 1. With the present number, 'Triveni' commences the second year. It is being despatched to all old subscribers in the usual course. We trust that lovers of culture will continue to extend their support to this new venture and enable 'Triveni' to reach a higher level of excellence in the coming years.

Subscription for 1929. As the system of sending V. Ps causes a good deal of inconvenience and delay, besides disturbing the continuity of the delivery of copies to subscribers, we prefer to avoid it. We request all subscribers to be so good as to remit their subscription (Rs. 6/-) by M. O. to the Manager, 'Triveni', and not to the Editor's personal address—at their earliest convenience. If, however, the subscription is not received by the 25th of February, a provisional receipt for the amount will be sent per V.P.P on the 1st of March 1929. It is hoped that all V. Ps will be honoured.

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Fresh subscribers. Subscription for 'Triveni' may commence from any month. But no enlistments can be made for periods of less than one year. Subscriptions should be sent in advance for a whole year. We make a special appeal to all old subscribers to enlist at least two new subscribers each for 'Triveni' during 1929.

All correspondence, including Mss. for publication, should be addressed to:

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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.*

MAZZINI.

Vol. II, No. 1

Madras
(India)

January
1929

TRIVENI

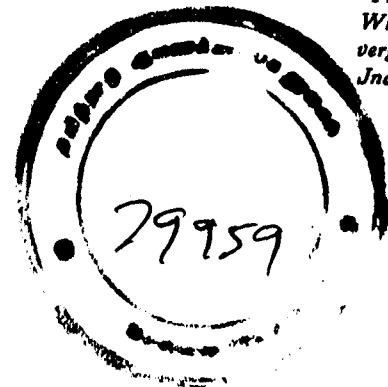
'Triveni' is devoted to Art, Literature and History. Its main function is to interpret the Indian Renaissance in its manifold aspects. Barring isolated attempts, the Renaissance spirit as reflected in Andhra, Dravida, Vanga, Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra and other sub-national units, has not been carefully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

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

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

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

The Editor



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CONTRIBUTORS

THE HON'BLE V. RAMADAS PANTULU, Member, Council of State: already well-known to our readers as a writer of eminence. His contributions to 'Triveni' during 1928 were 'Rural Reconstruction' (January) 'The Reserve Bank Bill and After' (March), Land Mortgage Banks (May).

ABBURI RAMAKRISHNA RAO: A scholar well-versed in Telugu, Kannada, Bangali and Sanskrit. A poet of great excellence in Telugu, his 'Mallikamba,' and 'Uhaganam' taking rank with the finest things in modern Telugu literature. His article on Venkata Kavi is particularly interesting as an estimate of the greatest living poet of Andhra by an younger poet.

R. L. RAU: A young Marathi scholar. His article on 'The Marathi Drama' in the present issue is the second of a series he is contributing to 'Triveni.' The first on 'Modern Marathi Literature: The Beginnings,' appeared in 'Triveni' for November, 1928.

T. RAGHAVACHARI, B.A., B.L., Advocate, Bellary: One of South India's greatest actors: Has travelled in the West to study the Theatre: His impressions of Society in the West are given in the letters published in this number.

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PROF. N. G. RANGA, B.Litt (Oxon). Professor of Economics, The Pachaiyappas College, Madras: an ardent student of political and economic questions; the reader may turn with advantage to his previous contributions to 'Triveni', 'The Problem of Franchise' (March 1928), and 'The Governor Under Swaraj' (July 1928). One of the 'coming men' of South India.

V. RANGACHARI, M.A., B.L., Vakil, Guntur: a Telugu scholar of the first rank; while yet in his teens, he published a "Critique of Pingali Surana" which deserves to stand by the side of Mr. C. R. Reddy's contribution on the same subject.

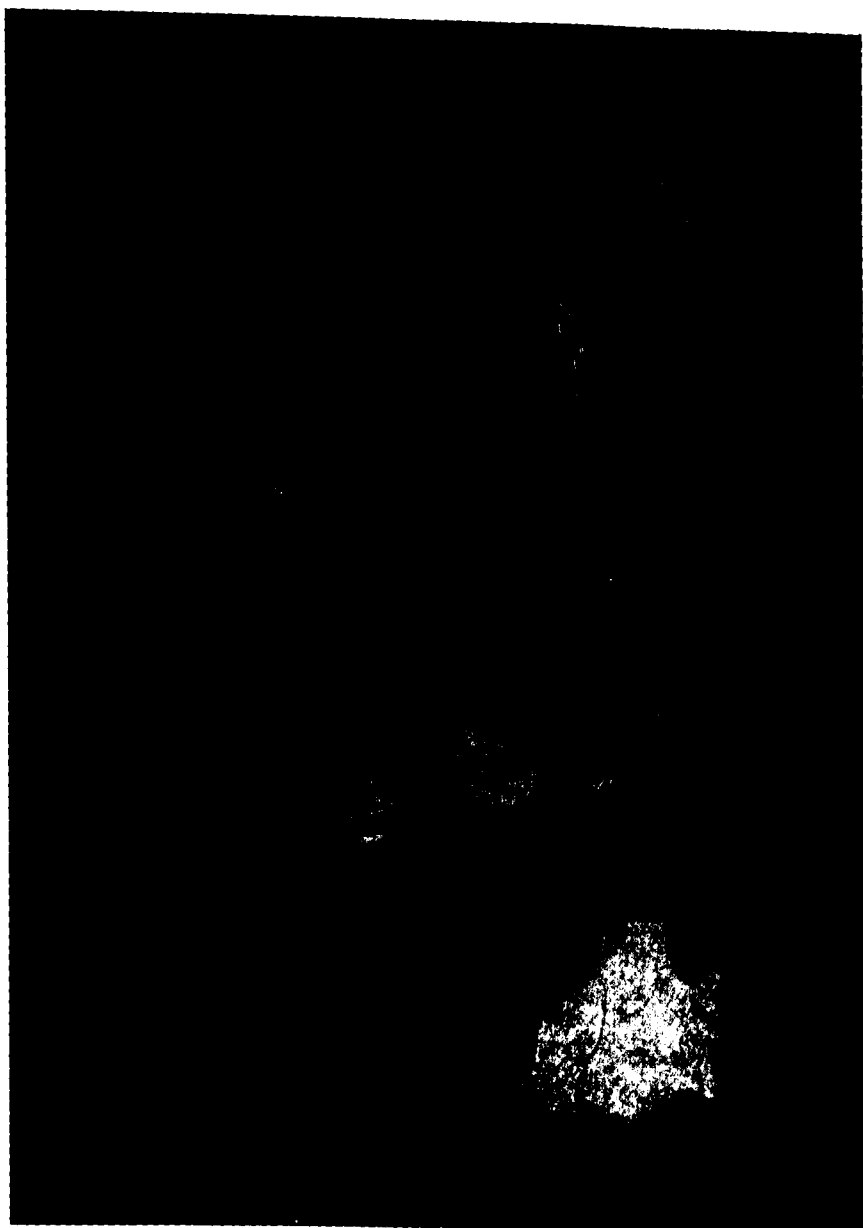
M. V. RAMANA RAO, B.A., Sub-Editor, Swarajya: Wrote on 'Post-War English Poetry' to 'Triveni' (November, 1928): a fine scholar and gentleman.

OUR LIFE-SUBSCRIBERS

The permanent Life-subscription for *Triveni* is Rs. 100/-. The names of the first twenty Life-Subscribers were published in the November 1928 issue. The following is the further list. The Editor's grateful thanks are due to all Life-subscribers. We trust more will come in.

21. Sri Sri Lalita Kumari Devi Varu,
The Dowager Ranisaheba of Vizianagaram.

22. "A friend."



'Chaitanya's First Vision'

A favourite theme for the Bengali artists is the great Saint-Singer of Vaishnavism, Shri Chaitanya. We reproduce here one of the studies of an episode in the life of this 'God-intoxicated' soul from the brush of Sjt Promode Kumar Chatterjea. The Saint swoons and falls unconscious as the result of his first vision of the Lord. The disciples hold him in reverence and gather round him in startled surprise. His mother is anxiously witnessing the scene from inside the house.

The picture is rendered in the usual strong manner characteristic of the artist. There is a boldness in the colour-scheme and the grouping is admirable. The incident is one of sacred import and the artist has successfully attempted to depict the quiet peacefulness of the occasion in 'cool' colours.

A good picture by a great artist.

G. V.

United Karnataka

BY THE HON'BLE V. RAMADAS PANTULU

"Feuds have left us grief and woe,
Trial and torture marked our life;
Now is the hour for men to know,
Victory smiles if we unite."

F. P. CASHEL

The notion that peoples with divergent cultures, traditions and linguistic and other sub-national characteristics, can be welded together into a homogeneous nationality under the sledge-hammer blows of a foreign administration, and that nations composed of sub-divisions marked by special features of their own cannot attain the full stature of a self-governing people, has long been exploded. Examples of self-governing countries composed of heterogeneous groups held together by ties of love for a common motherland and common political and economic interests, are not wanting in modern constitutions. India is in fact better circumstanced than many such countries in its characteristics of nationhood. Take the two dominant communities, the Hindus and the Mussalmans. The Hindus, no doubt, fall into well-marked groups like the Bengalees, the Beharees, the Punjabis, the Mahrattas, the Gujaratees, the Tamils, the Karnatakas, the Andhras, the Utkals, and so on. But they have among them many features which go to make them real component parts of a nation. They read the same religious scriptures, they worship the same gods, they draw their inspiration from the same epics, they observe the same festivals, they follow the same rituals and ceremonies at auspicious and inauspicious domestic occurrences, they claim the same national heroes, and above all, they pride themselves on their being the sons of the same mother, 'Bharatamata.' The Muhammadans, be they Sunnis, Shiyas, Ahamadiyas,

Boras, or of any other sub-divisions, all possess the same Islamic culture and owe allegiance to the same God and to the same Prophet—Allah and Muhammad. They have ceased to think of India as a foreign land and rightly look upon it as much their heritage as it is of the Hindus. The propagandist statements often heard from sources which can lay no claim either to impartiality or disinterestedness, to the effect that India cannot be a self-governing nation on account of its multitude of castes, creeds and languages, should be rejected unhesitatingly. There are many vested interests which stand to lose by India developing a spirit of nationality and attaining political and economic freedom. They are therefore never tired of proclaiming to the world India's unfitness to be welded together into a free nationality. This mischievous doctrine should be strenuously combated. Long before constructive efforts were put forth to draw up a constitution for India as a whole, the general position that India can be and should be a nation of strong sub-national groups federated into a common political entity, was declared on many occasions and from many quarters. The agitation against the partition of Bengal brought this question of reconstruction of India, on a more rational basis of provincial grouping, into the field of practical politics. Later the Andhras, the Karnatakas, and the Utkals took up this question in earnest and the most notable contribution which these people made to the solution of our national reconstruction is the clear formulation and fearless propagation of the ideal of a federated self-governing India with its component sub-national groups developed along lines most congenial to their peculiar traditions and characteristics.

The annulment of the Bengal partition and the statesmanlike declaration made by Hardinge in 1911 in that connection, wherein he painted a remarkable picture of federal India composed of homogeneous sub-nationalities, not only vindicated the soundness of the views of the advocates of linguistic provinces, but actually encouraged them to further effort. This linguistic movement was at

first much misunderstood and roundly condemned in many influential quarters as a disruptive factor which interfered with the higher ideals of national consolidation. But persistent, vociferous, informed and intelligent propaganda not only bore down the opposition, but actually converted the opponents to the new cult. The Indian National Congress gave the lead by re-organising the provinces for Congress work on a linguistic basis—a process which was commenced in 1917 and completed in 1921. The memorandum presented by the Andhras to the Joint Parliamentary Committee in 1920, the memorials sent by the Karnatakas to the late Mr. Montagu when he toured India, and the case prepared by the Utkals for the Philip-Duff Enquiry, are masterpieces of constructive proposals regarding the constitution of provinces on a linguistic basis. The Joint Parliamentary Committee's acceptance of the principle may be said to amount to a constitutional recognition of the linguistic provinces movement. Indeed the Committee's recommendation has subsequently secured legislative sanction and is embodied in the present section 52 (a) of the Government of India Act. The Joint Parliamentary Select Committee gave very clear instructions regarding the conditions to be satisfied for the working of the clause relating to the constitution of new provinces. They say: "The Committee have two observations to make on the working of this clause. On the one hand, they do not think that any change in the boundaries of a province should be made without due consideration of the views of the Legislative Council of the province. On the other hand, they are of opinion that any clear request made by a majority of the members of a Legislative Council representing a racial or linguistic territorial unit for its constitution under this clause as a sub-province or a separate province, should be taken as a *prima facie* case on the strength of which a Commission of Enquiry may be appointed by the Secretary of State, and that it should not be a bar to the appointment of such a Commission of Enquiry that the majority of the Legislative Council of the province in

question is opposed to the request of the minority representing such a distinctive territorial unit." This is no doubt a well-meant instruction which is intended to safeguard minorities in the provincial legislatures who are peculiarly interested in having separate provinces for themselves. But in practice, it is of very little avail. The Karnatakas, for instance, who are cut up under two British administrative provinces, not to speak of Indian States, are not numerically strong enough to return any appreciable number of their men to any single legislature in order to get a hearing from that body. Similarly, the Oriyas who are distributed over four provinces are not strong enough numerically to return even a single member to a provincial legislature with the solitary exception of the Madras Council. I understand that a resolution by that solitary member in the Madras Council and similar resolutions by Karnataka members in the Bombay and Madras Councils, were not even admitted for discussion on the plausible ground that no single council had jurisdiction to discuss a matter which was not within its exclusive power to decide. When, however, my Hon'ble friend, Dr. U. Rama Rau and myself tried to overcome this difficulty of provincial legislatures declining jurisdiction and brought up the matter before the Central Legislature, the spokesmen of the Government of India curiously enough declined to commit the Government of India to any view and contended that the matter was one for the provincial councils to deal with. The advocates of linguistic provinces are thus driven from post to pillar and have not yet succeeded in finding an official asylum for the due consideration of their case, which on its merits seems to me to be absolutely irresistible. The Andhra members of the Madras Legislative Council recently managed to give expression to their self-determination by carrying a resolution favouring a separate Andhra Province. But I understand that the Local Government of Madras declined to accept the recommendation contained in the resolution. On the popular side, however, the scheme of linguistic provinces has emerged successfully from the sphere of controversy and become a universally accepted

part of India's constitution. Constitutions drawn up by publicists like Messrs. Srinivasa Iyengar, Rangaswami Iyengar and Hosakappa Krishna Rau have all made it an integral part of their schemes. The final and the most valuable vindication is however accomplished with the concurrence of all political parties in India and is now embodied in that epoch-making document, the Nehru Report.

The case for Karnataka was specially dealt with by the Nehru Committee and deserves the attention of all those who are earnest about the reorganisation of provinces on a linguistic basis. Have the Karnatakas a real grievance and have they a good case? These are the two questions which were admirably and dispassionately discussed and answered in that informing little volume entitled *United Karnataka* which is edited by the Secretaries of the Karnataka Unification Sabha and of the Sub-Committee of the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee. To those who are familiar with the bearings of the question, hardly any figures or facts will be necessary. One of the factors of the British administrative system that obstructs our national self-expression is the irrational manner in which provinces are constituted for purposes of administrative units. It is true that the present provinces are mostly the results of historical accidents and not of a plan or purpose. Nevertheless, an arrangement whereby four or five different peoples speaking different languages and possessing distinct traditions and characteristics—cultural and temperamental—are huddled together under a single administration, or one wherein a single people with common language, history and culture, are cut up into four or five slices and placed under as many different administrations, is indefensible as constitutional machinery or administrative device. It has contributed in no small measure to the present weak, disunited, and disorganised condition in which people like Andhras, Karnatakas and Utkals find themselves to-day. It cannot be otherwise when the seats of governmental power and patronage, centres of university learning, higher study and research, institutions where young men and women are trained for the learned professions of law, medicine, engineering, teaching and the like, official and non-official bodies of provincial and metropolitan magnitude which absorb talent and provide careers, commercial and banking houses which offer financial accommodations and credit facilities for trade and business, communications which make access to the metropolis easy,

and in fact everything that tends to stimulate talent to action and promote initiative to business, are all situated outside the Karnataka, Andhra and Utkal countries, and are not within the easy reach of their children who do not suffer in comparison with others, provided equal opportunities are vouchsafed. It is little wonder that under such conditions as these there has not been, and there is not, an adequate scope for the play and much less for the display of their finer qualities and truer enterprise. Did not the Beharees under the same circumstances suffer a similar eclipse of their individuality and eminence when they were once submerged in the Bengalee race? Have they not been able to give a better account of themselves when the handicap was removed? The truth of the matter is, there can be no freedom of movement for people who find themselves unequally yoked with peoples who differ in language, culture and temperament, and asked to work out their destiny. It is not easy to come out successful in an obstacle race.

Having said so much about the general disabilities from which people like the Karnatakas and those similarly circumstanced suffer, it is scarcely necessary to enumerate the special grievances of the Karnatakas. If it is necessary to do so, the following short passage from *United Karnataka* ought to suffice:

"This province which was homogeneous for more than a thousand years has been now split up. Its people are in the hopeless minority of 19 and 6 per cent respectively in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, and the Kanarese districts form tail-ends in both the administrations. They are furthest from the capital towns. Communications and Education have been grievously neglected. For a High Court and for a University, Karnatakas have to run to Bombay and Madras where their language has but scant respect. There is hardly one man to represent Kannada in the Senate of the Bombay University. . . . Karnataka contributes about 48 lakhs of rupees in excess of what is spent on her, and yet irrigation and agricultural improvements are at a discount here. The majority languages are encroaching on Kannada, and during the last census-decade, she has lost about 2 lakhs."

The Karnatakas have satisfactorily answered every possible objection that can be urged against a separate province for them. They have shown that it will be a financially self-supporting province. They have refuted the geographical arguments and put forward a practical proposition in

these words: "We demand to-day the unification of the 8 districts of Belgaum, Dharwar, Bijapur, Karwar, Mangalore, Bellary, Coorg, and Nilgiri and the five outlying taluks of Kollegal, Hosur, Krishnagiri, Madakasira and Sholapur. Their total area is 35,408 sq. miles and population is 63,57,762. Except the district of Nilgiri and the four talukas, Kollegal, Hosur, Krishnagiri and Madakasira, the whole territory is contiguous; and even that district and those talukas can be approached through Kannada territory, namely, Mysore". For the present, the Karnatakas wisely postpone the unification of the territory situated in the Indian States, leaving that question to be tackled in connection with the scheme of self-government in which Indian States have also to be included.

The advocates of linguistic provinces, however, find themselves in a situation which presents considerable difficulty in pressing forward the programme. A demand for the reorganisation of provinces under British administration necessarily involves a recognition of that administration and invoking the assistance of the constituted authorities who are the British Parliament and the Governments in England and India. The Andhras who were till 1920 inconveniently clamorous about the Telugu districts being constituted into a separate province, had to virtually abandon their agitation for two reasons. The Non-co-operation programme adumbrated in that year at the special session of the Calcutta Congress effectively barred all further attempt in creating a new legislature for the province, because the boycott of legislative councils was a live item on the Congress agenda. That settled the matter against the province so far as orthodox Non-co-operators were concerned. There were, however, more moderate Congressmen who did not accept the triple boycott, but who were pledged not to work dyarchy, as they considered the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms to be "unsatisfactory, inadequate and disappointing." To them also, a demand for a province with a dyarchical form of government was unthinkable. So the political programmes of the no-changers as well as the pro-changers alike stifled the linguistic provinces movement. They exhausted the advanced political section of the people. When I had to bring up the question before the Council of State, I had necessarily to so frame my resolution as to steer clear of the dilemma. So I urged for the formation of a separate Andhra province with *full responsible government*. Full responsible government at that time was a proposition which could be advanced with-

in the four corners of a British constitution for India. But to-day the matter is further complicated by later developments. The Congress stands committed to the goal of complete Independence, outside the British connection. It is true that Congressmen have eleven months and 8 days more at their disposal within which time they can without offending Congress discipline put forward a claim for a separate province and ask British legislatures to constitute it, if Dominion Status for India is conceded in its entirety in the form in which it is embodied in the Nehru Report. If Dominion Status on those conditions is not conceded, it is not open to Congressmen to agree to the constitution of new provinces, much less to ask for them on the basis of the present Government of India Act.

Practical difficulties apart, the very *desire* of the Karnatakas for independence and a self-governing province, is bound to help them to raise themselves and the Indian Nation in the estimation of the world. The old adage 'deserve and desire' is in my opinion a perversion of an ideal. No one can be said to deserve anything until at least he begins to desire it. It will be more correct to preach 'desire and deserve'. The advocates of linguistic provinces never put their case merely on the basis of good government for themselves. I shall assume that British administration ensures good government. Campbell Bannerman is given credit for the statement that good government is not a substitute for self-government. One can legitimately go further and say that good government is an enemy of self-government. People are lulled into placid, pathetic contentment by good government and forget to agitate for freedom of true self-government. So the Karnatakas seek self-government and an autonomous Karnataka province as a limb of a self-governing federal India ; not to secure good government but to attain the ideal of a free, organised and United Karnakata.

Venkata Kavi : His Personality and Poetry

BY ABBURI RAMAKRISHNA RAO



Venkata Kavi

I still remember my first meeting with the poet. I had not the privilege of being one of his pupils when he was in Masulipatam, but I had a friend who was. I went to see him in his company, and the pretext was that I wanted a copy of his newly-published 'Guntur Sima.' Many of the verses in that poem were already known by heart, for it was not properly speaking a poem written but spoken. It centred round a first-rate literary quarrel—a sort of civil war among the Telugu *Literati*. In its lowest levels it was also a class-war between Niyogis and Vaidikis, two sections of the Telugu Brahmins, roughly corresponding to the laity and the clergy, although no trace of that distinction now exists. We had naturally enough, being in the very orbit of his influence, enlisted ourselves on the side of Venkata Sastri. The poet was seated on a cot cross-legged and was writing verse. For a few moments we were not noticed, but presently he began humming the last lines he had written and peered through his glasses at us and said "what brings you here?" We saluted him and asked for the book. He smiled genially and made us feel at our ease. The talk soon drifted to the topic of the book and he recited or perhaps chanted, as only he can, some fine things from it. That was just what we wanted but dared not ask, for what cutting jokes he might then have made at our expense! But he had an innate and glowing sympathy for the youth and loved them so well that there was an enormous gathering of students to bid him farewell in the local Town Hall on the eve of his retirement. He soon took us into his confidence and narrated some of the

thrilling anecdotes of his literary adventures in the courts of the princes and nobles of the Andhra country. Time has blurred the memory of that fine talk, but this sentence I wrote in my diary I still remember. "He is the most remarkable man since Srinadha"—Srinadha who sported with princes and lived in the lap of luxury and who said contemplating his departure from this world :

"Now while Srinadha's soul departs
To the city of the Immortals,
The bard of the Heavens doth tremble."

An attempt is made in this essay to convey to the non-Telugu readers of 'Triveni' the great affection and veneration in which Venkata Sastri, one of the twin-poets, the Tirupati Venkata Kavulu, is held by the Telugus. Tirupati Sastri, whose name is almost always connected with all that is going to be stated here, is however not the subject of my essay. Believing as I do that, of the two poets, Venkata Sastri, by virtue of his dynamic personality, was unique among the leading lights in the new awakening in Telugu literature, I have dared to separate him from his brother-poet. The friendship that subsisted between them both is unexampled in the annals of Telugu Literature and is one of the famous literary friendships of the world. They studied together in their youth under the famous savant, Charla Brahmayya Sastri, who was great as a scholar of classic learning and greater as a 'Grihastha' the ideal house-holder who fed his pupils at his own expense and taught them each according to his *adhikara*, or individual bent, the subject he was most fitted for, with affection and devotion. His house was a sort of a residential university where the student's individuality was studied and respected and not as at the present time violently drilled into a regimental standard. It was a heroic experiment carried on with great success at a time when old standards were being pulled down to give place to an alien ideal of education. It was a place where kindred souls full of youth and high ambition gathered in the atmosphere of a refined culture and

formed high resolves. And here too Venkata Sastri dreamt of becoming a poet, for already, as he himself has said :

"While yet a naked stripling,
He lisped in numbers ever so charming."

The two poets toured together, visiting the courts of princes and nobles and performing what are known as 'Sataavadhanams' where verse was made *ex tempore* line by line to a hundred different people on a hundred different subjects, and all the verses were repeated at the end. It was a feat of memory and was in great vogue at the time. But the people who gathered there in their hundreds had an additional attraction—and that was what they liked more—in the wonderful recitals of Venkata Sastri of his own poems in the intervals. The performances frequently lasted more than two days, and all the time, whether in formal congregation or in the leisured hours at his residence, crowds of people waited in silence to hear the poet converse and recite his passionate verse. The poet's manner of chanting Telugu verse has almost become classic and is widely followed. It is a naive and subtle manner of interpreting Telugu verse in all its moods and all its movement. The rhythm of the verse receives a delicate emphasis by the method, and the meaning is conveyed in a gentle and pleasing manner. It is said that Dr. Rabindranath Tagore remarked when once he heard a Telugu poem recited, "Why do you sing and not read your verse?" He perhaps did not know that our verse, by virtue of its metrical scheme, is meant to be chanted and not merely read.

The fame of the poets spread throughout the Telugu-speaking world and invitations poured in. Venkata Sastri was at that time a Telugu Pandit in the Hindu High School at Masulipatam and his great popularity enabled him to obtain the necessary leave of absence whenever the call came. The consequent literary awakening in the country was very great. Poetry, which was till then confined to Sanskrit scholars, found many votaries among the lovers of the Telugu Muse

and many among the younger generation displayed great talent in writing dainty and exquisite verse. Two among them may here be mentioned. Pingali Lakshmikantam's verse, although not considerable, has all the lucidity and charm of his master, but lacks passion. Viswanatha Satyanarayana, who is by far the most prolific writer among contemporary Telugu poets, writes with enthusiasm and energy. His language, although needlessly archaic and obscure in places, reaches at times a high musical perfection. His bouquets of poems have few flowers but plenty of foliage. These disciples of the poet are still young and may in good time perfect their instrument to produce a yet nobler harmony.

Venkata Sastri is a literary Lincoln who has risen from obscurity to fame under extraordinary circumstances. Although Andhra Desa has not lacked patrons of good and great literature among the general public, really good books did not enjoy the popularity they deserved owing to the lack of a widespread awakening and a sustained interest in literature. Venkata Sastri by his frequent tours brought about such an awakening in an abundant measure and evoked an active interest in the largest section of the literate class. His full-mouthed recitals before huge audiences quickened an interest which no printed page could produce and thereby rescued the public taste from barren sentiment and created a market for high-class writing. The educative value of these recitals cannot be too highly estimated.

Venkata Sastri is the author of a considerable portion of the work that bears the joint authorship of Tirupati Venkata Kavulu to-day. His revelations in his essay 'Divakara Asthamayam' written after the death of his collaborator and life-long friend, abundantly prove that Venkata Sastri is the real centre of the enormous enthusiasm roused in the country. Unlike Tirupati's verse which is polished and elegant throughout, Venkata Sastri's work is in places careless and slipshod, but what he has lost in *naivete* of outward form he gains in power. There is something Byronic in the flow of

his verse which succeeds in creating a strong impression in spite of its carelessness. The pictures of contemporary life that lie scattered among his poems are some of the best examples of realistic portraiture. His self-confidence, not infrequently bordering upon egotism, is also reminiscent of Byron, as for instance when he says in an invocation to Saraswati,

"In triumph did we march on the backs of elephants,
And proudly did receive the homage of poets."

I may here be allowed to venture a remark which will perhaps be disputed by the poet himself. I believe that he is the forerunner, in a large and general sense, of the modern movement in Telugu Literature. 'Nana Raja Sandarshanam,' a collection of stray poems written in connection with the memorable visits to the members of the Andhra aristocracy who were great patrons of Telugu culture and art; 'Giratham'—the title being a parody of 'Bharatham' the great epic, and the subject matter a quarrel over the discipleship of two other young poets—affording a large variety of topic and situation; and a similar work, 'Guntur Sima'—all these cannot be classed with the long poems belonging either to the 'Prabandha' or any other type. He broke new ground by these productions and flouted successfully most of the conventions that bound Telugu Poetry to the dead past. And more than by his published work, Venkata Sastri has shown the way on to a new movement by his personal influence. Most of the young writers of to-day had their interest in Telugu Literature quickened by coming into contact either with his works or with his personality. These young men have had other sources of inspiration in the English and other European Poets, and Venkata Sastri who does not understand any foreign language could not be said to have been the inspirer of modern Telugu Poetry in *all* its phases, as it is the result of more than one cultural contact. He is a singular example of native genius essentially untouched by modern culture, almost the last survival of the stalwarts of a previous age. He was by his very nature and

equipment, best fitted to work along the paths of Telugu tradition although with a more passionate and less conventional movement, and was therefore not guilty of any side-tracting into the vague and ineffectual creations of the new poets. Although the poetry of the present day shows little or no trace of his influence, I firmly believe that one day it will return back to him and realize its strength. The weakness of the modern movement is apparent when its wailings over sentimental sorrows are contrasted with the magnificent outbursts of Srinadha which are examples of some of the highest *chatu* (or the modern *Bhava*) poetry.

The immense popularity which Venkata Sastri enjoyed and now enjoys to some extent is not due to any of the startling qualities of the 'best sellers' of the present day European literature, but to the simplicity of his themes. For the first time in the history of Telugu Literature, a poet had taken up the common things of life as his themes. Even his long poems 'Panigrihita' and 'Sravananandam' which in their outward structure approximate to the 'Prabandha' mould, are really new wine in old bottles. They were love poems of their kind and the love depicted is modern but not the mere modern sentimentality which one now finds masked under a highly ornate and vague verbiage. The Telugu people, long nurtured in the close atmosphere of 'Prabandha' poetry, with its mock fights and conventional loves, breathed for the first time in his poetry, a fresh draught of air laden with the fragrance of the joys and sorrows of real life. Poetry was no longer a thing to be wooed by those initiated in the canons of rhetoric, but became an occasion for gathering the kindred souls ('Sahridayas') the lovers of beauty into a hearty social embrace.

There is perhaps not much in his work that can take rank beside the highest in poetry, little of deep and abiding value, but there is enough to indicate the genius of the Telugus in the realm of creative art,—a bold and vigorous acceptance of life as it is, and not an escape into the sylvan solitudes of Fairyland where 'kokils' sing and no

children cry—a formless void of vague experience. It is on the lines of Venkata Sastri's virile love of life that the Telugu Muse shall progress and not along the moonlit paths of Tagorean mysticism.

The Queen of Flowers

BY BALKAVI ¹

There was once a little carpet, dears,
A little carpet of green green grass ;
And on the soft green carpet, dears,
The Queen of Flowers did play.

And the little grass carpet did laugh, dears,
Laughed to the music of the morning wind ;
The little Queen was happy, dears,
Happy with the flowers, happy
With the little grass blades that laughed.

One day the wind of the morning came laughing by,
And sweetly did he kiss the Queen of Flowers ;
"Little one, little one" said he "I know your little
secret,
"Wasn't the pink ray of the morning sun smiling at
you?"

The little Queen blushed and blushed
Until her cheeks did glow,
And the wind went smiling by.

Translated from MARATHI by

R. L. RAU

¹Balakavi or Mr. Thomre, to give him his real name, was a Marathi poet who died very young. His poems are exquisite, and he is to Maharashtra what William Blake is to the English people.

The Marathi Drama

BY R. L. RAU

To understand Marathi Literature it is necessary to remember that the status it enjoyed in the successive stages of its development was far different from that of the literature of to-day. The earliest attempts at poetry and prose were largely due to the saints and prophets of Maharashtra. In his memorable contribution, on 'The Rise of the Maratha Power' Justice Ranade has traced the influence of the Maratha saints and prophets on the literature and the culture of the Maratha people. It was as sudden as it was brilliant, this revival of a philosophy of devotion, and of holy living. The names of Dyan-Dev, Tukaram, and Eknath, Dyaneshwar, Mahipathi, Moropant and Muketeswar, stand out prominently at the head of this movement. It is impossible to give at present either the chronological details or a critical survey of the literature of the age. But it would serve our purpose to begin our story at the stage when the mind of the people was yet in its infancy, so to say, and while it was struggling hard to maintain its independent character and with it, its genius, in spite of many vicissitudes ; and truth to tell, if such a philosophy as that of Tukaram, or the verse of a Mahipati did appeal to the people, it must have been largely due to the status they enjoyed. The revolt of the Marathas against the tyranny and oppression of the Mahomedan rule, the new courtliness set up by Shivaji, in which Letters formed an integral and indispensable part, exalted a new ideal. Here was an opportunity under the new Hindu Raj, to express oneself, and obtain suitable recognition, with the result that apart from the devotional attitude which men had towards the writings of the saints and prophets, they came to have a real thirst for knowledge ; then began the art of writing, for its own sake, and here we have the greatest departments of literary activity, the

beginning of modern Marathi prose and poetry, and then that of the Drama.

But the somewhat meteoric growth of the Maratha Empire, with its struggle for existence, and later on its position as a powerful Hindu unit struggling against the then great Power of Hindusthan, the Mughal Empire, hardly afforded either the impetus or the strength to maintain a literary or a cultural movement such as had its birth in the days of Shivaji. Every time it was war, and then the prospect of a flying camp. Where then was the time to develop a literature? And so it continued till we come to the rule of the Peshwas.

UNDER THE PESHWAS

The rule of the Peshwas is a landmark. Brought up under the traditions and the organised rule of the great King Shivaji, the Peshwas for the first time succeeded in giving to the nation a sense of security and physical well-being. During the hundred years of its existence, the rule of the Peshwas was as memorable as it was brilliant. The Court of Poona became the rendezvous for a galaxy of learned men, courtiers, diplomats and traders. It became the centre too of a brilliant display of wit, and valour. With their limited resources and despite the difficulties that sorronned them, the Peshwas did succeed in evolving a new order of society, which encouraged the study of religion, the study of literature and last but not the least, the growth of the Drama.

The Drama in Maharashtra was in its beginning a religious affair. Early in the seventeenth century, men took to staging at prominent festivals and on other holy days, some part of a God's life, suitable to the occasion. These were extraordinarily crude attempts at representation, and were generally enacted in the glare of torches which smoked and smoked until the whole atmosphere was reeking with the smell of the burning oil. And in the weird light of these torches, the stage presented no small display of men and things.

But the material required to get up a play was quite

little indeed. A drop curtain of Alwan, a few dhoties, some brilliantly coloured sarees, two or three embroidered pieces of head-wear, and a lot of resin—these completed the outfit. Most of these plays originated in the Konkan, on the West Coast of Bombay, and were popularly styled as 'Lalits.' The 'Lalits' had neither the element of amusement, nor the art of speaking in a restrained manner, and the proper and sensible presentation of some subject or theme. They were on the other hand just a medley of coarse and not infrequently miserable, vulgar sentiments.

Side by side with the existence of these mystery or miracle plays, if we might so call them, arose the 'tamashas' at a later stage. They were largely the result of the Mussalmani influence and culture; and thus we have for the first time music introduced into these plays. The instruments generally employed were the drum and the 'tun-tuni'¹ and one would suppose they must have added not a little to the sense of enjoyment. Later on came the dances, and little boys were made to dance as well. These 'tamashas' were the order of the day during almost the whole of the Peshwas' regime. And the men who took part in such representations included many a respectable Brahmin at the Court of the Peshwas.

The rule of the last Peshwa, Baji Rao, was in several ways a memorable one. It was during his time that the Maratha Empire ceased to be a unit; and a general atmosphere of decadence and corruption spread over the land. Rao Baji, the Peshwa, was himself, inspite of his many lovable qualities, an indolent, pleasure-seeking man; and the Court of Poona soon was flooded with all types of men, adventurers, loafers, clever unscrupulous diplomats, politicians, and lastly women. Under such prosperous conditions and inducements, the early histrionic art of Maharashtra soon became a very lucrative profession to many. We have a very interesting account of such representations and the condition of the

¹ Tun-tuni, a crude stringed instrument consisting of a piece of thin wire stretched tightly across a pole. Oftentimes a gourd was attached as a sound-box.

people in general from an old and well-known book—the 'Kekavali.' Says the writer :

"Owing to the impetus given to the foreigners and the adventurers in Poona, Rao Baji's court soon became the centre of attraction. To this court of debauchery and waste, flocked the Brahmins during the day ; and were served with food and viands and delicacies which defied description. And in the evenings, no sooner was the twilight upon the landscape, than the lamps were lit—and at the Imperial Court, they made use of the attars of Persia to burn the wicks in, whilst all over the city, the pleasing sound of 'Sanayis' and 'Chaugadas,' and music filled the air. The Shilledars, soldiers and officers flocked to the 'tamashas,' and the Gondhlis became as popular as ever. Then came the women of the North, and for the first time the nautches became the object of public workshop."

So did the night pass away : and the last of the Peshwas slept happy in the thought that he had placed before the nation a new ideal—a newer life. And what Poona did, the rest of Maharashtra copied. The neighbouring cities of Satara, Vayee and others, introduced these 'tamashas'—but oftentimes with an improvement : for men like the Brahmin Ramjoshi, hit upon combining amusement with instruction and we have in his themes, the first attempts at a play with a moral behind it.

Nor were the 'Lalits' or the 'Tamashas' alone the foundations of the early Marathi stage. There were a class of men styled the Gondhlis¹ who contributed a great deal to the growth of the primitive stage. They were as a rule mimicrists and their presentations differed from the 'Lalits,' in the sense that their themes had nothing to do with the Puranas or mythological details. They were caricatures and

¹Sorry representatives of this class of men are still to be seen wandering across the Mahratta country. They are a gipsy tribe, talk very coarse Marathi, and are to be seen early of a morning haunting respectable doorsteps, in the guise of fortune-tellers.

skits on the then prevailing order of society, and very clever skits they made too. Their songs were sung with great gusto and vigour and became very popular. We have it on record that a sort of mixed 'tamashas' took place at the Court of the Nizam, when the story of Nana Fadnavis and Sawai Madhav Rau Peshwa was presented in all its pathos and detail. To be sure, Nana Fadnavis himself was living then on the banks of the Mula and Mutha at Poona, and it is an interesting speculation, as to what the great diplomat must have felt at the idea of such a representation at the Court of his cleverest enemy. The songs that were sung on these occasions took the form of Ballads or 'Povadas', as they are called in Marathi.

This was in brief the history of the stage in Mahahrashtra. From the year 1827, when the Maratha Empire ceased to exist, to the year 1842, when the first play appeared on the stage, were years of transition and of a peculiar inaction as well. The state of the country was none too pleasant or settled, to induce men to think about new ways in literature or art.

MR. BHAVE AND NEW ORDER

But the year 1842 witnessed a new order of things. The first Drama in Marathi announced itself on the stage in the year 1842, at Sangli, in one of the minor Southern Maratha states. The play enacted was somewhat on the lines of 'Krishna Parijata' and similar plays in Karnatak. It was a very crude attempt, in spite of some excellent singing. The men who went to witness the play were tired. The language was strange, and the actions of the actors meaningless. But the chief of Sangli, the Shreemant Patwardhan, thought after witnessing the play, that it could be improved with proper setting and stage effects, and hit upon the idea of asking a Mr. Bhave of the Chief's household to produce a play in Marathi ; and a little dramatic company was started forthwith, under the patronage of its Chief. The first regular Marathi play 'Seeta-Swayamwar' was produced in the year 1843.

But like all other attempts at reformation, it proved abortive—and the members of the Bhavé Company were treated as social outcasts. This was as it should be; for educated public opinion in those days was decidedly against dramatic representation and much more against respectable Brahmins taking part in the plays. Many and bitter were the controversies that arose and a council of Shastris and Pundits was called upon to decide the issue. But luckily for Mr. Bhavé and for the art, the revered Gopinath Shastri Agashe proved that the shastras laid no restrictions on men and that there could never be any breach of either tradition or custom if they took part in a play. So Mr. Bhavé prospered; and his theatre was filled with a new generation of men who began to see in the Drama an outlet to their emotions, and a new expression for a strange yearning within. Mr. Bhavé's arrangement of his plays was somewhat on these lines.

First to enter was the 'Sutra-Dhara' or the story-teller, who would announce the play in his peculiar way, in the course of a conversation with his wife. Then would enter the 'Vidushaka' or the Jester, who danced, sang and performed various acts of indiscretion and fun; the prayers followed and finally the invocation to Saraswati.

The play then commenced and ran its course. It was begun late in the night,—and would last quite late, even after the sunrise of the next day: and it was not an uncommon sight to see at these performances, men shaved and painted in a mysterious blue colour (for such were the Gods!), with sunken eyes and a wretched expression on their faces; and the patient audience sat on revelling in the representation and then would go to bed as the sun came up. The play usually consisted of half a dozen acts, each act being divided into convenient scenes. Most of the themes were Pauranic. Thus we had invariably a Durbar of the Gods, an assembly of the Rakshasas, and their respective consorts. The action of the play lay in the several plans which the Gods had under consideration to exterminate the Rakshasas or *vice-versa*. Sometimes the Gods regaled their audiences with

music as well, or the Rakshasas exhibited their brute strength.

All this meant invariably a great deal of shouting and a shouting of a confused type as well. There was weeping also; and very pitiable in its intensity too. The home of the Gods usually consisted of a couple of broken second-hand settees, and evil looking chairs of a very pronounced 'Mlecha' type. On these did the Gods sit and dispense justice and the sense of their bliss to poor mortals, whilst their arch-enemies, the Rakshasas, shouted and raved on the same chairs which the well-meaning Gods had vacated after the previous scenes! Then came the women who were mostly men dressed as women; either weeping or singing as occasion offered.

But the person who mattered most was the Vidushak, or the Jester. Sometimes he performed all kinds of fantastic tasks. Thus he had to be a prompter, or to pick up the ear-ring of the Hero—or sometimes even his own moustachios. This plan was almost the same in all Pauranic plays. But then it was a big jump from the world of 'tamashas' and Lalits and the people enjoyed it all. Mr. Bhavé made his pile in the course of the eight years of the patronage he received from the Chief of Sangli, and later on towards the year 1852 emigrated to Kolhapur after the death of his patron, and from there to the ever-alluring city of Poona.

Poona had many great men living at this time. The names of Kero Lakshman Chattré and Krishna Shastri Chip-lonkar were names of great distinction and merit, and introduction to them meant sure recognition and appreciation of talent. To these good generous men Mr. Bhavé went and they did a great deal to help him and to popularise his plays.

Mr. Bhavé later went to Bombay. Bombay was yet a little provincial town and the first English Companies had just begun visiting the city. There was a solitary theatre at Grant Road which belonged to Nana Shankarshet where the English Theatricals often staged their plays. The rent was prohibitive and introductions well-nigh impossible but Mr. Bhavé tried to get the use of the theatre for his performances. After a great deal of persuasion, the theatre was rented and

Mr. Bhavè produced his first play in Bombay. His net loss was Rs. 250. But it was in a great measure compensated for by the co-operation and encouragement he received from some very prominent men of Bombay like Dr. Bhau Daji, Nana Shankarshet himself and Sir Jamshetjee Jeejeebhoy. So much so that Mr. Bhavè succeeded in getting the private secretary to the Governor interested in the play, and we note—not without a sense of unmixed pleasure and joy—that he promised Mr. Bhavè many introductions to his friends in England, and help as well! But Mr. Bhavè was too nervous to cross the 'seven seas' and invite the odium of his community. So he refused with great regret the generous offer of the secretary and thus lost a good chance of studying the histrionic art at first hand in England.

Mr. Bhavè died in the year 1901, and his death was followed by the starting of numerous dramatic companies all over Maharashtra.

AMATEUR THEATRICALS

The establishment of the University at Bombay, and the very rapid growth of educational institutions helped too the spread of the dramatic societies and companies in Maharashtra. Amateur theatricals became the order of the day at many of the colleges in Bombay and in Poona. We learn that at the Elphinstone College in Bombay, the "Kalidas Elphinstone Society" was started, and it staged for the first time an Indian play—the 'Shakuntala' of Kalidasa. A stupendous amount of money and energy was spent by its organisers on this account. 400 Rupees' worth of Sal tree bark had been imported from Madras alone, while three wagon loads of flowers and evergreens had been despatched from the gardens at Poona.

The arrival of Miss. Elsia May and Player Clough at Bombay, and their subsequent presentation at the Deccan College in Poona, aroused considerable interest and attempts were made to stage plays in which the characters concerned appeared in their natural colours, *i.e.*, without painting or powdering their faces. Encouraged by their success, these

amateurs tried their skill at Sanskrit dramas as well, 'Mrichakatika', 'Mudra Rakshasa' and some other plays being found very popular.

Then came the age of translation. Shakespeare and Moliere and Sheridan were rendered into Marathi—and they were very well done too. Improvements were effected in the stage-craft itself, and under the genial guidance of a man like Mr. Candy of the Rajaram College at Kolhapur, youngmen began to take an active part in such presentations.

The Shakespearean translations became quite popular—and the 'Shahunagarwasi Mandali', was considered to be a great company of actors. 'Tratika' or 'The Taming of the Shrew' was a great favourite of the public of the day; so also was 'Hamlet.' Both these plays were exquisitely rendered into Marathi, and the actors like Messrs. Ganpat Rao and Balwant Rao thrilled the audiences by their wonderful feeling and presentation; Sheridan's 'Duenna' was also translated by Mr. Modak.

These were followed in quick succession by historical plays; and for the time being, the stories of the late Rani Lakshmi Bai, or the murder of the Peshwa Narayan Rao, found extraordinarily appreciative audiences both at the theatres of Poona and Bombay. Plays like 'Baji Rao Mastani,' 'Baji Desphande,' 'Rana Bheemdev' found favour too, and the Congress of the year 1889 was the proud recipient of the proceeds from one such play! Meanwhile the work of the social reformers had reached a stage when it could no longer be ignored. The 'useless' products of the Universities, the early marriages, the widow remarriages, education of girls, all these became the background, as it were, for many a social play. The whisky bottle and its evil too came in for a good share, and we have a formidable list of plays and farces, which dealt with one or more of these social evils. Indeed, we are told that a skit on the Age of Consent Bill of 1891, was itself the theme of a very interesting social play.

THE INTRODUCTION OF MUSIC

So far, all these plays had been written in prose alone. Music was introduced for the first time on the Marathi stage by Sokar Bapuji Trilokekar. This was indeed an innovation and became exceedingly popular. The famous Kirloskar Company was now formed, and for about a quarter of a century the plays of this Company became exceedingly popular. Anna Kirloskar, the founder of the above Company, was a great musician and an artist in the real sense of the word. His plays and music were the order of the day. Mr. Kolhatkar joined this Company a few years later and Poona was always full when the Kirloskar Brothers' Company were announced.

Most of Kirloskar's plays were Pauranic; but they make excellent reading. The music was perfect and never out of place. His plays like 'Ramarajya-viyoga', 'Shakuntal', 'Saubhadra,' were charming to a degree and they are acted even to-day, being as popular as they were thirty years ago.

The passing of Kirloskar was followed by the establishment of the new Companies of Mr. Deval and Mr. Bhonsle; and until recently, by numerous other Companies where the names of actors like Bal Gandharva, Pendharkar, Master Krishna, have exerted a singular charm on the mind of the Maratha people. All over Maharashtra one can hear the music of these famous actors sung by the street-boy as well as the young wife at home, so popular have they become and such an appeal do they make, the exquisite melodies of these men. The Drama in Maharashtra has become an important factor in the literature of the land and an index of the growth and culture of a nation.

Acknowledgments :

Ranade : 'The Rise of the Maratha Power.'

Moropant : 'Kekavali' Introduction to

Mr. Kulkarni : 'The Marathi Stage'

The Quarterly Journals of the Sarvajanic Sabha, Poona

The Sudharak : dated 12th October, 1903.

Letters from the West

BY T. RAGHAVACHARI

I

The Englishman's Table Conventions are interesting. They indicate certain principles of 'Maya' which is necessary as you know for the exercise of the mind. The lessons may be rudimentary yet appropriate for the psychology of a child-mind. Conventions are a part of society life. To such beings as live in society and can see no further than beyond themselves, convention becomes an instrument of fear. Gradually, they would slip down into the shades of superstition, ignorance, cowardice and sin. However, convention, by itself, is a necessary institution just as Image-worship is.

First you have to dress properly for dinner (which is the important meal). This dressing corresponds to the Indian Brahmin's 'Madi.' The difference in style is due to the difference in climate. You have to sit with ease and elegance within the limits of your chair. The forearms and hands should be manipulated dexterously and gracefully; else you will spill things and get into your neighbour's way. It certainly teaches one an artistic way of displaying one's movements. You have to know something of the art of cooking, for you have to assort and mix the several ingredients yourself before the dish becomes agreeable. You help yourself when the course is served, which again is a feat of gentle art. You have to do it without disturbing the artistic effect of the service. You should keep its appearance agreeable to your neighbour. You should now and again consult your neighbour's wants and help him in a pleasant manner, passing the salt, the sugar, the mustard and worcesta sauce. Then you have to know the nature and purpose of the several instruments on the table. There are

the fish-knife, the butter-knife and the meat-knife. The fish-fork is different from the meat-fork. The fork and knife for eating are different. The plates themselves are different for different dishes. The spoons are different. Salt should be taken in a particular way, sugar in a different way. Then you have to eat with ease, without making any noise or producing hair-raising sounds. To drink at the table is art again. The glasses are different. Water-glass, wine-glass and whisky-glass are all different. And you should not soil yourself or the white table-cloth. It is immaculate and so is the waiter, with gloved hands, who serves you. Your behaviour and operations should be in tune with the color scheme, so exquisitely arranged, overflowing with the milk of cleanliness. Do you know what concentration of mind it requires? What will-power? What faculties? A knowledge of cutlery, crockery, cookery, jugglery, skill in acrobatic feats, washing, serving, and grace in everything you do. Above all, you have to be pleasant and agreeable to your neighbours. You should engage them in light refined conversation. You cannot shout. You have to modulate your voice to a key which harmonizes with the subdued and gently audible clatter of the knives and forks. You will be styled a 'drug' if you cannot make yourself entertaining. What an exercise for the mind! There are people who almost think that 'eating' is a necessary 'evil' to maintain body and life, and you can eat in any manner you choose as long as you do not overdo the ceremony. It may be so for one who always thinks in terms of the world and not of his own self. To the average man, however, eating is an important factor. The cravings of nature are all intrinsically noble and they should be satisfied in a noble manner. Elegance and art are the bed-rocks of nobility.

I quite realize that this art may eventually become a habit. That is the danger-zone. To those who conform to the Code of Convention out of fear, habit becomes a positive danger. It leads them to superstition and ignorance. To them the spilling of salt is a bad omen. To those, however, who are not the slaves of habit, convention is an

instrument of love. I found quite a useful source of education in the Table Conventions of the West.

II

I understand the development of the modern English stage. It is the painting of life as it is—in its naked beauty and consequently its naked ugliness. The bogs and marshes which are kept so religiously covered by the cloak of modern society are all ruthlessly betrayed. The havoc played by unbridled and never-dying primordial passions and desires, are 'hittingly' brought into relief. The loathsome toiling of modern life, behind an apparently respectable conventional front, is exposed with a callousness which is a blend of a sneer and a twinkle. The utter helplessness of society, culture and civilization, in the face of facts is painted. The eternal verities are sung to a tragic tune and the vision of a Beyond or the idea of eternal justice as unrefined burlesque. The great problems which are the natural outcome of the necessary existence of inequalities are reckoned in a most scientific and clear-headed manner. So far the Englishman has the advantage over the Indian. The latter, as you know, instinctively draws his head (like the tortoise) at the hint of any difficulty or any struggle.

Let me come back to the stage. The bewildering confusion caused in the fashionable and artistically laid-out streets of society's life by the wild careering of the beasts of the lower self; the fierce revolt of all natural instincts against the schemes laid by man's avarice and possessive instinct; the harsh and triumphant cry of Nemesis and retribution drinking the very blood of tyrannical selfishness; the cynical smile of subterfuge in helping the natural cravings to surreptitiously open the windows and doors of Dame Convention and fly away; the innocence of crime, the chastity of the prostitute; the morality of the liar, the injustice of Law, the unrighteousness of punishment—all these are attempted to be portrayed with a vividness as true as painful. It is life as it is—Realism in Excelcis—And then there is

nothing beyond—It is Nirvana—The audience goes home realizing how hopeless men and women are in the maelstrom of Life's currents.

I found the acting good, the plot holds you with a thrill. The environment is superb; but I felt a vague sense of disappointment. It is true I had seen Life's current. I want to enjoy my bath and must find a way to swim in the current and not be drifted by it.

Why does the stage leave the problems unsolved? Why should it dread to refer its problems to the Great Influence, which fills all? Is it a shame to believe in a final adjustment? Is it a weakness to believe in a happy end?

I find that God is reckoned only as a creative principle. Perhaps the principle of destruction is admitted. But the maintaining principle, the protecting principle, is only a fairy tale. To believe in a God, who is responsible for Order, Law and Justice, appears to be an old, a very old fashion. The modern culture has dismissed God.

It may have its advantage and distinguished look; but the picture presented by the stage is somehow to my mind incomplete.

III

There is a great, a very great need at the present day of broadcasting our ancient Vedic discoveries, truths and culture to the young Hindu. This is a dire need. The present system of education is making the young Hindu worse than useless. I came across a number of Indian students in the West. There are some who keep to their orthodox ways and talk to you of the great Indian past without having any the least idea of where the greatness lay. There are others who are faithful carbon paper editions of the Western drawing-room etiquette of the class below the lower middle-class, who are scrupulous about their dress-suit for dinner, who drink beer, take their landlady's daughter to see the pictures, cultivate the discarded catch expressions of the pavements and consider themselves as equal to Europeans. Their idea of Western culture is

a certain kind of swagger furtively peeping into insolence. They must address a friend as an 'old man.' They will tell you that Indian music is rotten, at the same time confess their ignorance of the great masters of India. They will tell you that the Ayurvedic system of medicine is ignorance. They will tell you that your system of bathing, dressing and eating, is barbarian. They will refuse to converse with you in any language but the English. One of them told me seriously that it is only beef-eating and driving away of all religion that can make India respectable. I asked him what he meant by religion. Of course he was confused. I don't blame this young man. They have no real Indian education and they are dazzled by the material glamour and happiness of the West. The natural result is that the majority honestly believe that India's salvation consists in complete westernization. And a few others instinctively antagonistic to Western influences, good or bad, are however unable to go farther than proclaiming a blind admiration for the ancient past. Is it not time to start a vigorous campaign for placing the real good of ancient Indian culture before our young men? It is now high time to tell our young men that according to our ancients, religion was merely knowledge and realization of the great truth that God is in every person, working through all hands, walking through all feet, eating through every mouth and thinking in every mind. Without this concept, how can the grand idea of the universal brotherhood of man (which lies at the root of all progressively humanitarian movements) be possible? This religious knowledge is essential for our everyday life, whether engaged in social functions, politics or playgrounds. Is it not high time to reveal to our young men the sublime place music occupied in ancient Aryan education and the transcendental reach of its sphere? Is it not time to disclose to them the strictly scientific and hygienic principles that are at the bottom of the Indian dress and Indian food in ancient days?

I can see where the mistake lies. The western-educated young man (along with others like Miss Mayo) is obsessed by

the putrid accretions and excrescences which have grown on the Indian skin. It is therefore necessary, and immediately too, to give our young men an insight into the original stuff which was and is pure gold, and encourage them to scour away the unwholesome outgrowth.

American Imperialism

BY G. V. KRISHNA RAO

"We have our domestic problems incident to the expanding life of a free people, but there is no imperialistic sentiment among us to cast even a shadow across the path of our progress. We covet no territory; we seek no conquest; the liberty we cherished for ourselves we desire for others, and we assert no right for ourselves that we do not accord to others."

Thus spoke Charles Evans Hughes, the great Pan-American Statesman of the United States at Rio de Janeiro in 1922. The tall talk indulged in by Hughes is highly amusing. The purpose of this article is to examine how far his statement is correct and true. I do not propose to discuss now the domestic problems of the United States—the Negro lynchings, the Ku Klux Klan, land grabbing, the civilized atrocities perpetrated by Trusts and Rail-Road Companies, the way education is controlled by monied interests, the methods of corruption practised in the government of the country, the crime wave, the unemployment question, the "Yellow" journalism, in short, the system of Plutocracy prevalent—all these the reflex action of the conquest of other peoples and their Government against their will. I propose to examine in this article the colonial policy of the United States, especially how the Philippines was forcibly annexed, how the United States set aside the principles laid down in her Declaration of Independence and pursued the same imperialistic policy that Great Britain has adopted in Egypt, India, South Africa and elsewhere.

I

The empires of old—Assyria, Carthage, Egypt, Rome and Spain—were founded at an intolerable sacrifice. The French Empire, which received a shock at the Battle of Waterloo, was built at a huge price. The British Empire

has been established after a tremendously heavy competition with Spain, France, Russia, Holland, Germany, the United States and other lesser powers. So terrible has been the experience of empire-building to some of these Nations that the life-blood of the people and the resources of the country were devoured and the Empire emerged safely only to be swallowed by the first mighty enemy that it faced. But no such cruel fate has encountered the United States.

The United States has followed the path of Imperialism with unexampled facility in a quiet manner. At the outbreak of the Revolution in 1776, the thirteen Original Colonies had a territory of 3,69,000 square miles. In 1782, as a result of negotiations, the Colonies secured the North-West territory and the area South of the Ohio river; thus in 1800 the total area of the United States was 8,92,135 sq. miles. In 1803 Jefferson purchased Louisiana at a cost of 15 millions of dollars. Florida was purchased from Spain in 1819 for 5 millions of dollars. The Oregon country was secured by treaty in 1846. New Mexico and California were ceded by Spain on a payment of 15 millions of dollars. In 1853 the Gadsen purchase added 30,000 sq. miles of territory to the Colonies. This completes the territorial possessions of the United States on the mainland (with the exception of Alaska) making a continental area of 3,026,798 sq. miles. Between 1776 and 1853, the area of the United States was increased more than tenfold. These vast additions were made with a trifling outlay; it was only in the Mexican war that the United States spent 100 millions of dollars, and more than 13,000 men were killed. This was the first stage—the National expansion—in the development of the United States, and there was no intention that these additions to the original territory should be treated as colonial possessions in the ordinary sense of the term. Each acquisition was intended for the purpose of settlement of the growing population and eventual statehood, and the principles for the Government of these territories were proclaimed in the North-West Ordinance of 1787.

The second period of expansion began with the

purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1868. As a result of the War of 1898 the United States "received" the Philippines, Cuba and Porto Rico from Spain. Hawaii was annexed by President McKinley during the war-fever of 1898. In the Pacific Ocean, the Guano Islands were occupied quietly and their present status is indefinite. Samoa Island is maintained chiefly as a Naval base. In the Caribbean sea besides the Canal zone and the Virgin islands, the United States has, in addition, an undefined responsibility in Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Recently Nicaragua was threatened and annexed. Thus we see the Colonial possessions of the United States cover an area of 1,19,333 sq. miles with a population of 11,718,652.

In addition to all these, the commercial-and-financial-peaceful-penetration of the United States into Latin-America is significant. Under the thick veneer of the Munroe Doctrine, the foreign policy of the individual states in Latin-America, whether they wish it or not, is subject to veto by the United States and this eventually deprives them "of control over their own internal affairs by placing the management of their economic activities under the direction of business interests centering in the United States." So 'without coveting' other's territory, without 'seeking' any conquest, with a merciful God backing them and with a manifest 'destiny' playing in their favour, the United States has built its Empire, as Aladdin had his palaces in a night. *If this is not Imperialism, what else is?*

II

Perhaps nowhere in American history is there a record so dirty, so black, as that which describes the United States' dealings with the Philippines. Before the seizure of the Islands, President McKinley, in a message to the Congress, said:—

"I speak not of forcible annexation for that cannot be thought of. *That, by our code of morals, would be criminal aggression.*" (Italics mine).

But it was just *that* which the United States practised

towards the Philippines. How the United States stood by its "code of morals" and how she conquered and reduced to subjection an unwilling people has been graphically described by, R. F. Pettigrew in his inimitable manner. Pettigrew was formerly the United States Senator from South Dakota and I quote below what he said in full :—

"When we decided to attack Spain, when Dewey was ordered to sail from Hongkong and to destroy the Spanish fleet, a Rebellion was going on in the Philippine Islands, the inhabitants of those islands were trying to throw off the Spanish yoke. Knowing that at Singapore there was a man, the most capable among the Filipinos, who had led a former revolt, our officers in the East induced this man to go back to Manila and organise the insurgent forces. Agnivaldo arrived on the 17th day of May, 1898. He immediately organised the insurgent forces. He purchased arms in Hongkong. Admiral Dewey furnished him with arms taken from the Spanish forces and he attacked the Spanish garrisons all over the Province of Cavite and secured arms from his prisoners. He pursued this course during the summer of 1898, until he had captured the entire island of Luzon except two Spanish garrisons—very small ones—and before winter he captured those. Dewey, in his report, says his progress was wonderful. He took 9,000 prisoners. After having captured the entire island, he set up a Government, a peaceful Government, a Government suitable to those people, a Government which protected life and property throughout the entire area of that country. He also captured the Southern islands, the Island of Panay, of Cebu and Negros, and organised Governments there.

He assembled an army of 30,000 men and surrounded Manila. His army was intrenched. He invested the city on the land side, while our navy blockaded the port on the ocean side. We acted in absolute concert with each other, consulted together, and, when Manila was finally taken, our troops landed, asking the insurgents to give up about a quarter of a mile of their trenches. They marched out and allowed our troops to occupy a portion of their works. They believed that they were to act in concert with us in the attack on Manila. When the attack was ordered their troops marched into the city along with ours. They took the principal suburb of Manila. We took and occupied the

walled city. When they came to the walled city, which contained less than one-fifth of the population of the city of Manila, they found our bayonets turned against them. They were told that they could not enter. They had lost thousands of lives in their contest with Spain; they were in possession of that entire country, and yet, altho' in the assault upon the city they had lost more men than we did, they were denied admittance to the city, and they yielded and occupied the suburbs for sometime.

Finally, we requested that they retire from the suburbs and they retired. Agnivaldo asked that he might be permitted to retire slowly, as it was difficult to govern his people and convince them that it was right that they should surrender possession of territory which they had conquered and for which many of their comrades had laid down their lives. He also asked that, in case we made a treaty with Spain, the territory which he had conquered should be restored to him; and this we refused. So we did not conquer the Islands from Spain, for Spain had been conquered and driven out by the Government of Agnivaldo. We had simply helped to take the city of Manila. Therefore, we took no title by conquest from Spain, for, at the time of making the treaty with Spain, we had not conquered any territory from her.

We did not acquire title by purchase, because title by purchase required delivery of possession and, as Spain was not in possession, she could not and did not deliver the Islands to us. *By what right are we there? By no right in morals or law; by no right that can be defended before God or man. We are there as conquerors: we are there as armed banditti that would enter your premises in day time, and we have no more right to be there than the bandit has to enter and despoil your home.*" (Italics mine).¹

Little by little, all the territories conquered by Agnivaldo were occupied by the United States and on February 4, 1899, the Philippine islands were annexed. President McKinley stated that "the Philippines were intrusted to our hands by the Providence of God" and one of his fellow Imperialists—Senator Beveridge of Indiana—went a step further when he stated in the Senate in 1900 :—

¹R.F. Pettigrew in *Imperial Washington*, PP. 327-330.

"The Philippines are ours for ever. . . . And just beyond that Philippines are China's illimitable markets. We will not retreat from either. We will not repudiate our duty to the Archipelago. We will not abandon our opportunity in the Orient. We will not renounce our part in the mission of our Race, trustee, under God, of the civilisation of the world."¹

Thus we see the United States, *with a very fine "code of morals,"* destroyed the independence of an ally and occupied her territory forcibly. This 'criminal aggression' the United States committed as was desired by her big business interests for their enrichment.

III

The Philippine policy of the United States may be divided into three periods with reference to the development of Self-Government in the Islands. The first began in 1899 and ended in 1913 when American Government passed from the Republican to the Democratic Party. The second was the period of the Democratic tenure of power from 1913 to 1921. The third was inaugurated by President Harding (and strengthened by Calvin Coolidge) when he appointed Major-General Leonard Wood as Governor-General of the Philippines.

During the first of the three periods a definite policy was set forth and carried out. Secretary Taft declared :—

"Shortly stated, the National policy is to govern the Philippine islands for the benefit and welfare and uplifting of the people of the Islands and gradually to extend to them, as they shall show themselves fit to exercise, a greater and greater measure of popular Self-Government. What should be emphasised in the statement of our National Policy is that we wish to prepare the Filipinos for popular Self-Government. This is plain from Mr. McKinley's letter of instructions and all of his utterances. It was not at all within his purpose or that of the Congress, which made his letter part of the law of the land, that we were merely to await the organisation of Philippine oligarchy or aristocracy competent to administer the Government and then turn the islands over to it Another

¹Congressional record. Jan. 9, 1900, P. 704.

logical deduction from the main proposition is that when the Filipino people, as a whole, show themselves reasonably fit to conduct a popular Self-Government, maintaining law and order and offering equal protection of the laws and civil rights to rich and poor, and desire complete independence of the United States, they shall be given it."

During the first fourteen years of American sovereignty in the Philippines, the Republican Government, basing its conviction on the incapacity of the Philippine people for Self-Government, began spoon-feeding the Filipinos in administrative matters. The Filipinos accepted as much Self-Government as they could obtain and utilized the powers obtained to gain an ever greater control over their own affairs. With the co-operation of the sympathetic Americans they modernised their national life quickly. In 1907, when the Philippine Assembly was established, it became the centre of national opposition to American domination. During the last three years of the Republican regime, in this period, the Assembly refused to pass any appropriation bill, thereby causing a serious deadlock in the administration.

IV

In the election of 1912 the Democrats came into power and they proposed a different solution of the problem.

President Wilson sent Francis Burton Harrison as Governor-General of the Philippines and on the very day of his arrival at Manila he read the President's message to the Filipinos. The President declared :—

"We regard ourselves as trustees acting not for the advance of the United States, but for the benefit of the people of the Philippine Islands. Every step we take will be taken with a view to the ultimate independence of the Islands and as a preparation for that Independence."

At last in 1916 the famous Jones Act was passed by the Congress and it indicated a turning-point in modern Philippine history. The Jones Act conferred a wide autonomy on a constitution similar to the United States. The Governor-General's powers were considerably increased with a right of

veto on the Acts of the Filipino Congress and all relations with foreign countries were to be conducted as before through the State Department at Washington.

Under the Wilson-Harrison regime the best and the quickest way to teach Self-Government was adopted, that is, to allow the Filipinos to govern themselves. The Filipinos were given a majority on the Philippine Commission and thus complete control of the Legislature was given away. Almost all Americans in office were replaced by Filipinos, and the Governor-General exercised the powers of his office in consultation with the influential Filipino leaders. In short, Harrison completely handed over the Government of the Islands to the people themselves.

All this would have gone on well had it not been for the fact that in the election of 1920 the Republicans returned to power and one of their first acts was to send the Wood-Forbes Commission to report on the progress and condition of the Islands. This body condemned the Harrison regime thoroughly, declared that the Filipinisation of administration resulted in 'wholesale' corruption and inefficiency and concluded stating that an infinitesimal section of the Filipinos really desired independence at all. This led to the resignation of Harrison and to the appointment of General Wood, one of the authors of the Report, as Governor-General of the Islands.

V

The appointment of General Wood and his arbitrary acts led to the resignation of the Filipino members of the Council of State in July 1923. General Wood applied himself vigorously to the work of reducing the autonomy enjoyed by the Filipinos during the term of his predecessor in office. He sought "to get the Government out of business" by transferring the operation of the Manila Rail Road to an American Corporation. He wanted to close up, or change the character of, the Philippine National Bank. He tried to sell or lease the Government Sugar Centrals ("on the best terms possible"), and he did his best to terminate the other

business enterprises undertaken by the State prior to 1921. In all these vital matters, he wanted to pursue a path detrimental to the Philippine national interests, but he failed partly in some, and wholly in others.

President Harding died in the meanwhile and Calvin Coolidge succeeded him at the White House. He supported General Wood in his activities and in 1925 he issued a statement stating at length the Philippine policy of his administration. The Coolidge statement, in the words of a writer in the *Atlantic Monthly*, is

"an expression of the Philippine policy established by McKinley, Root, Roosevelt, and Taft, written into Republican platforms for a quarter of a century and translated into deeds when the Republican Party has controlled the Government. Every phase of that policy is there: a frank determination to brook no unlawful challenge of American sovereignty over the Islands, a recognition that a large and substantial element of the Filipino people regard the indefinite continuance of the American tie as a blessing; the intention not to leave the Philippines without having fully discharged America's obligations to the Filipino people and to civilisation by giving to them an opportunity to establish themselves as a Nation; the establishment in the Philippines of a permanently stable Government based upon the fundamental ideas of the democratic-republican state; the support of worthy American officials in the Philippines and the encouragement of Filipinos to co-operate with them; the extension of Self-Government to the Filipino people as rapidly as they are able to exercise it for their own good; the grant of Independence if the Filipino people desire it when, in the opinion of the American Government, the Philippines are able to meet the responsibilities of an Independent Nation."

To the claim of the Filipinos for Independence, President Coolidge answered that he stood by the Republican platform of 1920 and further added "frankly, it is not felt that that time has come."

VI

What is the form of Government prevalent in the Philippines to-day? It consists of a Governor-General, (who is

the chief Executive), a Legislature of two Houses elective in character, and a judiciary, the Supreme Court of which is appointed by the President of the United States. The Supreme Court in the U. S. A. has reserved the right to review or set aside the decisions of the Filipino Supreme Court in certain types of cases. Besides the Governor-General and the Justices of the Supreme Court, the President of the U. S. A. appoints a few other officials. All laws enacted by the Philippine Legislature should be reported to the Congress of the United States "which reserves the power and authority to annul them." The Philippines are represented in the Congress of the United States by two Resident Commissioners. The Philippine Government frames its own Tariffs, but no tariff laws become effective until they receive the approval of the President of the United States. "Otherwise, the trade relations between the Philippines and the United States are controlled exclusively by the Congress of the United States." In Tariff matters, as Culbertson observes:

"Congress has enacted legislation providing that no export duties shall be levied or controlled on exports from the Philippines. Congress has also provided for the free admission of the products of the United States into the Philippines and free admission into the United States of Philippine products not containing foreign materials to the value of more than 20 per cent. of their total value".¹

A close examination of the system of administration prevalent demonstrates clearly that Uncle Sam is an adept in the art of taking away with his left hand what he gives with his right in a generous manner. The American Government in the Islands is nothing else but Militarism, pure and simple, garbed under the attractive clothing of Republicanism.

VII

What is the object of the United States in tightening her grip on the Philippines? This is easily answered in

¹International Economic Policies by Culbertson, Page 247.

one word—*exploitation*. It is the search for markets, the search for trade, it is the search for opportunities of foreign investments.

The United States wants to assimilate the lands and the wealth of the Filipinos—not the people: they are not in need of them. If the people work, the United States will exploit their labour and resources: if it is otherwise, the people will be brushed aside and others who obey will be imported from some country for work.

The economic motive of the United States is quite apparent and a study of her Philippine Tariff policy demonstrates clearly her intention of exploiting the material resources of the Islands in her selfish interest. In an act to provide Revenue for the Philippine Islands in 1901, Section 2 provided that:

"all articles, the growth and product of the Philippine Islands, admitted into the Ports of the United States free of duty under the provisions of this Act and coming directly from the said Islands to the United States for use and consumption therein, shall be hereafter exempt from any export duties imposed in the Philippine Islands."

From this insidious provision Manila hemp was affected very much and the Philippine Treasury lost more than one million of dollars from 1902 to 1912 to the advantage of the American manufacturing interests.

Cotton goods are imported from the United States to the Philippines. The Report of the Philippine Commission in 1907 says there was an actual increase of nearly 400 per cent. in the value of cotton goods imported in one year (1906-1907) the rise being from 2,78, 796 dollars for 1906, to 1,056, 328 dollars for 1907. In 1909 virtual free trade was established between both the countries. Free entry was granted to all Philippine products, but rice. In the case of sugar and tobacco, the limits of free importation were restricted to a certain amount annually. These limitations, too, were removed in 1913 and finally the United States adopted the closed-door policy in the Islands. Thus the United States has assimilated the Philippines commercially to all intents

and purposes, proving the truth of the dictum that trade follows the flag.

The chief economic value of the Philippines to the United States lies in the recent discovery of the rubber potentialities of the Islands. Formerly the Filipinos reaped the advantages entrenched behind the tariff walls of the United States against foreign competition. Now the situation has altered and one cannot be blind to the fact that the powerful Rubber Syndicates and Trusts will oppose the claim of the Filipinos for independence. For several years the United States has been suffering from the British monopoly in rubber and now that there is a chance to break that monopoly and possess freedom it is too much to expect from the ordinary American businessman that he should throw away his advantages for the sake of the Filipinos. The United States will not get out of the Philippines so long as there is scope to enjoy economic advantages, and the moment there is no such satisfaction of material selfishness, the great 'code of morals' will come into play and the dramatic evacuation of the Islands will take place as in Santa Domingo in 1924.

VIII

Starting as a Republic with a stand on the Declaration "that all men are created free and equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights" the United States has embarked upon the course of empire-building in the New World. The imperial realities the United States cloaks under Republican names and traditions. "Moral reasons compel us to stay in the Philippines," "Manifest destiny," "military necessity," "we, under God's direction, owe a duty to mankind by administering the Philippines in the interests of the natives of the soil"—these and a host of such pious expressions used by politicians and statesmen of the United States are merely sentimental stuff, grandiloquent nonsense, hypocrisy, and cant. Here is what Lord Morley says in connection with England's imperialistic policy:—

"First, you push on into territories where you have no business to be and where you promised not to go ;

secondly, your intrusion provokes resentment, and in these wild countries, resentment means resistance; thirdly, you instantly cry out that the people are rebellious and that their act is rebellion (this in spite of your own assurance that you have no intention of setting up a permanent sovereignty over them); fourthly, you send a force to stamp out the rebellion and, fifthly, having, spread bloodshed, confusion and anarchy, you declare, with eyes uplifted to the heavens, that moral reasons force you to stay, for if you were to leave, this territory would be left in a condition, which no civilised power could contemplate with equanimity or composure. These are the five stages in the forward 'Rake's progress'."

Oh! how *literally true* it is in the case of the United States also!

No Republic, nay no Nation, can have an Empire. Republican or National institutions are certain to be corrupted when Imperialism raises its head. In his *Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World*, Creasy is right when he points out frankly:—

"There has never been a Republic yet in history that acquired dominion over another nation that did not rule it selfishly and oppressively. There is no single exception to this rule, either in ancient or modern times. Carthage, Rome, Venice, Genoa, Florence, Pisa, Holland and Republican France, all tyrannised over every province and subject-state where they gained authority."

The writing on the Wall is clear. All Empires are bound to go. *And they shall go.*

Karnatic Music : Its Philosophy

BY HARI NAGABHUSHANAM, B.A.

It is a saying which may be taken as accepted on all hands that this is, in the main, an age of political evolution and material advance. Hence the world's attention is drawn mostly to these all-absorbing topics, and the intelligentsia of every country are engrossed with watching and solving political problems which arise in the course of its national upheaval or with inventing further means of augmenting its economic resources. England, France, America and Japan take the lead in this phase of human activities, and the other so-called civilised countries try to follow their example and profit by their achievements. Art, science, literature and every other department of human thought and action including religion are considered worthy of one's attention and application to the extent that they contribute to the expansion of the arena of political thought and the enlargement of the vision of material progress. Politics and materialism go hand in hand and form interdependent factors in the evolution, so to say, of the present society. Politics based on materialism, and materialism fostered by politics explain the tendency of the present times.

Compared with such a condition of the modern age, the antiquity of all civilised nations on the face of the earth presents a totally different conception of national ideals and had the stamp of real national growth, the underlying principle of the law of evolution. The whole of man's energies, physical and intellectual, was bent upon seeking a solution for the most enigmatic of all riddles—that of life, upon discovering whether there is or is not a superior supervening force, and if so what relation both these entities bear to each other and upon finding out what attributes distinguish one from the other and so on. The ancients seem to have thought that, without a solution of the mystery of a man's own life, his existence

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was of no avail, even though he was endowed with all the gifts of nature. This domain of man's thought is termed religion or theology in modern English phraseology. Of these two words the latter represents the idea much better than the former, judging from their derivative meanings, though the former is the more popular of the two expressions. In those early times, religion was the primary theme of life, and such other human pursuits as politics, art, science and literature were considered worth one's while simply because they furthered the cause of religion. Hence spiritual culture and divine wisdom may be said to have predominated over every other branch of man's study and formed the background of all his achievements.

Viewing the condition of the present ideals in the light of the foregoing ideals of life, we shall have to conclude, after due deliberation, that the march of evolution is at present on the wane and the so-called progressive civilisation of the twentieth century is more a phantom of the mind than an ascertained fact.

THE ARYAN CONCEPTION OF RELIGION

Now coming to our Aryan culture, this phase of the ancient human mind goes by the denomination of *Dharma Jignasa* as you find it in the very first aphorism of the system of *Purvamimamsa* philosophy *Adhatho Dharma Jignasa*. This aphorism lays down in short that it behoves every one to investigate 'Dharma' and know it perfectly well. This word 'Dharma' comes from a root, meaning 'to hold' and is defined by Jagadguru Shri Shankaracharya in the following terms :—

Jagathah sthithi karanam praninam

Sakshadabhyudaya hethuryassa dharmah

'Dharma' is that which forms the basic principle for the stability of the universe, and constitutes the direct means for the attainment of *abhyudaya* (i.e. worldly and heavenly progress) on the one hand, and the realisation of *nissreyasa* (i.e. eternal happiness) on the other. (Vide *Geetha Bhashyam* 1st chapter.) Applying this interpretation

to the word 'Dharma,' the aphorism enjoins that everyone should investigate and know on what principle the whole of the Universe rests and what he should do and achieve for the attainment of worldly prosperity and heavenly elevation on the one hand, and for the realisation of eternal bliss on the other. No system of religion other than ours can be said to have crystallised such an idea as to the absolute duty of man, and raised the edifice of spiritual culture on this maxim as the foundation.

THE VEDAS: THE BACKBONE OF THE ARYAN RELIGION

That being so *Bharata Varsha* has come to be known as *Dharma Kshetra* and also as *Kuru Kshetra*—the abode of Dharma and the land of Kurus or of *Karma Yoga*—a conception which has baffled the most subtle brains of the present age to recognise and assimilate, as seen from the innumerable conflicting constructions placed upon the teachings of Bhagavan Shri Krishna in His *Geeta*, which begins with those two words, indicating that it is a treatise intended to comprehend the subject covered by those expressions in all its magnitude. If so, it may be asked as to how it has been possible for the Aryans to achieve this world-astounding conception of religion. The answer is that such a conception has become possible for them to behold and realise because the all-supreme God of the universe has thoroughly revealed Himself in His eternal utterings, the Vedas, which are heard and recorded by their ancient seers, the *Maharishis*. Of all the divine revelations given to man, that which is contained in the Vedic lore is considered to be the most perfect as it is admittedly the meeting-ground of all spheres of human action, inaction included.

MUSIC DERIVED FROM THE VEDAS

Such being the case, the conception of music also has taken its source from the Vedas, and has been developed and perfected from the rules deduced from, and the examples furnished by, its compositions, especially the *Sama Vedic*

hymns. Music is an inseparable ingredient of Vedic compositions and this is one of the unique features which go to establish their divine origin. The Vedic culture presents two aspects—the ritualistic going by the name of *Pravrithi Dharma* and the spiritualistic termed *Nivrithi Dharma* and both of them employ music for a higher and nobler purpose, each in its own way. How this is I shall try to explain hereafter in brief.

In this connection, it may be well to advert to the several branches of study in the Aryan literary field and their inter-relation if any. Shri Madhusudan Saraswati in his *Prasthan Bheda* deals about this subject and says:—

"The four *Vedas*, the six *Angas* of Vyakarana, etc., the four *Upangas* of Purana, Nyaya, Meemamsa and Dharma Shastras, the four *Upa-Vedas* of Ayurveda, Dhanurveda, Gandharvaveda and Arthashastra, all these have their purpose out and out in Bhagavan alone, some directly and the others indirectly. Of these, the *Vedas* consist of verbal compositions of divine origin and supreme authority and treat of Dharma and Brahma i.e., righteousness and spirituality or God. Thus the *Vedas* serve to evolve Dharma, Artha, Kama, Moksha i.e., righteousness, wealth, sensual appeasement and eternal freedom."

Then the author takes up everyone of the above subjects and explains how it has evolved out of the Vedic lore and has contributed to the better understanding of its spirit by elaboration and elucidation thereof. Hence it follows that the Vedic literature, such as it is, is the fountain source of all knowledge, and every other branch of learning is only what has emerged and fructified from its utterances. So much being said about the arrangement of the various systems of study, we now proceed to the subject in hand.

GANDHARVAVEDA AND ITS SCOPE

Music takes the appellations of *Gandharva Vidya* or *Gandharvam* in our ancient literature, and it is considered to be one of the four *Upa-vedas* as shown already. The above author summarises its purpose thus in his venerable work:

"Similarly the science treating of *Gandharvaveda* has been elaborated by Bhagavan Bharata. It comprises three

different branches of study, vocal music, instrumental music, and dance music, and serves manifold purposes. Its ultimate goal is the worship of God or the Gods on the one hand, and the realisation of unrippled self-consciousness on the other."

We see from what precedes, that the conception of music is a peculiar feature of the Aryan mind, nay, a unique Vedic revelation so to style it, consistently with the traditional shastraic view, and we will do well to understand what it is as far as it lies in our power, and derive all possible benefit.

WHETHER MUSIC IS AN ART OR A SCIENCE

A conflict of views is taking place abroad as to whether music is an art or a science or both. In this connection, it becomes essential to define what is meant by art and science, and here again we find divergence of opinion. Whatever this is, we may conclude that music in general is treated either as an art such as painting and sculpture, or as a science such as physics and chemistry. The more thoughtful section of erudite people take it as a combination of both. Shri Madhusudan Saraswati's definition of music is couched in a language which implies that it is a realisation of something more edifying, which works out the emancipation of the soul from the trammels of repeated births and makes it achieve everlasting bliss. If so, let us make an attempt to understand it, even in a little measure, in accord with the Vedic traditions.

The differentiation of an art from a science and *vice versa* has become visualised to us, the more on account of our contact with English literature. The corresponding expressions in Sanskrit are *Kala* and *Shastra*, and works on music use both of them indiscriminately in reference to it. We find the same thing in the case of some other arts so styled, such as sculpture and painting. If so, does such an uncritical use of the expressions indicate that no such distinction between an art and a science obtains in Sanskrit or that the authors on such subjects were not aware of such differentiation even if others had observed it? It cannot be supposed for a moment that either

of the propositions is correct. Subjects such as *Samkhya*, *Tharka* and *Mimamsa* never take the appellation of *Kala* but go invariably by the name of *Shastra* or *Darshana*. This indicates that Sanskrit authors use these expressions not unwittingly, but with a knowledge of all their import. That being so, we have to make further research into the matter in issue before we launch on any such conclusions.

This necessitates that we should form an idea as to what is an art and what is a science, as generally understood according to Western notions. One states art to be 'the doing of a thing' and 'science' to be 'the knowledge of a thing.' This definition seems to follow more from the derivative meanings attached to the words than from the manner of their application to existing facts. Some others define art as 'something which appeals to our taste or sense of beauty' and science as 'consisting in the classification of facts and the recognition of their sequence and relative significance.' Judging from the way in which we apply the terms, I prefer to define art as a representation or a reproduction of something phenomenal so as to make it appeal to our senses or to our mind, and science as a systematisation of the laws which govern facts and a series of facts which come into existence, being subjected to the law of causation. In other words, whatever expresses the impulses and the passions innate in creation is termed an art, and what formulates and systematises the culture of the human being is a science. The term *Shastra*, the Sanskrit equivalent of the word 'science' means almost the same thing. It comes from a root meaning 'to rule' or 'to correct,' and hence it means a collection of laws which govern existing facts or which serve as a corrective of one's conduct in regard to a certain sphere of his activities. The word *Kala* comes from a root which means 'to shine' and is hence applied to denote such arts as arouse our æsthetic tastes.

Considering music in the light of the foregoing observations, we may conclude that music can either be construed as an art or as a science, view-points differing. As something which appeals to our sense of hearing or arouses the inner

impulses of the mind and deep-laid emotions of the heart, it affords the highest conception of an art. Again as a concatenation of phenomenal sounds arranged and co-ordinated in a specific manner and producing well-defined melodies, it has to be styled as a science. Or the scientific aspect of music is that branch of its study which deals with the rules which govern its several poses and which the artist has to obey to steer through its course properly to the satisfaction of the audience.

From what is said above, we see that the generality of theorists have assigned a place to music either in the category of arts or in that of sciences. They seem to take only a superficial view of the matter and do not gauge its inmost realities. The art of painting or sculpture is a representation of forms by the hand of man. The representations are not realities but mere conventional resemblances sometimes expressed in symbols as well. Again the science of physics or chemistry is mostly a collection of laws and their sequence, and deals with dead matter or its forces. So also every art and every science may be traced to technical conventions and natural laws respectively. Now then, will you say that music is a conventional representation of phenomenal facts or a collection of natural laws dealing with lifeless matter or the forces innate therein? No considerate man will say 'aye' to this question.

Music has no conventions about it, since it is a natural product of sounds which permeate the universe. Nor has it any inviolable concern with any such laws of nature, a study of which strains the nerves, because the moment it touches the ear-drum, currents of emotional impulse rush through the mind and throw it into solace automatically. Hence on closer scrutiny we cannot but be convinced that it is neither an art nor a science, strictly speaking, but something transcending both these conceptions and defying our attempts at categorisation.

MUSIC AND ITS ASPECTS

This transcendental feature of the conception of music is not within the easy reach of ordinary intellects, and hence a

tendency has arisen to construe it either as an art or as a science, and technical conventions and artificial rules are framed to bring it in line with such a notion or to curb and correct the wayward fancies of the so-called scholars.

In view of the foregoing remarks it may be concluded that music has two aspects—conventional and transcendental. It is the conventional aspect of music which engages the world at large, and not the transcendental aspect of it. This latter aspect belongs to the realm of Aryan culture and that alone. Other nations have not been able yet to reach perfection in music at least as an art or as a science, and *a fortiori* it may take centuries for them even to sight the foreshadowings of this transcendental phase.

THE TRANSCENDENTAL ASPECT

What is this transcendental aspect of music, which I picture in such radiant colours in the preceding paragraphs? The answer is easily put in a few words. It is a most abstruse subject which I may fail to place vividly before the reader. Perhaps I have not understood it perfectly myself. Whatever that is, I wish to present to him the shadowy glimpses I have gathered of it, incongruous as they may prove after all.

The transcendental aspect of music is that which accords with the highest purpose music is said to serve, namely the attainment of eternal bliss. It is an inviolable rule that the effect is nothing else than the cause itself in another phase or form. Hence that kind of music from which eternal bliss emanates must be that which is itself all-blissful; and what is this all-blissful entity but *Bhagavan Brahman* Himself who is described in the Upanishads in the following terms, *Anandam Brahmethi Vyajanath*, "*Brahman* is bliss." *Brahman* proper is by himself unmanifest and unqualified. *Aum* is His highest and noblest manifestation with all His attributes of eternity-consciousness and infinity, and thus this *Aum* has assumed the various phenomenal forms by an inconceivable process of disintegration into elements and their subsequent combination to give the resultant phenomena

composed of life and matter—life representing the subjective self as emanation or reflection, in all His essence, of the unqualified *Brahman*, and matter affording the apparently-real objective projected out of His qualified personality, *Maya* becoming transformed as such.

The aim of life according to the Aryan theological doctrines is to investigate, as already stated, on what principle the universe rests, and by what means man attains eternal happiness. The cosmos has evolved out of the all-blissful *Brahman* manifested as *Aum* at the inception, and it therefore has its being in that *Brahman* as such. This solution of the fundamental principle of the cosmos suggests the answer to the next question involved in the subject of our enquiry; and it is this. A person who wishes to attain eternal happiness has to realise that he is the subjective self which is a reflection of the universal self, that he is as such all-blissful as the cosmic self, that the objective matter is only an emanation from or a projection out of the conventional and hence illusive vesture of the *Brahman*, termed *Maya*, and that self-realisation is possible through the medium of the all-pervading, all-blissful sound, a manifestation of the *Atman*.

SELF-REALISATION THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF SOUND

We have to see how sound can be considered the medium of self-realisation. Sound is something more than the effect of vibrations of matter. It is an emanation from *Aum*, the highest manifestation of *Brahman* and it is as such all-blissful as *Brahman* Himself. Bhagavan Sri Krishna says thus in Chapter VII of *Bhagavad Geeta*:

"I am the *Rasa* (taste) of water, the light of the sun and the moon, the *pranava* of the *Vedas*, the sound of the sky, and the manliness of man."

This verse occurs in a context where *Bhagavan* tries to teach His disciple the way to realise Him in the material objects around. He declares in the next previous verse thus:—

"Oh! Dhananjaya! There is no other cause whatever than Myself (for the universe). As a wreath of diamonds is held up in its thread, the visible world is contained and continued in me."

Laying down a general rule in those words, He has amplified the idea by particular examples and the first-quoted verse furnishes some such examples. Applying the general rule enunciated in the latter verse, the former verse is thus interpreted:—

"Water exists in such a sensuous form because I am the *Rasa* (for tastefulness) thereof; the sun and the moon are considered centres of life because I am the light thereof; the *Vedas* are such supreme compositions because I am the *Pranava* thereof; the sky (or rather the ether) is known to pervade the cosmos, because I am the sound thereof; and man is turned as such, because I am the manliness in him."

Thus every sound has the imprint of divinity about it, and more so the metrical sounds such as we hear when the *Vedas* are recited or when music is produced.

NADOPASANA

Now we have almost solved what is meant by the transcendental aspect of music. It consists in a recognition of the fact that sound is the supreme manifestation of the all-blissful *Brahman*, and He has therefore to be approached and realised through sound as the medium of communion. This mode of spiritual communion goes by the name of *Nadopasana* in technical phraseology. The word *Upasana* literally means 'to be near' and it is applied as conveying the idea of a person coming in nearest contact with God, so near as to get merged in His personality. *Nadopasana* has therefore to be explained as spiritual communion and self-realisation through the medium of sound.

PRANAVOPASANA

This *Nadopasana* is of two kinds—*Pranavopasana* practised by *Gnanayogins*, and *Geetopasana* practised by *Bhaktiyogins* and *Karmayogins*. *Gnanayogins* enter into

spiritual communion and realise *Brahmanandam* through the medium of *Pranava-dhyanam* as enjoined in several *Vedic* texts such as the following :

"Oh satyakama! *Aumkara* is *Para Brahma* and *Apara-Brahma* alone (personal and impersonal God). Hence through *Aumkara* as the medium, one who knows this fact realises oneness with either."

By certain *yogic* exercises *Gnanayogins* learn to turn the mind and the senses from the outside objective world of distractions and fix them inwardly on the subjective self of abstraction, meditating upon it in the form of *Aum* as ordained in the *Vedic* text. Then they begin to hear the sweet murmurs of the all-blissful *Aumkara* taking its rise in *Mooladhara Chakra* and pervading the whole of the physical and the mental and the spiritual planes. As they thus hear the inward tunings of the *Pranava* sound, they are thrown into an ecstatic condition called *Sakritsamadhi* i. e., once realised blissful state. Thus realising the *Pranava* within the self in the first place, they gradually achieve better vision and realise it ever and everywhere, and are lost in unceasing blissfulness termed *Asakritsamadhi* i.e., constantly realised blissful state. Such a *Gnanayogin* is enabled thus to live in a state of ever-enduring unalloyed blissfulness because he beholds the highest manifestation of *Brahman* in every sound he hears. Thus *Pranavopasana* leads to self-concentration, thence to self-communion, thence to self-realisation which is identical with *Nirvikalpa Samadhi* i.e., everlasting blissfulness. This is *Pranavopasana* of the *Gnanayogins*.

GEETOPASANA

Now let us see what is *Geetopasana* practised by *Bhaktiyogins*. To understand it we have to know, in the first place, who is a *Bhaktiyogin* as distinct from a *Gnanayogin* and *Karmayogin*. A *Gnanayogin* is one who practises certain *Yoga* exercises intended for the control and the concentration of the mind and is thereby enabled to detach his mental perspective from the objective world and

to focus it upon the internal ego '*Pratyagatman*,' so as to realise *Samadhi* (i.e., self-consciousness or self-blissfulness). A *Karmayogin* is one who is always engaged in performing the ritual ordained by the *Shrutis* (the *Vedas*), the *Smritis* and the *Puranas*, either for the attainment of worldly and heavenly desires or for the sake of pleasing God, absolutely with no such desires lurking anywhere in his mind. Strictly speaking, one who performs *karma* with any desire whatsoever is not a *Karmayogin*. The *karma* he does is '*Sakama karma*' i.e., *karma* with desire, and he is styled as *Karmatta*. The other who performs *karma* with no desire whatsoever but to please God is a *Karmayogin* proper, because his *karma* is intended to effect *yoga* i.e., control of the mind. His *karma* is known by the name of *Nishkama karma* i.e., *karma* with no desires. A *Bhaktiyogin*, on the other hand, is one who tries to silence his mind and attain *Samadhi* (i.e., blissful state of the mind) through intense devotion to God side by side with *Nishkama Karmayoga*. He learns to love God with all his might as one loves his child or wife, and gets attached to Him the more with each day. He realises that God is the creator and Lord of all things tangible and intangible, that He is omniscient, omnipotent and omnipresent, that He is as such the '*Pratyagatma*' (i.e., the ego) within, and that everything seen and felt is only His manifestation and nothing else. Hence he (i.e., the devotee) gets enamoured of Him (God) all the more and completely resigns himself to His care and companionship, with the verified conviction that there is none else whom he can approach for the attainment of his only desire i.e., absolute blissfulness. A devotee of this type is styled as *Ananya Bhakta* or *Ekanta Bhakta* and his devotion *Ananya Bhakti* and *Ekanta Bhakti* respectively, the distinction between which is very subtle. Both these kinds of devotion are known by the term *Antaranga Bhakti* as opposed to *Bahya Bhakti* described hereunder.

A *Bahya Bhakta* is one who realises that God is the be-all and the end-all of all creation as described above in full and constantly engages his *Gnanendriyas* i.e., sense-organs

in appreciating God and His *Leelas* (i.e., playful acts) and his *Karmendriyas* i.e., labour organs, in the active service of God and the God-like. Further he keeps company with kindred devotees, leads happy discourses on spiritual problems as a disciple or preaches to others about God and His ways as a teacher. Engrossed in one or all of these ways of divine worship, he derives the utmost pleasure or is merged in blissfulness. His *Bhakti* (i.e., devotion) is named *Bahya Bhakti*. *Bahya Bhakti* literally means devotion expressed in outward acts as well, and *Antaranga Bhakti*, devotion centred inwardly.

Devotees of these two types discard everything worldly and love everything divine, and thereby realise *Gnanayoga* resulting in self-realisation and everlasting blissfulness, (Vide, Chapter X of *Bhagavad Geeta*, Verses 8, 9 and 10).

In all these stages or forms of *Bhakti*, the devotee employs *Geetam* i.e., song, as the pre-eminent medium of self-concentration. When he utters words by the mouth, you find they come out automatically set to music, as it were. When he muses within himself, you can perceive he is *musicing* to himself, if I may so style it. His music may not be similar to that of the so-called scholar. It may be wanting in the technique of the art as we understand it. He may not know the *Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma* of music nor the various forms of time-keeping thereof. Nevertheless, there is music in every word which proceeds from his mouth, in every idea he expresses, and in every gesture he makes; and this is real music because it lulls the hearers into a repose.

One Thalari Rangadas who lived about 25 years ago at Masulipatam was a living example of the foregoing spiritualists. He was not an educated man in the sense in which we understand the phrase, and yet he always delivered his sermons arranged in *ex tempore* metrical compositions automatically set to music. The names of Ramadas, Kabirdas, Thukaram, Thulasidas, Thyagaraja and a host of similar devotees outlive creation, and they afford the best instances of established reputation for my conclusions.

Hence it becomes manifest that *Bhaktas* employ *Geetam*

(i.e., song) as an essential means of centralising their spiritual thoughts and as an assured source of bliss to themselves and to their following. They cling on to this kind of self-enjoyment and congregational entertainment through the medium of *Geetam*, even after they become accomplished *Gnanayogins*. This proves that *Geetam* is not only a means but an end in itself. That *Geetopasana* bears such fruit is borne out by the testimony of Shri Krishna's utterance in the following oft-quoted verse :—

"Oh Narada! I do not reside in *Vyunkuta* nor in the hearts of the *Yogins*, nor in the sun; but I am present where my devotees sing (my praises)."

Just as every sound musical or unmusical throws a *Gnana-yogin* into endless raptures, every musical sound finished or unfinished enchants a *Bhaktiyogin* and merges him in ecstasy. Thus *Geetam* leads to self-concentration, thence to self-communion and thence to self-realisation, which is the same as *Nirvikalpa Samadhi*. Such is *Geetopasana*, i.e., spiritual communion through the medium of *Geetam*.

A *Gnanayogin* or *Bhaktiyogin* above treated of belong to the category of persons who follow *Nivrithi Dharma* sometimes called *Gnanamaraga* and we have seen that they attain *Nirvikalpa Samadhi* through the medium of sound, the former through *Pranavopasana* and the latter through *Geetopasana* as stated briefly by Madhusudana Saraswathy in his *Prasthan Bheda*.

GEETOPASANA OF KARMAYOGINS

Now coming to the case of the followers of *Pravrithi Dharma* or *Karmamarga* or *Karmayoga*, you will find that music has a noble part to play in the programme of work. The Vedas themselves are musical compositions as already stated, and the *Samavedic* hymns are such in a much greater degree. The recitation of the Vedas, especially the *Samavedic* hymns forms a primary factor of Vedic ritual, and the *Veena* is employed as an accompaniment in

certain functions. Again certain *Upasanas* such as *Pranavodgetopasana* which accompany the ritual imply that they have to be performed in a musical manner, the Vedic ritual being mostly addressed to the Minor Gods, Indra, Varuna, etc. You find that music is employed to please them in *Shroutakarma*. So also in many forms of *Smarthakarma* music has a very important place to occupy for the purpose of pleasing God worshipped in the form of the several deities for whom they are intended. Thus we see that *Pravrithi Dharma* or *Karma Marga* has assigned a pre-eminent place to music in its observances, and its adherents are able to satisfy the presiding deities all the better for the use of music in their functions. The deities being so pleased, the *Karmayogins* achieve their objects such as *Satya Shuddhi* i.e., absolute purity of mind, and *Devata Sarupyamu* i.e., likeness of the deities according to the ideals they set before themselves in the course of their service.

From the above discussion, it may fairly be inferred that transcendental music ranges in three grades or types according to merit—*Pranavopasana* of *Gnanayogins*, *Geetopasana* of *Bhaktiyogins* and that of *Karmayogins*. The first two types lead to self-emancipation sooner or later, and the third makes for the spiritual progress of the votary.

CONVENTIONAL MUSIC

Now let us know what is meant by conventional music. It is that kind of music which obtains credit with the world at large either as an art or as a science. We Aryans generally know it by the word *Sangeetam*. Works on music define it as composed of three elements—*Bhava*, *Raga* and *Thala*. *Bhavam* may be taken to mean ideas, as generally understood, and emotion as truly interpreted. *Ragam* is defined as a combination of *Swarams*, a *Swaram* being so named as it automatically pleases the hearer's heart. *Thalam* refers to time-keeping. Such a definition of music, of course, covers as well the three types of transcendental music above commented upon, but the three conceptions of *Bhava*, *Raga*

and *Thala* are found therein in their *Sukshma Sthithi*, i.e., subtle form, whereas in conventional music they become perceptible in their *Sthula Sthithi*, i.e., gross form. The spirit of subtle things, as everybody concedes, is inconceivable to ordinary minds, and hence the generality of people are not able to discern the splendour and grandeur of transcendental music. Knowing this, our Maharshis have discovered such forms of sounds wherein the all-blissful aspect of *Brahman* becomes manifest even to the untutored mind and named them *Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni* as they occur in nature.

Just as the sun and the moon manifest the all-resplendent attribute of the all-pervading *Brahman* in such a way as everyone may comprehend its glory beyond doubt, the seven musical notes above-named manifest the all-blissful aspect of the all-pervading sound so as to bring it home to each and everyone in all its vividness. The reader will appreciate the truth of the above remarks all the better when he understands the real import of the arrangement of the scale of musical sounds. The scale consists of twenty-two sounds called *Shrutis* arranged into seven periods of *Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni*. Each period consists of several notes and they are pronounced as *Sa, Ri, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni*, according to the periods in which they occur. The word *Shruti* means 'that which is heard' and covers every sound produced; and hence it follows that *Shrutis* are innumerable; but every such sound is not a *Swaram* because a *Swaram* is such that it should please the hearer's heart the moment it touches his ears. Such *Swarams* are those which are produced in certain relativity to a given starting sound called *Athara Shruti*. So every *Shruti* becomes a *Swaram* only when it occupies a relative position from a given *Athara Shruti*. I have dealt with the *Shrutis* and the musical scale of *Swarams* in detail in my paper styled, 'Lecture on music' and hence I pass over the matter with these few remarks made for the purpose of this essay.

MODERN SCIENCE AND MUSIC

Modern scientists of course define a musical sound as one produced by a regular number of vibrations, and noise as produced by an irregular number of vibrations. Regularity and irregularity are only relative conceptions of the ordinary human intellect, and you will be convinced on better research that there is nothing irregular in nature, and that regularity is the dominating principle of the cosmos. My discussion above on *Shrutis* and *Swarams* lays bare the wrong conception of the scientists as regards the definition of musical sounds. The invention of the gramophone supports my views still further. It records all sorts of sounds—the so-called musical as well as unmusical sounds. If really the so-called unmusical sounds have no regularity about them, they cannot be produced and reproduced in the same manner. Hence the scientist's definition must be taken to be deduced from general notions of relativity and he does not make an accurate statement on the matter with a sound mastery of the cosmic theory. Again our Maharishis have recognised that concepts formed out of words, and time-keeping kept by the hand can be easily grasped by men of ordinary equipment and have prescribed the same as constituting *Bhavam* and *Thalam*. *Bhavam* literally means 'existence' and implies the *Satya* aspect i.e. the eternity aspect of Brahman. The derivative meaning of *Ragam* is 'pleasingness' and it connotes the *Gnana* aspect i.e. the all-conscious or the all-blissful *Shruti* aspect of Brahman. *Thalam* comes from a root-meaning 'time' and it signifies the '*Ananta*' aspect i.e. the infinity aspect of Brahman. Our Maharishis perceived that these three aspects of Brahman, discernible though they are in every phase of sound, and in every atom of matter evolved therefrom, are vividly manifest in verbal concepts, *Swara* combinations and time-keeping, assuming the names of *Bhava*, *Raga* and *Thala* respectively, and have achieved a system of music on these premises to please all grades of people. This is the conventional system of music as opposed to the transcend-

ental system above described, wherein the three elements of music representing the three aspects of *Brahman* overlap one another, as it were, and become unrecognisable by the lay mind.

THE PURPOSE OF CONVENTIONAL MUSIC

The purpose of conventional music is two-fold—first, it is prescribed as a means to achieve access to the sphere of transcendental music, and secondly, it can be utilised as a source of worldly happiness which consists in the appeasement of earthly desires. I may be pardoned when I say that the majority of present day musicians and hearers have the latter purpose in view and not the former.

The next question is, how conventional music secures access to transcendental music, and the answer is this. In all human actions, you find three agencies working—the mind, the tongue and the body. The ultimate object of transcendental music is to attain *Nivriti*, i.e., inaction resulting in and following from self-realisation. *Nivriti* which leads to self-realisation is what should be achieved by a perfect control of the above three agencies of human action, and their undivertible concentration upon *Brahman* seated within and without oneself. We have seen already how in transcendental music, these agencies get centred upon a spiritual plane either inward or outward and almost coalesce into a unified product of self-communion. In conventional music, you have the three agencies working for a common goal, *Bhavam* representing the mind, *Raga*, the tongue, and *Thalam*, the body. If the common purpose be to gain approach to transcendental music, the agencies have to be so wielded as to take you to its portals by continued and sustained efforts for their concentration. Once we reach the avenues of transcendental music through conventional music, it is no longer conventional but more and more transcendental, and leads you to absolute blissfulness all the sooner. On the other hand, if the common purpose for which the three agencies are employed pertains to worldly advance,

you begin to secede from God by degrees and finally get landed in inextricable shoals of self-annihilation.

A WORD OF EXPLANATION

The reader may question me how it is that I have not touched the subject proper in spite of so long an expatiation on introductory matter as it appears to be. The answer is not far to seek. He will be mistaken if he considers the preceding observations as constituting a prelude to the subject of investigation. The Aryan system of music has two main branches, the Hindustani and the Karnatic. It is my honest conviction, not based upon any surmises of a layman but upon due deliberation worthy of a practical artist, that the Karnatic school has preserved the individuality of the Aryan conception of music intact much better than its sister school. The Hindustani school is more a hybrid rather than a purely natural product, owing to its assimilation of a foreign system, that of the Mussalmans, to a fault. Hence everything I have stated above appertains to Karnatic music in its philosophical aspect. In my next article, I shall deal with the essentials of Karnatic music.

British Beginnings in Andhradesa¹

BY LANKA SUNDARAM, M.A., F.R.E.S.

MADHAVAYAPALEM

I

Metchlipatam,
March the 17th, 1699.

Rangarays Governor of Madapollam to the Consul with the Bill of Sale and Cowle for the Ground.

The ground which I have granted you. You write me you cant build upon it. Yet these three months 'ts very well when 'ts expired you may begin to build your Factory and Walls and go on with your affairs as you think fit and desire you'll still continue your friendship.

II

Rangaray's Coule to the Consul for a washing Tanck and Ground belonging to it. March the 20, 1699.

I Rangaray's Governor of Maddapollom grant this Cowle to the Honorable John Pitt Esquire² Consul and President for affairs of The Honorable Company for their use for Washermen, Beaters, Peons and Coolies; and a Compound of Ground with a Tanck from Seid Cawn's House to the abovesaid Tanck, upon which ground these people shall live in his service wholly without molestation; all which I grant the Consul Rent-free.

III

Rangaray's Bill of Sale for the Ground sold the Consul in Madapollam, March the 20th, 1699.

I Rangarays (son to Coldindee Ramrays Prbprietor and Governor of the Country of Ellore) have sold to John Pitt Esquire Consul and President for affairs of the Honorable

¹ Continued from the last issue.

² Cousin of Thomas Pitt, Governor of Fort St. George from 1698 to 1709.

Company on their account a compound of ground from East to West 260 yards long, from north to south 148 and the Godown built by my Uncle Kanmunt Rass for 430 pagodas and the House built by the Old Company's Merchants (which they sold me) for 150 pagodas and the Ground it stands on, with its Compound for Pagodas 100. So the whole extends from the Dutch Factory Eastward, to the English Factory Westward, to the River Southward; the whole Cost amounts to 680 Pagodas which I have received and have allowed him a Sheet from East to West and an other fronting the factory Gate toward the Governor's House, and whosoever shall trouble or molest him for what I have sold him, I promise to be answerable for it to him; and by virtue of this Cowle grant him the privilege of building or what he thinks fit upon it.

IV

Metchlipatam,
September 19th, 1699.

Copy of a Cowle from Rangarays to the Consul.

You wrote to me for a Cowle to carry on the Company's affairs in Madapollam which I have granted. You may take my Cowle and come to Madapollam where you shall find all imaginable assistance in your Investments where you may employ whom you please for Merchants and Servants and find a satisfaction to your hearts content.

V

A Cowle granted by Callidindeh Ramarauze to Mr. Humphrey Holcombe, United East India Company's Resident at Metchlipatam.

I hereby give the English permission to resettle at their old Factory at Madapollam there to trade in cloth and other commodities the product of this country and do grant them their Merchants, and Servants free liberty to import and export all sorts of goods that they shall think proper to deal in custom free, and do allow them to build ships, Boats, or any other Vessels whatever that they may or shall have occasion for and assure them they shall not be hindered or troubled in their commerce as long as they are under my protection.

VI

A Cowle granted by Nabob Moobaurize Cawn Bahadur, Subah of Golcondah to the United English East India Company for a settlement at Madapollam under the Government of Narsapore.

Having been told that the Honorable United English East India Company formerly had a Factory at Madapollam where they carried on a great Trade but finding it decaying retired from thence; but being desirous to resettle there and having requested of me a Cowle for that purpose, do now grant them the following one, viz;

I hereby grant the English free liberty to purchase cloth and all other commodities Madapollam produceth and permit them to import or export all manner of goods, build Ships, Boats, or any other Vessels whatsoever without the least hinderance or molestation and do not require to them the customs paid by me according to Sallabat. In order to their living in tranquility at Madapollam, I have issued out my orders to all Phousdars, Jemindars, and other Officers under my jurisdiction not only to permit them to trade freely at Madapollam but have strictly commanded them not to impede or molest them in their traffic directly, or indirectly under pain of my displeasure provided, that if any disputed among the Merchants, or other Inhabitants, they are to be decided by my Deputies.

MASULIPATAM

I

Metchlipatam,
November 2nd, 1699.

The Nabob Fakier Ulla Cawn's Roka or Letter to Maumud Husseine Begue. Phouzdar of Metchlipatam.

That 'twas his Orders that the English Company's business should be aiding and assisting in it and encourage it to his power. That he should not trouble nor disturb them on account of customs; that they were preparing to request a Phirmaund if they did not succeed in't, 'twas time enough to consider of that hereafter that he had ordered a vest and Horse to be sent.

II

Madapollam,
October the 11th, 1700.

Meedee Cawn Begue Nabob's letter to Meer Salla Governor of Metchlipatam : received from Siccacull.

The Honorable John Pitt, Esquire, Consul &c has wrote to me for my Phirwonna and to write to you to forward their business. For that reason I write this Order you to assist them according to the former custom of the English Nation.

III

Copy of Meer Salla &c Officers of Metchlipatam Cowle given to the Honorable John Pitt Esq. Consul &c April the 17, 1699.

Where-as the Honorable John Pitt Esquire, Consul for the English Nation on this Coast, has given notice to the Government that an ambassador from the King of England¹ &c is set out from thence designing to land at this Port or Surat to proceed either place for the camp of the presence of the Great Mogul to procure a Phirmaund for carrying on their business; upon which notification We order, that they import and export Goods of all sorts Bullion, Gold, Silver &c Stores Shipping and ammunition for the same and all sorts of Grain and Provision to and from any port in Ships, Sloops, or Boats of any nature whatsoever and farther they may trade by or sell in this country what, when and how they please, or do anything else at pleasure according to Sallabad or the former custom and do give them leave and free liberty to transact according to the same as well for their Merchants, Factors, Servants and all others belonging to the English in Metchlipatam or any other place under that Government; and as for themselves they may carry on their affairs live and prosper; and we further order, that they be not molested or hindered in the same; and we shall and will protect and assist them to our power and they may rely upon't and proceed in their business till the Phirmaund arrives.

¹ The Reference is to the arrival of Sir William Norris as the ambassador of the New English East India Company established by charter on the 5th of September 1698.

IV

Metchlipatam,
November 28th, 1699.

Translate of the Request and Cowle given by the Government of Surat to Mr. Newse, etc.

Mr. Benjamin Newse and Mr. Clud Broose New Company's Merchants Salam to the Great Governor the 2th of November of 1699 on the 3d day of the Jamada Hassane and 43d Juluse or Year of the Throne by the grace we arrived safe in Surat Port and about a month before us the Montague one of our Ships was dispatched for India whom we expect every day to arrive here, and upon her the Consul; after we came they intended to send another ship which will be here in a little time an ambassador with five ships and from thence to the King. The Ships are to look out for rogues. Meer Saheb Salamut we hope you'll give us a Phirwonna that will please us that we may bring our goods ashore and trade till the ambassador brings a Phirmaund and Hassaball Hooockum from the King.

V

Metchlipatam,
November the 2nd, 1699.

Fakier Ulla Cawn Nabob to the Consul from Siccacull.

Courageous and Honorable Senior Consul Governor of the English Company now residing at Metchlipatam, I congratulate their arrival and wish you prosperity. In the year 1111 you sent Haggee Soliman Begue to me and I am made acquainted with and sensible of your affairs and for your sake and satisfaction have dispatched my Roka to Maumud Hussein Begue now Fouzdar of the place about your business and given him leave to Tachereife¹ you and for what you desired you must not suspect or apprehend any trouble but believe and be assured all will go well. The Second Day of Samal dea Oval.

¹ Honour and offer presents.

VI

Metchlipatam,
October the 11th, 1700.

Noboob Mede Cawn Begue to the Consul from Sicca-cull.

The two letters you wrote me I received; one intimating your affairs and another concerning Narsinga Raw. I have perused them and observe the contents and accordingly have granted you two Phirmaunds; one to Narsingraw and the other to Marsall the form as customary; so you may follow your affairs with discretion. You must consider the Emperor's interest by a plentiful Trade and number of Europe ships that he may be assured of your honorable design for the good of his country which will add to your reputation and gain an honorable esteem for your masters.

VII

Madapollam,
October 11th, 1700.

Nabob Meede Cawn's Letter to Narsingaraw, Governor of Rajahmahindrum Country. From Siccaculle.

Lately the Consul wrote me a Letter which I received; they have sent for cloth, Red wood &c from Reddeminehim and those parts and has sent to me a Phirwona which I grant him; you must observe and strictly examine whether the English in the time of Mustapha Cooly Cawn (who is dead) paid any custom or Duties for any manner of commodities; if so you must act according to the old custom, otherwise not.

PETTAPOLE

Metchlipatam,
September 28th, 1699.

Goondapa, Governor of Peetapolee; his Cowle given to the Consul.

You have desired from me a Cowle to forward your Company's affairs in Petipole and Deourum Parr or Devorum

Pock; so, according to their Phirwonna you get from above and as you proceed in Metchlipatam I have granted you a Cowle for landing or shipping your goods and assisting your affairs as shall concern these places so desire you'll send your shipping in these parts for the promoting of Trade where you shall find every thing answerable to your expectation.

VELAGAPUDI AND DEVARAMPOKA

I

Metchlipatam,
July the 22nd, 1700.

Meer Sallas, Fouzdar of Metchlipatam, his Cowle for renting Deourum Parr or Devorum Pock and Yallaga Poonde.

I, Meer Salla, give this Cowle to the Honorable John Pitt, Esquire, Counsel &c for three years for the renting of Deourum Parr or Devorum Poch and Yallega Poondée belonging to the Government of Petepolee for the time, his to pay 1110 Pagodas; he must manure the ground and encourage the people for the good of the places that the Inhabitants may live happy and easy under him; he's to pay Deurum Parr 200 Pagodas, the the River Custom Pagodas 50, Yallaga Poondée Pagodas 120; all which amounts to 370 Pagodas a year and every 4 months is to pay 123 Pagodas 12 fanams till the time's expired, so may manage his affairs according as he pleases from the 44 year of the King's Reign till the 46th is expired. Dated July 5th 1700.

II

Metchlipatam,
December the 2nd, 1700.

Perseram, Phouzdar Pettepolee, His Cowle for Deourum Parr and Yellaga Poondée gave the Consul.

I, Perseram, give this Cowle to the Honorable John Pitt Esquire Consul &c for three years for the renting Deorum Parr or Devorum Poch and Yallaga Poondée belonging to the Government of Pettapolee, for the time he's to pay Pagodas 1110; he must manure the ground, and encourage the

people for the good of the place that the inhabitants may live happy and easy under him ; he's to pay for Deourum Parr or Devorum Pock Pagodas 200, the River Custom 50, Yellaga Poondée Pagodas 120 ; all which amounts to 370 Pagodas a year and every four months is to pay Pagodas 123 and 12 fanams till the time's expired so may manage his affairs as he pleases from the forty-four year of the King's Reign till the 46 is expired. Dated 9th day of July 1700.

Mullapara's.
Pearum Rass.
Chundera Secaur.
Narran Chunno.

Proprie for
Do.

Memorandums.

Metchlipatam.

Ameene Gundapa granted the Consul a Cowl for the Rent of Deouram Parr or Devorum Pock which we have still by us, but the Government being changed and he removed, we got a fresh Cowl of the same purport from Perseram, his Successor, in the Month of December as in course you'll find which is the reason we have not entered Gundapa's Cowle.

PROHIBITION OF THE TRADE OF THE NEW E.I.C.

Metchlipatam,
December 23rd, '99.

A Phirwonna General given by Fakeir Ulla Cawn, Nabob, to the Old Company prohibiting all others but those own'd.

Translate of a Cowle given Mr. Holcomb, Chief of Vizagapatam &c. westward as far as Munagala, North as far as Pallow, being eighty leagues along shore to enjoy a free Trade ; and whatever English Shipping shall arrive in any of your Ports, and are not acknowledged by him as such and have not his permission shall not have any liberty to trade but liable to a seizure. I accordingly have given this Cowle this 2d day of Suffer.

SPECIMEN RECEIPTS

I

Metchlipatam,
March the 20, 1699.

Moyante Naso's Receipt (Srof to Rangaray's) for Pagodas 680 paid him on account Ground &c granted the Company at Madapollam.

Received of the Honorable John Pitt, Esquire, Consul and President for affairs, on the account of Rangarays the sum of 680 Pagodas being for Ground bought of him in Madapollam. I say received this 20 day of March 1699.

II

Madapollam,
June 12th, 1700.

Rangarays Receipt for Pagodas 320 received in full of Pagodas 1000 for his Cowle and Ground &c Privileges given the English Company trading to the East Indies ; the said 320 Pagodas being a present for the Grant of the said privileges more than the 680 pagodas.

Paper Manufacture in India

BY T. VENKAJI

I

Paper, as we all know, derives its name from 'Papyrus' the Greek name of a material used for writing purposes, manufactured in ancient times in Egypt from the Papyrus plant and which was the best approach to paper known up to the eighth century.

The stem of the Papyrus plant was divested of its skin, and the interior cellular tissue or pith was sliced or cut by a sharp instrument into thin strips or laminae which were spread lengthwise upon a table or slab moistened with water from the river Nile. Having prepared a sufficient quantity for a sheet in this manner, another layer was placed over it crosswise and the two were pressed together. The sheet, 'Plagula', thus formed was taken off the slab, dried in the sun and glazed by means of a tusk. About twenty of these sheets joined together formed a 'scapus' and several 'scapi' together a 'volumen' of more or less size.

The quality of the Papyrus manufactured in Egypt was very inferior but was greatly improved by the Romans, who not only used a superior sizing but rendered the sheet more compact by means of pounding with a hammer. A second coat of sizing and repeated pounding increased its durability. The Roman Papyrus was very white and measured about 27 x 30 cm. It remained in use in Italy until the eleventh century, although its fame was greatly impaired as early as the eighth and the ninth centuries by the rapidly increasing use of parchment and at a later period by the invention of the cheaper and better classes of paper in more recent times. The historical interest of Papyrus centres in the fact that the Papyrus plant was first used for this manufacture about 800 B.C.

PAPER MANUFACTURE IN INDIA

75

What we call paper at the present day is not a ready-made product of nature but is a sheet artificially felted from many fibres in which the original form of the raw material can no longer be recognised and which does not bear the slightest resemblance in outward appearance to the Papyrus of the Ancients.

The Chinese were probably the first manufacturers of felted papers and for many centuries they used the inner bark of the mulberry tree. In Japan too, the process of manufacturing paper was very much the same. The plants are steamed for six hours in large vats with perforated false bottoms, after which the bark is peeled off and dried in the sun until quite brittle. It is then put to soak in clean cold water for four days to render it sufficiently soft to admit the outer bark to be scraped off. Having been thus cleaned, the good inner bark is peeled off and put in bundles and again exposed to the sun to be dried and bleached.

These are then boiled in a lye for sometime. The lye is prepared by the extraction from the ashes of the tobacco and buckwheat stalks, after a long and elaborate process. Where lime is cheaper, this is used instead of the lye for inferior grade of papers.

The bark is then placed upon a heavy slab of hardwood and beaten into pulp by four men sitting around the slab each using a hardwood mallet. The beaten fibre is then placed in the pulp vat and sufficient water is added to render the stuff suitable for paper making. In order to fill up the pores of the paper and make it still whiter, a sizing of rice flour in water is filtered through a cloth into the pulp and evenly distributed by means of a paddle or an agitator. In this manner the stuff is kept in continual motion preventing deposits until the vat is emptied.

The pulp is dipped out of the vat by means of a seive made of fine strips of bamboo held together with silk or hemp strings. A removable wooden deckle forms an elevated border around the seive and retains a good quantity of the liquid pulp while the paper maker shakes the mould backwards and forwards. By this operation the water is drained from

the seive and the fibres are deposited on the bottom, intertwined in all directions according to the motion of the mould in the hands of the workman. Thus the fibres are formed into the felt which we call paper. The vatman places the finished sheets one upon another and only sheets of specially fine paper are separated by straw placed between them. A post of sheets having been completed it is placed in a lever press where it remains for several hours. The sheets are then removed one by one and dried in the sun on wooden planks like doors, etc.

This crude and primitive method was in use in China for eighteen hundred years and we hear that there are places even to-day where this old method is still carried on. With the many invasions and annexations of empires, this art was carried slowly towards the West and in about the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we see many paper mills established in almost all the countries in Europe.

<i>Spain.</i>	Good paper was manufactured in	...	1150
	Paper Mills near Bologna in	...	1200
<i>Italy.</i>	Cividale	...	1293
	Bataglia	...	1340
	Pinerolo	...	1381

(Fabriano was the most important paper trade centre at that time.)

<i>France.</i>	At Troyes in	...	1350
	Essonnes, Corbeil,	}	1411
	Banme-les-dames		

Watermarks of the Bull's Head were found in the papers as early as 1315.

Germany. A Paper Mill in Ravensburgh in Swabia was established in 1324, and the famous paper Mill of Ulman Stremer in Nuremberg in 1390, in Strassberg, now in France, in 1408 and in Breslau (1490) and in Kempen (1477) Augsburg in 1482.

<i>Switzerland.</i>	At Faverges near Annecy in	...	1350
	Allemogne (Pays de Glux)	...	1426
	Basel	...	1440
	Zurich	...	1470
	Marly near Freiburg	...	1411
	Worblaufen near Bern	...	1466
<i>Belgium.</i>	Huy	...	1405
	The Netherlands followed later	...	...
	The English in the year	...	1498
	The United States of America in the year	...	1690

Thus the art of paper making took nearly 1000 years to travel round the world, starting in Japan in about 800 A.D. and returning back to Japan in 1870 when the most modern Mills were erected in Japan.

II

Tracing the same development in the manufacture of paper in India, the first authentic records of this art date from the time of the Emperor Akbar when it is said to have been introduced into the Province of Kashmir. Prior to this only birch bark and palm leaves were the materials used to write upon. This is known in Sanscrit as 'Pathra' and 'Bhurja Pathra'. The Chinese art slowly descended from the Himalayas. It is recorded that a letter was written on a thing called 'paper' by the King Bhoja of Dhara in the Malwa State in the eleventh century. The way in which the art of paper making was introduced as recorded by the great historian Alberuni was through the prisoners of China. Peterson discovered in Anhilvad Patan, manuscripts of 1328, the leaves of which were cut according to the size of the palm leaves. It is very doubtful if any of the manuscripts from Caaskhar which were written on a peculiar paper covered with a layer of gypsum were of Indian origin. Doctor Hoernle believes that all of them were written in Central Asia. During his recent visits to Khatmandu, Pandit Harprasad Shastri acquired a Sanscrit manuscript belonging to the eleventh century A. D. on Nepal paper.

It may be interesting to mention that paper was made in Nepal partly from bamboo and partly from the bark of a small thorny shrub known as Mahadeva's flower (*Daphne Cannabina*). The surface was made glossy by rubbing with a smooth piece of stone. The Daphne paper was generally very thick and was made thicker by coating it with a paste made from the boiled kernel of the tamarind seed. It was coloured yellow on one side with turmeric. The paper thus prepared becomes very hard and looks almost like a piece of hide. A solution of starch made by boiling sunned rice was used for sizing paper which operation is called in the vernacular as 'tulat.' Except in the case of correspondence with the outside world, the Nepal government never used any machine-made paper.

The Daphne paper though commonly known as the Nepal paper was mostly made in Bhutan. The Bhutias used also the bark of another plant locally known as 'Diah' for paper making, the process being the same as in China and Japan.

As times advanced, the paper-making industry was gradually dying out. In the times of the Peshwas, rag of coarse texture was used by Indian saints for their religious compositions, by merchants for their accounts and by officers for their correspondence. The number of the educated was small and the production was very restricted and hence the cost of paper was very high.

During this century, the chief centres for paper making were :

Bombay Presidency.

- | | | |
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| 1. Roje. | 2. Ahmedabad. | 3. Erandol. |
| 4. Junnur. | 5. Nasik. | 6. Poona. |
| 7. Bijapur. | 8. Bagalkot. | 9. Gokak. |
| 10. Tallikot. | | |

Bengal Presidency.

1. Villages Maiah, and Uleberia in Hooghly Dt.
2. „ Kristpur and Srirampur in Moorashadbad Dt.

This industry was in the hands of a class of Mahomedans known as 'Kagjees' or paper-makers (from the Persian word 'Kagus') and the locality of paper making known as 'Kagji Peth.' The development during this period was so much that nearly 800 boys were employed in the year 1846 in paper making. The Ahmedabad paper was chiefly used in the Government offices for their vernacular registers and by Indian traders whose ways of book-keeping and book binding required a tough and close-grained paper. Down to the South this industry was brought very late. In 1800 A.D. it is said that one Balajee Abbajee brought a colony of Musalman 'Kagjees' from Roje in Ahmedabad and set up a paper factory in Nasik, while at the same time one Allubhai brought another colony of 'Kagjees' from Junar and started the first Paper Factory in Poona. The Peshwas helped this industry very much by the grant of free lands and buildings and as soon as their power declined this industry too shared the fate of the Peshwas. In the village called Kondapalli near Bezwada on the M. & S. M. Railway this industry was existing till very recently, but due to the advent of industrial concerns and the consequent inefficiency of crude craft and also to the poverty of the masses, the 'Kagjees' found it expedient to forsake their ancestral art and they were therefore obliged to devote their attention for their livelihood to weaving, agriculture and daily labour.

Thus this art of making paper by hand is still carried on well in Kashmir perhaps owing to the encouragement given by the Maharaja of Kashmir, but it is only a thing of ancestral legendary antique beauty and historical interest. Further the cost of production prohibited the growth of this art any further. The following varieties may be noted:—

1. 'Bara Rukhi' (Small sized paper the width being about 8" to 9" or 12 fingers laid side by side) cost 12 quires for Re. 1 or Ish. 6d.
2. 'Sola Rukhi or Jangri' (the width of 16 fingers or 16" to 18") 5 quires for Re. 1 or Ish. 6d.
3. 'Biara' (Used in state offices) 9 quires per Re. 1.

4. 'Baleswari' White or blue (a thick paper made at Amta, Howrah District) 2 quires for Re. 1.

Though costly the paper was considered very strong and durable but it could not stand the competition with machine-made paper, nor was the surface of the paper smooth and even enough to be used for parchment and currency paper as is used in Great Britain, etc.

III

Coming to the modern times, the most appalling contrast with the ancient times presents itself to us. In the olden days India had its own share and could manage to supply its own paper when the other countries could not help themselves. But when other nations are supplying paper at a very cheap cost, Indians probably thought it not worth their while to worry themselves about making paper but were content to be supplied by others. There are only five good and big paper Mills in India at the present day, worth the name.

1. The Upper India Couper Paper Mills at Lucknow on the banks of the River Gumpti is the oldest one existing in India and that entirely under Indian management; started in 1872 and manufacturing now nearly 35 tons a week.

2. The next oldest paper Mill is that of Messrs. F. W. Heilgers at Calcutta who have two paper Mills one at Kankeneira and the other at Titagarh, both manufacturing nearly 350 tons a week. This Mill was started as early as 1882 and is entirely under European management.

3. Though small the next oldest Mill is the Reay Paper Mills at Mandhwa, near Poona, which is also entirely managed by Indians and one important point worthy of mention is that during 1922 when I was working in that Mill, the Managing Director was a lady, Mrs. Nusservanjee Merwanjee. This Mill is not on a grand scale nor does it use the staple raw material of sabai grass but all mill waste from the Mills in Bombay and Ahmedabad. It is not run all through the year.

4. The Bengal Paper Mills at Ranigunj started in 1889, has an output of nearly 130 tons a week.

5. The most recent and successful Mill using bamboo as raw material is the India Paper Pulp Company, at Naihati started in the year 1918.

The other Mills of minor importance but yet existing still in India are:—

1. The Meenakshi Paper Mills at Punalur, in Travancore.

2. The Pudumjee Paper Mills near Lalchimney, Bombay.

3. The Girgaum Paper Mills near Sandhurst Road, Bombay.

All these Mills put together do not manufacture more than 30,000 tons annually while we consume in India nearly 100,000 tons annually. One thing that strikes us is that in a country like India with all its natural advantages for the manufacture of paper, *i.e.*, abundant supply of raw material, water and transport, and more than all cheap labour, we are not able to manufacture what we want but depend on countries like Great Britain to supply what they cannot manufacture owing to the want of natural conditions there. In Great Britain, they have no raw material at all, as they import the wood pulp from Norway and Sweden, and grass from Spain and North Africa. Water too they have not enough, except in Scotland. Another depressing aspect is that India with all its natural advantages and with an area of nearly 1,900,000 sq. mls. has only five Paper Mills to count, while Scotland with 45,000 sq. mls. has fifty best Paper Mills supplying paper to the world.

The Import and Export Statistics give a shock when we see that nearly one crore rupees worth (One Million Pounds) of printing paper is annually imported into India from the United Kingdom and nearly half the quantity in value of writing papers are also similarly imported, not to speak of the other supplies from Sweden and Germany.

It is needless to mention how important and necessary an article like paper is. It is an article of everyday use and is needed by everybody, educated or uneducated. And the spread of education along with civilisation is increasing the

consumption of paper though we have not yet reached a stage like the one in America where the consumption of paper per head is 100 lbs. per year. And if we ignore this side of development in trying to produce cheap paper, it would be a very long time before we can think of development and this cost in paper hinders the spread of education a great deal.

IV

Apart from this internal difficulty, we are now thrown into a world problem, which is threatening the Paper Trade in the world. It is generally believed that the consumption of paper in the world is increasing while the supply of raw material is constant in some places and decreasing in others. The development of towns and the consequent increase in population are mainly responsible for the various schemes of de-forestation, thereby curtailing the supply of wood for paper manufacture. The situation has of late been growing very serious.

Even now there are two different schools of thought, one trying to destroy all the forests in the interests of colonisation in places like Canada where the growth of towns is proceeding vigorously, while the other section of politicians favour the preservation of the forests to maintain an unlimited supply of raw material for the manufacture of paper and attempt to make the penny paper cheaper still. Any increase in the cost of paper strikes at the purse of the poor and diminishes the possibilities of cheaper education. Hence a dire necessity has been found for the exploitation of new raw materials and to conjure up the secrets of Nature to get newer material for this commodity, without which the very name of civilisation must go down to oblivion. So every nation in the world is now busy with experiments for the search of new raw materials. Ideas worth listening to have been expounded and discussed. Cotton stalks, Bagasse, the refuse of the sugarcane after removing the sugar-juice from it, and the dust-bin waste have been some of the ideas that have been propounded but none of them could

stand the crucial test of industrial efficiency, some even floundered in the laboratory itself, while some are still in the experimental stage.

Anyway, it was as early as 1850 that the first attempts were made for the exploitation of bamboo to investigate if it contained the necessary fibre for paper manufacture. The name of Mr. R. W. Sindall, the British Paper and Pulp Expert, must be mentioned first of all, though before him Mr. Thomas Routledge, the Pioneer in Esparto Grass Pulp making, carried on his experiments on bamboo. The labours of Sindall came almost to a success but in the end he was not much satisfied with it, as he could not find a way to get rid of the nodes on the culms of the bamboos. Across the seas, Mr. Richmond made some experiments in the Hawaiian Islands but all these did not conclusively prove the possibilities of bamboo as a fit substitute for wood for paper making for one defect or other, either in bleaching or in the removal of the nodes.

The question of bamboo was therefore suspended for a time till Mr. R. S. Pearson made elaborate investigations regarding the supplies of bamboo and brought out the possibility of getting abundance of bamboo sufficient for the whole world's consumption. Mr. Raitt, an analytical chemist and paper maker, was called in to help the Government of India and he made elaborate experiments to get rid of the defects pointed out by his predecessors in this field. Mr. Raitt devoted all his time to this and made a life-study of bamboo for nearly twenty-four years and he invented a new method by which he could not only remove the drawbacks pointed out by Mr. Sindall and others but also made the cost of this bamboo pulp cheaper than the Swedish pulp from wood, which is the chief raw material for all printing papers. Mr. Raitt proved by experiments in laboratories and on an industrial scale in Paper Mills, that the production of bamboo pulp is cheaper than any other kind of pulp on the Continent. The wood pulp in a grade similar to bamboo pulp has now a cost value, landed in England, of £13-10-0 per ton and of this nearly £7 goes towards the cost of wood

itself. The corresponding figure for bamboo is a minimum of £1-10-0 and would never be over £2-10-0 per ton. To quote a recent report of the Indian Tariff Board :—

“Bamboo can be landed at a Mill at a cost low enough to make it a great deal cheaper than wood to the European manufacturer with all the duties and freight included.” Thus taking all the worst circumstances into consideration, the bamboo pulp delivered in British markets would never be over £11-10-0 per ton while the wood pulp is never less than £13-10-0 per ton, with possibilities for the cost to increase in view of the anticipated shortage of wood supply and a wood famine in 25 years to come, calculated on the strength of the increase in the spread of education and paper consumption and a proportionate decrease in the growth of wood. Further bamboo has unique advantages in the growth. It grows in five years and so five plots of land reserved for the growth of bamboo and one plot cut every year would guarantee the Mill a perennial supply of bamboo, as the cut plot would be ready with bamboo in five years, while wood requires nearly 30 to 40 years to grow. The present estimate of the availability of bamboo in India shows that there is sufficient bamboo in India and Burma to supply the whole world's consumption of pulp.”

Thus India is now drawn into the vortex of a world problem to actively take part in this supply of bamboo pulp to the world and save the world from an impending starvation and help itself.

If we are too slack to take the task upon our shoulders, we cannot blame the other nations who take this task of helping themselves with large supplies of bamboo pulp, by establishing nearly eighty pulp factories in India and eradicate the present trouble but it would not be to the interests of Indian capital. Foreign capital would easily flow in and we shall stand back gaping at what others are doing to their own advantage. India has all the advantages but lacks in co-operation, industrial venture and business grit besides a wee bit of Luck.

A Wanderer in the Middle East

BY P. CHENCHIAH, M.L.

VAGABONDAGE

As in life, so in travelling, a man is rewarded according to the measure of his hopes and expectations. The American who is anxious to ‘do’ a country returns home satisfied with a thinner pocket-book and a thicker note-book. The studious traveller imbibing solid knowledge wherever he goes, endows the public libraries with books of travel that repose undisturbed on the shelves. The ‘sight-seer’ is a grade above these. To him the world is a new film released, with this difference that while he moves the ‘film’ is stationary. Above the plebian crowd, stands the ‘philosophic wanderer’ to whom travel is one long wondrous drama in which he acts the title role. He endeavours to ‘lose’ himself among the ‘people’ he is visiting, to get some insight into the ‘soul’ of the country as limned in the smiling faces of its children, the serious faces of its citizens; to catch a vision of life through the ‘windows’ of human hearts and minds. When you have seen all that could be seen, there is still a strange dissatisfaction which is removed only when you dress like the natives, wander aimlessly in their bazaars, mix promiscuously in their crowds, laugh and chat with them and for a supreme moment feel that you are one of them. True travelling has always a spice of vagabondage and is an end in itself.

THE GREAT MANŒUVRE

To the unimaginative, modern travelling is very prosaic. It has none of the dangers, surprises and thrills that make the adventures of ‘Sinbad the Sailor’ so dear to our hearts. No shipwrecks on the sea, no bandits on the land, no magicians who bewitch you, no rocs that

carry you into the valley of diamonds, and no princes to welcome, honor, and wed you to beautiful damsels. You enter the ship at Bombay and are deposited safely like the insured luggage at the destination. Yet with a little imagination you can turn your journey into an adventure full of thrills and narrow escapes. To a modern traveller, all the ancient enemies—the wild animals, cannibals, dragons and witches—all are transformed into guides. They beset you on the 'landing' at Port Said, lay in wait for you at the entrance of the hotels in Cairo, snare you at Jaffa gate in Jerusalem, capture you in the bazaars of Damascus. The great manoeuvre consists in dodging them when you can, outwitting them when you have a chance. It is a difficult game requiring a cool head, a stout heart, and strong nerves. The victory in almost every case is with the guide. Yet it is the mark of the intrepid traveller not to succumb without a fight. The guide, to give him his due, is like our pandit. He has a marvellous assortment of futile knowledge which he gets by heart. He knows the sights, and their history. He can take you along the beaten tracks. But for anything more, he is a broken reed. If you are fortunate to escape him, you will wander into uncharted realms, meet adventures, see life. All that is worthwhile remembering in my travels happened to me when I ran away from my guide.

STRATEGIC CENTRES

There is a regular science and art in travelling. When you want to understand a country, you must get hold of its physical and social strategic centres. The uninitiated may wearily 'rush' from place to place, from mosque to mosque, 'dragged' by the guide hither and thither and left in the end a lifeless inert mass, bored and tired. The 'wise' take themselves to the 'one' place which unrolls the whole panorama of a city before their eyes. One sees 'Cairo' from the citadel. One never knows the spell of Cairo unless one gazes for an hour on that mystic city from that supreme vantage point. There on the outskirts is the

endless desert, with the eternal pyramids standing sentinel and the sphinx puzzling out ageless mysteries; just below you is the forest of flats—uncouth and modern, redeemed by a thousand minarets pointing out their tapering fingers to the heavens as if in protest against 'modernism' in human habitations. To see Cairo from the citadel is to realise how truly it is a city of mosques.

There is a winding pathway that zigzags among mountains and valleys as you proceed from Bethphage to Jerusalem—a road sacred to Christians as the one on which Jesus rode when he entered Jerusalem for the last time. As you approach the city, you reach an eminence when without warning the city 'bursts' on you. From that height you see the holy city mapped out before you. There is the golden gate, which the Mahomedan tradition says will be opened when Jesus comes again to judge mankind; above it 'Haram-esh-Sheref' the beautiful and magnificent mosque with an exquisite porcelain dome that has risen over the ruins of the Jewish temple; beyond is the city of Zion, the dream and solace of a tortured race and in its centre the church of Holy Sepulchre—the traditional place where Jesus was crucified. How can you understand the agony of that crucified race, unless you weep over it from the place as Jesus did on a memorable occasion? How can you enter into the meaning of Christian religion—which symbolises the light that issues out of darkness, resurrection that emerges out of death, unless you ponder over the garden of 'Gethsemene' that is beneath you or over the dream of a city before you which as often as it was 'razed,' rose triumphantly in Resurrection?

But to understand Damascus, the oldest city of the world, you need mount no hill, climb no tower, but follow me to a café five miles outside the city and sit beside the 'Arab' who carries on his person and clothes the stains of a long journey. He has come from Baghdad in a caravan, ten days in the desert, and is now drinking in the sweet music of seven rivulets that are rippling below, with

carpets of superb green on the banks, as only a traveller in the desert can. Situated between howling sea and burning deserts, this city of orchards has ever been the praise of the poet. As you sit with this Arab and throw back your memory into the dim depths of the ages, conjuring up the visions of the storied past, you can enter into the feeling of Mahomed when he exclaimed, "As there is for man but one Paradise, it should not be sought on earth; and therefore I would not enter Damascus." The Arab's idea of Paradise is Damascus—an orchard with flowing streams and trees laden with fruit.

GATEWAYS OF THE HEART

But how can a traveller enter into the life of a strange city—understand something of the play of its social life? Here too the experienced traveller has his 'open sesame' which opens the locked doors. To understand the life of a city to which you are a stranger, here are the pass words. The first entrance is the café, which in the Middle East is a key to life. In Cairo there is the 'Café de Nile' just opposite to Ezbakir gardens. Sit at one of the round tables and clap hands. Like a jinnee at the bidding of a magician, a black Nubian waiter will materialise from somewhere. Speak the magic word 'coffee' and as the shoe-shine roughly takes hold of your feet, gently lean back and give yourself up to the study of swirling life around. Tram-cars disgorge every minute a most wondrous stream of coloured humanity—Beduins, Copts, Turks, Soudanese,—all types and varieties of the Middle East. Spend an hour at the game of guessing what type of beauty smiles behind the Yushmak, what kind of thought simmers beneath the Turbush and you have learned more about Cairo than an army of guides could tell. Right in the heart of the business quarter in Damascus, is the far-famed ice-cream shop. The proprietors guard the recipe, inherited from their forefathers, with zealous care. They beat the ice-cream with rollers just as the South Indian housewife pounds paddy in the mortar, till they draw it out like rubber and ladle

it to you in generous quantities. Around are marble walls with inscriptions from the Koran, reminding you of the vanity of life and the value of wisdom. A queer setting for eating ice-cream. That is however the key to Damascus social gaiety—pleasure as in paradise with none too obtrusive a suggestion that time is on its wing. This ice-cream shop is the Damascus version of Omar Khayam's tavern.

Next to café is the theatre. The stage is the window through which you can look into the soul of a people. The language may be foreign but the drama—the action and music—leaps into your understanding across the barriers of the spoken word. The dance too, is the true expression of the heart. There is no understanding of the East unless you catch the music of the feet. 'Thousand and one nights' is the poetic name, reminiscent of Arabian Nights, of the variety hall in Cairo. On the day I attended, it was a dancer from Stamboul who was drawing the city. Order your tambuk and in the mists of smoke curling upwards enigmatically yield yourself to the charms of the dance. Then you will catch a passing glimpse of life which otherwise is a sealed book.

The bazaar is another key of life. Is there anything more symbolic of Eastern life than the indescribable confusion and bustle of the bazaars? He must be a sorry pessimist, who can toss in the ebb and flow of an Eastern bazaar and yet feel that the Middle East is not a land of Romance. Alas! the bazaar is passing away. Three years ago the glory of Damascus was its 'Square' where camels and cars, beduins and city fops, fakirs and tribal Lords, water vendors, lemonade sellers—all wove clouded patterns of life. Now a well-ordered, decent, ugly piazza rules where once life rollicked in untrammelled confusion. Let us be thankful that no modern innovation can rob Jerusalem of its David Street, with its vegetable markets and grocery stalls. Who is the man that is walking down the street with the dignity of a Nawab and the pomp of a prince, with an elaborate

contraption of burnished brass, twinkling bells, strapped round his neck crying out "All ye who thirst come and drink my sharbet"? He is the lemonade vendor—the glory of Jerusalem.

Yet you stand outside the sanctum, till you enter the mosque and bow with the faithful before the august presence of the Almighty. The Arab has not only his gay but serious life as well. After the daily round in the bazaar and café he goes to the mosque. In the chaste severity of ornamentation and the chastened purity of architecture, the mosque is the visible embodiment of the spiritual message of Islam. The magic brotherhood, the sustained glory of Islam, perpetually issues out of the heart of the mosque. The stern simplicity, the spontaneous joy of life are the gift of the solemn spell of the mosque. I have entered many a mosque but never came out without some sense of the vanity of 'caste' and the value of brotherhood. Nevertheless it is not in the mosque that you understand the genius of Islam, any more than you discern the spirit of Hinduism in the temple. Mahomed is the prophet of the desert and Islam the religion of the sands. The Middle East is dominated by the desert. Its geography, history, botany, and culture can only be understood when the riddle of the sands is grasped. Every city is an oasis, every river a life giver. The Nile makes Egypt, the Jordan Palestine, the Abada Syria. After a desert journey, you quaff a cup of water with the reverence due to the elixir of life. The ungainly camel becomes the most beloved of the animals as it makes it possible for you to sail across the land seas to the city ports. The feverish thirst for joy, the true abandon of the Arab for music and dance, are born out of the restraints of a desert life destitute of colour and expression. Even his dream of the eternal home is cast after the pattern of cities with a river. A night in a desert is true education in Islam. We pitched our tents for a night in the desert and as the night stole, spent hours in the immensities of its solitude. I looked up to the heavens.

There on an ink-black sky, the solitary moon (without the accompaniment of a single star) looked down on an ocean of sand that billowed in endless waves. What a landscape! A bare sketch—not a single object to break its monotonous sweep. Alone in the silent world is the moon—the pallid witness of a mystery which populous civilizations can never apprehend. On a desert night like this, it seemed to me that the heavens proclaimed the creed of Islam—'There is no God but God'.

A PILGRIM'S REWARD

It is as a pilgrim that I went to Jerusalem this time—not so much to see the sights nor even to understand the Arab life and culture but to get some vision of the meaning and significance of Christianity, whose founder sanctified the history of the Jewish race by his life and death. At first it seemed a hopeless task for one nurtured in the Aryan spiritual tradition to hope to get into the heart of a faith whose body and mind is cast in a culture fundamentally different from ours. The more I saw Jerusalem the less it seemed likely that my prayer for a revelation will be answered. The history of the Jew is like a palimpsest—written over and over again in strange and unknown languages. The Arab and the crusader have changed the form and shape of the life of the Old and New Testaments. Not a scene of the life of Jesus is left untouched, not a Jew remains who looks like Jesus. A mad piety has built with unmeaning zeal a magnificent Sepulchre where Christ was crucified. The incongruous vision of a splendid church has risen over the manger where Christ was born. How can I pierce through these eras of new life and get some insight into reality? A miracle alone can help and a miracle did help. That strange and inexplicable prompting which not infrequently is God's response to prayer, guided my steps to the Coptic khan—a choultry as we call it—which across centuries of change remains an exact replica of the

manger that witnessed the birth of Christ. You can read the story of the birth of Jesus in such a place like that, and see before you every touch and suggestion of that wonderful story realised in brick and mortar. A blind man was singing in one of the rooms—a song which had in it all the pathos and pain of a heart crying out for a love that life cannot give. Just at the entrance was a maid lost in the memories of the song—to me symbolising in her expression of infinite sadness and sorrow the very mother of the Saviour. And between them I saw as in a day dream—the infant Jesus. I stood in a sacred place—for was it not such a conjunction—the pain-fraught cry of man and the love fraught compassion of the mother—that brought the very God into a lowly manger?

Love in Tamil Poetry

BY K. RAMARATNAM AIYAR, B.A.

Love and War are the two perennial themes which, as they make an instant appeal to every human heart and raise an immediate echo in every human bosom, have in every age and country enkindled the imagination and inspired the lyre of the Poet. Hence it is that the early literature in any language consists almost entirely of poems which either celebrate the love adventures or commemorate the martial achievements of some local or national celebrity, some real or legendary hero. Though to this principle Tamil Literature forms no exception, the poetical treatment of these themes in this language is, however, very peculiar, regulated as it is by an elaborate set of very rigid rules as binding and and irrefragable as the Laws of the Medes and the Persians, to which rigorous conformity is enjoined on all literary aspirants to fame—and food.

Among the great languages of the world, ancient or modern, Sanskrit and Tamil alone can claim to possess anything like a perfectly comprehensive, systematic and well-codified Grammar of undoubted antiquity or undisputed authority. What the work of Panini is to Sanskrit, that the treatise of Tholkappiyar¹ is to Tamil and both of them may be considered to be about 2000 years old.

The 'Tholkappiyam,'² so named after its author, is the oldest extant and most authoritative text-book on Tamil Grammar, and is the basis of all later grammatical works, which professedly only restate in a condensed and more compendious form the rules elaborately set forth in the premier treatise, with here and there a few modifications introduced by later usage, or called for by the natural

¹தொல்காப்பியர்

²தொல்காப்பியம்

growth and development of the language, or necessitated by the importation of foreign elements into it.

There is said to have been a still older and more elaborate work, of which the 'Tholkappiyam' is stated to be but a better arranged and more systematic redaction and which is known as 'Agathiyam', so named after its author, the sage Agastiyar, of puranic fame according to many or some other namesake of his according to some. But of the scheme, scope or structure of this supposed original we know almost next to nothing, as it has been completely washed down the stream of time into the sea of oblivion, except a few stray 'sutras' quoted in later works as extracts therefrom. The 'Tholkappiyam' therefore is the Grammar of Grammars which even after the lapse of twenty centuries still continues to occupy the throne without a rival and exercise supreme sway. Time has writ no wrinkles on its brow, nor has custom staled its infinite beauties.

It is only after a considerable period of wild literary efflorescence in any language and with a view to set up a certain uniform standard of literary excellence and ensure the artistic beauty of literary productions that the need for a grammar of the language arises, and to supply that need a grammatical work appears. And as not only in the early stages but even for a long time afterwards all literary expression in any language invariably takes a poetical form, we may take it that the main, if not the sole, purpose of such a work is to guide and regulate the erratic flight of wayward poetical genius across the realms of human thought or the fields of human activity. The study of the form and features, the frame and structure of the language, its orthography, etymology and syntax, is useful and valuable only in reference to its use and employment as a fit vehicle for the full expression of free flowing thought. Hence the true grammar is that which concerns itself not merely with the words but also with the thoughts and ideas which the words serve to express. This the 'Tholkappiyam' steadily keeps in view.

The 'Tholkappiyam' consists of three main parts, the 'Elutt-atikaram,'¹ the 'Soll-atikaram,'² and the 'Porul-atikaram,'³ corresponding roughly to the sections on Orthography, on Etymology and Syntax, and on Prosody and Rhetoric of a modern English grammar. But it is the third part which is the most important, the other two being in fact but subservient and ancillary to it. In the first part the Letters of the Tamil Alphabet are considered both individually and as combined into words, whose function is to express individual conceptions. The second deals with Words both separately and as constructed into sentences, whose service is to express isolated thoughts. The third treats of poetical compositions, that is, the proper poetical structure of sentences individually and as built up into poems, whose duty is to express elegantly and effectively organised groups of thought.

The question naturally arises, Why and for what purpose does or should a Poet compose a poem, arranging, as it were, in martial array serried phalanxes of thought? An English grammarian would answer that the true function of poetry is to enlighten the understanding, influence the will, move the passions or please the imagination. But the ancient Sanskrit grammarian and the Tamil grammarian following in his wake had a very different, perhaps a higher, conception of the true office of the Poet.

The view of the Sanskrit moralists was that the great cardinal objects to be strenuously striven for by all right-minded men were only four, compendiously expressed by the words 'Dharma,' 'Artha' 'Kama' and 'Moksha.'⁴ The Sanskrit grammarian accordingly laid down that these alone could legitimately engage the thought or employ the pen of an author, and, as a corollary to it, also held that no book was fit for study or deserved to be read, which did not either directly or indirectly deal with one or more of

¹எழுத்ததிகாரம்

²சொல்லதிகாரம்

³பொருளதிகாரம்

⁴தர்ம, அர்த்த, காம, மோக்சம்.

these four, and, *a fortiori*, that the noblest and most perfect work was that which treated of all these four.

The Tamil grammarians who had come under the influence of Sanskrit accepted this view and adopted this four-fold classification under, however, the Tamil nomenclature of 'Arram',¹ 'Porul',² 'Inbam'³ and 'Veedu'⁴ which are only Tamil equivalents of the Sanskrit terms. But the earlier Tamil writers, to whom Sanskrit literature and philosophy were unknown, though they also held a similar view as regards the legitimate purpose and province of Literature, had hit out a two-fold classification of the subject matter of Poetry with distinctively Tamil names, which the 'Tholkappiyam' has adopted and all later writers have followed. Thus in the third part of Tholkappiyam the proper material of poetry, or 'Porul' as it is called is broadly divided into two kinds and treated under the two heads of 'Akap-porul'⁵ and 'Purrap-porul'⁶ or more briefly 'Akam'⁷ and 'Purram',⁸ 'Kama', 'Inbam' or Love being denoted by the former and 'Dharma' and 'Artha' or 'Arram' and 'Porul' being expressed by the latter. The use of these words in these specific senses is somewhat peculiar, needing a little elucidation. The word 'Akam' in Tamil means 'inside' and also the 'mind' which is inside the body, and 'Porul' means an 'object' or 'thing' applied indifferently both to material objects and mental feelings and experiences. All sensual pleasure (or pain), of even the lowest kind and connected but with any one of the senses is something which can only be perceived by the senses concerned and felt and enjoyed by the mind within itself, but cannot be well expressed in words or communicated to others and hence it is an 'Akap-porul.' Much more so is 'kama-inbam' or sexual pleasure which is the highest and most intense of all sensual pleasures, being connected at one and the same time and in one and the same object, with all the

¹அரம் ²பொருள் ³இன்பம் ⁴வேடு ⁵அகப்பொருள்
⁶புறப்பொருள் ⁷அகம் ⁸புறம்

five senses. As the great Tamil poet and moralist, Tiruvalluvar finely puts it,

Of Sight, Hearing, Taste and Touch and Smell
All pleasures in one lovely woman dwell.¹

Hence the use of this word to denote Love which is the source of this supreme pleasure. All else is 'Purrap-porul.'

Having considered, in a manner necessarily brief and imperfect, the position occupied by Love in literature in general and Tamil literature in particular, let us now proceed to explain the scheme adopted for this purpose. Love, to suit the requirements of poetry, is considered as marked by five main incidents or episodes. These are, (1) the accidental meeting of a young man and a young maid, the sudden birth of love at first sight between them, its further progress and fruitful culmination in regular marital union, called 'Koodal'² or Union; (2) the absence of the husband abroad for a longer or shorter period at the call of duty or in pursuit of pleasure, in search of Knowledge or from love of wealth, called 'Pirivu'³ or Separation; (3) the love-sick wife, staying at home, pining in silent grief and longingly looking forward to her lord's return home, called 'Irutthal'⁴ or 'Remaining at home'; (4) the outburst of her silent grief, when no longer bearable, into loud, pathetic lamentation, called 'Irangal'⁵ or Weeping and Wailing; and (5) her jealousy born fits of ill-tempered scorn and disdain with which she meets her husband on his return home, his efforts to pacify her, and their happy reconciliation and reunion, called 'Oodal'⁶ or 'Love-quarrel.'

As fitting and appropriate scenes for these five love-episodes the five natural divisions of the country are cleverly utilized and a very full description of each of them is given with such a wealth of geographical detail as would enable a

¹கண்ணகைட்டுண்டுபிர்த் துற்றியும் ஐம்புலனும்
ஒன்றொடி கண்ணே உன.

²கூடல் ³பிரிவு ⁴இருத்தல் ⁵இரங்கல் ⁶ஊடல்

skilful poet to effectively interweave them into his poem for purposes of vivid local colour. Though a good deal of information is given a great deal is still left to be supplied by the poet's own observation, insight and imagination.

The country of the ancient Tamils—the land of 'Sen-tamil'¹ or pure Tamil—bounded on the north by the Venkada Hills—the modern Tirupati Hills—by the Bay of Bengal on the east, by the Kumari (river or mountain) on the south and the Arabian sea on the west, consisted of five main natural divisions, with well-marked differences as regards their physical features, fauna and flora, and the nature and character, the habits and occupations of the inhabitants. These are (1) the mountain regions, (2) the central arid desert, (3) the jungly tracts at and near the foot of the mountains, (4) the sea-side regions and (5) the river-fed arable country. After the most prevalent tree or flower peculiar to each these are named respectively the 'Kurinji',² the 'Palai',³ the 'Mullai',⁴ the 'Neidal',⁵ and the 'Marudam'.⁶

The 'Kurinji' people were a warlike race of sturdy huntsmen, living mainly by hunting diversified by the cultivation of 'Thinai' grain and the practice of cattle-lifting. Their tutelary deity was Muruga. The most prevalent trees were the Teak, the Sandalwood, the Akil, the Vengai and the Asoku; the characteristic flowers, the 'Kurinji' and the 'Kandal';⁷ the familiar beasts, the lion, the tiger, the bear, the elephant and the boar; and the common birds; the peacock and the parrot.

The 'Palai' people were a fierce race of murderous bandits living by rapine and plunder and by waylaying and robbing unprotected travellers and merchant caravans of their belongings and also by enlisting as mercenary soldiers under a king or chief. The tutelary deity was Durga, the goddess of war. The characteristic trees were the withered land leafless 'Palai', Iruppai and 'Kalli';⁸ the

¹செந்தமிழ் ²குறிஞ்சி ³பாலை ⁴மூலம் ⁵நெய்தல்
⁶மருதம் ⁷தினை ⁸காந்தள் ⁹கன்னி.

prevalent flowers, the 'Kuravam' and 'Maravam'; the common animal the wild-dog and the familiar birds the pigeon, the kite and the eagle.

The 'Mullai' region was inhabited by a race of simple herdsmen who lived by the breeding of cattle, the sale of their dairy produce and the cultivation of pulses. Their tutelary god was Vishnu. The trees peculiar to this region were the Konrai,¹ and the Kaya;² the characteristic flowers, the Mullai, the Thonri³ and the Pidavam,⁴ the prevalent animals, the deer and the rabbit and the common bird, the jungle-cock.

The 'Neydal' tract was the home of the hardy fishermen whose occupation was fishing and making salt and manufacturing toddy. They worshipped the sea-god Varuna. The prevalent trees were the Punnai and the 'gnazhal',⁵ they peculiar trees, the Neydal and the 'Thazhai',⁶ or 'Kaithai', the prominent animal was the shark and the common bird the king-fisher.

The inhabitants of the 'Marutham' country were an industrious race of agricultural people whose occupation was the cultivation of rice, sugarcane and plantains. The god whom they worshipped was Indra, the lord of the clouds and the giver of rain. The Marutham, the Vanji and the Kanji were the most familiar trees; the lotus and the violet the common flowers; the prominent animals, the buffalo and the otter and the prevalent birds the swan, the heron, the stork and such other aquatic fowl.

Of the inhabitants of the 'Kurinji' land, the males were called 'Kurravar' and the females 'Kurrathiyar',⁹ of the 'Palai' land the men were named 'Eyinar'¹⁰ and the women 'Eyirriyar',¹¹ of the 'Mullai' land the men went by the name of 'Ayar'¹² and the females 'Aychiyar',¹³ of the 'Neydal' land the males were known as 'Nulaiyar'¹⁴

¹கொன்றை ²காயா ³தோன்றி ⁴பிடவம் ⁵ஞாழல்
⁶தாழை, கைதை ⁷குறவர் ⁸குறித்தியர் ⁹கூரத்தியர்
¹⁰எயித்தியர் ¹¹ஆயர் ¹²ஆயத்தியர் ¹³அச்சியர்

and the females 'Nulaichiyar'¹ and of the 'Marutham' land the men were known by the name of 'Uzhavar'² and the women 'Uzhathiyar'.³

These five broad divisions of the land are correlated to and connected with the five main episodes of love in such a manner that each particular locality may serve as a suitable background for the corresponding incident. Thus the 'Kurinji' is the scene of the lover's 'Union', the 'Palai' of their 'Separation', the 'Mullai' of the wife's 'Staying at home' in silent solitary, sorrow, the 'Neythal' of her pathetic lamentation, her 'weeping and wailing', and the 'Marutham' of those little love-quarrels which give no small zest to love.

The jungle tracts e'v'r to Vishnu dear,
The mountain slopes, fav'rite haunts of Skanda,
The river-fed regions by Indra blessed,
The sandy sea-sides under Varuna's care,
Mullai, Kurinji, Marutham and Neythal
Have by the wise ones been right aptly named.
The desert waste, arid, vast and dreary,
As Palai stands amidst the other four.⁴

The loving and wedding, the parting and leaving,
The staying at home and silently sorrowing,
The weeping and wailing to the wind and the wave,
And the fits of jealousy with its queer little quarrels.
Are the incidents proper to Kurinji and Palai
To Mullai and Neythal and Marutham fertile.⁵

¹நுலையர் ²உழவர் ³உழத்தியர்

⁴மாயோன் மேய காடுறை உலகமும்,
சேயோன் மேய மைவரை உலகமும்,
வேந்தன் மேய தீம்புனல் உலகமும்,
வருணன் மேய பெருமணல் உலகமும்,
முல்லை குறிஞ்சி மருதம் நெய்தலெனச்
சொல்லிய முறைபாற் சொல்லவும் படுமே. (தொல்காப்பியம், III, i, 5)

⁵புணர்தல், பிரிதல், இருத்தல், இரங்கல்
ஊடல் இவற்றின் நிமித்தம் என்றிவை
தேருங் காலைத் திணைக்குறிப் பொருளே. (தொல்காப்பியம், III, i, 14)

Having thus determined and described the locality and landscape best-suited and most appropriate for the selected episodes, the grammarian next proceeds to consider the special seasons of the year and periods of the day favourable, from a natural as well as a poetic point of view, to each and to allocate them accordingly.

The Tamil year is divided into six naturally well-marked seasons, each of two months' duration.

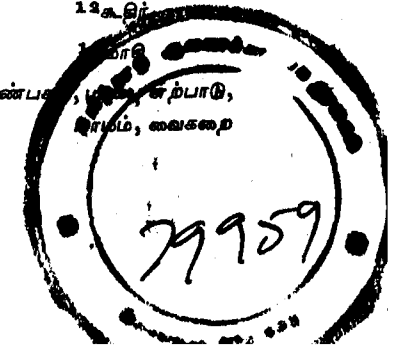
The first two months of the year, 'Chittirai'¹ and 'Vaikasi',² comprise the 'Ila-venil'³ or spring season, the next two months of Ani⁴ and Adi,⁵ the Mudhu-venil⁶ or summer season, the next two months of Avani⁷ and Purattasi,⁸ the Kar,⁹ or rainy season, the next two months of Aippasi¹⁰ and Karthigai,¹¹ the Koothir¹² or cold season, the next two months of Margali¹³ and Thai,¹⁴ the Mun-pani¹⁵ or the season of the evening dew and the last two months of Masi¹⁶ and Panguni,¹⁷ the Pin-pani¹⁸ or the season of the morning dew. These are the six major time divisions. The six minor time divisions are the six parts of the day, called Vidiyal,¹⁹ 'Nan-pakal, Malai, Erpadu, Yamam' and 'Vaikarai,' that is, the morning, noon and afternoon, the sunset, midnight and dawn, each of four hours' duration.

To the Kurinji episode the appropriate time is the 'Koothir' as well as the 'Mun-pani' season, and the midnight; to the 'Palai', the 'Venil' and 'Pin-pani' season and the midday; to the 'Mullai', the 'Kar' season and the afternoon to the Neythal, all the six seasons and the forepart of the night; and to the Marutham all the six seasons and both the dawn and the morning.

Such, in brief, are the grand natural theatres with a

¹ சித்திரை	² வைகாசி	³ இளவேனில்	⁴ ஆனி
⁵ ஆடி	⁶ முதுவேனில்	⁷ ஆவணி	⁸ புரட்டாசி
⁹ கார்	¹⁰ ஐப்பசி	¹¹ கார்த்திகை	¹² சிவந்திரை
¹³ மார்கழி	¹⁴ தை	¹⁵ முன்பணி	¹⁶ மாசி
¹⁷ பங்குனி	¹⁸ பின்பணி	¹⁹ விடியல், நண்பகல், எற்பாடு, இரவு, வைகறை	

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rich variety of landscape and scenery and such the times and seasons with a wide range of suitable opportunities, specially designed for the enactment of this love-drama, of which the main characters are an young lover and an youthful maiden. In addition to these there are several minor characters who bear important parts in it. But of these the two most essential are the 'Pangan'¹ and the 'Pangi',² the clever, sharp-witted, very intimate and faithful and male and female companions of the hero and the heroine respectively.

Before proceeding to give a detailed account of the course of such true love from the mountain to the sea through the intervening regions of Mullai, Palai and Marutham, one other matter has to be explained. The whole conduct of the two lovers which, considered under one aspect, is divided into 'Koodal', 'Pirivu', 'Irutthal', 'Irangal' and 'Oodal', gets separated, looked at from another point of view, into two parts known as 'Kalavu'³ (i.e., stealth or secrecy) and 'Karpu'⁴ (i.e., chastity) all the incidents prior to and culminating in the regular union of the two lovers under the bonds of wedlock being placed under the former head and all the subsequent events under the latter. The two classifications, both of which are more or less arbitrary and artificial, are in fact overlapping, 'Kaluvu', including all the several events connected with the 'Kurinji' episode of 'Koodal', and 'Karpu' embracing all those pertaining to the 'Mullai', 'Neithal' and Marutham incidents of 'Irutthal', 'Irangal' and 'Oodal', the 'Palai' episode of 'Pirivu' with its concomitants being connected with and incidental to both, as such separation may be the parting of the lover from the company of his dear companion from various causes during the pre-marital stage or the absence, necessitated by business or occasioned by pleasure, of the husband from home and the society of his newly-wedded wife, during the post-marital stage.

¹ பாங்கன்² பாங்கி³ களவு⁴ கற்பு

As all the pre-marital meetings of the lovers are quite clandestine and generally under the secrecy of the night and unknown to any but their most intimate associates, they are called Kalavu, and as all the post-marital incidents are in some way or other associated with the chastity of the wife and her decorous demeanour they are designated by the name of 'Karpu'. The whole subject is treated, in elaborate detail under the heads of 'Kalav-iyal'¹ and Karpp-iyal,² of which 'Kalav-iyal' will form the subject of the next article.

¹ களவியல்² கற்பியல்

Modern Currents In Malayalam Poetry

BY C. KUNHAN RAJA, M.A., D. PHIL. (Oxon)

Sriman Vallathol Narayana Menon is recognised by a very influential school in Malayalam as the greatest living poet of the country, and many even say that he is the greatest poet that Malabar has ever seen and count him among the foremost poets of the world. He is known as 'Malayali Tagore.' Mr. K. M. Panikkar, M.A. (Oxon), Dixon Scholar at Oxford and a well-known figure in the public life of India, has contributed some articles on Malayalam Literature to some journals in recent years and in these articles he has given a fair picture of the poet's contributions to Malayalam. I am not here writing an essay on Vallathol, but only on modern Malayalam Literature. I refer to Vallathol only as the representative poet of the age. He is not merely the greatest poet of the land, but he is also the pioneer of a new movement in Malayalam Literature, the leader of what may be called the romantic period in Malayalam Literature. In this he may be compared to Wordsworth or Coleridge.

To understand this new movement, it is necessary to pass through the various stages in the development of Malayalam Literature making a general survey of the whole field, skipping over details. We do not know much of the earliest period in Malayalam Literature. Chronology cannot be settled by the evidence of the antiquity of the type of language in a particular poem that one may be considering. There are many other circumstances that influence the type of language that one may come across in a particular poem, circumstances other than age. A poet may deliberately use an archaic form of language in a later age. In the same period, the language in one part of the country may be of a

more ancient type than in some other parts. The language of poetry is sometimes of a more ancient type than the language of prose, and even within the range of poetry, certain varieties may show an inclination towards archaism. From these considerations I am rather diffident to accept the dates of such works as 'Ramacharitam' and 'Unnunilisandesam,' which have been assigned to them by specialists in the field.

We have no evidence of a period in Malayalam Literature when there was no Sanskrit influence. 'Lilatilakam' is a work on Malayalam Literature belonging to a very early date. It gives quotations, by way of illustration, from ancient works and these quotations reveal Sanskrit influence to a very large extent, so much so that the stanzas quoted are composed in Sanskrit metres. The work is itself written in Sanskrit. It describes 'Pattu' as a variety in Malayalam Literature—written in Dravidian metre and having only Dravidian sounds, perhaps not excluding Sanskritic words. From this we are justified in inferring that there must have been some period in the history of Malayalam Literature, when there was absolutely no Sanskritic influence. Or is it that Malayalam is only a variety of Tamil branched off from the main stem by the influence of Sanskrit, and as such there is no period in the history of Malayalam Literature when there was no influence of Sanskrit? I am inclined to accept this view, with the reservation that the dialect in the West Coast even from the earliest times had certain basic difference from the Tamil in the East Coast. Thus so far as we know even from the earliest times, there were two parallel currents in Malayalam Literature—one, Malayalam poetry written in Sanskritic metres, with a profusion of Sanskritic words (not merely Sanskrit stems with Dravidian terminations) and with Sanskritic sounds introduced without any restriction; and the other, Malayalam poetry written in Dravidian metres, with only Dravidian words (Sanskrit stems with Dravidian terminations being accepted as Dravidian words) and with Sanskritic sounds occurring only rarely though not strictly excluded. The first variety influenced the second in so far as there are Sanskritic elements in the vocabulary

of the latter, and the second influenced the first in so far as certain canons of Dravidian prosody were strictly observed in the first, namely the appearance of a kind of alliteration known as 'dvitiyaksharaprasam' (alliteration on the second syllable of the lines).

Till about a century back, the second of these two types held the ground. Most of the best works in Malayalam Literature are written in Dravidian metre, for instance the 'Kilippattukal' of Ezhuthasan, the 'Krishnapattu' of Cheruseri and the 'Thullals' of Nambyar. Sanskrit metres were used only for minor works like 'Champus.' After the time of Nambyar, the Dravidian metre was practically banished from the field till very recently when Vallathol recalled it and gave it an honorable place in Malayalam Literature. In this aspect Vallathol is a reformer for he revived the true spirit of Malayalam Poetry.

Malayalam Literature consisted mainly of epic poetry. There were few ballads, and very little of lyrics. It is true that there were lyrical pieces in these epics, that there were some devotional lyrics, and that there were a few ballads. But what counted among the critics as the principal things in Literature were epics—works of the type of Ezhuthasan's 'Bharatam' and Cheruseri's 'Krishnapattu.' No one took the 'Thacholli Pattukal' as literature, and I do not know if selections from these 'Pattukal' have ever appeared in textbooks prescribed by the University. It is Vallathol who has for the first time written lyrics as literature to be taken seriously, not as songs for the farm-girls. In this way Vallathol is the pioneer of a really new movement in the field of Malayalam Literature.

Vallathol started life in the realm of Malayalam Literature in the school established, though not started, by Kerala Varma Valia Koilthampuran, writing poetry in Sanskritic metres, taking all ideas from Sanskrit authors, using long Sanskrit compounds, introducing a profusion of the Sanskritic element both in vocabulary and in intonation. Along with some other members of an association of young poets, who were dominated by the spirit of Kerala Varma,

he wrote the 'Pancha Tantra' in Malayalam verse (in Sanskritic metre). He was contributing small poems to various journals in Malabar. Then came his great undertaking in the form of a translation of the epic, Valmiki's 'Ramayana' into Malayalam closely following the metres used by Valmiki. Kunhukuttan Thampan of the Cranganore Royal family had already begun a translation of the 'Mahabharata' on the same plan. It was this work that brought Vallathol to the forefront, although this is not the work for which he is known as a great poet in Malabar. He wrote an epic called 'Chitrayoga' on the model of Sriharsha's 'Naishadha.' All these were preliminary stages that led to his being crowned as the 'Sarva-bhouma' or Emperor in the field of Malayalam Poetry.

It was about this time that the name of Rabindranath Tagore reached Malabar. His poems attracted the attention of the literary celebrities of Malabar. His 'Gitanjali,' 'Fruit-gathering,' 'Crescent Moon' and other works were being translated into Malayalam as they appeared in English. It was the poems of Tagore that directed the attention of Vallathol to lyrical poetry. I do not suggest the Vallathol is only an imitator, that he turned his attention from 'Naishadha' to 'Gitanjali,' ever remaining an imitator, only changing the model from the old Sriharsha to the modern Tagore who has more glamour about him in the modern world. Tagore's poetry was only an occasion for Vallathol to see his own soul, his real genius. The political movement in India at the same time had also a great influence on Vallathol. He began to take a great interest in the political movement of the country though he did not identify himself with any particular party, but only inspired the political movement in general, like Tagore. Till then the learned few were the audience for whom poetry was intended by the poets; their poetry was modelled to suit their tastes. Nature with all her variety and beauty, the people with their aspirations and emotions were as nothing to the poets. They were completely ignored. The political movement with the accompanying factors of social reform and the development

of local industries, local institutions and the welfare of the common people, brought Vallathol into direct contact with life, instead of his seeing the world merely from the picture drawn of it by the ancient Sanskrit poets. From that time forwards, he relegated Sriharsha to the background and he took interest in Nature, in the fields and in the meadows, in the forests and in the woods, in the flowers of the fields, in the clouds of the sky, in the birds of the air and in the beasts of the earth, in the changing seasons, in the ordinary people with their unsophisticated beautiful life, in the feelings, in the emotions, in the aspirations of man instead of in the intellects of the prodigies.

I give below the titles of some of the poems written by Vallathol in recent years, and these titles are expressive enough, so that one can judge of the great change that he has brought about in Malayalam Literature without any long comment from me.

'Somagrahanam' (in 'keka' a Dravidian metre) on "lunar eclipse".

'Motiram' (in 'pana' another Dravidian metre) on "that ring".

'Karshakajivitam' (in 'makandamanjari' another Dravidian metre) on "the peasant life."

'Onapputava' (in keka) on "the presents during the 'onam' festival."

'Kochumarappu' ('kakali' still another Dravidian metre) on "that small bundle."

These few are some specimens selected at random from some of his recent publications. One can search the whole of the Malayalam Literature for the last thousand years of its existence, and he will be sorely disappointed if he expected one single piece of poetry of this type. The 'Ramayana' and the 'Mahabharata,' and 'Kathasaritsagara' were the chief sources from which poets drew their material as in Sanskrit, and no one even dreamt that they need not go to a second-hand dealer for materials for their poems but that there is Nature from whom they can get the things they want for their poetry direct and first-hand. It is the catholicism of

his spirit that distinguished Vallathol from the earlier poets in another very marked way. He selected his subjects from the Christian Bible and from the Koran, he never restricted his choice to the stories centering round Sri Krishna and Sri Rama. He wrote a poem called 'Magdalana Maria,' being the story of Mary Magdalene, taken from the Bible. He has a poem on Allah. His poems are about the world and about life in the world, and his poems are for man. He never tired the reader by the monotonous repetitions of the classical enmity between the lotus and the moon. The flowers that he saw with his own eyes and whose beauty he appreciated and enjoyed were the real thing for him, and he expressed in poetry the beauty in Nature that he realised and enjoyed. I give certain lines below in English translation to show the contrast between his poetry and the poetry of the old classical school:

'Let the news spread, the owls will listen to it with their humming.'

'Has the mercy of the guardian deities of my land, the cow, ceased to yield milk?'

'Hot water at the base of the flower-growing plant, my aspirations.'

'Is it the burial ground that lies beyond this place of affection fragrant with attractive snow?'

I can multiply instances, if instances will strengthen the point. It is the quality and not the quantity that is the chief thing in poetry, and one instance is enough. I have made certain selections at random to show how Vallathol draws his inspiration from Nature. That he has written his poems in Malayalam, a language not accessible to the world at large, is a misfortune of the world, not a defect of Vallathol. Although his poems may be unintelligible to the world, his spirit must be a source of inspiration to the whole of the modern world. He has given to Malabar what the greatest of men have ever given to the world. It is a handicap of every genius that his genius is not appreciated by the whole world, and linguistic and other limitations cloud the issue, though the genius is above all these limitations. It is the

common people that create an artificial fog around them and say that the work of the genius is defective and cannot be seen. It is only through articles like the present that one nation can understand the spirit that moves the life of another nation, and through this exposition of the present tendency in Malayalam Literature, I believe I have contributed something to a correct understanding of the present spirit of Malabar represented by this great poet, to those outside Malabar.

F. W. Bain as a Story-writer

BY K. CHANDRASEKHARAN, M.A., B.L.

The art of F. W. Bain, the author of a series of Indian Tales is at once fascinating and suggestive. His surpassing love of Sanskrit with the attendant fondness for its imagery, has impelled him to offer us this bunch of delicious stories, all sweet with their Oriental fragrance. Steeped in the culture of the East, and with a sympathy born of his personal touch with the Hindu, he refuses to be obsessed with a sense of the superiority of his own race. Nay, his keen pleasure in drinking in the charm of Indian scenery has almost bred in him a bias for the Hindu mythology with its numerous Gods symbolizing Nature. He says once, on gazing at his own Welsh Mountains, "this is not quite the golden glow of my Indian eve; for this is just chilly; and yet yonder is a hill worthy to be haunted by Parvathi herself." He seems even willing to become "a pagan suckled in a creed out-worn" in order to retain the heart "where echoes some scrap of ancient poetry, where the everyday sun descends to rest behind the Western hills."

But the stories of Bain, unlike the merely romantic ones narrating the amorous adventures of Prince Udayana, have a silver thread of message running throughout. The thought often disturbs the reader whether these works have been dug out from our own treasure troves and for the first time translated into English as represented by the author. Rather we demur at the idea, since none among us seems to have known of their existence, at least in the form in which they have been received, though we hardly feel Mr. Bain himself would have the temerity to launch upon a scheme of writing stories of Eastern love without a deep and regular study of the Sanskrit Literature. It cannot but leave the impression on us that such intoxicating lines on the beauty of woman and the moon, have nothing in common with any other language than Sanskrit. Moreover, the author himself is not forgetful

of his debt to the originals which he is careful enough to point out by a note here and there. But beneath all this care, we suspect a secret which suddenly reveals, as it were, a flood of sunshine. He disarms us completely when he takes us into confidence and says regarding the origin of these stories in the last book of the series entitled 'The substance of a dream' that "they come one by one, suddenly like a flash of lightning all together; I see them in the air before me like a Bayeaux tapestry, complete from end to end, and write them down hardly lifting the pen from the paper straight off 'from the M.S.' I never know the day before, when one is coming; it arrives as if shot out of a pistol; who can tell? They may be all but so many reminiscences of a former birth."

Now, one wonders how a Westerner, with an inborn dislike for anything not scientifically proved, should have imbibed the Indian temperament of dreaming which "chooses rather to err with Kalidas and Valmiki than go right with some elementary manual of geography." And again we are not a little struck by Bain's spirit in justifying the polytheistic religion of India as "better reflecting the many facets of an incomprehensible divinity." For he perceives in the East "some curious indestructible asbestos, some element of perennial, imperturbable tranquillity, and calm . . . which is conspicuous by its absence in the worry of the West." Walking once through the narrow streets of Benares, crowded with its multitudes from all quarters, he came to the river scene where "lying with the bodies still alive, the ashes of bodies just burned or still burning on the Ghat" he was taught to appreciate the great philosophy of the Hindus that "Life and death touching, running into one another . . . is a matter of course." Yet his heart feels a strange thrill at the quietism of India and he breaks out, "it is curious, this peace, this indifference, this calm, it does not seem a reality: it is like a thing looked at in a picture, like a dream."

This passionate taste for the Indian life and its beautiful literature which is "all one gigantic stream, fairy tale

reduced to a kind of system, where wild imagination is reality and the commonplace is not," has permeated his soul with a great yearning. Hence his intense desire to be ever dwelling in fantasies, wherein the God with the moony-tiara and Uma, the mountain-born, appear in a splendid vision before him and begin narrating the stories which he has given us, in the manner in which they were told.

To the modern lover of short stories, these tales, mere figments of imagination, with more of poetic conceit in them than of reality, may give little pleasure. But the deftness with which he weaves them, and his bewitching style with its delicate touches, attract young and old. His powers of description excelling those of Oriental authors have really set the minds of the students of Sanskrit on a quest after their originals. The charm of his pen consists in creating an atmosphere, wherein we feel ourselves transported to cool forests besides pools of lotuses, with the silvery digit above us, and camphor-oozing stones around. His knowledge of a foreign language and its traditions is unerring. He is faithful to Sanskrit poetry, mellifluous and rich with metaphors, and never wafting anything but pollen-laden breeze. His perfect imitation of the Oriental art is still a marvel to many.

Each of the books bears a lovely title, highly suggestive of the contents within. And each story again embosoms a fine suggestion. Love is the theme of almost all of them, though each exhibits a distinct phase of it. 'The Heifer of the Dawn' is a little story in which a lady woos her hero. As the story proceeds, the position is reversed. The parts have been so dexterously pieced together, with a number of other stories from the mouth of the lady in love, that the sweetness and variety of the whole are enhanced. We are ourselves so captivated by the magic of the Cheti's speech that, no wonder, the prince who listened to her finally desired to have the story-teller ever near his heart. Even the loquacity of a Rosalind is not half as enlivening as that of Madhupamanjari.

Again the lofty Indian conception of wife-hood has been

chosen the subject of another tiny volume 'In The Great God's Hair,' where Indra seeks in vain to win the love of a chaste woman. She is steadfast in her devotion towards her lord. Bain is so saturated with the Indian belief in rebirth, that he says with Wanallari, "a woman recognises in an instant, with unerring sagacity . . . her husband; for, this depends not on the shallow and casual experiences of this life, but the store of reminiscences of a former birth." We find him echoing with pride the Hindu idea of 'Sati' when he says, "every woman needs a lord. When she has found him, let him treat her how he will, she is his. But if she finds the wrong man, though he may treat her as a queen and adore her as a goddess, yet she will never love him."

The thought which is ingrained in us for ages, is that the whole of this lower life (*ihaloka*) is wrapped up in a fascination for fleeting shadows. And love which alternately binds human hearts in bonds of pain and bliss, is perhaps the worst of illusions, in which men forget themselves. Bain calls it a bubble of the foam, "so beautiful in its colour while it endures; so evanescent, so hollow, leaving behind it when it bursts and disappears, nothing but a memory and a bitter taste of the brine." So feels Aranyani, an innocent maiden, born and bred up in the lap of Nature, when she falls an easy victim to the smiles of Atirup, only to realize the grief of being rejected after a brief spell of happiness. Her tragic end only confirms the truth, 'the course of true love never did run smooth.' And Bhabru's figure haunts us long after the book is closed, even more pathetic in its appeal to us, than that of Victor Hugo's hero in the 'Toilers of the Sea.'

The volume 'An Incarnation of the Snow' evokes conflicting emotions in us. The prologue finds us quite as earnest as Uma herself, to hear the string of stories, though the epilogue suddenly fills us with joy at the turn of events towards the close—all the work of a mischievous God playing the role of a lover. We are in transports at the device, which is Bain's own, employed to appease the anger of His consort.

A close study of human psychology leaves no room to

doubt the influence of woman's beauty on the mind of man. The great God's anger at Love only hastened his final defeat at the latter's hands. Hence 'The Mine of Faults' deals with the story of Prince Chand, an inveterate foe of woman's smiles, becoming the target of a shower of sharp glances from the corner of the eyes of the daughter of King Mitra. The interview between her and the prince, diplomatically arranged by a cunning minister to bring about amicable relations between two kingdoms, ended in failure on both sides. The enchantress of the prince herself felt the sweet compulsion of being ensnared in his arms. Love knows not when it will strike its victims, and if love is true it has a great capacity to forgive.

'The Livery of Eve' is a story of a Naga woman whose affections for a mortal, Kesava, is so great that all her woman's wits are at her service, when she hits upon a plan to liberate her lover from the deceit played on him by a malicious rival. Love has power to overcome all barriers.

'A Digit of the Moon' has a remarkable attraction for us. A prince with his avowed dislike for the other sex meets with a damsel, whose beautiful looks and accomplishments slowly wear out his obduracy, even as waves do, by beating repeatedly on the rocky shore. His love waxes with every day's meeting which brings him a fresh story from the inexhaustible store-house of his sweetheart. The final reward is the union of their souls, for "without that all beauty of a woman is but nectar-poison." Bain is so well versed in Eastern lore, that he successfully adopts the most beautiful method of developing the progress of his tale with a number of minor stories. For the Indian mind has not shown signs of fatigue in creating such dreams, which allure the hearts of even the grown-up among us.

'The Essence of a Dusk' is a wild romance, alluring and yet bewildering as the expanded hood of an Indian cobra. The wild chase of beauty by prince Aja enthused him to brave even the witch-craft of the Yakshas who entice him to a mysterious death. Love is mad and is ready to risk even life itself.

Love is jealous of a rival and is unsparing in its frequent demands of reciprocity from the object of its adoration. It is with such consummate skill and insight Bain prepares in his book 'The Syrup of the Bees' the heart of Makarandika to suspect another sharing her husband's love. She begins spiting a rival and ends by hating her lord. In the convulsive grasp of jealousy she turns out an evil woman, only to engulf herself and the rest in a catastrophe.

'The Descent of the Sun' is full of love's speechless messages which induce prince Umarsingh to search for the queen of his heart. Her face is familiar to him when seen with the 'creative eye of fancy' but unreal in substance. The strange curse of a sage wrought on a pair of youthful lovers this change and separation and longing for each other, which like a dream was only for a while.

The story in 'The Ashes of a God' has the usual theme of a woman's attempts to spoil the *tapas* of a sage, in order to diminish his 'mountain of merits.' The jealous God Indra resorts to his device of sending down an Apsara to shake the firmness of a disciplined mind. Trishodadi who "stood four-square to all the winds that blew" was shaken when his weakness was delicately touched by the flattery of a woman's tongue. His fall was prepared by himself.

For an intense dreaming of love with its feverish delights and fatigues we have to look to 'A Draught of the Blue,' a story pregnant with significant touches, all converging on the one theme, that love knows no bounds. Alichumbita and Rudralaka have their feast of youth, all evanescent as the evening glow.

Finally, the question is asked by Bain why woman becomes the load-star of man's heart. The queen Tarawali has been powerless to ward off a host of suitors, who like bees hover about her person. Hatred, born of loving the same woman, sets two men Satrunjaya and Narasimhan to seek each other's end as well as the pathetic close to the career of a queen, whose only fault is her beauty. Maheswara answers the query in the 'Substance of a Dream' that man is to blame for love's follies and woman

is powerless in his hands. His impulses goad him to fall into a deep passion for her, though he soon feels disgusted at her loveliness, when he learns how it is potent in its influence on others as much as on himself. Bain is perhaps thinking with Dr. Tagore that "woman is not only the handiwork of God but also of man . . . she is half-woman, half-dream."

These then are his wonderful tales perhaps intoxicating us with their thousand beauties. The thoughts of Bain lie scattered about like flowers on the polished floor of an Indian back ground. They emit their odours all alike pleasing, though each bloom can be distinguished by its peculiar fragrance. All his women are ranged before us in their best form and they are as fresh and soft as the substance of a dream. It is indeed for us to choose the best. Madhupamanjari alone stands above the rest, in the fullness of her glory, for hers is a charm which does not merely belong to her person. Her culture is deep and her imagination powerful. The flow of her words is a crystal stream which is limpid and fertilizing. None will deem her wanting in taste or delicacy when she wins her heart's desire, for her heart is fixed on a permanent love.

Bain has added his rich store to the world of ideas. He inspires us to estimate the true value of our own books. His perfection as an artist needs no better testimony than that his books have ever impressed us with what he would have desired deeply, that they should be deemed genuine translations. The mind which conceived of such a pleasure to be derived from literature stands in its own majestic isolation though none the less our hearts are wrapped up in the felicity of knowing it. For it blesseth him that gives and him that takes.

The Rise in Human Values

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

CANNIBALISM

There were times in the history of most of the nations of the world when cannibalism was an accepted system of human existence. To eat one's own children was considered to be an extreme form of this, although there were certain tribes which did not prohibit such a thing. But cannibalism was quite a popular mode of life as regards the inter-relations of different tribes.¹ In the numerous and frequent wars which took place between different tribes, captives there were in plenty and the fate of such people was a hopeless one, since they were intended to be eaten by the conquerors. The vanquished were considered to be one of the different kinds of game, secured by the more fortunate who lived mostly by hunting. This habit of considering human beings as game became so ingrained that the civilised Europeans of the mediæval times found it possible to talk of the people caught in their man-traps as game, although they were free from the reproach of cannibalism.

SLAUGHTER

But as man's power over nature increased and as he found it more and more easy to capture game, other than human beings, he came to be able to grow out of his habit and need for human flesh. But the constant inter-tribal wars brought the question of the disposal of the captives into prominence and it was solved by the only alternative of wholesale slaughter. For those primitive people believed that the people of other tribes brought with them their evil gods, spirits and associations, and that their very existence was unpleasant to their own gods and deities.² This

¹It is only two years ago that the Governor of Assam persuaded a tribe to give up head hunting.

²Machiavelli and Kautilya talk of slaughter as if it were nothing extraordinary. Timur, the Tiger, converted the streets of Delhi into streams of blood.

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progressive evolution from cannibalism into slaughter was helped by the messages brought to the tribes by their old men and witch-doctors from their communion with their spirits, from time to time. In this respect, there were constant changes of policy. The European nations have been guilty of massacring many tribes in Belgian Congo and other parts of Africa, and in Australia, during the nineteenth century as if they were no better than beasts.¹

SLAVERY

It is difficult for any one to fix the century in which these primitive fathers of our civilization stumbled upon the more fruitful and humane idea of slavery. But certain it is that by the time the idea of slavery dawned upon them, they must have passed through their hunting and nomadic stages of life and reached the pastoral and agricultural modes of existence. For, only when the labour of a dependent came to have some value in the economy of the primitive society that a slave working for his master in return for his food and clothing could be considered worth having, in preference to his total destruction. Slavery thus became the condition of life for large masses of people who happened to fall captives to other tribes. As the economic life became more and more complex and as it was found to be more convenient to depend upon the labour of others for one's existence than upon one's own labour, and as the inequalities of fortune amongst the members of a tribe became more and more important, slaves came to occupy a very important place in the economic organization of the primitive society. Hence the unpopularity of the socio-economic habit of marrying numerous wives in order to extract work from them and the growing value of the possession of slaves. Hence the constant raids upon other tribes for winning slaves.

ECONOMIC EQUIVALENT OF SLAVES

With the development of inter-tribal social organisa-

¹'Economic Imperialism' by Wolff.

tion and a systematic code of customs and conventions, both the society as a whole and the individuals in their own turn came to prize their possessions of slaves. Only after the creation of a democratic state in Ancient Greece, an economic theory of the ownership of slaves came to be developed in a systematic manner. Not only was it found possible to fix a price for the labour of a slave but also a regular exchange of slaves for other commodities came to be popular. Slaves were not only sold in open market as was still the custom in Egypt, but were also leased out for certain periods at certain fixed prices. The next step in advance was to recognise the fact that a slave worked better and more to the advantage of the owner if he was offered a salary in addition to the food and raiment provided, or a wage higher than what was needed to maintain him. Thus it came about that a few slaves found it possible to accumulate small sums, acquire land and other properties and carry on business on a small scale. The constant depletion of the population of freemen caused by the numerous wars between different peoples made the freemen depend more and more upon the labour of their slaves and so it had become possible for the latter to attain an economic importance in society which they lacked before. After a while, the masters began to claim all the property of their slaves after their death in addition to claiming a right of property in the lives of their children and they persisted in laying their claims in however subdued a form it might be to both these legacies of their bondsmen for centuries after slavery was practically abolished; for the freed serf had to pay 'heriot'¹ to his lord upon all the deceased members of his family and to obtain the sanction of his feudal lord to send his children abroad or to marry them or to allow them to marry² into the families of other Lords' bondsmen. Yet the slaves continued to make progress and won the right of purchasing their freedom from their masters for the payment of a price.

¹The Greek Economics, edited by Leistner.

²The Mediæval Village by Coulton.

SYSTEM OF RANSOMING CAPTIVES

With the growth and popularity of money economy had arisen the system of ransoming the captives. With the development of Central Governments and the establishment of more or less permanent societies of people, it had been found that it was profitable to ransom the captives by the people of different warring societies rather than converting them all into slaves. Even long before ransoming the captives became so popular, it was found more profitable to allow slaves to purchase their freedom, owing to the inter-breeding that had been going on between slaves and masters, among other causes.

EVOLUTION IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

Different countries reached the stage when slavery as an important system of human relations came to be abolished, at different stages of their economic and social development. Greece and Rome were never able to get on without slaves and in fact the economists of Greece laboured hard to develop a scientific theory of the economics of slave-ownership. True it is that the Stoics and others strove their best to conceive the idea that human beings could all be equal and the Roman lawyers successfully argued that all men were equal in nature and so the *Jus Naturale* should make no distinction between different people. But we must not overlook the fact that both Plato and Aristotle took the system of slavery for granted and that the latter even went to the length of providing a political and philosophical justification for slavery and that the Roman Tribunes as well as Emperors found it a convenient instrument in the then prevailing social and economic organisation of society.¹ Although most of the nations in Western Europe were able to emerge through the mediæval times, after having shed their systems of slavery, they persisted until the time of Wilberforce in converting free human beings of Africa into slaves and carrying on in them a very remunerative trade and peopling the South

¹Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire by Rostovzeff.

Indies and South America with large numbers of black slaves. Wilberforce set the seal of a more humane civilisation upon the history of the nineteenth century by persuading the British Government to abolish slavery in its Colonies, and Castlereigh persuaded the International Conference of the second decade of the last century to accept the British policy.¹ But Russia continued its disastrous policy of converting the free Russian peasants into slaves, a policy inaugurated by Goodnoff Boris, until 1855 when Alexander II took the epoch-making step of abolishing this inhuman institution of slavery. India has not escaped the curse of slavery and her history bristles with instances of more inhuman slave trade than can be found elsewhere. Kautilya only tried to place slavery upon a systematic basis and the instance of Harischandra and his wife being sold in the bazaars of Benares symbolises what was already an accepted human system. That Brahmins could be converted into slaves is indicated by the allegorical story of the Tamil saint Gnana Sambandar.² It is only a couple of years ago that the Maharanee of Nepal decided to abolish slavery in her State. There are still people who believe that this nefarious trade is being carried on in Negroes of Africa by some European businessmen. As for India, many Brahmins and Vaisyas of the South sell their daughters to their castemen, and some Brahmins and Non-Brahmins sell their young girls to prostitutes, who hope to perpetuate their degrading progeny by such incumbents. The cry against 'white slave traffic' indicates that through some means or other, some white women are bought and sold, their inherent utility being their sex. Therefore it is wrong on the part of students of Social Science to comfortably conclude that the blot of slavery has at last disappeared from human society. Through some crevice or other, in some garb or other, real slavery persists, though to a less extent than formerly.

¹Russia and Democracy by Wesselitsky.

²Saints of Southern India by S. V. Ramaswamy Iyer.

VILLEINAGE

Very many causes contributed to the disappearance of slavery and the creation of the system of villeinage; the most important of them being that it was found cheaper for the masters to let the slaves become villeins who had to try their best to maintain themselves upon the small patches of land given to them, after contributing freely as much labour to their lords as was demanded. The villein—the so-called free-man—was superior to slaves, in that he had a right to his life while the slave was completely the property of his master. The villeins enjoyed a wer-gild, ranging from £2 to £4 per head but the slaves did not possess such a privilege. On the other hand, the former had to work freely on his lord's farm whenever called upon, to the detriment of his own interests, to get his corn grinded into flour, his bread made and his beer brewed by his lord, while the land he was granted was insufficient to provide him with enough food. He was obliged to give presents to his lord whenever the eldest son and daughter of the latter were married, and to purchase his consent to let his sons and daughters marry, and win his permission to leave the estate either temporarily or permanently. His children were considered to be the villeins of his lord, who looked upon them as a piece of property. He could be sold along with the property of the lord to which he was attached. His women were not free from the corrupting influence of his lord's attentions and his marital relations were strictly regulated by his lord. Thus his freedom was circumscribed to such an extent that his life was on occasions less bearable and enviable than that of his ancestor—the slave. He inherited all the disqualifications of his ancestor without his economic security.¹ It often happened that more fortunate men *i.e.*, freemen were forcibly degraded into villeins, while the few privileges enjoyed by the latter were gradually abridged. Hence it was that the wer-gild of villeins was considerably decreased and the number of Anglo-Saxon freemen dwindled almost into nothing after the Norman Conquest.

¹The Mediæval Village.

THE SPORTING CHANCE

Slowly through the shelter of custom and many non-apparent changes in the economic structure of society, the villein came to improve his condition and to win a few privileges. Owing to the unrest amongst the villeins and the outbreaks of rebellion in the Manors and the Monasteries, both the lords and monks were obliged to lessen their control upon the social and economic life of their villeins. But such privileges as getting fuel freely from the lord's woods, using the village commons, cultivating a small portion of the lord's lands for their own use, breeding a few cattle or pigs on their own account, were so much subject to indefinitely understood privileges that there was very little chance for these people to prosper. That the number of these people was not inconsiderable is indicated by the fact that as many as fifty per cent. of the population of England in the thirteenth century belonged to this class.

But this system of villeinage was not peculiar to Europe alone. It existed in all its rigour and misery in India until very recently. It is only within the memory of most of our old villagers that our rural economy came to be free from this degrading system. Every ryot used to have a right of property in the person and progeny of his villein. It is true that most of our villeins belonged only to the castes of untouchables, but even these people numbered fifteen to twenty per cent. of our rural population. The famous example of Nanda, the Pariah saint, slaving for his master, shows how severe and merciless this system was in its incidence even in this spiritualised country. The Nairs of Malabar were scarcely in a better condition till the other day, and what the European landlord claimed hesitatingly was enjoyed freely and profusely by his Indian prototype—*i.e.*, the right of 'samban dham'.¹ Even to-day, the Chetties of the Nilgiris look upon their Panians as property and they know how to sell or purchase, lease out or rent families of Panians. In fact, a Chetty buys his land with its Janmam Panians who are thus considered to be a portion of the property changing hands.

¹The Census of the Madras Presidency, 1870.

REVOLTS

Although the revolts of villeins and peasants of the Continent in the twelfth century did not achieve much good in the way of improving their economic conditions, they paved the way for their more systematic revolt in England against the landlords and monks, in the fourteenth century, after the Black Death. Because of the ravages of plague, the population was halved and the ranks of workers were thinned to a still greater extent, with the consequence that the villeins were left in a strong strategic position. This, the unhappy workers were quick to realize and they began to demand higher wages, in addition to freedom from the time-honoured contribution of free labour on the estates of the lords and the monks. Many managed to emigrate to the growing towns, which were then coming into prominence and many more were able to force their lords to accept commutation of their services in terms of money. The Great Revolt¹ ended disastrously for the workers for the time being, but it sounded the warning that unless the overlords changed their policy, there was nothing to stop the villeins and peasants from freeing themselves completely from all feudal dues, control and serfdom. Many villeins were able to extricate themselves from their untenable position and to become tenants at will and many peasants came to be free from all outside interference and feudal control. The Wars of the Roses and the resulting transformation in the industrial organisation of the country helped this evolution. But on the Continent things moved more slowly because no such natural blessing as the Black Death helped the workers, and the supremacy of the lords and abbots was very much greater than in England, while the masses were more docile than their brethren across the Channel. However the great Protestant Reformation² gave an impetus to the movement of freedom among the villeins and the rebellion of the poor in the sixteenth century assumed gigantic proportions. It was typical of the times that so great a Protestant as Luther should dissociate himself

¹The Economic History of England by Charlotte M. Waters.

²Religion and the Rise of Capitalism by R. H. Tawney.

from this cause of economic freedom and that all the princes and priests should make common cause to suppress this raising of the banner of revolt, just when they were leading a rebellion against the Pope. The success of the Princes in their revolt against the Roman Church sealed the fate of the peasants and postponed their partial salvation till the French Revolution.

Russia did not even attempt like Germany to take part in the popular peasant revolts. Its serfs were in a very much greater stupor and they had never had a chance of breathing the atmosphere of freedom.¹ In fact it is doubtful whether the Russian slaves ever passed through the intermediary stage of villenage before they attained complete freedom. As for India, it is not at all an exaggeration to maintain that there were never any risings on the part of her serfs against their lords. Just as in Europe, the priest vied with the lord in exploiting the slave and the villein, so also the Brahmin and the Kshatriya waxed rich upon the labour of the suppressed classes. But whereas in Europe there were frequent risings of peasants and their inferiors against their masters, there were none in India. The caste system with its accompaniment of the theory of the cycle of births had not a little to do with the notorious submissive spirit of Indian villeins. The preachings of Buddha, Ramanuja, Chaitanya, Kabir, Tukaram, and Vemana would have produced widespread risings in any other country, and the fights waged more or less successfully by the many untouchable saints would have stirred to action the working classes of any other country. Unfortunately, India was sunk helplessly in her slavish slumber. The thunderous movements of revolt against her caste system, priest-craft, corrupt idolatry and meaningless ritual and superficiality and materialism went by without enlivening the masses. The Indian untouchable is at the lowest rung of the ladder of civilization in the world and he does not show any effective sign of rising above his station merely because he has not

¹ Cambridge History of Europe.

had any tradition of revolt, and he has become a slave mentally and morally to the caste idea, and he has not known that aspect of Hinduism which was taught by Vemana and Brahma Naidu of Andhra country and Nanda and Ramanuja of Tamil Nadu and Chaitanya of Bengal.

Reviews

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

Telugu Literature.—By P. Chenchiah and Raja M. Bhujanga Rao. The Heritage of India Series. Published by the Association Press Y.M.C.A., Price Re 1-8-0.

So little is known of the Andhras outside the Telugu Districts that any attempt to acquaint the outside world with the culture and civilisation of the Andhras deserves to be warmly welcomed. This little brochure of 124 pages is the first attempt in the English language to narrate the broad outlines of Telugu Literature and, considering that it is a pioneer work, it must be pronounced to be a distinct success.

The book is closely modelled on Mr. E. P. Rice's earlier volume in the same series on the history of Kanarese Literature. There is little wonder that this should be so, for the Kanarese and Telugu Literatures developed under almost the same vicissitudes of political history and were influenced by almost the same currents of social and religious thought, so that the two histories are very closely allied. Some of the earlier Telugu poets like Palkuriki Somanatha and Nanne Choda were also great Kanarese poets. The great Telugu poet Srinatha characterised his own poetry as 'Karnata Bhasha.' The great Empire of Vijayanagar under whose patronage Telugu *Prabhandha* poetry reached its high-water mark was itself a 'Karnata Samrajya;' and at the Royal Court of Krishnadeva Raya and other Emperors, Telugu and Kanarese poets flourished together and composed their works side by side. The interaction of the two Literatures has been so continuous and deep-seated that no history of Telugu Literature can be considered complete unless it notices contemporary literary developments in Kanarese Literature, and *vice versa*. Mr. Rice attempted this to some extent in his 'History of Kanarese Literature.' It is to be regretted that

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the learned authorities of the present work neglected this aspect altogether.

It must, however, be said that within a short compass, the authors have been able to compress the maximum amount of matter, without in any way detracting from lucidity and clearness. Almost every poet of any eminence has been noticed. And the literary estimates are, generally, sound and accurate. The introductory chapters dealing with the Andhras, their country, their language, and their script, and the sources of Telugu literary history and the historical and religious background which gave rise to the same, are specially valuable as the book is primarily intended for Non-Andhras. The division of the history of Telugu Literature into five periods adopted by the authors is very convenient and is, in fact, the most widely-accepted among scholars. The authors have devoted one chapter to each of these five divisions, in which they notice the general literary tendencies of the period and give a short account of the leading poets and their works, and wind up by adding a list of the works of the more important minor poets of the period. The special chapters on women-poets and Christian and Mahomedan poets make very interesting reading. The authors' appreciation of Mangalagiri Ananda Kavi's 'Vedanta Rasayana', a Telugu poem dealing with the life of Jesus, deserves special mention. For 'Vedanta Rasayana' is a poetical work of high merit. It is undoubtedly the best piece of Christian Literature in the Telugu language. The work is not as widely known as it deserves to be. It is to be hoped that at least the Christian publishing societies will rescue this excellent little work from unmerited oblivion and render a cheap and popular edition of the poem available to the Telugu reading public. The chapter dealing with the Southern school, that is, the literature produced at the Royal Courts of Tanjore, Madura and Mysore, is specially instructive and is one of the best portions of this work.

But perhaps the finest feature of this short literary history is the important place that it gives to the popular literature in Telugu. From very early times, two distinct streams of literature have been flowing side by side in the land of the Telugus, one the literature of the 'Kavya' and the 'Prabandha' which was exclusively the literature of the learned and of the Royal Courts, and the other a popular literature

which consisted mainly of 'Satakams' or 'devotional hymns, 'Yakshaganams' or 'Harikathas,' ballads and songs. The authors call these two streams the 'Margi' and the 'Desi' respectively. Strictly speaking, this is not the sense in which these two words are used in the famous quartette of Nanne Choda from which the words are borrowed. But these words are certainly very convenient to describe the two currents that have always been running parallel in Telugu Literature. Thanks to the labours of the late Veeresalingam Pantulu and the late Gurujada Ramamurti and the indefatigable researches of Manavalli Ramakrishnayya, almost all the important works of the 'Kavya' literature are now available to the reading public. But the scholars entirely excluded the popular literature from the purview of their researches. It is regrettable that no one has yet been found to do for this popular literature what Veeresalingam and others have done for the 'Kavya' literature. For there is undoubtedly much that is exceedingly beautiful and of the highest literary and artistic value in this popular literature. As the learned authors rightly point out, "When the industry of the Research scholar makes it available for the critic to sift and winnow, it will be found that this literature, scorned by the Pandit, looked down upon by the learned, is the true heritage of the Andhras—their characteristic contribution to the Commonwealth of Letters—their true 'Gitanjali'".

Dealing with modern literature, the authors hold progressive views and reveal a very sympathetic understanding of the new literary ideals, which have been animating and inspiring contemporary writers of creative literature. The impact of Western culture with traditional but decadent ideals has aroused the dormant creative genius of the Andhra race and has produced during the last 20 or 30 years a volume of creative literature which is really prolific. The authors' summary of this recent literature is generally correct and comprehensive. One important omission must, however, be noticed. Almost everyone of the modern poets acknowledges that his fore-runner and inspirer is the late Gurajada Appa Rao (and not Rayaprolu Subba Rao as the authors seem to think) whose 'Muthyala Saramulu,' though not available in book form, were published in the 'Andhra Bharati' and other magazines and directly inspired and brought into existence the modern school of poets. It is quite surprising that the authors do not

even refer to the late Gurajada Appa Rao as a poet, though they refer to his brilliant social comedy, 'Kanya Sulkam.' Most of the work of this new school is certainly a hybrid patch-work, which has neither the sweetness and the beauty of Telugu nor the virile strength of English. But signs are already visible that the wave of nationalism sweeping over the entire country is making its influence felt in the realm of Andhra Literature also. There is now a distinct tendency to assimilate the views of the best Sanskrit critics of poetry like Mummata and Anandavardhana and to draw inspiration from the best works of early Sanskrit Literature. The leading exponent of this new phase in the realm of criticism is Akkiraju Umakanta Vidyasekhara, while in the realm of creative art, the same tendency is clearly visible in the best work of Viswanatha Satyanarayana, a rising Telugu poet of great promise and merit. This new phase of modern literary development has been left unnoticed by the authors.

In the last chapter entitled 'Retrospect and Prospect,' the authors summarise their views of the characteristic merits and defects of Telugu Literature as a whole. The authors point out that "true literature is the artistic expression of life" and remark that the central weakness of Telugu Literature (excluding modern tendencies) lies in the dissociation of art from life. This is, in one sense, strictly true; for Telugu Literature as a whole reflects very little of the daily life of the Andhras. But before a whole Literature is condemned, as the authors have done in unmeasured terms, one must acquire a deep and sympathetic understanding of the literary ideals which inspired the greatest masters of the Literature. Telugu Literature is the epitome in the realm of Letters of the same ideals as are embodied in ancient sculpture and painting. In literature, no less than in art, the imitation of nature, even in the larger sense of the expression, was never an ideal. Realism, as it is understood in the West, had never any high place in the literary idealism of the Andhras, though it is certainly true that two of the greatest Telugu poets, Tikkana and Pingali Sooranna, were also great realists. The delineation of a mere man was always looked down upon. Literature concerned itself almost exclusively with pious lore, nor did literature, any more than sculpture, concern itself with creating original characters of striking individuality; it only depicted

types, the 'Dheerodatta' and such like. Even the 'Shrungara' of Telugu Literature, at its best, has the same justification in art as the rude images of Indian sculpture. It is not possible to discuss this subject fully in the short space of a review. Suffice it to say that the defects pointed out by the authors are defects, if they be such at all, which Telugu Literature has in common with other Indian Literatures; for they are all the products of almost the same literary and artistic ideals. In point of sweetness and witchery of expression, however, Telugu Literature stands supreme. As the authors rightly put it, "Telugu poetry is song set to music: symphony and sweetness is its soul."

Taken as a whole, the book under review contains a short, reliable, and succinct account of the main currents of Telugu Literature. There are a few accidental slips or errors which need no special notice. The style is throughout simple and chaste, and, in some places, even eloquent and picturesque. The book is neatly printed on featherweight paper and moderately priced. An excellent introduction contributed by that eminent Andhra scholar and savant, Mr. C. R. Reddy, adds to the value of the work. The authors as well as the publishers deserve to be congratulated upon this neat little production.

V. RANGACHARI

The Next Rung. By K. S. Venkataramani, M.A., B.L., The Swetaranya Ashram, Mylapore, Madras. Price Rs. 1-8-0

The surge of nationalism has stirred the placidity of acquiescence. When have begun to think afresh. We have found new values for old and forgotten products of the past and polished them for use. A dormant love of the native has begun to burn aflame. A longing for what is alien has receded into remoteness. We have come to realise that what is real is ideal and what is ideal is real. We now see with a vision that eliminates the mist and lays bare the dawn in all its perfection. Mr. Venkataramani is one such visionary, not in the sense that he is unacquainted with or unconcerned with actualities, but that his ken is not limited by the external nor obstructed by walls of prejudice or hate.

The civilization that now ravages the world more like a fatal epidemic than a fascinating ideal, more like a cosmetic that

tentatively hides wrinkles that age has carved, has to be shed by those who have come under its grasp. It sets man against man, and nation against nation, till at last it consumes itself and those under its sway. It is a civilisation which breeds greed, breeds inequality. Here we find the rich growing richer and the poor poorer. Mr. Venkataramani goes to the very fundamentals and shakes the foundations of the fabric of society. He traces the origin of Government which is due to property which in its turn is incidental to marriage, and marriage is necessitated by the problem of cooking. And so Government came to be the protector of property and hence all the struggle, the slavery, the oppression. The rich are protected by the police, and with the aid of such protection there grew up the institution of the rich and the institution of the poor. War has been the fruit of this civilisation, and Mr. Venkataramani foresees a war more destructive than the last, which will end in the crash of the civilisation that has begot it. He makes some very thoughtful observations on this aspect of the civilization that governs the nations of Europe in particular. "He who talks of war as a biological necessity which keeps at maximum efficiency this idle and effeminate race has studied life only in the jungle."

"War instead of being in essence the messenger of peace, has become the angel of death."

"The last war in the world will be the most celebrated in this ugly chronicle, not for its poison gas and efficient artillery but for the extraordinarily wise, human and foresighted peace treaty which will announce as the highest and most inviolable duty of every man and state, the sanatanic value that underlies the four religions and the three institutions of man, to enforce which war has been a common and collective weapon of necessity."

That glorious day, as he says, is in our own hands and "let every one choose wisely and play manfully to hasten the day."

"The Next Rung" is a splendid plea for a better ordering of society, for a more equitable distribution of the fruits that nature yields, for a system of Government where man is not pampered by excess or oppressed by indigence, where there is less supervision and more co-operation. The village is the political and the economic unit, producing its needs, settling its disputes, administering its affairs. There is no fear of

invasion. No machine-guns, no bombs, no aeroplanes, no armies and navies are needed. There is no need for protection, for there is no need for fear. What does the invader come for? Food. Let him be given a plot of land, a pair of bullocks and a plough, and more than all, your love. He is content and would become one with you. War would be eliminated and peace become suzerain. The over-centralisation now so rampant would be absent. You weave your own cloth, you grow your own food. Man becomes self-reliant. Each village becomes self-dependent. It will have its own council of wise men, who will be responsible for soothing the occasional ripples and rifts. Science will help in the way of producing mechanical devices with greater rapidity, at less cost and in larger quantity. Science and its gifts are not tabooed. Arts and crafts will flourish. Poetry, philosophy, music, will bloom with a new perfume. Thus from the bottom rung man will rise to a high altitude, sublimated, sanctified. All the dross and dirt, all the suffocating and sulphurous atmosphere where vice blows its envenomed buds will disappear and be drowned in the nectareous perfume of heavenly breath. The new civilisation will be a glorious temple where enshrined dwells, away from the foul breath of slavery and oppression, the golden image of liberty, of equity, of justice. It rises spire on spire until it touches the heavens. We are not, as worshippers in that temple, afraid of wars of nations or greeds of men.

Mr. Venkataramani, in his "The next rung" builds up the vision of such a glorious edifice, and as we read it we are absorbed and identified with the magnificent work so naively consummated. It is not an impracticable dream. It is a tangible, a verifiable reality. These ideas are not the product of a fevered imagination or calculated discontent. Like brick on brick they are placed one after, or above, the preceding until the effect is an architectural perfection. The beauty of expression embellishes the idea. It is not a pile of ideas. It is a structure of a transcendental idea invested with poetry. "Next Rung" is the product of a mind dissolved and rarified by the one consuming thought of the beauty of the universe and the beatitude of man. It is the product of a soul that dances at joy and peace, and shivers at the sorrow and strife of man.

M. V. RAMANA RAO.

Current Topics

THE CONGRESS

How we view the Convention and the Congress in Calcutta depends entirely upon our own bent of mind. Not all the citizens of a country are sedate in temperament and sober in judgment. Nor are all adventurers. But he who runs may at once say that the struggle in Calcutta is between the old and the new, between the apostles of non-violence and the votaries of liberty to strive for Swaraj by all legitimate means. Indeed such amendments to the creed have been tabled, though they are merely of strategic value to force the way of more innocuous changes. The old, old Moderates are still doubting whether or not to plump for Dominion status at a bound. The younger patriots are for Independence at all costs. Those who are in between hold the balance even. But it requires only a straw to make the beam kick in favour of adventure and hazard. They that are slaves, and feel their slavery intensely, stand to gain nothing by mere 'law and order,' and equally stand to lose nothing by revolt—except the chains of their slavery. We have no wish to go into the merits and demerits of the issues raised by the compromise in Calcutta, but this much is obvious to everybody—namely, that if the resolution embodies an ultimatum to Government, the resolve that lies behind it is equally an ultimatum to Britain. Even Gandhi feels that he cannot hold his team. The yoke is heavy and it would be thrown off at all costs.

But hard words have broken no bones, much less Governments. Nor can harder resolutions be taken seriously by these hardest headed Englishmen, unless there is a strong backing behind the nation's resolve. A year is none too long for preparatory work. But it is none too short either. As Lloyd George said, the progress of centuries can be condensed into decades and years under the impulse of national

stress. The country need not go through the alphabet of non-co-operation in order to furnish first lessons in non-payment of taxes. When the mirasdars of Tanjore and the peasants of Bardoli can hold the Government at bay, the middle-class ryot can equally play the game. And too nothing succeeds like success. The very resolution of the Congress speaks only of 'organising,' not 'reviving' non-violent non-co-operation, by advising the refusal of the payment of taxes and other aids to Government. That the latter wording is changed means not that the idea underlying it is given up. The spirit of revolt is abroad. In the old, it is impotent and is stifled. In the middle-aged, it is lost in its struggle for expression. In the young, it is vocal and vociferous and no force on earth may succeed in silencing it or smothering it.

S. P.

SAROJINI DEVI IN AMERICA

The *Unity* of Chicago, as representing the better mind of America offers a warm welcome to Sarojini Devi, the unofficial Ambassador of India :

The presence in America of Mme. Naidu, of India, the friend and colleague of Mahatma Gandhi, is an occasion of profound congratulation. Her noble person should be seen and her eloquent speech heard in every corner of the land. In herself, she is one of the great women of the world. She radiates a power of intellect and spirit which marks her immediately as one of the supreme leaders of our time. But it is as an Indian, a representative of her stricken, yet unconquerable country, that she is chiefly important, and would, we are sure, be recognized and heeded. Among her own countrymen, she is honored as one of their greatest poets, a singer of the songs of a people for liberty and peace. She is also trusted and followed as a statesman who in 1925-26 was raised to the highest national office in her land as President of the All-India Congress of that year. Nobly born, highly cultured, utterly consecrated, dowered with supreme gifts of intellect and will, she stands in the forefront of India's life as defender of her people's rights and champion of their larger destiny. To America she has now come to

bear witness to the truth about India, so sadly maligned and therefore misunderstood, and to plead her cause before the tribunal of an instructed and awakened public opinion. *Unity* salutes Mme. Naidu with humble admiration. It welcomes her to this country which needs only to be taught in order to be won. We have known in these United States the struggle for liberty. We possess the tradition of blood and treasure bounteously spent for release from tyranny. In our pride we may have grown callous, and in our prosperity selfish. But the heart of the nation still beats true to its ideals. We know of no one better equipped to reach that heart by power of thought and speech than Mme. Naidu. America will leap to her when she finds audiences.

Dictatorship in Yugo-Slavia

The dissolution of the Yugo-Slavian constitution by Royal Edict is the culmination of nearly a decade of internecine racial jealousies and acerbities. King Alexander, who had, since the foundation of the Triune Kingdom as a result of the post-war remapping of Europe, witnessed bitter and sometimes bloody wrangles among the races, Croats, Serbs, Slavs, took the law into his own hands and by breaking the parliamentary constitution with all its paraphernalia of representative institutions and party factions, brought peace to the people. The most offended Croats welcome this military dictatorship which King Alexander proclaimed by dissolving the cabinet and appointing General Zifkovitch, who was unconnected with politics, Commander of the Royal Guard. Doctor Matsocheck, leader of the Croats, is reported to have said that "the fetters have been burst, the constitution which for seven years 'blessed' the Croats has been abolished, and thanks to the wisdom of the monarch, we shall now succeed in attaining the ideals of the Croatian people and will really be masters in the house of Free Croatia". What bitterness of feeling, what anguish of political suppression lay behind the words can well be imagined. King Alexander has taken the bold step that previously had been taken in Spain, in Italy, in

Egypt, in Poland and in Greece. The new Yugo-Slavian Cabinet is responsible to the King in whom is vested all power. He represents the State in all foreign relations and the Ministers derive their authority from, and are responsible to, the King, and the law goes forth from the King and will be promulgated by a decree countersigned by the Prime-Minister, the Minister directly concerned, and the Minister of Justice. We are tempted in moments like these to doubt if the war-drunk and violence-ridden West is fit for responsible Government. The wrangle of races in Yugo-Slavia, political murders and political manoeuvres could not be allayed by the federal constitution they enjoyed and the parliamentary form of Government. How much the creed of non-violence would have effected political tranquillity and racial harmony is indirectly demonstrated, and the shibboleth that the West is the best promoter of parliamentary institutions is blown to the winds. In the West, national evolution means revolutions, and political consolidation must be the result of political turmoil, and peace can only be the fruit of war. And if the West takes a lesson from India, as it has taken lessons before, peace of an enduring nature can be built on the sound foundations of non-violence.

THE AFGHAN CRISIS

The abdication of King Amanullah comes with a shocking suddenness to those who have been closely following a career of selfless devotion to the people, of strenuous service to the nation, of noble aims, and high aspirations. For the first time in Afghan history, a King of Afghanistan visited Europe, where he was received with royal pomp and grandeur as the first Eastern potentate, imbued with a love of the science and civilization of the West. But Afghanistan, led by the Mullahs and Moulvis, resented the Reforms His Majesty had introduced, and rebellion ensued with all its wreckage and carnage, bloodshed, and bitterness. The religion of conservatism, so deep-rooted amongst the Afghan tribesman, roused the 'Shinwaris' against the tearing

of the purdah, against Western science and education, and the new laws governing recruitment to the army; and after protracted and perilous fight between the King's forces and the rebels, evacuation of foreigners, sieges and counter-sieges, King Amanullah abdicated the throne in favour of his elder brother. Thus comes to a dramatic close the career of a King whose love of his subjects was the prime concern of his life and who wanted to import western culture and thereby enrich the culture of his own land. What is at the root of all this trouble? Is it the unreasoning love of the native institutions and the incapacity to appreciate and imbibe what is good outside? Will Afghanistan, which would have, under the ægis of King Amanullah, developed into a potent factor in the future federation of Asia, relapse into its primitive placidity and stagnation? We hope not. Time may have yet other surprises in store, and King Amanullah chastened by experience and grown more cautious in his zeal for reform, may once again come into his own, and realise his brilliant dreams.

M. V. R.

In Reminiscent Mood

By. K. RAMAKOTISWARA RAO, EDITOR, 'TRIVENI'

As I send forth the first number of 'Triveni' for the new year, my mind naturally goes back to the day on which 'Triveni' first saw the light. It was during the Congress week at Madras in December 1927 and exactly at 12 Noon on Christmas Day that 'Triveni' was formally published at 'Malabari House' Purasawalkum, by my friend and former colleague on the 'Swarajya,' Sjt. K. Srinivasan. There was a large and brilliant gathering of friends, and the chair—in fact it was a beautiful carpet prepared by the students of the Jatheeya Kalasala—was occupied by Chavali V. Krishnaiya, a rising lawyer and publicist of Narasaraopet, the place of my birth. Krishnaiya, as I then described him, was "the friend of my boyhood, the companion of my youth, and, in the battle of life, my comrade-in-arms." A versatile scholar and a brilliant speaker, a gentleman of noble impulses and a born leader of men, he was indeed the idol of my heart from my earliest years. But, alas! he was snatched away ere these gifts could win him his rightful place in the larger life of the land.

For me, the note of joy and of triumph on the completion of an year of strenuous endeavour is stifled when I realize that he who inaugurated 'Triveni' is no longer present to guide me and inspire me in my work. Readers of Maratha history might remember how after the capture of the fort of Sinhagad (the lion-fort) Chatrapathi Shivaji exclaimed in sorrow, "the fort is won, but the lion is lost," referring to Tanaje Malusare, the comrade by whose desperate valour the Maratha arms had that day triumphed. Exactly similar is my feeling to-day. Life can never be the same to me that it was when he was alive. But since 'Triveni' is his gift to me, I shall cherish it and make it in

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an ever-increasing measure a memorial worthy of his idealism. Thus shall I seek to return even a fraction of the love that he lavished on me during life and which I am convinced he continues to lavish on me from the Great Beyond.

* * * *

Another friend to whom 'Triveni' and its Editor were very dear — Andhraratna Gopalakrishnaiya — passed away shortly after the publication of the second number in March last. This hero of a hundred platforms, this sturdy fighter for freedom, had a most tender and loving heart. There are countless young men in South India to whom his death comes as a personal loss. Years ago when he has clapped into jail at Berhampore for disobedience to a gagging order of the District Magistrate, I felt that "his imprisonment removes for the time being the most popular as well as the most picturesque figure in Andhra public life. To his personal friends, the loss of his genial comradeship cannot be expressed in words." But to-day it is a loss that is of much longer duration. The grief is therefore much more poignant.

Between him and me there was a strange bond—the bond of failure in a common cause. We both worked for the same institution—the Jatheeya Kalasala—though at different periods. And we both failed to shape it in accordance with our ideals. But there is a realm where such failures are transmuted into triumphs. And that is the realm of ideas, of the "dreams of the virgin soul, and the visions of early youth" of which Mazzini speaks. It is not generally known that Andhraratna was a great lover of the fine arts and collaborated with Dr. Coomaraswamy in the translation of the 'Abhinaya Darpana'—'the Mirror of Gesture.' In a more peaceful age, he would have made his name as a great savant, but the times were 'out of joint' and he felt that he must 'set it right.' This is the tragedy of even the noblest lives amongst a subject nation. The struggle for liberty absorbs all the energy and talent that in

normal conditions would have enriched the finer aspects of a nation's life. People talk of the great sacrifices of Andhra-ratna, but assuredly the greatest of them all was the sacrifice which the scholar and the poet made when he turned politician for the sake of a disinherited people.



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