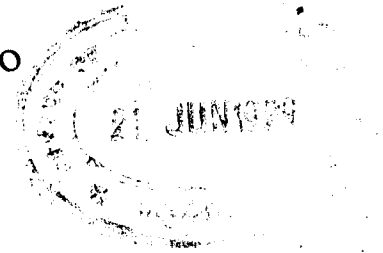


TRIVENI

A JOURNAL OF THE INDIAN RENAISSANCE

EDITED BY
K. RAMAKOTISWARA RAO



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

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TRIVENI

'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.

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The Editor

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Sculpture at its Best

BY T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN

I. THE BEAUTY OF BALANCE

An unfailing theme with the south Indian sculptor has been Kodanda-Rama—Rama with the bow,—but rarely has the theme found more fitting expression than in a marvellous image disclosed about two years ago by the curious pick of a husbandman somewhere near Ramnad.¹ Rama, in Indian tradition, is the bow-man *sans pareil*, the warrior *sans reproche*, and is deservedly popular in the character of Kodanda-Rama. How well-beloved in south India is Rama as bow-man and how greatly he has appealed to the sense of *satya* that abides in the Indian, is shown by the large number of exquisite sculptures of him in that character.

Next to Nataraja, and next only to him, comes Kodanda-Rama as a creation and an achievement of south Indian sculpture. While endless Natarajas, stereotyped in form and expression, though ennobled by masterly craftsmanship, issued almost from every village studio, no Kodanda-Rama seems to have emerged which was not a high-grade product of art. Much fewer in number are the Kodanda-Ramas comparatively, but they rarely degenerate into the angular and gawky figures which sometimes served for Nataraja.

The image found near Ramnad is not the finest Kodanda-Rama we know of: but even this image, with all its faults, shows how dignity and grace could blend in equal measure and with what confidence the Indian sculptor can rely on an innate sense for balance.

¹See the frontispiece in this issue. The image is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and to the courtesy of that institution we are indebted for permission to reproduce a photograph of the image.

Modelled as it is in the *tribhanga* pose, this image has a right leg much too curved to suit anatomy—though it was so shaped to ensure the *tribhanga* pose,—and it has knees which betray a lamentable lack of capacity for modelling, but they are the only flaws we can detect. The vigour of composition, the firmness of the pose, the grace of the expression and the perfection of the balance would place it in the early period of Chola art (about 950 A.D.), but the awkward right leg, the knob-like knees and the ill-finished medallion in the belt bring it down to the thirteenth century or thereabouts: perhaps, this is a copy, in decadent times, of a masterpiece of the days when art was art. What would not a genuine Kodanda-Rama of those days of superb sculpture be worth now to the student of art,—when art in our country is little better than a name!

Perhaps Kodanda-Rama is an achievement more difficult even than Nataraja. Nothing in the composition of Nataraja corresponds to the bow in Kodanda-Rama, nothing which, if not properly harmonized, would destroy the unity of the composition. How often do we question ourselves whether the centre-line in the conception of Kodanda-Rama runs through the main figure or between it and the bow, but how decidedly we conclude in the end that, howsoever the balance might be ensured, it has been achieved in full measure! So cleverly is the *tribhanga* of the figure contrived and so judiciously are the arms and the hands disposed, that the unity of the composition can never be really in dispute.

The Dance of Nataraja,—the sculptural achievement *par excellence* of Saivism,—was sought to be paralleled in the Kalinga-Mardana of Vaishnava art, but no master arose who conceived that dance in terms equally noble, and the Kalinga-Mardana proved a foolish futility in iconography,—perhaps because the south Indian sculptor, with his unique appreciation of the value of balance, was not the first creator of that iconographic idea. If the Vaishnava sculptor failed to catch the essence of dynamic balance, he has attained a thorough mastery of the art of expressing



A Panel from the Nagesvara
Temple, Kumbhakonam

the beauty of static balance,—and nowhere better than in his masterpiece, Kodanda-Rama. The *tribhanga* of the figure of the warrior is reflected in the *tribhanga* of the bow: *tribhanga* answers to *tribhanga*. Herein lies the excellence of Kodanda-Rama as a sculptural expression.

II. TWO REMARKABLE PANELS

Kumbhakonam is one of the most notable cities of south India : it has had an ancient and noble history, and it has produced great men in larger numbers than almost any other place in the south. But, before long, it is bound to become known otherwise as well,—as a Mecca to lovers of Indian art.

Among the numerous temples which dot the little city is one dedicated to Nagesvara, and in a series of niches in the walls of the *garbhagriha* are carved a number of figures in very high relief which deserve very close study. The figures are about ten in number and represent men and women, almost in life-size. Each figure stands by itself and constitutes a masterpiece. Two of the figures are illustrated here.¹ It requires greater study than I have been able to devote to determine finally what each figure represents and how they came to be carved in the temple in a series.

The temple seems to be an ancient one, though not the present structure, which must be attributed to about 900 A.D.,—as shown by the inscriptions on its walls,—and the sculptures too seem to belong to the same period.

For perfection of technique, for excellence of composition, for freedom from puerile conventionalism, for sheer grace and enduring charm, it is hard to find peers to these sculptures. They are bound to take high rank as works of art.

¹I hope to publish shortly in *Trivani* a long article on these sculptures and illustrate the article with much better reproductions of all figures.

The Coming of 'Ashadha'

BY VISVANATHA SATYANARAYANA, M.A. ¹

Through clustering clouds the Lightning-Damsel doth peep to
find,
If the *Kadimi* has blossomed quite or merely put forth leaf ;
The lovely *Mandara* blooms and chants its welcome to the
advancing bee ;
Down the crested rocks, the lotus-eyed amorous stream runs
swift
Into the arms of her Ocean-Lord ;
The shyness of the ecstatic Earth-Maiden thrills
Through meadows of emerald-green ;
Behold ! the lofty music of the stringed clouds,
The peacock's joyous dance ;
Verily, this festive grove is like unto the Dance-Academy
Of the Master of Dance !

Translated from by TELUGU by

M. VISVESVARA RAO.

¹ A beautiful description from his drama—the *Nartana Sala*.



Another Panel from the Nagesvara
Temple, Kumbhakonam

The Butler Report

BY DEWAN BAHADUR M. RAMACHANDRA RAO

[The following authoritative statement was prepared by the Dewan Bahadur, at the Editor's special request, for publication in 'Triveni'. But in view of the Indian States Subjects' Conference at Bombay, advance copies of the article were supplied to some of the daily papers in India.—Editor, 'Triveni'.]

The Butler Report has met with a mixed reception both in India and in England. Long before its publication, some of the Princes gave expression to their sense of disappointment at the probable results of the inquiry, and a perusal of the Report makes it quite clear that their anticipations were fully justified. The significant silence of the Indian Princes and their Dewans, who were very vocal hitherto in condemnation of the British Indian politician, is noteworthy and one may therefore safely conclude that their feeling is that they have lost all along the line. The inquiry was held *in camera* and the Committee denied itself, by a too narrow and unjustified interpretation of the terms of reference, the opportunity of hearing the views of the people of the Indian States on the important questions raised before the Committee. The Indian Press and the Indian public men never expected any fruitful results from this inquiry. The Report has also been denounced by eminent public men and the leading organs of public opinion in India as a deliberate attempt to drive a wedge between British India and Indian India, and to make the question of evolving a new Constitution for India even more difficult than it is. The only class of people who are pleased with the Report are the British official and commercial classes in India, the Anglo-Indian Press and the British Press in England, and retired Anglo-Indian Pundits like Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

THE THEORY OF PARAMOUNTCY

In regard to the affairs of Indian States, the theory of

Paramountcy of the Crown, combined with usage and political practice, had conferred on the Government of India an enormous power limited by its own discretion. In the words of Sir Sydney Low, "the Paramount Power was itself the judge of what it could do or could not do; it decided what it liked and its decisions were regarded as statement of the law which would override or cancel contractual obligations." Since the introduction of Reforms, the Princes began to examine their own position and to resent these wide powers of intervention possessed by the Paramount Power and exercised through their agents, the Political Officers. They urged that their States are sovereign units, except in so far as they have accepted derogations from their sovereignty by treaty engagements or understandings with the representatives of the Crown.

The main request of the Princes was, therefore, that the present powers of intervention established by treaty and political practice should be more clearly defined and their political relations with the Paramount Power strictly limited by the terms of agreements and treaties entered into from time to time. They contended that the Paramount Power had no powers other than those expressly provided in treaties and agreements. They complained that there has been substantial infringement of their contractual rights, to which they submitted through weakness or ignorance or a salutary respect for the Government of India, and adduced voluminous evidence to illustrate their contentions.

The Butler Committee have refused the request of the Princes for a clearer definition of their position. They have re-affirmed the existing position with an even greater emphasis than that contained in the previous pronouncements of Lord Minto and Lord Reading and other Viceroys. The States are *sui generis* but they fall outside both international and municipal Law and the Committee have held that it is impossible to define Paramountcy. They say: "We have endeavoured, as others before us have endeavoured, to find some formula which will cover the exercise of para-

mountcy, and we have failed, as others before us have failed, to do so. The reason for such a failure is not far to seek. Conditions alter rapidly in a changing world. Imperial necessity and new conditions may at any time raise unexpected situations. Paramountcy must remain paramount; it must fulfil its obligations, defining or adapting itself according to the shifting necessities of the time and the progressive development of the States." The Princes, have, therefore, entirely failed to achieve their main object and nobody in the States or in British India expected any other result, though undoubtedly there are many important questions in which they have a genuine grievance. The discretion of the Paramount Power to interfere in the affairs of Indian States will continue to be as unlimited and as undefined as before and the Report of the Committee has not improved the matter in the least in the direction desired by the Princes.

STATES PEOPLE'S ATTITUDE

The attitude of the people of the Indian States in this matter is plain. They feel that in present circumstances in the States where autocracy is rampant, the only safeguard for the protection of the subject is the intervention of the Paramount Power, however unwelcome it may be. Till constitutional Government on a democratic model is introduced in the States, there is no other remedy against the autocracy of the Princes than a recourse to the Paramount Power. In the Memorandum of the Indian States Peoples' Conference to the Butler Committee, it was urged that what is needed is neither a wholesale repudiation of the Paramount Power's rights of interference as suggested by the Princes, nor an unlimited charter to its agents for interference at will, but a clear demarcation of a limited, defined, and strictly constitutional intervention. The Deputation urged also the need for a constitutional agency for investigation of cases before actual intervention and put forward proposals for the establishment of a Constitutional machinery. If the Princes

had also put forward some such scheme, it would perhaps have considered it. As it is, they attempted to get rid of all control and it is only natural if after a perusal of the Report they have a feeling that perhaps the ropes have been tightened. The present system of control through Political Officers is out of date and no machinery to take its place would be satisfactory unless the right of the people of the States in all matters is definitely recognised. Autocracy of the Princes must be controlled either from above or from below. If the powers of the Paramount Power are to be curtailed, it can only be done by the development of the democratic system in the States. The proposals of the Princes for relaxation of control would, if accepted, have still further increased their autocratic power. This is the feeling of the people of the States. As it is, the Committee have not only entirely ignored the complaints brought forward against Political Officers and the Political Department but have commended the existing system.

CHANGE TO VICEROY'S CONTROL

The change from the Governor-General-in-Council to the Viceroy as the controlling authority on behalf of the Crown in regard to matters pertaining to the States, was put forward by the Princes and the Committee have recommended the change. They assert that it will have three distinct advantages. "First, it will gratify the Princes to have more direct relations with the Crown through the Viceroy; secondly, it will relieve them of the feeling that cases affecting them may be decided by a body which has no special knowledge of them, may have interests in opposition to theirs, and may appear as a judge in its own cause; and thirdly, it will, in our opinion, lead to much happier relations between the States and British India, and so eventually make coalition easier". It is impossible to fully understand the reasons for the gratification of the Princes at this proposed change. If, as is generally believed, the Princes of India have put forward the proposals to prevent the Indian Members of the

Governor-General's Council from dealing with questions relating to the Indian States, they have done great injustice to their own cause. The control of the Political Department would become much stronger than it is now if the Viceroy is the sole authority in these matters and the change will, in all likelihood, prove to be a case of jumping from the frying pan into the fire. The Political Secretary must necessarily be the only officer on whom the Viceroy must rely, and it might be that he will uphold the doings of his political officers much more readily than otherwise. He will gain a more dominating position in all States affairs, and however painstaking the Viceroy may be, the real arbiter of affairs will be the Political Secretary. On the other hand, Indian Members of the Governor-General's Council would bring a fresh mind to bear on the affairs of the States and have a certain amount of sympathy and respect for the rulers of the Indian States.

It is more than possible that the proposal was made on grounds of sentiment in regard to official precedence but even this, I understand, has been modified in favour of the Princes a few years ago. Some of the rulers have been placed above the Members of the Viceroy's Council in this matter and the salute of 13 guns enjoyed by the Members of Council has been withdrawn. It is commonly believed that the Indian Princes would prefer a European to an Indian however eminent, just and patriotic the latter may be, to sit in judgment over them. They have an inordinate respect for any Tom, Dick, or Harry and would prefer him to an Indian of the highest social standing. It has been stated that the Indian Princes raised objections to the entertainment of Indians in the Political Department and the proposals of the Butler Committee for the recruitment of a separate Political service from the British Universities has been designed to prevent the Indian element from getting into this service. Until the Indian Princes give up this kind of snobbery and learn to respect their own countrymen, the situation is not hopeful. Perhaps an Indian Prince

cannot tolerate an Indian, even of the highest social standing and culture, as a Resident at his court. As it is, Sir Harcourt Butler and his colleagues were aware that the Indianisation of the British Indian Services is going on apace, and they wish to save at least the Political Department for British youths. The Princes have simply played into their hands, and Sir Harcourt Butler took advantage of their proposals which have not commended themselves even to some of the British members of the Indian Services.

The Committee believe that the change will not throw much additional work on the Viceroy. This cannot be a fact. The Viceroy's position is already very irksome on account of his many onerous duties. The line of reform in this matter is in the direction of relieving him of the political portfolio and entrusting it to a separate Member of the Viceroy's Council rather than to make him supreme. The Viceroy should not be identified with any portfolio but should be placed in a position of detachment, so that he may be the final authority in all matters. The rejection of the proposal for the appointment of a Political Member is therefore to be regretted.

THE 'TWO INDIAS'

The most mischievous part of the Report is the suggestion made in para 58 and the undue emphasis laid on what Sir Sydney Low calls 'the basic fact of Indian politics.' "There are two Indias; one is the India of the British provinces, the other the India of the protected States." Sir Harcourt Butler and his colleagues refer to the existence of the two Indias as if it is a new discovery that they have made, and the attempt made to keep these two parts of India as far apart as possible and to isolate the States from British India is obvious. The basic fact of the situation in India is not so much the existence of the two administrative systems, but the identity of interests between the people of British India and the people of Indian States. The people of both the Indias are already held together by immemorial ties and by a fundamental unity

of thought and culture and race and civilisation, and they have the same social and economic problems. The National movement in British India is having its repercussions in the Indian States and the people of the Indian States have a desire to take their legitimate part in an All-India polity. These are really the fundamentals of the situation, which the Committee has ignored. For some time the British Imperialists, the Tory politicians and the British official and commercial classes in India and England have been exploiting the Indian Princes with a view to retard the National movement in India, and the Butler Committee's Report has now come to their rescue. The Committee was appointed to report on the existing relations between the States and the Paramount Power, and not to suggest what should be done with the Princes in the eventuality of a new Dominion Constitution for British India. It went out of its way, without giving an opportunity to the people of British India and the States who are vitally interested in the problem, to express its strong opinion that, "in view of the historical nature of the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Princes, the latter should not be transferred without their own agreement to a relationship with a new Government in British India responsible to the Indian Legislature." I need not refer to the true constitutional position which has been so often discussed, nor to assert that the Indian Princes should have no voice in the matter. The Indian States Committee were apparently anxious not so much to improve the existing position of the Princes *vis-a-vis* the Paramount Power and the Political Department, as to prevent future developments in the Indian Constitution by the inclusion of the Indian States therein.

This opinion of the Committee accords with the wishes and sentiments of the enemies of India's freedom, who do not want India to attain the status of a self-governing Dominion. 'The Daily Mail', 'The Daily News', 'The Morning Post' and other Tory papers are delighted at the prospect of utilising the Indian States against the Nationalist

aspirations of India. Sir Michael O'Dwyer sees in the Report a fitting instrument for keeping the British Indian politician in his proper place. It is, therefore, only natural that this part of the Report should have been received with great jubilation by British interests both in this country and in England, who wish to maintain their dominant position in India. The true position is perhaps that indicated by 'The Manchester Guardian.' It says:

No lawyer can deny us the right to say to the Princes who entered into certain engagements with us because of our position as rulers of British India: "The time is coming when we must hand over the rule of British India to its inhabitants. We give you notice now, so that you may make new engagements with our successors. We will help you as far as we can to get fair terms, but your future must depend chiefly on your success in securing the good-will of your subjects."

The Indian Princes will do well to follow this advice.

Moreover, the Princes are not the only persons concerned in the matter. As has been admitted by the Maharaja of Bikaner, the word 'States' in the terms of reference includes the people of the States. The people of the States have definitely expressed their view already in this matter and they certainly would like to come into the future Government of India, and the Indian States People's Conference adopted a resolution expressing for constitutional relations with British India. If the Princes create any difficulties in the matter, they will certainly be disowned by their own people.

PARAMOUNT POWER AND THE STATES SUBJECTS

The most important portion of the Report, relating to the duty of the Paramount Power to the people of the States, has not received sufficient public attention. The paragraphs 49 and 50 contain a weighty pronouncement by the Committee in regard to popular demands by the people of the Indian States put forward in the Memorandum of the Indian States People's Conference. It was contended by the

Deputation that the Paramount Power has not discharged its duty to the people of the States in securing good Government, and if it has failed in the past, the Committee was bound to find out whether the obligations laid on the Princes for providing good Government to their people has been discharged by them, and also to suggest ways and means by which these responsibilities and obligations could be adequately fulfilled in the future. The Princes have always stood out for their autocracy and maintained that the Paramount Power had no business to suggest improvements in their internal administration as they are independent sovereigns. It was urged in the Memorandum that misrule on the part of a State which is upheld by the Paramount Power is misrule in the responsibility for which the British Government becomes in a measure involved, and it was therefore not only the right but the duty of the British Government to see that the administration of the State in such a condition is reformed and gross abuses removed. This contention has been fully upheld. The pronouncement of the Committee on this matter must therefore be regarded as a victory to the people of the Indian States. The Committee have stated in unequivocal terms that,

"The guarantee to protect a Prince against insurrection carries with it an obligation to enquire into the causes of insurrection and to demand that the Prince shall remedy legitimate grievances, and an obligation to prescribe the measures necessary to this result."

In para 50 they declare that:

"The promise of the King-Emperor to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights and dignities of the Princes carries with it a duty to protect the Prince against attempts to eliminate him, and to substitute another form of Government. If these attempts were due to misgovernment on the part of the Prince, protection would only be given on the conditions set out in the preceding paragraph. If they were due, not to misgovernment, but to a widespread popular demand for change, the Paramount Power would be bound to maintain

the rights, privileges and dignity of the Princes ; but it would also be bound to suggest such measures as would satisfy this demand without eliminating the Prince."

This emphatic statement, fully recognising the duty of the Paramount Power to suggest Constitutional changes in the system of Government in consonance with public opinion for the development of a democratic system under the hereditary ruler of the State, is a step of great constitutional importance, the significance of which I trust the Princes will fully realise. They can no longer say that the Paramount Power has no right to suggest changes in the form of government and that they should continue their autocracy unimpaired. It is, however, a matter for regret that the Committee has not permitted itself to enquire whether there is at the present moment this widespread popular demand for change in the form of government in the States. Without making any inquiries whatever, they say that no such case for a change has yet arisen. If they had only acquainted themselves with the National movement in Indian India, they would not have made this assertion.

The National movement in the Indian States has been gathering strength for several years and during the last year, the Hyderabad Political Conference, the Deccan State Subjects' Conference, the Kathiawar Conference, the Mysore State Congress, the Rajaputana States Peoples' Conference, the Anjira States Peoples' Conference, the All-India States Peoples' Conference, the South Indian States Peoples' Conference, and various other Peoples' organisations in the States have spoken unequivocally on the subject, and have demanded the establishment of Responsible Government in the States and have also advocated many radical reforms including the establishment of an independent Judiciary. The Committee have commended the advice of H. E. the Viceroy for a fixed Privy purse, security of tenure in the Public Services, and an independent Judiciary. In confining themselves to these reforms, the Committee have entirely failed to take note of the strong public opinion that has been formed in regard to many

fundamental changes in the system of government in the States. Nevertheless, the recognition by the Committee of the duty of the Paramount Power to the people of the States to back up the popular demand for a change in the present system of autocratic rule is a source of gratification to them.

FINANCIAL ADJUSTMENTS

The recommendations of the Committee in regard to the financial and economic relations between British India and the States may now briefly be noticed. The Princes put forward a scheme for a States Council which was published in India and which was so severely criticised that they gave it up and have disowned it as unauthorised. They, however, presented again a similar scheme to the Committee based on a scheme of the European Association presented to the Indian Statutory Commission. This has been rightly rejected by the Committee. The States Committee's recommendations for the appointment of committees in matters of common concern to British India and the States and formal committees in cases of disagreement can never prove satisfactory and may even prove harmful. The ultimate solution can only be a regular constitutional machinery for the whole of India in which the people of the States are also assigned a definite place and an effective voice in all matters of common concern. The Committee have declared that schemes of a federal character are wholly premature and that the States have not as yet reached any real measure of agreement among themselves. This is true so far as the Princes are concerned, but federal schemes have now been under active discussion in various Conferences and Congresses from time to time. It is also clear, however, that any other method of adjustment of the relations of the States to British India will not give satisfaction. A satisfactory scheme can only be devised by the co-operation of all the parties concerned ; the Princes and the people of the Indian States and the people of British India and the Government of India will have to sit together for

the purpose in a Constituent Assembly. In the meantime, it is not known whether the Princes are satisfied with the solution suggested in the Report. The representation of the people of the States and the State Governments in the Central Legislature as an interim arrangement limited to the discussion of subjects of common concern to British India and the States, is a possible solution before a federal solution is reached, though attended with many difficulties. As regards specific proposals, it is a matter for satisfaction that the Committee have recognised the claim of the States to a share in the Maritime Customs Revenue, but they have tacked on to it also a recommendation that the States should make a contribution to Imperial burdens. The Princes perhaps never contemplated such a contribution but were merely looking forward to a share of the Revenue. It is to be hoped that the enquiry by the expert body would be open and public, and all other interests will be represented thereon. As regards other matters, it is also satisfactory that the Committee have recommended a share of the profits in Savings Bank to the States when they are considerable. The recommendation of the Committee in regard to salt does not appear to be equitable but the subject needs further examination. The reason assigned, namely, that the Government of British India established a monopoly and is therefore entitled broadly to all the profits is not convincing. It is not possible to deal with all cases for adjustment and the subject may have to be thoroughly examined later on with a view to remove any soreness of feeling on the part of the Indian States that they are not properly treated by British India.

RELATIONS WITH SIMON COMMISSION

It is more than probable that no action will be taken on the Butler Report till the report of the Indian Statutory Commission is also available to Parliament. There is a considerable amount of misconception in Great Britain that Sir Harcourt Butler's Committee and Sir John Simon's

Commission will together produce proposals for fitting in the Indian States into a new Constitution for India. While in England in November last, I noticed that even such a well-informed publicist like Mr. J. A. Spender fell into this error in his contributions to 'The Daily Mail'. The States Committee did not even hear the views of the people of the States, much less of the people of British India. The Indian Statutory Commission did not invite the opinions of either the Princes or the people of the States as regards the future Constitution for the whole of India including the States. Both these bodies were working in compartments and I imagine that their labours will not eventuate in the creation of a new Constitution for the whole of India. The attitude of the Indian Princes in regard to the points raised in the Butler Report is not known, but they have to make up their minds on the various points of controversy. It is said that His Excellency, the Viceroy, who is going to England on the 24th of June next, is meeting the Indian Princes at Poona before his departure. The Indian Princes have been harping a great deal on their relations with the 'Paramount Power.' The Paramount Power means the Crown acting through the Secretary of State and the Governor-General-in-Council who are responsible to the Parliament of Great Britain.

THE PRINCES' DUTY

The Princes must now realise that the ultimate authority is not the King-Emperor acting by himself but the British Parliament. The Princes have realised that the social structure of Parliament has radically changed and they did not and do not hesitate to rub shoulders with many members of the Labour party whom they did their best to conciliate. The Princes pin their faith to the average British working man and his wife who make the Parliament of Great Britain, and hesitate to trust their own countrymen in an Indian Legislature. This attitude of the Princes is inexplicable. Will the Indian Princes take the advice of Sir Malcolm Hailey that the

future of the States depends not upon worn-out treaties and 'sanads' but upon working with the present day progressive forces in British India and in their own States? Have they learnt the lesson of the Great War that autocracy as a system of Government is doomed and that "the world has been made safe for Democracy," and adjust themselves in time to this world-wide movement for popular liberty? Should they shut their eyes to the fact that their safety lies not in isolating themselves from British India relying upon the protection of the Crown, or would they take their legitimate part in the evolution of the political destiny of India as a whole? Would the Indian Princes at this critical juncture play into the hands of the enemy? Sir Leslie Scott who played so prominent a part in the presentation of their case to the Butler Committee, has publicly stated that the Princes and the untouchables in India are in need of special protection from the Paramount Power. The Princes cannot be congratulated on the position assigned to them.

I have been assured on high authority that the statement made by Sir Leslie Scott in his now famous article in 'The Law Quarterly Review' was not authorised by the Princes, but it has not been repudiated by them as yet. Some of the Indian Princes are far-seeing and able statesmen who have taken part in the world movements of today and imbued with a genuine love for their Motherland. Will they rise equal to the occasion and influence their brethren of their order to shake off the spell of British Imperialism and work for a United India? No responsible British Indian politician has ever urged the disappearance of the Indian Princes, and it may emphatically be asserted that, consistently with the maintenance of their order, it is possible for British India and Indian India to be welded together into a common Constitution. Let there be no misgiving on this matter. The desire of Nationalist India is that the Indian Princes should become constitutional sovereigns and that personal rule as a system of Government should be modified in the States by the introduction of the Democratic principle.

Politics as a Profession

BY E. S. SUNDA, B.A., B.L.

"Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel" said the eminent Doctor well-known for his commonsense and his victories in wordy warfare. The time has come when the words of that esteemed gentleman might appear true. This is just the minute when a loud protest should be made against such a degeneration of politics. The disappointed schoolboy, a dismissed public servant, nobodies in various professions, runaways from home and others of a kindred nature, all take to the field of politics, and get a smattering knowledge of all subjects, from the League of Nations to the Indian village panchayat, from monarchy to socialism, from craft-guilds to trade-unionism and pose themselves as politicians. In fact their presumption is so great today that they do not possess any knowledge in any subject. The result is not far to seek; the high level of politics is on the decrease, the moral tone is vanishing, sobriety has given place to mere enthusiasm, facts have been replaced by fiction, responsibility by indifference, and equipment by superficiality. Today the views of politicians are treated with discourtesy as those of an agitator, interested partisan, and not received with the regard that is due to a student of politics.

This is a passing phase of political life in all countries. There are upheavals everywhere, shibboleths are any number, parties multiply every second, steady politics are not available anywhere. India shares the fate with other countries. This leads to a searching of our hearts.

One thing any student of politics should concede as a common ground is that it is a game and a task which demands persons who really know and try to know fully what they are about. Off-hand amateurishness would not do but works considerable havoc. Secondly, specialisation in

some branch of politics is necessary. A novice with no aptitude and taste for any aspect of political life but with only an appetite to enjoy the amenities and glories of the Legislatures, is a menace to society and an obstacle to progress. Again every politician worth the name should have a programme chalked out in his particular branch and should be able to evolve schemes then and there. He should be a sufficient answer to the evasions of the Treasury benches and should be able to give them hard knocks when opportunity occurs. I can never believe in the existence—though it is possible in exceptional cases,—of ‘all-round’ politicians. It may be stated in praise of individuals, but the facts are always otherwise. Persons of Sir Basil Blackett’s and Gokhale’s type as financiers and financial critics, India is yet to see. Gandhiji’s mastery of Overseas problems and solutions is yet to be copied and imitated by any politician of modern times. More than all, politicians require considerable powers of expression, a capacity to debate and retort. Humanly impossible it is for anybody to master all aspects of politics; definite fields should be chosen and definite persons should study before they come out, and study as they continue in the political arena, current political problems.

All these imply division of labour in political life and a probation of study *before entry* and constant study and active division of labour in the political arena *after entry*. This involves a question of mutual understanding, nation-wide arrangement, why, in fact, it implies training persons for a certain aspect in a political career. Political life is prefaced by a tuition, a probation and deliberate study leading to practical politics. It shall not be the chance of getting into the Legislature by the door of nomination or stumbling into it by the wide door of tipping or bidding the topmost in mass elections.

Again, for active political life—in the sense of being prominent in current politics—only a few are fit, but a great many are necessary to study and advise the great ones on the field with facts and figures. With great respect to our legislators, it should be said, though it is not complimentary

to them, very few care to study and much less educate their electorate on the threatening proposals for reforms either in the Assembly, Council of State or Local Legislatures. To take one instance, how many of our legislators understood the implications of the Reserve Bank Bill and how many cared to educate their electorate on the matter and obtain its verdict? There are certain reforms on which the electorate had not expressed itself at any time and the candidates are in duty bound to take note of the fact before they air their individual views.

The responsibilities of politicians are indeed great. In fact they are proportionate to the glory they enjoy and they ought to bear the burden manfully. It means considerable time, energy and study. Can all these be had honorarily? No, certainly not. The time has come when politicians ought to be able to spare all their time and energy for the country’s cause and her intricate problems, and people should be glad to shoulder their expenses and maintain them out of public funds. I mean, without the least semblance of disrespect or insinuation that may attach to the expression, we should evolve a set of ‘professional politicians’ who are maintained by the public and whose only avocation is the study of politics—current and theoretical. They ought to be divided into two classes, students on study, students on field. Elder politicians and statesmen should be able to choose their own potential disciples and send them for study and train them. This involves a Public Purposes Fund, a School of Politics and its necessary concomitants.

Our great men, Gokhale and Lajpat Rai, have clearly anticipated the necessity for professional politicians, and have sent out into Indian politics some at least who can boast of real study, a probation, and what may be called a political training. A Joshi on Labour problems, a Kunzru or Vaze on the ‘Indians Abroad’ question, a Kale on Economics, a Devadhar on social reform legislation, are any day far superior to the best among other politicians who begin and study politics as and after they enter. The necessity for the starting of political schools in several

parts of the country and the training of the workers, is too great and time should not be lost any further. It is one of the essentials for the solid political reconstruction under any kind of government.

The party system of government has come to stay. It will last till it is erased: why it may continue under all types of government. Parties imply excellent spokesmen, trained debaters, and what is more, resourceful students of politics on all subjects. The party leader should be bulwarked with points on particular subjects by the particular student well-up in the line. He should be able to supply the powder for the shot. Else, the effectiveness of the party system is lost. Allocation of political responsibility within the party is now necessary. Whether it is on the side of the oppositionists or on the Treasury bench, division of study and work is imperative for working effectively any political institution.

All these lead to a statement that a political career is as serious as the life of an individual. Nay more. It sometimes involves the life of a nation. A bad statesman, an unthinking politician, and an inexperienced and ill-read legislator are the greatest curses for a nation. They always lead it to disaster.

Indian politics as it is has its particular disadvantages besides those above-stated general difficulties. My earnest appeal to all parties in Indian and Local Legislatures—even out of them, is to think of political life as a serious matter, mobilise their forces, divide their responsibilities of study and work among themselves, and be a solid phalanx with figures and facts when any question crops up. This is my appeal to the Swarajists, Independents, Justicites, Nationalists etc. Every party has its own creed. Why should it not effectively work itself out with a real political grounding and probation? Can they not avoid a meaningless display of false oratory on nothing, or a series of speeches with no substance? Cannot effective party system be worked with the man on the subject making a statement on behalf of the party, and the party like one man supporting it? Why unnecessary flamboyant

repetitions to no purpose, when all are conscious they do not add to the already full statement of the expert in the subject?

It is really time that all our parties think seriously of ear-marking a good portion of their party fund for the running of a Political School based upon its creed and principles; to select, maintain, and train a band of real students of politics and coach them for active political life subsequently. They should be able to have a good library of their own. If parties could agree among themselves, the training on common subjects may be done conjointly and much time and duplication of expenditure can be saved. It is sincerely hoped that institutions or 'Ashramams' like the Servants of India Society and the Tilak School of Politics will spring up in important centres and the above suggestions adopted. It is for the Indian National Congress, the All-India Liberal Federation, the Indian Non-Brahman Congress, the Swarajist, Independent, Nationalist, and Justice parties (and other parties) to take these suggestions and consider them seriously and try to put them into practice as early as possible. If done, the time will have arrived when we can say: "Real Politics is come; amateurish politics is dead."

The Martial Mother¹

BY K. RAMARATNAM AIYAR, B.A.

The aged mother with full-shrunk, fleshless limbs
When told, her son, throwing all weapons down,
Had basely fled the field, quick stung with shame
And wrath exclaimed : "This is no son of mine,
This false and craven heir of warriors
All brave and true. From fear of death indeed
Thus had he run away, I will cut off
These befouled breasts of mine that gave him suck
And fed with milk. But yet my heart me tells
It cannot be." Then straight she snatched a sword
And mad with rage ran to the bloody field,
Where scouring thro' heaps of the mangled dead
Found at last and beheld with joy her son's
Dismember'd corse covered with grisly wounds,—
With joy greater than when she gave him birth—
And glad and proud she then her home regained.

¹ A free translation of an ancient Tamil Poem of Kakkai-Padiniyar-Nachcheliar, a Tamil Poetess, one among the collection of four hundred poems known as *Purraṇḍūrū*. The true martial spirit of an ancient Dravidian matron of some warlike clan, here extolled and commemorated, is verily Spartan in its sublime heroism.

Studies in Rajput Painting

BY G. VENKATACHALAM

I. RAGA-RAGINI SERIES

The pioneering work of Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy in making a critical study and careful classification of the large output of the mediaeval paintings of India, has been of considerable help to other students who followed him, in not only opening up a new field of research and study of an interesting phase and period of Indian art, but also in indicating its prominent features and salient points and thus removing a mass of confusion that once existed in the minds of the people with regard to it. There was a time when even the best of European connoisseurs of Indian art confused the Hindu art of Rajput painting with its later development, the Islamic art of Mughal painting, and often did not know the difference between such strikingly different styles as the Jaipur 'kalam' of the Rajasthani school and the Kangra or Basholi 'kalams' of the Pahari schools of Rajput painting. The little details of dress, ornamentation, background, grouping, facial type, colour-scheme and composition, all these were not properly studied and made use of to fix the approximate dates and schools of painting of that period. Though later students like Goetz, Gobileuw, Gangoly, Ghose, Mukandilal and others have added more valuable materials and dealt with other aspects of this art not touched by Coomaraswamy, for a long time to come the latter's book 'Rajput Painting' (in two volumes) will be the standard work on the subject. The fixing of dates, styles and schools, in the case of all ancient arts is at all times a hazardous task, and Coomaraswamy has, no doubt, with the insufficient materials at his disposal and working single-handed, committed a few errors in mixing up the

sub-schools of this painting, such as Jammu for Basholi or Basholi for Rajasthani, but considering the time and the confusion of materials, his was a remarkable achievement. It is much easier now to classify Rajput paintings into their different sub-schools and styles, as there are more researchers now in the field and more materials are available.

Dr. Coomaraswamy considered the 'Ragini' series of Rajput paintings in his collection the earliest examples of that art and fixed their date as early sixteenth century; later researches showed that the Basholi 'primitives' are of earlier date than the 'Ragamala' series, though both revealed almost the same pictorial qualities. But it was Coomaraswamy that first drew the attention of the world to the significance of this unique feature in Rajput painting, that of interpreting abstract things in terms of pictorial representations. Human passions, nature's moods, musical melodies, all these have been treated in a fascinating and an original manner in these pictures. The most well-known of them are the 'Raga-ragini' and 'Nayak-nayika' series which have received considerable attention at the hands of students, art-lovers and connoisseurs. It is often asked how far these pictorial representations of 'ragas' are true to musical art and science, and whether there is any systematized thought behind them; do they actually convey any meaning to the musicians and composers and is there any traceable relationship between the melody and its pictorial form as conceived by these old artists? I have heard learned musicians repudiate any such associations; and in fact, at the All-India Musical Conference at Lucknow in 1925, a discussion was started on this subject among a small group of friends, and I found that they considered these 'ragini' pictures as far-fetched and fantastic. A 'ragini' picture, at best, is, in the happy phrase of Percy Brown, 'visualized music'. It is not an attempt to combine the two arts of music and painting in any conscious manner, as Percy Brown thought them to be, but it is the artistic transmutation of a 'bhava,' emotion or sentiment, evoked in the composer or the hearer by a certain

melody, rendered into beautiful forms and colours, conveying the special mood or passion which that particular melody has as its inherent quality. If art is 'expression', then every mood or passion can be expressed in terms of allied arts, and if architecture can be called 'frozen music' (rightly so), a 'ragini' picture can well be called 'visualized music'. It is really difficult to trace the origin of this method of picture-making or the causes that evolved it. It is however certain, from the examples extant, that they may have originated between the 15th and 16th century and had for their inspiration the rich Sanskrit and Hindi literatures, which were of considerable poetic beauty and descriptive power. Folk-songs, devotional hymns, religious poetry and 'Bhakti' cult were in their ascendancy during that period; saints and singers wandered over the land gladdening the hearts of men; Vaishnavism and Mysticism inspired men to higher life and nobler arts, and thus it came to be that the period was rich in artistic creation. The Rajput painting is the epitome of the lyrical fervour of that culture, as the Ajantan frescoes were the epitome of the intellectual achievement of the Gupta period.

And now, what are 'ragini' pictures and what is their æsthetical significance? A 'raga' is a melody-mould or melody-type, containing a series of notes within an octave, and is the basis of melody in Indian music. 'Raginis' are feminine modes of 'ragas'. Each 'raga' has a particular sentiment, mood, passion, and is associated with particular time, season and occasion. The musical character of different 'ragas' are well-known to musicians in India, though they question the mental visualisations of them in terms of faultless lines and palpitating colours. It is conceded, for instance, that certain 'ragas' should be sung only in the morning time and certain others in the evening time; certain to be sung in the time of spring and certain others only in summer. There is, in fact, an elaborate classification on the subject, and Rajah Sir S. M. Tagore thus describes the passions to be associated with the six principal 'ragas':

“‘Sriraga’ is to be sung in the dewy season, and represents love. ‘Vasanta’ is the ‘raga’ of the spring, and is allied with the emotion of joy. ‘Bhairavi’ is the ‘raga’ of asceticism and reverence. ‘Panchama’ is the ‘raga’ of the calm night. ‘Megh’ is the ‘raga’ of the rainy season and is allied with the emotion of exuberant joy, such as the coming of the rainy season to so many in India. ‘Nattanarayana’ is the ‘raga’ of battle and fierce courage.”

Mr. Lakshmana Pillay, an accomplished South Indian musician, gives another interesting description of the emotions associated with the different ‘ragas’:

“‘Todi’ and ‘Bhairavi’ represent majesty, and impress one like the march of a stately king, decked in all his regal glory; ‘Asavari’ and ‘Punnagavarali’ are wrapped in melancholy, like one pleading the cause of a sovereign unjustly deposed from his throne and power; ‘Girvani’ and ‘Vasanta’ look serene and subdued like a sage sitting in a lonely forest or on a mountain, calmly contemplating the beauty of the universe; ‘Mohana’ and ‘Purvakalyani’ appear like a coy maiden hiding her love, as a rose does its blooming petals beneath its bower of green, but withal conscious of its beauty and attractiveness; ‘Nilambari’ and ‘Yadukulakambhoji’ come submissive and imploring, melting the soul into streams of tender devotion, like a true ‘bhakta’ full of prayers in the presence of God. Thus each ‘raga’ comes and goes with its store of smiles or tears, of passion or pathos, its noble and lofty impulses, and leaves its mark on the mind of the hearer.”

There are anecdotes told how great musicians like Tansen, Thyagaraja, Naik Gopal, Todi Sitaramayya and others produced the conditions and emotions associated with them by singing appropriate ‘ragas’ and thus wrought what appeared musical miracles. It is this inherent power in music that these pictures attempt to indicate, if not actually illustrate. Take for instance a popular ‘raga’ like ‘Todi’, which is considered as one of the brides of ‘Vasanta raga’.

It is generally represented by a young woman, clothed in a snow-white *sari* and perfumed with camphor. In her hands, she holds a ‘vina’ and a garland of flowers. A deer follows her, attracted by her music. In the foreground there is water and lotus, a common *motif* in all these pictures. The background is a bright sun-scorched landscape, indicating that this particular ‘raga’ is sung at midday. ‘Asavari ragini’ has a young woman seated on a carpet beneath a sandal tree at the foot of a grassy hill surmounted by a tower. Cobras are attracted by the music and crawling all round. Clouds in the sky with lightning flares. ‘Ragini Gaura (mallara)’ is represented by a young woman of blue complexion, standing on a grassy hill between two flowering trees, dancing and singing to the ‘vina,’ while peacocks are attracted by the music. Heavy clouds, rain and lightning in the sky. ‘Panchama’ is shown by a picture of shower in the hot weather and a band of musicians playing round. Peacocks spread out their tails and call in joy, and frogs sit round and croak. The leaf-buds of trees show new red shoots; the cattle hold up their heads refreshed. Waterfowl gather round the parched pool, and overhead a horde of white herons fly across. ‘Megh raga’ is a delightful little picture of Krishna dancing with a lotus-bud in his right hand and a garland of flowers round his neck, surrounded by a group of girl-musicians with different musical instruments in their hands with which they are accompanying the dance. The foreground has water, flowers and birds, and in the distance of the background hills and town. Black rolling clouds threaten to deluge the place and there is the joyous expectancy of rain everywhere. There are, of course, other different versions and representations of the same theme, but the main *motif* is mostly the same. They are not mere pictorial phantasies revealing the extraordinary imaginative perception of the old masters in giving forms and shapes to intangible things as human emotions, abstract melodies, seasonal variations and such other things, but conscious creative effort to interpret the deeper problems of life and art. It is the resultant of the

conscious realization of the underlying unity and harmony of all life, and therefore of all arts.

These melody-pictures have very striking and interesting pictorial qualities and are æsthetically very appealing. There is a vigorous archaic style about them ; the colourings are bright and pleasing. They are by no means highly refined and daintily finished pictures like Mughal portraits or Kangra miniatures. The figures are often crude ; they have nothing of the charm and fascination of the bewitching profiles of the women of Kangra artists. In technique also, they are far below the highly finished and exquisitely coloured works of Kangra masters. But in other respects they are unique, strange and vital. Their main features are summed up by Coomaraswamy as follows :

“The borders are pink with yellow bands above and below ; the horizons are high with room for a band of dark sky, passing into a strip of clouds. Sometimes, there are also represented snaky red-gold lightnings and falling rain. A common *motif* is the representation of water and lotus in the foreground. A characteristic feature is the representation of floating draperies and of coloured garments seen through coats and skirts, yellow and white. Night scenes also appear in these series. The heroines' eyes are large as lotus flowers, tresses fall in heavy plaits, breasts are firm and round, thighs are full and smooth, hands like rosy flowers, gait dignified as any elephant, and their demeanour is demure.”

Apart from their technical and æsthetical merits, these little pictures constitute a veritable *tour de force* of mental visualization and imaginative interpretation in the art-history of the world.

The Tear-Drop

BY A. JANAKI RAM

When the heart is heavy with thoughts of Thee,

When the Evening Star bursts into splendour—only to evoke
painful memories of times that have been,

When the home-coming bird calls in Divine motherhood
to the eager nursling in her nest,

When all Creation—tired, weary, and spent, seeks for a
night's repose,

—Then, I, a homeless beggar, drop a silent, painful tear,
through which gleams the distant Star of Love.

Thy Coming

BY B. S. SRIKANTAN

Like a lone milestone on the dusty road, I sit and wait for Thee. I ask them if they met you on their way: they pass by and heed me not.....Like a maimed beggar at the temple gate, I sit and sing for Thy Coming.

The noon-day heat is past. Behind a veil of purple clouds, the sun sheds his last glory. That lone foot-fall from afar tells the last from the market.....But, I sit like a beggar at the temple gate and sing for Thy Coming.

The merry laughter of children at their play has long ceased. Perchance, they are hushed into silence over some strange fairy tale. Slowly the moon rises and sadly smiles amidst dark clouds.....Like a beggar at the temple gate, I still sit and sing for Thy Coming.

Sarvajna of Karnataka: The People's Poet

BY V. K. GOKAK

In the realm of Kannada literature, that rich expression of the life of Karnataka and of the various grand phases of her experience through the ages, are the glorious demesnes of great poets, great philosophers. Among them stand in the forefront such 'poet-kings' as Pampa, Ponna and Ranna. They are not poets of Karnataka merely, but world poets. They can, with justice, be classed with Milton, Dante and Goethe, in the quality of their contribution to the literature of the world, and consequently, as interpreters of divine truths to man.

But it is a fact which is generally recognised that poets like Milton or Dante secure but a small number of readers. Their intensity of vision and their richness of expression cannot stir the masses and illumine the dark corners of their souls. In a word, they are not *popular*. That is exactly the case with our own poets like Pampa. The praise of these poets is universal and yet the intelligent appreciation, or even the perusal of their works, is limited to a few. Is it the fault of exalted genius that its expression is incomprehensible, or the fault of the people that they cannot understand them?

Among the popular poets who are distinguished by a certain poetic plainness of expression as contrasted with the poetic magnificence and 'aloofness' of the literary giants, but not unlike them in their realization of Truth, which all pursue, Sarvajna stands supreme. His verses are on the lips of every countryman of his, rich or poor, learned or unlearned. If Pampa and others are poets of the 'grand' style, Sarvajna is the poet of the simple, the lucid

or the current style. If the former express eternal truths in a magically beautiful language, surrounding them with a certain highly imaginative atmosphere, the latter expresses the same in verses couched in plain and terse language, which, by their very plainness and terseness, are pleasing and penetrating. But this should not be understood to apply to all his verses. His real poetry comes in when Sarvajna stands as a 'Yogi' with the vision of the Eternal before him, singing his own rich experience of the Beyond. Secondly, he brings this vision of his to bear upon the society of his time, denouncing its sophistry, its idolatry, its complicated and soul-killing system of castes and creeds. Not that idolatry, as such, is to be condemned; but when people have lost or misunderstood its purpose and have made it an end in itself, then the Sarvajnas have to rise and roll up the curtain of darkness that hinders the true vision of the people. The verses that express this phase of Sarvajna may be called verses of social satire, instruction and criticism. Then in the third category, stand his miscellaneous verses such as those on astrology, weather-lore and the like—terse and pithy expressions of almost all the sides of Karnataka culture. There are even riddles written by him and verses which prophesy the events taking place in the future, such as the one foretelling the fall of the Vijayanagara Empire. Thus Sarvajna is a typical Kannadiga, one who knew himself and his country and who understood the secret of the well-being of the society of his time, and devoted his life to the uplift of his countrymen.

The time in which Sarvajna lived is doubtful. There have been other Sarvajnas probably, who also composed verses in the 'Tripadi' metre, and confusion as to which of these is the real Sarvajna, is the result. And yet, it is fairly well-established that he lived in the sixteenth century, some years before the decline of the Vijayanagara Empire. It was the time when great preachers like Purandaradasa of Karnataka, Tukaram of Maharashtra and Vemanna of Andhra Desa lived and preached 'the

need of sincerity in life', devotion, puritanism and renunciation. All of them agreed in denouncing low indulgence, lowly conduct and a life without love for God. And the burden of Sarvajna's verses is the same. The sternness of their rebuke, the saintliness of their lives, and an almost similar undertone in their preaching, lead us to conclude that all of them lived in a time of spiritual laxity and brought about a spiritual renaissance which served greatly to lift the people from their degradation. It is definitely known that Purandaradasa, Tukaram and Vemanna lived near the close of the sixteenth century. We can also consider Sarvajna as their contemporary, as we find some of Sarvajna's verses selected by Sampadaneya Siddha Viranacharya for his book of selections from 'Vachanakaras.' This great compiler lived somewhere about 1600. There are internal evidences also. His conception of ideal kings and ministers, for instance, reminds us of the glorious time of the Vijayanagara Empire.

Sarvajna himself tells us that he was the son of Basavarasa, a Shaiva Brahmin of Masur in the District of Dharwar, by a potter's widow named Mali. Basavarasa had gone on a pilgrimage to Kashi where he had been told by the God Vishwanath (in his dream) that he would be blessed with a son endowed with many virtues. He met Mali in a village called Ambalur on his way back to his native place, fell in love and lived with her. Sarvajna was the fruit of their union.

His real name was Pushpadatta. While yet a child, he defied his father and his mother and refused to acknowledge them as his parents, telling them that they were mere agents of a Divine will in bringing about his birth; and that his real parents were Shiva and Parvati, the god and goddess of Kailasa. Naturally, the parents were incensed at this strange conduct of their son, and finding all persuasive methods of bringing him to his senses (as they thought him deranged) futile, they banished him from home. From that time up to his death, Sarvajna was an exile from home and parents. A lonely,

virtuous man, with unconventional ways of thought, and a true heart yearning after the mysteries of God, he wandered from one end of Karnataka to the other, assimilating the quintessence of its culture and singing, as he went, his verses of mystic experience and elevated preaching.

All of Sarvajna's verses are in the popular 'Tripadi' metre, a fit medium for conveying great ideas in a brief and effective manner. It is hard to believe that he himself wrote them down: he never cared to write. He wandered from place to place awakening the people with the chanting of his verses which invariably end in his name 'Sarvajna' or that of his sole Deity, the one God, the one supreme Being having its abode in him; and that was all that he cared for his verses. But the people could not throw away such wondrous gems of splendid hues, even if they had no value for their owner. They carefully stored his verses up in their memory, handing them down orally from generation to generation and some wrote them down in manuscripts of palm leaves. There were many interpolaters, as also in the case of Tukaram and Vemanna. It was comparatively easy to compose verses in the 'Tripadi' metre and they palmed off their own verses as his, rounding them off with a formal 'Sarvajna' at the end. But their verses lack the high moral tone and sincerity of Sarvajna and can easily be distinguished. Nearly two thousand verses of Sarvajna are now extant and it is believed that many more may still be found with a little exertion.

One could imagine Sarvajna rising early in the morning when the dawn still lingered like a maiden with her sandalled feet, and walking majestically towards the river flowing near the temple where he had passed his night in gentle sleep or unbroken meditation, murmuring to himself in clear ringing tones with a passionate voice—the many hymns and verses—of others and of himself—that he loved to linger over. One could, again, picture to himself Sarvajna wandering from door to door with an alms-bowl in his hand, declaring the immortal truths and

principles of Hinduism in his clear, liquid voice, and in the brief and memorable verses of his, waiting for the simple charity that would assuredly come to him. His mind could never have lain idle in the meanwhile. He would be busy noting the petty vanities and antics of his fellow creatures, their hustle and bustle, and their interest in all the petty things that surrounded them. This would cause a slight smile to pass over his lips and a pretty verse to be coined in his memory. How vain and strange, he would think, were the ways of men when Truth lay flowering in their own garden! How they cursed, shrieked and laughed and gloried in the worship of images of clay! But it was not scorn or mere indignation that stirred his whole being. It was sheer pity, the pity of Buddha and of Christ that made him bear with the follies of his fellowmen and seek to lift them out of the mire in which they were hopelessly struggling. His was the duty, he thought, to let a gleam of sunshine into the darkness of their chamber which might light their path to Heaven. Now and then he would catch a glimpse of a righteous face in the crowd and reverence it in his own heart. He would then go to his place, eat what had been given and then wander away in the afternoon to the next town or village which would, on the morrow, ring with the message that he had to impart.

His poetry is a revolt against all conventions. Its spirit is the spirit of independence and highmindedness—which is the true spirit of poetry. Its distinguishing note is its humanness. Mere scholarship has no place in it, for Sarvajna has little art in him, but abundance of poetry. He has not the pedantry of learning which shows itself in the laboriously cultivated 'alankaras' of other poets and their gymnastics in expression and hard twists of style. Nor can we find in him a sustained poetic endeavour which is the work of an essentially artistic temperament, rather than that of the purely human. But the simple graces of style one can here find in plenty, and can light upon rare jewels of idioms as often as one likes. Indeed, the chief feature of Sarvajna's style is its wealth of idioms

bound together by a natural lucidity of expression. His verses are popular even to the present day as saws and wise sayings, proverbs and epigrams, and constitute the chief part of the stock of learning of the masses. Anyone cannot but be pleased by the variety, cleverness and appropriateness of Sarvajna's expression.

Nor can a lover of conventions bear with the lashes of satire and the unflinching statements of the naked truth that Sarvajna employed when exposing the moral laxities of his age. But a man—and here lies Sarvajna's glory—a man with his eyes open and with his wits about him, can well love and adore Sarvajna for the world of meaning that he conveys to him. Here is the eternal longing for the one thing that is supremely worth having—God—expressed with such rare charm. Here is described with infinite wealth of power and of truth the way to the fulfilment of those aspirations. And here is also to be found something of the joy of realisation which it has been the glory of Indian seers to sing about. The whole spirit of the 'Vedanta' is clearly and admirably epitomised. But the verses of Sarvajna are not merely a re-statement of Vedantic principles or a summary of the Holy Books. Those very principles hover about us all the time, but informed with the life-breath of poetry, for they had filled the Poet's being. This it is that distinguishes Sarvajna from lifeless moralists and sermonisers, and places him on a higher level, with the saints and great men of all times.

We shall not concern ourselves here with his verses of folk-lore, astrology and other sciences. Suffice it to say that Sarvajna has given a fitting expression to the folk-lore of Karnataka, to his knowledge of the different parts of the country and the seasons of the year,—to the code of our typical morals, manners and religious customs,—'to what oft was said but never so well expressed'. His verses concerning astrology and other sciences reveal his thorough knowledge of these and his steady application to the same, and can well be passed over when we come to consider his poetry. But this much must be said about

them: he has selected from them certain poetical situations to which he gives simple expression. We will not likewise give to his riddles and prophetic verses more than a casual attention. His riddles have much wit, beauty and fancy in them, and show us what a fine and versatile mind Sarvajna's was. Consider the following fanciful one:—
"a monkey came out of a horse; and there came also an elephant with two horns. Both of them fought together in the sky." Who will not be amused with the light fancy of the Poet, when he comes to know that he touches here upon the changing phenomena of the clouds? Here is his prophesy about the battle of Talikota which signalled the fall of the Vijayanagara Empire:

"The corpses will be strewn for many a mile
Around the field, and innumerable come
The kites and crows that feed upon the dead."

But this part of Sarvajna's works claims separate treatment with similar works of other bards of our province and this is not the place to enter into detail on that subject.

Coming to Sarvajna's *poetry* which was but part of what he wrote or composed, we breathe again the calm and cool air of pure philosophy and moral purity and beauty. His most striking characteristic is his invincible faith in God, the creator, the giver and the ordainer of all things:

"Who made the rose and filled it with perfume?
Who deposited water nectar-sweet
In the soft heart of palm? Bow down! Bow down!
He made all things and made the 'kokil' sing."

It is greatly to Sarvajna's credit that he saw through the foul mist of castes and creeds in an age blinded by the same:

"No sense of narrowness is to the pure;
No difference of caste a 'yogi' knows;
Unaided, undivided by the rows
Of pillars, stands the high roof of the sky."

He realised fully the eternal truth :

"Look to thy Lord who lives and moves over all;
Nev'r in His net of faint illusions fall;
Women all fleeting shadows, wealth a dream,
Truth doth with constant light through ages beam."

The very life of a 'Brahmacharin' that he lived shows the full realisation of the high ideal that he had before him. Yet the universality of his outlook could not but lead him to pay his tribute to women :

"In woman is centred the world's happiness;
Woman is the guide to heaven.
She gives man prosperity nor makes it less."

He could exclaim in his exalted moments when he attained the vision of Truth :

"Truth shines at last and knowledge comes like dawn,
And darkness lifts itself from me away;
The emblem of His high love have I won;
The sober clouds of misery one by one
Have vanished far and I have found my way.
What more? Salvation sure! I journey on and on!"

These lines, summing up as they do the whole personality of Sarvajna, verify for us the truth of his religious experience by their unfaltering tone and sureness of vision. In his pure joy of living and his unbounded love of humanity, he could also find words to say :

"The people in every town are my relations;
The men in every quarter are my friends;
Whom shall I leave behind?"

As Sarvajna himself said in a pretty verse, a 'Jnani' is known by his silence, a fool by his talk. And Sarvajna would not have men learn like parrots, but to earn pure knowledge for the realisation of truth. It is difficult indeed to distinguish from among his verses those which came out of his experience, and those where he sought inspiration in lifting up his fellowmen. The one thing is the other. For he never preached what he did not practise, nor practised what he did not preach. His whole life runs parallel to his achievements as an angel among men.

The first point which he emphasises for the benefit of all men is the necessity of a 'Guru' without whom redemption is impossible. He declares again and again that a 'Guru' himself is God, that in the service of a 'Guru' alone lies the one solution of the problem of life for man. According to Sarvajna, caste and creed are mere words to a seeker after his 'Guru'.

Secondly, Sarvajna shows us in his poetry the absurdity of customs and conventions and their worthlessness and futility in contributing to true knowledge. Pilgrimages to holy places are of no use whatsoever when man cannot see the right way to truth :

"What if man bathes in holy waters far,
The waters of the calm Godavari
The gentle Krishna—knowing not the star
That shines on him—he never can be free."

He declares again and again that there is only one God, the omniscient, the shapeless and the infinite, and no blind worship of images of clay can lead man to Him. He directs his criticism against all castes when he sees that they have dwindled down to soulless institutions, Brahmanism, Jainism and Lingayatism. This inspiring criticism was one of his chief qualities as a poet. But it is also worth nothing that he loves whole-heartedly the good features of each of them.

Thirdly, he asks us to take up the attitude of 'Vairagya' towards the pleasures of this world and towards the world itself, in order to obtain pure happiness and eternal bliss. It is noticeable here, however, that he does not ask us to relinquish our share in the activities of the world. What is required is only an understanding of the true nature of things. Hence he explains the many duties of men in their own sphere, of a king or a minister, and describes the various temptations of the world and the way to avoid them. Do not consider, he says, the life of prosperity to be the one enduring thing for you. It is as a crowd gathered at a fair and vanishing the very next moment after it is over. Is a lake or well always full to the brim?

Do not think prosperity to be always there for you. Poverty follows it at its very heels.

He gives paramount importance to the fact that every one has to bend to his destiny—man or god. There is no escaping it. Even the 'Trimurtis' are bound by it. And he goes on to give a wealth of illustrations from our fertile mythology—Krishna, the king of kings, meeting his death through an arrow from the bow of a blunt woodman; Shiva, the greatest of the gods, wandering like a lunatic, his body grey with ashes and with no other ornaments but snakes to adorn him. Moreover :

"When Krishna guided all the Pandavas,
The Pandavas themselves being great and brave,
When he himself had borne him like a god,
Fate willed and none could Abhimanyu save."

One reaches the crowning heights of attainment, according to Sarvajna, when in one blend together the two essentials of 'Bhakti' and 'Jnana'. Mere 'Jnana' is also worthy of being sought after and mere 'Bhakti' also is the glory of its possessor; but where the two meet and mingle, there bursts into full bloom the flower of Realisation. And yet both 'Jnana' and 'Bhakti' are one and the same in their essence. He also explains the technicalities of certain modes of worship and forms of meditation as a means to this end :

"Place on the lotus-leaf of your own frame
The gem of your own soul, the brightest gem!
And meditate upon it till you live
In its own splendour as His brightest gem."

He thus describes the purest form of meditation. He describes the vain attempts of men to seek God by laborious paths and says that the Kingdom of God is within us :

"Truth is the tree that in your garden grows;
Seek not in vain in far-off lands unknown,
For the few petals of a single rose,
When many a rose is in your garden blown."

The greatest tribute of Sarvajna, perhaps, is to the 'Dani'—to him who has given away his all in charity :

"Say not that he is of the common crew;
He comes with endless fortune at his will
To enrich the world!"

He finds no difference between a God and a giver whatsoever, for a giver also gives his all to his fellowmen, while God gives life and food to the world. Charity is an attribute of God Himself. He unhesitatingly declares that a 'Dani' is a splendour among men :

"The art of music doth mark out a man,
Chaste woman shines like to an evening star,
A giver outshines all."

Again and again he warns men to be charitable. Death is inevitable, do not lavish your wealth on the maids that fit your fancy, for others will feed upon it; give it away in charity. "What you have given away is yours; what you hug and hide as yours goes to other men. Do not think that you were charitable in vain. The glories of its rewards await you in heaven."

A short review of Sarvajna's poetry thus involves a consideration of his philosophy as well. For, Sarvajna was essentially a philosopher as much as he was a poet, and made use of his innate poetic qualities to give expression to this side of his personality. He did not invoke his poetical faculties to call forth beautiful imagery and to give to his imagination 'a local habitation and a name'. That would not have been in consonance with his achievements as an itinerant bard, awakening the long-dormant moral and religious sense of the people by means of pithy verses, destined to carry on his work in other lands and in other generations long after he had passed away. And what work was done by him was uniquely and wonderfully done. For, he bequeathed to later generations poetry of a singularly chaste and beautiful kind, and a wealth of beautiful expressions and idioms which have become part of the everyday life of his countrymen.

Sarvajna, as the very name expresses, is an all-comprehensive personality. There was scarcely any side of Karnataka culture to which he did not give expression in his poetry. Yet it testifies to his modesty and nobleness of mind that he never plumed himself upon his knowledge. That knowledge was, as he himself has told us, gathered from various sources and learnt from various persons. An occasional word from a passing stranger, or the meaningless talk of a group of persons as he casually passed by them, would suddenly illumine many things to him and throw light upon facts and ideas that he had not known before. It did not come to him by learning from books but by earning it from all quarters. What was his, essentially, was above all God-gifted.

Sarvajna considered himself as the servant of his fellowmen from the very beginning. He studied the likes and dislikes and the good and bad tendencies of his countrymen, and devoted himself to their uplifting at any cost. It was a great sacrifice, no doubt, but Sarvajna saw the real and only glory of his life in serving the cause of others. He was an apostle of freedom in both life and literature. He himself has told us: "It is freedom alone that I love in this world." He had his own independent way of thinking and shunned any glory—even the home of his parents—when it came into conflict with his ideas and principles. He did not add to old beauties that had outgrown themselves in poetry, but created an entire newness in it. What significance and excuse is there to tread upon the same paths which many have trodden before us, which were in accord with their tastes but are in discord with our own? Sarvajna feared none. He unflinchingly expressed his opinions before anybody and everybody and mercilessly denounced the evils of contemporary society which others would fain pass over. He belonged to no religion but his own—that which acknowledged but one *Sarvajna*, though others might assign him to any caste they liked.

But the prime force and power that give this incon-

testable strength to Sarvajna's lovable personality, was his faith in God and his unwavering love and devotion for the Creator of all things. Herein lies the key-note to his wonderful personality. Herein is to be found the secret of his achievements as a poet and friend of humanity. He suffered much to help those that suffered. He himself struggled in the dark to plant there the rays of light. He bore patiently with the many ill-doings of his fellowmen, to do them good in return. But in all this, there was not a single selfish motive that could be traced to the spotless character of Sarvajnamurti. Life meant nothing else to him but the service of his fellowmen, which was the service of God. And this is what his poetry voices forth with so much truth and fervour for all time.¹

¹ I cannot leave unmentioned Mr. Uttangi's admirable edition of Sarvajna's verses to which every subsequent writer on the Poet must be greatly indebted.

Modern Democracy : Is It a Failure?

BY C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO, M.A.

I

The study of political institutions is at any time a fascinating one, because political institutions are essentially human, and enable us to appreciate the constant and interminable struggle which human nature puts forth in order to secure to itself better and still better methods of happiness and common welfare. The subject of Modern Democracy is interesting in this light, though it has too comprehensive a range to be dealt with in an exhaustive manner in the limited scope of an article like this. An endeavour will therefore be made here to indicate in a brief and concise manner the recent experiences through which Democracy has been passing, to discover the nature of the forces that oppose it, to evaluate the difficulties it has to contend against, and to show how in spite of so many discouraging and antagonistic forces, Democracy holds its ground and will in the end become triumphant. So much thought is now-a-days expended on this problem of Democracy, and so many well-known writers and thinkers like Wells, Dean Inge and others have been expressing themselves without reserve and not without a certain degree of vehemence against it, that it will be fruitful to examine some of their contentions in the light of our own experience.

II

Democracy may be defined as a form of Government in which an attempt is made to eliminate as far as possible the personal element, and to associate large masses of

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human beings with the supreme work of administration, so that there may be induced in them a sense of responsibility, as a consequence of which it is intended that the ultimate end of all Government, the ensuring of the happiness and contentment of the people, may be attained. There are many advantages which are claimed for a democratic form of Government; but if there is no other benefit which can be associated with Democracy, even if Democracy does not confer any other good and may be replete with many other ills, still this one single fact that it secures or attempts to secure the greatest possible happiness of the greatest possible number, that it is a Government for the people by the people themselves, will be enough, as it has been enough all along, to recommend it to the imagination of political idealists and to the approbation of people in all countries. When Democracy can, in this way, be expected to secure the happiness, the mental and the moral satisfaction of the people, there is no wonder that it possesses such an irresistible charm for organized and civilised humanity in every part of the world, and that it presents itself as the only effective safeguard against, and apposite substitute for, unjust and tyrannical oppression by an autocrat. From the beginning of the world, the ideal of Democracy, as a form of Government, has been adopted by peoples and nations claiming to be intelligent, educated and homogeneous, and every one strove for and struggled to help in its attainment. Over and over again have nations reverted to it as a safe haven of refuge from the unscrupulousness and grovelling selfishness and tyranny of an autocratic rule or an oligarchy, as the case may be, and this is the factor which strengthens one in the belief that what happened in the past may happen in the future also and that Democracy will more than maintain its stand.

III

There has been a rather persistent cry in recent times from different quarters that the glorious ideal of Demo-

cracy is an ignominious failure and that, on that account, it should be replaced by other and rather curious variations of itself. At the same time, we find in practice that it is becoming in greater and greater degree the favoured form of Government in many young and new countries, which shot out into light as a sequel of the Great War, and which before that event, were groaning under the heels of monarchical and its consequences of sacerdotal, feudal and other types of tyranny. Paradoxical as the situation certainly is, it is nevertheless the undoubted truth, as even a casual observer of contemporary political institutions can see for himself. We can, however, explain the phenomenon by saying that it is but a consequence of the times, times when everything is in the melting pot, when the world is slowly settling down to the engrossing business of all-round reconstruction after the cataclysmic calamity which enveloped almost the whole of it for five long and dreadful years. Countries and constitutions are slowly but steadily emerging out of chaos, and the ideals of Democracy to which every one of these new countries subscribes, are also passing through the stage of experiment with the result that it will be anticipating too much the course of events, if any ill-considered judgment is pronounced on their working in the new soil on which they have been planted. Though, therefore, for the time being, Democracy is apparently held up by antagonistic forces, there is every reason for entertaining the optimistic view that ultimately the victory will be with it and that all the opposing elements will bow down before it.

IV

Let us examine some of those forces which have proved inimical to the smooth development of Democracy and see if they are so insurmountable as to make the view expressed above partake of the nature of unmerited and extravagant hopefulness. Democracy is now passing through a stage of existence when it is assailed on all sides by forces of extraordinary vigour and vitality. Firstly, it

is assailed by a knot of individuals, who hold the key position in their hands, because of their control over capital and therefore of industrial power, a class of which the rubber, the oil, the iron and other 'kings', as they are called, of the United States of America, are the outstanding representatives. Secondly, it is attacked and rather forcibly attacked by the forces of Communism, that inescapable off-shoot of economic troubles, trying to reduce everything to a dead level of uniformity—a proceeding the principle of which is opposed to the natural law of inborn inequalities, having as its subtlest and most sinister advocate in the Republic of Soviet Russia. Thirdly, its foundations are surreptitiously undermined by individuals, who make their military or other positions as convenient levers to elevate themselves to the unchallenged berths of dictators, by traducing the gullible section of the people by their show of superior force or capacity to play the demagogue. Such are Mussolini in Italy, Primo De Rivera in Spain, Peludeski in Poland and, to some extent, Kemal Pasha in Turkey. Some of these military or political dictators have not scrupled to use the trust and confidence reposed in them, either voluntarily or by force by the people, as stepping stones to effect the overthrow of the democratic constitutions and to become kings, as Ahmad Zogu Beg did recently in Albania and Rezakhan Pehlavi did in Persia five or six years ago. With so many and so varied and strong forces directed against it, Democracy has indeed a very hard task before it, if it wishes to fulfil its mission and survive. They have been able to effect temporary dislodgments in the citadel of Democracy, of course, but it is not to be supposed that they will be able to persist in their course and succeed in overthrowing, as between themselves, Democracy for good and all, for human nature cannot for any length of time remain in a state of tutelage to the dictation of an individual or a group of individuals or an indiscriminating and unintelligent Proletariat. It strives and struggles for self-expression, for freeing itself from the degrading and demoralizing worship at the

shrines of particular persons or interests. The world has seen so many experiments of selfish persons trying to create and permanently to ensure for themselves a safe and supreme position as the arbiters of human destinies, failing miserably in the end, and the people, as the ultimate repositories of power and strength, asserting themselves. For a time and for a season, the people may be willing or may be forced to be willing to subordinate their will to that of an individual, as those of Italy in the present generation did in the case of Mussolini, and surrender themselves to his judgment and discretion; but such surrenders are seldom everlasting, and when the people feel their feet again on firm soil, they exhibit an inflexible determination to recover their position and resume their authority.

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There is no purpose served, therefore, if in these circumstances one puts on a pessimistic air and says that Democracy is bound to fail, because the mass of mankind can, at no time, be expected to exercise political power by itself, but that it will allow itself on account of sheer inertia to be led by the nose by one person or by a combination of persons. It has, however, to be remembered that as in the case of all such generalizations, the statement contains only a modicum of truth and not the whole of it, for it is only very rarely that we have anywhere the existence of Democracy, pure, unqualified and undefiled. Democracy, except in such small, compact and homogeneous countries like Switzerland, has come to mean in practice only Representative Democracy. It is due to the fact that the people in other countries are either inherently incapable of undertaking and exercising democratic responsibility or there are insuperable impediments like size, population and absence of adequate sense of responsibility due to insufficient political education, for the introduction of direct Democracy. Only in the small City States of ancient times and the small country States of the

present day like Switzerland, is the practice of associating the people directly with the work of administration found to be feasible. In all other countries, Democracy has been able to express itself only through the instrumentality of representative institutions, possessing in all fully self-governing countries, the highest legislative and executive powers, the latter in the sense that the 'de facto' executive is invariably dependent upon the legislative organ for the successful and continuous discharge of its functions. So, whenever one speaks of Democracy, one has necessarily to bear in mind the fact that it is but a natural and ubiquitous experience that the 'common will' to which Rousseau attributes rule, resolves itself into the radiation of the opinions of only a few people to the community at large, only to be resigned back by the community to the few. Even in countries where the method of direct legislation by the people is in vogue, the propensity to pay obedience to the will of a superior individual or individuals is a proposition not altogether easy to dispense with. There will always be oligarchies within democracies, though there may be much to differentiate between oligarchies in which the government is carried on for the benefit of a class, and the 'democratic oligarchies' in which power is exercised for the benefit of the community by persons who are selected for their special capacity for administration and who have to fear disgrace and removal, if they attempt at misusing their power or using it for selfish ends.

VI

The problem of Democracy now is the problem of making the representative institutions thoroughly and unequivocally representative, that is to say, representative of the various sections and interests of the nation by weeding out all those influences which introduce a feeling of selfishness into the consideration of political and economic questions, as far as possible. In other words, it is to make them amenable to the political sovereign to all intents and purposes, a position to which they, at present, in many countries do not

and he enumerates four categories of people, having much to do with the Government of a country, which are liable to be victimised by corruption *viz.*, the electors, the members of the legislatures, the officials and the judges. The classification covers practically the whole range of the administrative hierarchy, which tantamounts to saying that all the vital sinews on which Democracy can depend for success are susceptible to the blandishments, which can be readily requisitioned for use by money-power. Money again is the mainstay of the political parties, which have developed in all countries as the necessary addendums to representative institutions; and the man who handles a long purse and contributes a fine sum to the party exchequer, will be in a position to dictate terms to the party and secure, when that party attains to the reins of Government, advantages to himself and the interests he represents, advantages which may be subversive of the fundamental principle of equality in a Democracy. It is this menace of money-power that is making a mockery of democratic institutions in the U.S.A. and, to a certain extent, in England; in the former of which the 'Diplomacy of the Dollar' is the prevailing rule and 'Big Business' the controlling power in political matters.

The fourth and a minor danger which Democracy in the post-war era has to apprehend, as it has been actually apprehending in Europe, is from the dispossessed monarchs of countries like Hungary, Austria and Germany; and as it has already been pointed out, this danger has had its practical manifestation in the case of Ahmad Jogu Beg of Albania. But monarchy has little or no attraction for, and less likely to be welcomed by, the people of Europe, who have learnt too much of the ways of monarchs like Wilhelm II, and who have lost all love for all mediæval and monarchical institutions like clericalism, the feudal noble and the pampered landlord.

VIII

Representative institutions have, therefore, rather failed to come up to the expectations formed of them and

have roused the forces of opposition against them, but up to now, it is only Representative Democracy that has had a trial. But it could not be said on this basis that any other system of Government will be a greater success in the present temper of the nations, for the simple reason that no other system has so far been suggested as a substitute for it, nor is it easy to devise one of that nature. Some sort of representation is an indispensable necessity, for we cannot have a whole nation always on its nerves ready to take either an intelligent or a sustained interest in political matters, however educated and intelligent and advanced its people may be. Representative institutions have therefore come to stay, and the problem now is to see that their working attunes itself to the realities of the political situation in the different countries; in short, that there is a better understanding between them and the political sovereign and more frequent recourse to the methods for sounding the opinions of the people. In this connection, it is interesting to note that in many of the newly established democracies like Germany and Czechoslovakia and Poland, provision has been made in the constitutional laws for an appeal to the people by means of the Referendum and the Initiative in matters of conflict and doubt.

IX

There is a certain danger of Democracy proving unsuccessful, when it is introduced into countries where some of the essential prerequisites of its existence are absent. It is both a condition and a cause of democratic advancement that people who aspire to practise Democracy, should be capable of taking a keen and continued interest in the work of politics; and politicians, of exercising the virtues of judgment, tact, discrimination and caution and of standing uprightly and without fear or favour to protect and safeguard their own rights and liberties from internal usurpation and external encroachment. Incorruptible and educated, politically conscious and judicious, the citizen of a

democratic country can do honour not only to himself, but also to his State. It is, therefore, to the advantage and exaltation of a country, that its Government should undertake the promotion and dissemination of knowledge and the inculcation into its citizens of sound notions of human values and correct appreciation of men and matters. The recent introduction of democratic institutions in Eastern countries, like China and Persia, is interesting in the light of these observations, because it is still a matter for speculation how far the democratic and republican machinery established in China, especially, is going to work, in view of the deficiency of those countries in this one direction of political education. India also is fairly on its way to the securing of a democratic constitution, though her British rulers fight shy of conceding her fitness for the realization of the advantages of such a constitution, because there are religious, social and other differences. But the people are sick of the trusteeship voluntarily assumed by the British people, and are demanding the mastery of their own home—a demand which can be withheld only on pain of producing very unpleasant repercussions. Lord Bryce declares it as his opinion that one of the conditions of success of a Democracy is that the demand for democratic institutions should proceed from the masses of the people, because it is they who have ultimately to be guardians and watch-dogs of popular liberties. This condition is more than fulfilled in the case of India, in view of the tremendous upheaval of popular opinion in favour of political liberty, observable in recent years. There can, in this connection, be no wiser or more wholesome advice which can be commended to the understanding of those people, who want to keep whole nations under continued subjection or who favour the use of the 'mailed fist' in dealing with subject nations, than the profoundly wise maxim of a well-known writer on Democracy who says, "There are moments when it is safer to go forward with conferring responsibility than to stand still; wiser to confer democratic institutions, even if they are liable to be misused, than to foment rebellion by withholding them."

X

It is a common fallacy into which one is apt to fall that merely by the extension of the vote to all and sundry, the millennium would dawn, and that Democracy would be established straightway. The conferment of the franchise on all the sections of the people, even the carrying out of that process to its logical extremity of universality, cannot be said to be the only fundamental point of a democratic institution, although, it is, of course, a necessary corollary of Democracy, full-blown and unqualified. Just as there can be a real semblance of Democracy even with a restricted franchise, so also there can be universal adult suffrage without the substance of effective democratic control. A nation might provide for the exercise of the vote by all adult persons, but yet render itself easily liable to the domination of a ruling-class clique, for the very sound reason that the latter is well able to manage the populace by its superior command over the resources necessary for maintaining its own position against all other sections. This dominance of a ruling class even where there is universal suffrage is an interesting phenomenon in present day democratic countries and suggests many interesting problems in the study of human psychology in its relation to political affairs. For example, in England with the recent extension of the vote to women without any conditions, a huge problem has set in, which has put every one in doubt as to in what direction and on what considerations the newly enfranchised 'flapper' will exercise her discretion. But universal franchise by itself can produce very beneficial consequences, since it induces in every citizen a sense of responsibility and civic duty, provides for him a valuable educative ground in politics and helps to prune down to a very considerable extent the sense of inequalities and consequent dissatisfaction among the people, which is such a virgin field for revolution breeding. If in countries like England and France, Communism with its incidental evils has not secured a firm lodgment, it is because the labouring and the economically backward classes are

enabled to get substantial privileges to themselves by means of parliamentary action through the instrumentality of labour representatives, whom they could send in by their voting strength. This fact of the situation provides a good argument against the contention that representative institutions have altogether defeated themselves by their incapacity to secure any good to the people in a Democracy.

XI

One of the tests by which Democracy can be judged is by discovering what safeguards are provided by it for the protection of the interests of the minority. A discontented and sulky minority is a greater danger to the successful working of Democracy than the provision of some safeguards for the untrammelled expression of minority opinion. The minority may be a social minority, a religious minority or a racial or economic minority; but the stifling of its voice will turn out to be as politically dangerous as it is morally indefensible, because nothing is so very certain as to enable us to take it for granted that a majority is always right and a minority is always wrong. In fact, if the truth has got to be told, it has to be recognised that a majority may oftentimes be a manufactured and a manipulated majority and that, at other times, it is difficult to differentiate it from the 'herd instinct,' which invariably will be in the wrong; and the herd instinct, with its proneness to come round to the correct point of view in course of time, as the issues that cause the cleavage get clarified, will adopt the opinion of the at-present-small-number of discriminating and thinking individuals with perhaps as much vehemence and warmth as that with which it is espousing the cause of the majority now. The suppression of minority opinion is evident as much within the ranks of political parties, which are another inevitable concomitant of democratic advancement, as it is in the wider field of the nation. The agency through which minority opinion is effectively crushed in the ranks of a political party is the 'Party caucus', which sees to it that no individualist or particularist tendencies are allowed

to develop in the members belonging to its group, while the suppression of minority opinion amongst the people at large leads to the shunting out of the way several small sections, whose opinions on individual questions are opposed to the generally prevailing orthodox opinion on them. Thus, there are, for example, in England some conscientious objectors to vaccination laws and there are in America some conscientious opponents of Negrophobia and such other groups, whose voice is not so much as heard in the legislatures of the respective countries, though for all one knows, their opinions are quite excellent. The predominant characteristic, therefore, of party government, which has come into being as the unavoidable consequence of the growth of political parties, is the 'Rule of the majority'; and any member of the party, who dares to differ from the leaders of the party or from the decisions of the majority, will do so only at the risk of being brought under the heavy weight of the steam-roller of party machinery and crushed at once. It is this grinding power which the machinery of party possesses, that is responsible for the revolt of the minorities that is noticeable in many countries, especially in the newly formed Republics of Central Europe, where the problem is the reconciliation of incoherent racial minorities which have been amalgamated against their will into loose national entities, and for the measures that it is being found necessary to take in them to devise some method of proportional representation, whereby these minorities can be brought together in more friendly co-operation with one another and contribute to the progress of the nations of which they form a part.

But after all that has been said in criticism of political parties, the fact remains that Democracy necessitates the organisation and existence of such parties in some form or other, as it necessitates the existence of some sort of representative institutions. It is, however, an instructive feature of post-war democratic development that there has been a remarkable growth of a bewildering number of political

groups in the various countries, which find their repercussions and reverberations in the legislatures of their respective homes of origin. These political groups have introduced an element of instability into the political equilibrium of countries like Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugo-Slavia, France, Australia and New Zealand, leading firstly to kaleidoscopic changes in the complexion of Governments and secondly to the resort to the comparatively new device of unscrupulous 'log-rolling', resulting in unholy alliances and combinations of a transient character between mutually antithetical interests. This cluster of political parties encourages the tendency of carrying honest but too often minor political differences to ridiculous extremities, and emphasises the deficiencies and weaknesses of the various forces more than their similarities and points of contact. As many of these groups have their origin in economic grounds, it is not too much to hope they will gradually go out of being when the economic balance is more properly adjusted by the removal of economic inequalities.

It is the criminal neglect on the part of the ruling classes satisfactorily to solve the problem of the minorities and to adjust the equilibrium between the classes and the masses, that has given rise to the revolutionary creed of Bolshevism, the reactionary ascendancy of Fascism, and the unparalleled electrification of the working classes, all of which, as has already been pointed out, threaten to indulge in what may be called 'submarine attacks' on the democratic principle. As a recent writer on Politics puts it, "The deepest problem facing Democracy today is the handling of a permanent and powerful minority. Oppression and the methods of the despot will not do. It is a problem for those in Europe professing Liberal Democracy as a bulwark against autocracy. Individuals and groups have to be protected against the encroachment of State and monopoly, against the rule of the classes and the masses. Neither Fascism nor Socialist Democracy can solve the problem. Post-war history is offering Liberal Democracy this unique opportunity of healing the nations."

XII

Coming round now to the original question whether Democracy in modern times has failed in its purpose, we can, in the light of what has been said above, give an unhesitating answer that it has not. If we interpret Democracy in the terms of its present outward expression, *viz.*, representative institutions; if we consider that Democracy has bred within its bosom certain evils, which may appear ineradicable, but which are not more formidable nor less tractable than the evils and defects to which all other human institutions are subject—then, we may have to accept it when it is declared that Democracy is a failure. But when side by side with this, we take into account the fact that Democracy, with its defects, is becoming more and more the ideal form of Government to which all liberal-minded men turn, as the final and fitting consummation in political organization; that it is actually the form of Government to which many countries both in Europe and also in Asia have reverted since the Great War; that, in fact, it is the only form of Government which can claim to its credit the elimination of personal and class rule and the training of the masses by practical experience to participate in political affairs; and lastly that, it alone, among other forms of government, has been best able to prevent external aggression and preserve internal tranquillity; it must be readily admitted that the future holds a bright prospect for Democracy. Some of the defects ascribed to it, such as that it does not properly encourage talent and adequately recognise the experts and that it leads, in the ultimate analysis, to the glorification of the 'boss' and the deification of the Party; some of the drawbacks noticeable in it, such as that the cry for liberty and equality has not been followed by the promotion of true ideas of fraternity; are not, if they are to be accounted, any alarming defects at all, very insignificant in comparison with the advantages which it confers, the benefits it secures, the potentialities it possesses, the sense of individual worth it infuses and the great political training it affords.

Monarchy or oligarchy may secure for a country good rule and benevolent rule; but it is common experience that tons of good rule are not equal to an ounce of self-rule, which Democracy brings in its train. To some of the greatest nation-builders of the world like Mazzini in Italy, Jefferson in America and Gandhi in our own generation in our own country, Democracy is a matter of religious training, capable of affecting the life and morals of a people; and though Democracy has not been capable of effecting so profound a transformation, still what it has achieved is certainly creditable.

XIII

The conclusion that we are driven to from the above analysis of the working of Democracy is that it will be the future mode of Government in the world and that it will ingratiate itself in a greater and greater degree into the affections of nations and of peoples, in spite of the fact that it may be subjected at times and for a brief period, as it is being subjected now-a-days, to temporary eclipses; for humanity is a permanent entity, while those forces that might range themselves against it and try to keep it under the rule of thumb, are and will be only passing manifestations which come and go. The classes which hold the reins of power in their hands in the various countries will find the ground cut from under their feet, if they attempt to stem the tide of Democracy and stifle the aspirations of the populace. With the growing consciousness of the people, with the growth of their knowledge and experience, and with the realization of their rights and responsibilities by the masses, there is nothing, no force which can think of succeeding in effectively checking the onrush of the democratic flood. Representative institutions, through which Democracy has till now expressed itself, may not have been quite successful, and they may not have been able to confer the benefits which Mill and Bagehot claimed for them in the latter half of the 19th century; but even they have not been entirely unproductive, since it is through them only that Democracy over large areas can be made feasible,

though they might possess less utility now than in those days; for we see even in the apparently anti-democratic forms and countries 'enjoying' the benevolent rule of Dictators, the element of popular voting, representative forms, party government and all other accompaniments of democratic government have not been absolutely abandoned. Soviet Russia in its constitution issued in May 1918 referred to the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" as having been created "in view of the present transition period" only; and while excluding from the franchise certain propertied classes, conferred the right to vote on the masses of men and women. While laughing long and heartily at the whole democratic and liberal processes of government, the Fascisti in all their recent constitutional forms including that adopted in May 1928, do not plan to eliminate popular voting completely and to vest absolute authority in Mussolini and his heirs and assigns. The same is the case with Spain and with Turkey and in the very recent case of Yugo-Slavia, where a liberal constitution was suspended by the King, who has assumed the Director's role, on account of violent conflicts between political parties, but where it is at the same time confidently foretold that the usurpation of Governmental functions by the King would be only of a temporary character. Democracy has thus attained some notable conquests; but it is of no use, however, trying to belittle the forces that range themselves against it, forces which have tremendous staying power and which can buttress up when necessity arises, all the instincts of self-interest and egotism, till at last the monopolistic power acquired by them is broken up by revolutionary outbreaks. It is when the appropriate conditions for the successful functioning of Democracy are not present or when the conditions which are inimical to it are present, that the failure of democratic institutions becomes apparent and it is then that a democratic country falls a prey to internal disturbances and external encroachments. There is some amount of truth in Rousseau's wail that, "Man is born free but is everywhere in chains"; and Democracy, which aims at emancipa-

ting him from his chains, is at present passing through a travail from which it is to be confidently hoped that it will issue out triumphant and glorious; in the meanwhile, it is not beneficial to indulge in gloomy prognostications of failure and disappointment. As Bryce said, "the right way of judging Democracy is to try it by a concrete standard, setting it side by side with other Governments"; and what has been attempted above is the estimation of its achievements in the light of such a standard. The conclusion therefrom is—and it is the only legitimate conclusion that could be drawn from it—that it has, "in some countries destroyed and in others materially diminished many of the cruelties and terrors, injustices and oppressions that had darkened the souls of men for many generations", and that with the proper settlement of certain important deficiencies like those relating to the problem of minorities and the problem of the working classes, which are the victims of the present capitalistic organization of society, it will prove by far the best and the most beneficent form of Government. When humanity comes to recognise the merits of Democracy, as it is very clearly coming to recognize now-a-days; when it develops the necessary sense of realizing the ideals which Democracy stands for; then there will be every reason for supposing that the world will become one single unit and that the dreams of political idealists like Wells of a 'World-State' will come within the bounds of possible realization. Meanwhile, it is well to bear in mind that if Democracy is allowed to be flouted with impunity, nothing will remain; that if the light of Democracy is allowed to be put out by the gale of scepticism and doubt, and darkness intervenes, the darkness will be a very immense one indeed.

Omar Khayyam

BY C. NARAYANASWAMY

Literature is a mirror of national life, and national life the resultant of various influences, partly under and partly beyond the control of man—influences of climate, of physical conditions, of political freedom or political subordination. In the East, poetry formed a vehicle for the expression of sublime thoughts, mystical, philosophical and spiritual, veiled in the garb of the customs, habits and manners of the people of the period. The East is stranger to sea-poetry, such as is found in Heine or Swinburne or Theodore Watts-Dunton. In Eastern poetry, you will rarely find sublime hymns on liberty and freedom such as we can trace in Milton or Collins or Shelley or Victor Hugo. That buoyant hope and invincible optimism—the peculiar characteristics of the poetry of Browning and Tennyson, is almost absent in the works of the poets of the East. In the East, it is not the worship of the political struggle for freedom that inspires the Muse, but it is the longing for 'the Beloved', who is veiled within a thousand veils in the *sanctum sanctorum* of our hearts. It is the struggle to rip open the thick membranes of materialism and draw out the true inner self in its real perspective. All the powers of the poets of the East, their arts, their genius, are concentrated on that subject and that subject alone. The Oriental, by his mental constitution, is mystical, melancholy, imaginative, whilst his compeer in the West is practical.

The periodical epidemics, the periodical invasions with their attendant massacres, the fitful and ever-changing temper of their Kings and Emperors, have caused the poets of the East, especially those of the Middle East, to introduce the note of resignation, melancholy and quietism, in their hymns and 'Rubaiyats'. Due to the whims and lascivious

passions of his sovereigns, the daily sights of exaltation or debasement of his fellow-creatures at their hands without a moment's notice, and the cutting off of bright, young promising lives for satisfying the mere freaks of frantic kings, the poet of the Mid-East laments over the feebleness of human effort, the impotence of human will. These made him regard life as a game of chance and put on a garb of dominant deep pathos in all his poetical works. The note of weariness and disgust with life, the note of utter hollowness of worldly ambitions and wordly dreams of prosperity one finds in the Muse of the Mid-East, are entirely due to the conditions prevailing during the period when the eminent mystic poets of Islam lived. It is the idea of utter forlornness, ennui, weariness and the fruitless attempt to fight against Destiny which had flung them to dust, that impelled the poets of the Mid-East to resort to the joys that are fleeting and ephemeral. No wonder, poets born and bred up in such atmosphere, pass in a single moment from anxiety to exultation and back again from exultation to still deeper depression.

To understand Omar Khayyam, the subject of our study, one must therefore have a correct perspective of the period in which he lived and the Sufi atmosphere then pervading the region wherein he saw the light of day. For want of this clear perception, a great deal of misconception exists in the Western world as well as in India. European savants, forgetting the setting in which the drama of his life was played, have done considerable injustice to his thoughts expressed and woven by him in the garb of the surroundings in which he found himself. His verse is expressed in the language of his country and in conformity with the taste which then prevailed amongst his people. He plied the trade of astrological calculations—for he is known as 'Persian Poet-Astronomer'. All this conduced to the formation of an impression which he least deserved.

Verses like :

" A book of verse underneath the bough,
A loaf of bread, a jug of wine, and thou¹
Beside me singing in the wilderness,
Were paradise enow."

And again :

" Ah, my Beloved, fill the cup that clears
Today of past regrets and future fears—
To-morrow?—Why, to-morrow I may be
Myself with yesterday's
Seven thousand years."

and many more, undoubtedly give a tinge of sensual ideas specially to lay minds and to those who are out to find fault with everything Asiatic and Islamic. But to a serious student of comparative science and philosophy, there arises on the disturbed ocean of Omar's 'Rubaiyat' a bright speck which leads one to believe that there is for certain, some hidden truth for all ages, some answer to the universal quest of the soul of man. Again, to understand Omar, one must have a good deal of information about Sufism, without which it is not possible to understand and follow Omar in the winding maze of the 'Beloved' and the 'wine' of his 'Rubaiyat.' For example, sings he :

" Lo! some we loved, the loveliest and the best
That Time and Fate of all their vintage prest,
Have drunk their cup a round or two before,
And one by one crept silently to rest."

A superficial observer will no doubt attribute expressions occurring in the above Quatrain such as 'loved', 'loveliest', 'cup' and 'wine' to the lascivious tendencies of the Poet, although he may have been singularly free from such lustful thought.

In every age, in every country whenever great Teachers appeared, they placed before the world teachings in two different ways : one for the masses in allegories, and the other

¹ The nightingale.

for the select few, who took life seriously and who chose to follow the Teacher under all circumstances sacrificing all things most dear to them. Such teachings, in Islam, were called '*Ilm-e-Makhfi*', i.e., hidden knowledge, and the Prophet taught them to his chosen disciples; they in turn, handed down the torch of knowledge to those whom they considered fit to hold and hand it on. The Prophet preferred to wear a '*suf*', or a woollen garment, which in course of time came to be adopted by some of the companions; hence the term '*Sufi*.' In the *Qur'an*, 'Sufis' are termed as 'Mukurrabins' (friends of God), 'Sabirins' (patient men), 'Abrars' (virtuous). Ibn Khaldun, one of the greatest Islamic historians of the time says: "This (Sufism) is one of the religious sciences which were born in Islam. The way of the Sufis was regarded by the then Moslems and their illustrious men as the way of Truth and Salvation. To be assiduous in piety, to give up all else for God's sake, to turn away from worldly gauds and vanities, to remove pleasure, wealth and power, which are the general objects of human ambition, to abandon society and to lead in seclusion a life devoted solely to the service of God—these were the fundamental principles of Sufism." Their philosophy is that in the beginning was God just as He now is—without addition, etc. But for the purpose of understanding His ways, the 'Salik,' i.e., the seeker after Truth, is prepared to consider a course of development of the manifestation of the attributes. The Prophet said: "Do not contemplate on His essence, but contemplate on His attributes." The Sufi feels intensely that he is the microcosm of a macrocosm. He is thus the highest point of God's creation. Consequently he feels considerably the separation of himself from the Divinity. No wonder, then, that a Sufi looks upon the Divinity as his 'Beloved', a 'Friend', a 'Darling', and in the ecstasy of his meditation and dancing, he compares the spiritual potion and the ecstatic condition caused thereby to 'wine' and worldly intoxication. Moulana Rumi sings:

"What is Sufism? 'Tis to find joy in the heart
Whensoever distress and care assail it."

The main theme of a Sufi is, as the same mystic sings:

"Dissolve the body in Thy sight.
Go into sight, go into sight, and go into sight."

The subject of our study lived during the period of Sanjar, 1092-1157. This period was as remarkable and as brilliant as any which preceded or followed it; the number of Persian writers, both in prose and verse, vastly increased, and works on important subjects continued to be produced on a considerable scale in Arabic. Omar, who lived and passed away during the first quarter of the 12th century, belonged to a galaxy of Sufi pearls that adorned the court of Kohrasan chiefs. Born in 1121 at Naishapur, a town in Kohrasan district, of a family known for its astrological pre-possessions, he naturally imbibed not only the teachings of such eminent poet-philosophers as Attar and Nizam'ul Mulk, but also perfected himself in his family lore. His father took particular care of his education in his early days. Under the careful guidance of Imam Mowaffak, his teacher, Omar made considerable progress in the study of astronomy. His fame in that science soon rose to such a height as to draw the attention of Malik Shah, the then chief of Naishapur. He was one of the eight men appointed by Malik Shah for the purpose of reforming the Calendar. The result of his labors was the Jalali era, which according to Gibbon, "is a computation of time that surpasses the Julian and approaches the accuracy of the Gregorian style." In Persia, Omar is more known for his astrological works than for his Sufi disquisitions. But strangely enough, outside Kohrasan, he came to be recognised as pre-eminently great in his poetical works, of which his '*Rubaiyat*' attained an immortal fame.

Although his name was Omar, he appended to it a poetical name '*Khayyam*' signifying 'tent-maker' due to his having followed the trade of a tent-maker before affluence affected him. In the following lines he alludes to his profession:

"Khayyam, who stitched the tents of science
Has fallen in grief's furnace and been suddenly burned:

The shears of fate have cut the tent-ropes of his life ;
And the Broker of Hope has sold him for nothing."

He was not only eminent in astronomy but was famous for his versatility in the sciences. Nizamu'd Din Razi in his book "Observatory of God's Servants" considers Omar as "an unhappy philosopher, atheist and materialist" adducing in proof certain of his verses, one of which is that quoted above.

In his country, as a mathematician and free-thinker, he made himself famous. It was his Algebra that found its way to Europe through Greece. Fitz-Gerald and Whinefield contributed considerably to make the name of Omar a household word in Europe and America, and there sprang up 'Omar Khayyam Clubs' where members began the study of his poetical works. He is better known for his 'Rubaiyat' or Quatrains. It is in these that the interest of his admiring readers centres. The literature of Omar Khayyam contains some of the best and some of the worst literary works ever produced.

The 'rubai' or quatrain is usually of two 'bayats' or four hemistichs and hence called 'du-bayti'. Like an epigram, it is complete by itself and is written like 'ghazal' with a particular metre. In the Persian literature a tendency could be observed, previous to Omar, of indulging in expressing inspired ideas in an epigrammatic form. Omar in his 'Rubaiyat' perfected this form of versification. It is curious that in Southern India successful attempts should have been made in compressing a complete and independent idea in two lines, as one may perceive in the Tamil 'Kural'.

Omar was considerably in advance of his age. He was a bold free-thinker and was singularly free from the mercenary flattery and professional panegyric to which his age was addicted owing to penury and uncertainty of life. Few poets of his time had the rare courage to overstep the beaten groove of thought and versification, and he seems to have led the party that rebelled against orthodoxy. He was foremost among the group of free-thinkers who satirized the narrowness of dogma and taught the futility of piety and

virtue based on hypocrisy, and urged on his readers to follow him, in the following strain :

"Oh, come with old Khayyam, and leave the wise
To talk ; one thing is certain, that life flies ;
One thing is certain, and the rest is lies ;
The flower that once has blown for ever dies."

And again :

"Myself when young did eagerly frequent
Doctor and saint, and heard great argument
About it and about, but evermore
Came out by the same door as in I went."

It must be noted that Omar lived at a time when Sufism degenerated and, from its high philosophical and mystical pedestal, was brought down to a materialistic level by its votaries, just as pure 'yoga' dwindled into a street and scout 'tamasha' by the so-called 'jogis' and others in India. His duty, at the period he lived, was to re-purify and to bring to high estimation and standard the followers of that cult. And the method used to accomplish that end apparently created many enemies in and around Persia. Besides, certain views held by him were entirely opposed to those of orthodoxy. From an anecdote in his life, some jump to the conclusion that he was a believer in the doctrine of metempsychosis. For the repairs of an old college in Naishapur, donkeys were used for bringing bricks. One day, while Omar was strolling in the company of some students, one of the donkeys refused to enter the college compound. No amount of persuasion would avail. At last Omar smilingly went up to the donkey and extemporised the following verse :

"O lost and now returned 'yet more astray',
Thy name from men's remembrance passed away,
Thy nails have now combined to form thy hoofs,
Thy tail's a beard turned round the other way."

Strangely enough, the erratic donkey entered the premises no sooner Omar finished his quatrain. Those near about asked him with wonder the reason of this. Replied he, "the

spirit which has now attached itself to the body of this ass inhabited the body of a lecturer in this college; therefore it would not come in until now, when, perceiving that its colleagues had recognised it, it was obliged to step inside."

It is said that a poet, expressing pain as well as pleasure, becomes at one with all who feel pain. Conscious then of his brotherhood with man as well as with plant life and nature, strength and passion flow into his poetry. Men feel themselves expressed, sympathised with, and empowered by the noble representation of their trouble, and send back to the poet their gratitude and sympathy, till he, conscious of their affection, is himself uplifted and inspired. This is amply evidenced in the case of Omar. Gifted with the knowledge of astrology and astronomy, possessed of an ample stock of intuition, his power of seership evolved into definite shape. On one occasion, in the winter of 1114-15, Sultan Muhammad, the Seljuq, expressed his desire, through his prime-minister, to Omar that he should select a favourable time for the Sultan to go hunting, such that the days should not be wet or snowy. Omar having selected such a time, he himself went to superintend the Sultan's departure at the auspicious moment. No sooner did the king start on his joyous sport, than the sky became overcast with ominous clouds; strong wind commenced to blow, and snow and mist supervened. His courtiers, then present, started a critical and contemptuous laughter, and the king was inclined to turn back. Nothing daunted, Omar intervened and said: "Have no anxiety, for this very hour the clouds will clear away, and during these five days there will be not a drop of moisture." So the Sultan rode on and the forecast of Omar turned out true in its entirety.

On another occasion, Khwaja Nizami of Samarquand, who was Omar's pupil, writes: "I often used to hold conversation with my teacher Omar Khayyam, in a garden; and one day he said to me, 'My tomb shall be in a spot where the north wind may scatter roses over it.' I wondered at the words he spoke, but I knew that his were no idle words. Years afterwards, when I chanced to revisit Naishapur, I

went to his final resting place, and lo! it was just outside a garden, and trees laden with fruits stretched their boughs over the garden wall, and dropped their flowers upon his tomb, so that the stone was hidden under them." Omar himself expresses this very beautifully in verse:

"Ah, with the grape my fading life provide,
And wash my body whence the life has died,
And in a winding-sheet of vineleaf wrapt,
So bury me by some sweet garden side."

The poetic power acquired through love and sympathy and inspiration, and fed by human love, increases vastly. A fuller emotion, a wider thought, a knowledge of life deepened by imagination into something by far truer than any intellectual philosophy of life can give, fills his verse with the unsought for, revealing phrases which seem to express, with strange simplicity, the primary thoughts of Being and put on the complexion of a Divine source. Such is the case with Khayyam. The whole subject of his 'Rubaiyat' is one vast sea, on which the ephemeral pleasures and joys of this mundane world are made to float with a distinctness and in clear-cut forms, in which the Poet excels most. The evolution of life and the changing character of the happiness of the day form a conspicuous theme of his 'Rubaiyat'. Quatrains like the following, although expressed in the language and habits of the period, conceal under the common garb sentiments eternal in their nature and which all humanity, apart from the barriers of race and religion, share:

"And this I know; whether the one True Light
Kindle to love, or wrath consume me quite,
One glimpse of it within the tavern caught
Better than in the temple lost outright."

And another,

"Indeed the idols I have loved so long
Have done my credit in men's eye wrong,
Have drowned my honor in a shallow cup,
And sold my reputation for a song."

Language improves, religion changes, the conception of the Deity varies from age to age; but amidst endless changes, innovations and alterations in social life and customs, there is human nature ever the same. The themes which once delighted the 'II-Khanies,' the Sultans and ministers and the knowing masses of the eleventh century, even today have not ceased to enchant, to captivate, to inspire, to uplift us from "their dead selves to higher things." The poetry of pleasure, the poetry of pathos, surely cannot fail to strike a responsive chord in the human heart. The secret of that richness, freshness and sweetness which a true poet possesses, is supremely visible in Omar's 'Rubaiyat.' Omar is conspicuous for his scathing scorn of those who are hypocrites, and observers of external pomp. Although his 'Rubaiyat' teems with 'wine' and 'goblets', 'Beloved' and 'intoxication,' still there lingers underneath all these, a stream in its nature mystical, elysian and occult. Free-thinker and independent as he was in his thoughts, he never yielded to panegyrics, to which his age was addicted.

Modern Bengali Drama

BY DR. P. GUHA-THAKURTA, M.A., Ph.D.

Looking over the record of the modern Bengali drama and comparing it with that of the drama of other countries, the first thing that attracts one's notice is its comparative youth. The modern type of drama virtually began in Bengal in the early part of the nineteenth century, that is to say, on the advent of the British rule. Yet, in spite of its being perhaps the youngest drama in the world, it seems spiritually among the most mature. Indeed, it already shows signs of being a little over-ripe in certain respects before it has had sufficient time fully to develop a regular stage-craft and dramatic technique. This seems to be due to the fact that the Bengali drama has had an enormous amount of valuable literary traditions and material to fall back upon and to draw from, without at the same time being wholly competent to handle the modern European methods of production in a suitable manner. The incongruity is further explained when one remembers that while the Bengali playwrights were using the old native sources, it was absolutely impossible for them to do more than adapt European dramatic principles to Indian subjects.

THE BEGINNINGS

The modern Bengali drama began under very auspicious circumstances, and as it should be generally known, was profoundly affected by social and political events, not only in its own country but in other parts of the world. It is difficult to separate the history of the Bengali stage from the history of social and political changes in Bengal in the nineteenth century, but in spite of very strong foreign influences and tendencies, the Bengali drama has emerged stronger and more solid

from the struggle. In the course of the last hundred and fifty years, it has not only spread far and wide but has become a genuinely national institution, emancipated from servility whether to foreign or Sanskritic traditions. The value of the Bengali drama would not in any sense be diminished, had everything that was written in the form of drama before 1800 completely perished. There is a certain feeling abroad that modern Indian literature is far less worthy of study than the older and more ancient. It may be admitted that the history of Bengali literature presents a record of rather broken and often incoherent activities and that its development is irregular, but so far as the Bengali drama is concerned, it is quite evident that it is intensely modern, in the sense that it is in close touch with the life and thought and feeling of today. By virtue of this modernity alone, it reveals that unity which binds Bengal to the outer world and makes Girish Chandra Ghose, Dvijendra Lal Roy, and Rabindra Nath Tagore critics and thinkers of the present generation. Whether we take the early work of Ram Narayan Tarkaratna and Madhu Sudan Dutt or the later work of Dvijendra Lal and Rabindra Nath, it possesses that universal subjectivity—that most persistent attempt to deal with the human mind rather than the external world. Taking it as a whole, the modern Bengali drama seems to be dominated by a more or less æsthetic and speculative attitude of mind rather than by an interest in external facts or even psychological subtleties; and this is natural enough, since Bengali life itself has been dominated for many generations by emotional reflection rather than by objective activity. This subjective approach to reality has left indelible marks on the entire body of the modern Bengali drama. We can make this point quite clear by an illustration. A considerable portion of the modern European drama deals with much that is rather trivial, petty and inconsequential, and its stage is crowded with characters whose names we forget, whose faces fade away in the endless changing panorama of human life, whose actions, if they accomplish anything at all, matter

very little for the rest of the human race, and who make traps for themselves out of their own little weaknesses of character and mistakes of reckless passions. Now, this type of drama is so far entirely unknown in Bengal. It will be argued that Bengal does not present so many intricate problems of sex and morality as modern Europe. It is quite true that Bengali life could not, under the present circumstances, encourage or foster the drawing-room drama of Mr. Noel Coward or the sex-plays of M. Eugene Brieux. But if human nature in its essence is the same all over the world and if it is to be looked at from a broader point of view and interpreted by artists with real imagination, drama should be a matter of greatness and beauty rather than triviality and ugliness. It does not follow that unpleasant realities should be entirely omitted; indeed they cannot be, so long as human nature remains as it is; but they must be harmonised and brought into a synthesis of real beauty and grandeur. In a word, the drama should be the revelation of the human spirit struggling with the forces of the world. The Greeks had a tragedy which portrayed the human spirit at odds with Destiny itself, and, as Seneca has said: "A strong man matched with fortune is a sight for the gods to see". In the same manner, Bengali drama, following its spiritual traditions and speculative bent of mind, has more or less drawn on the larger rather than the smaller issues of life but with this difference, that the minor, insignificant details of life, instead of being harmonised with the larger and bigger ones, have been allowed to be altogether submerged in the glorified pictures of ideal beauty, ideal truth and ideal happiness. Even the most ultra-modern of Bengali dramatists like Dvijendra Lal and Rabindra Nath, have drawn from the heroic legends and romantic tales of history and mythology the situation and characters of their plays and overlooked the stories that ordinary everyday life might have furnished. And even when they have touched contemporary life, it is with such a depth of idealism and emotion that its subjective elements have completely overshadowed the objective realities. It is not so much the

material of the Bengali plays as the tone and temper of the dramatists that makes the Bengali drama so subjective and naturally so one-sided. Bengali playwrights have evaded realities in pursuit of ideals, and until they come to face the facts of life squarely and present them in strict accordance with the highest moral and spiritual standards of art, their work will remain as useless as the ultra-realistic drama of modern Europe. The highest form of drama is that which brings into play beauty of form, nobility of purpose and dignity of mental outlook. These qualities cannot be awakened in human beings either by painting an ideal world of perfection or by giving a picture of merely sordid and ugly realities. The Bengali playwrights of the future need not only to keep their reflective imagination within reasonable bounds of control and precision, but need also to gain more experience and fresh stimulus to thought and action from life as it is. The plays they will then produce will not only be true and real but will make a permanent appeal to humanity and will touch the emotions as well as inspire the soul.

ART AND LIFE

The modern Bengali stage is still trying to get into touch with art and with life. It has not as yet fully succeeded in escaping from the contempt and indifference in which it has been held since its very beginning by social and religious reformers on the one hand and by orthodox critics on the other. Bengal has not yet developed any regular stage-technique to guide its dramatic productions, whereas in Europe and America, in spite of the apparent confusion of various schools and various conflicting ideas, stage-craft may be said to have reached a definite point of achievement, and competent men in different lines of stage-production are daily emerging with new ideas and trying new experiments. The West has already developed a very successful type of stage-craft which aims at finding a true and just proportion between stage and auditorium and a synthesis between the play and its setting. This involves

a study of the contemporary methods of planning and constructing theatres, of lighting and colour-schemes and all the modern facilities for theatrical illusion. These methods have been consistently sought by well-known *regisseurs* of European drama, however much they may differ in matters of detail. Max Reinhardt gives first importance to the right kind of architectural designs suitable for a drama or an opera; Gordon Craig wants to bring the mechanical machinery of the stage into strict harmony with lighting, colour-effects and *dramatis personæ*; and Adolphe Appia secures the success of a production by concentrating entirely upon lighting methods. Bengal has not yet its plastic and architectural stage; public criticism of false perspective has not been sufficient to bring it about. On a modern Bengali stage, which still employs painted canvas, the conflict between the dead setting and the living actor is inevitable. The dramatic illusion of a Bengali play is too apparent. Against two-dimensional painting on the backdrops and wings, we have three-dimensional actors. This painted pretence will have to disappear completely before the Bengali stage can achieve any real success in modern productions. The painting of imaginary landscapes, roads, buildings and trees, has to give way to the visual realism of architectural and plastic designs. Painting conveys flatness, no depth. Mountains, a sea-coast or any distant object, may occasionally have to be painted but not the available things of everyday life, which can very well be built up on the stage. In a modern play we not only want an illusion of reality but an illusion of actuality. The importance of this actual visual illusion lies in its ability to catch the eye of an audience; and the work of the designer or architect will be successful only so far as it can give the impression of the right kind of background which easily sets the imagination of the spectators working and rouses a kind of collective spirit, which alone is its *raison d'être*. So architectural design will have to be adopted by Bengali stage-practitioners if they desire the ends of beauty and illusion and not mere trickery and false pretence. It is true that in Europe the architectural setting

for the stage has not arrived at any point of real perfection, but the false pretence of the old type of stage-setting has been abandoned forever. It is rather unfortunate that in the modern commercial theatre of the West, the director and actor have been so much overshadowed by the electrician and architect. Against this the Bengali producers must be on their guard. They should never try to secure the success of a play merely by those artificial means, which modern scientific machinery can so easily supply. A certain amount of anarchy was bound to happen in the European methods of stage-architecture; machinery took hold of the mind of a commercial producer in a rather destructive manner. Signor Marinetti, an Italian futurist, has even insisted that because the machine represents the spirit of the modern age, a drama ought to represent the life and movement of men as machines, in which actors will be shown enclosed in cylinders and funnels. The Russian Proletariat theatre is being encouraged by Meirhold and Foregger to develop on similar lines. Of course, these are rather extreme cases of the employment of machinery for stage representations. Man is not a marionette and so an actor cannot possibly become an organised piece of mechanism like a machine. A theatre cannot be made into a real source of entertainment or inspiration by being converted into a scheme of geometric figures, spirals and angles, oblongs and squares, with blotches of paint here and there. The fact is that Cubism, Vorticism and all forms of futurist art have led to a certain confusion in the standard of values, for the reason they have gone beyond the limits imposed by the realistic, plastic stage. All futurist experiments have followed in the main the principle of expressing emotions or ideas through merely unintelligible pictorial art, without the slightest regard for the actual reality of the objects painted. The deeply reflective attitude of a futurist painter or architect has led him to represent objects that are not real but are the perversions of his eccentric imagination. The futurist tendencies of European painting and stage-archi-

itecture have already exercised a considerable influence upon Bengali art and incidentally on Bengali stage-representations. The scenery which is usually designed by Messrs. Nanda Lal Basu and Asit Kumar Haldar for Rabindra Nath's plays is essentially of an impressionistic type. It looks like a bit of painted canvas of hazy and subdued colour and a weird assemblage of unintelligible angles and lines, made to suggest if anything at all something quaint, shadowy and unsubstantial. If we look at Mr. Gaganendra Nath Tagore's sketches prepared for one of Rabindra Nath's latest plays, *Rakta Karabi*, we notice that they do not convey any directness or clarity of expression but a vague kind of emotional intimacy through subtle suggestions of lines and light and shade. The air of Bengal is thick today with such catch-words as 'symbolic', 'rhythmic', 'dynamic' and so on. The modern Bengali impressionist artists are vainly trying to find in these formulæ some new medium of art-expression and are only distorting their art by crude and imitative methods. Of course, they represent that small section of Bengali artists of the school of Mr. Abanindra Nath Tagore who are collaborating with Rabindra Nath Tagore in his dramatic productions. The vagueness of their methods is in a sense encouraged by the vagueness inherent in the plays of Rabindra Nath. So to Rabindra Nath's theatre which concerns itself with thoughts alone, the painting of a symbolistic type has been added, visualising, as it were, the atmosphere of the play. But the true function of a realistic plastic stage is not merely to produce an emotional atmosphere but to produce understanding and sympathy by means of a visual illusion of actuality. It has to give the impression of objects in terms of both inner and outer actuality—an actuality of form instead of an actuality of idea. The most significant thing achieved by these Bengali impressionistic painters is, however, the breakdown of false realism in form and content and false perspective in painting. But until the electrician and architect, decorative artist and mechanic, combine with the producer, playwright and actor, there will not come in Bengal any

perfected type of plastic stage—such a type as will allow of the successful and creditable production of modern plays. Light is the heart of the modern stage-picture today and is perhaps second only to the actor himself in importance. A modern actor cannot afford to dispense with the aid of the lighting-effects if he is satisfactorily to represent different situations at different periods of time. The most constructive of all European *regisseurs* in matters of lighting is Adolphe Appia and it is to him the modern Bengali stage must look for practical suggestions and ideas. The Russians have brought great painters like Leon Bakst and Roerich into their theatre, and Bengal must accordingly draw its inspiration from the artists of the younger generation. As regards the architectural and mechanical problems of the theatre, no one in Europe is a greater authority than Max Reinhardt. It would be well for Bengali stage-architects to study him and try to understand his methods which have proved so successful in Europe and America. If the Bengali stage is to develop on modern lines and to obtain a more general recognition, it will have to keep in touch with the modern developments in European stage-craft and incorporate some of its new ideas and experiments into its own main lines of development. Tagore's contempt for external action and machinery will never help towards the achievement of a real stage-technique in Bengal.

A CONFUSED SPECTACLE

The Bengali theatre of today presents an interesting but rather a confused spectacle. There has certainly been what we may regard as post-war reformation but there is a lack of a consistent policy and firm imagination. A theatre guild has recently been formed under the name of 'Arts Theatre Limited' which owns the old 'Star Theatre' and claims as its greatest success of the season a very long run (three hundred performances) of a mythological play called 'Karnarjun'. Rabindra Nath Tagore recently gave them permission to stage 'Chira Kumar Sabha' (Bachelor's Club) a

dramatised version of an old work called 'Prajapatir Nirbandha'. Encouraged by the royalties he received as a result of this venture, he is contemplating allowing the company to produce a few other plays, both new and old. Of course, for Rabindra Nath to come in such close touch with the professional stage is undoubtedly a good augury for the future. But if the truth is to be told, the main efforts of the 'Arts Theatre Limited' have so far been directed to crush a new rising Bengali actor and producer, Mr. Sisir Kumar Bhaduri. Sisir Kumar was a professor of a Calcutta College and had already gained distinction as an amateur in many private performances. When he became a professional, one expected big things of him—an expectation which he has so far more than amply justified. Sisir Kumar is fighting single-handed against this theatre monopoly and it seems something of a tragedy that he should be the only man on the Bengali stage today who possesses zeal, ability and imagination. He has education, experience and strength of character. He has all the qualities that make a good actor—personality, technique and temperament. He is a thorough student of modern European stage-craft and judging from his very recent productions, notably that of Ksirod Prasad Vidyabinod's 'Alamgir' at the 'Alfred Theatre' and of 'Pundarik' and 'Sita' at the 'Natya Mandir', he has shown distinct originality in the art of production. He attends to accuracy of detail and perfection of technique. He keeps his eye on the setting against which his men and women are to stand and he knows how to handle his material so as to produce a harmony between the play and its atmosphere. He does not employ the stock-in-trade of the older stage-practitioners, and he is developing a new style which may become the approved style of the new age. Great actor as he is, he insists on simplicity and naturalness. He shuns declamation and vociferation; he does not shout and gesticulate like 'Dani Babu,' of the older school but speaks his words with wonderful clarity and precision, with his eyes as well as his lips. He has taught his men and women to say

momentous things in the most simple, natural and off-hand manner. Under his influence, his actors and actresses have broken away from traditional behaviour and artificial mentality. In fact he is trying to permeate his actors and actresses with the simplicity and naturalness of his own style, so that quite a new type of actor and actress is rising in Bengal today. It still remains to be seen how far he will be successful in his new method of production.

THE PROBLEM OF ACTRESSES

One great obstacle to the improvement of the Bengali theatre is the objection of the Hindu community to actresses' parts being taken by women of good social standing. But ideas are changing and it is quite likely that the social ban will be lifted some day and that actresses will be recruited from all sections of society. When that happens, the Bengali theatre will have more dignity and moral prestige and its taste and tone and atmosphere will be vastly improved. In Rabindra Nath's plays, boys and girls act together without constraint in public performances, and this kind of thing is not condemned as morally bad as it might have been fifty years ago. Another and still greater drawback of the professional stage is its conservatism in matters of dress and costume. The managers only too often spend money recklessly on merely ostentatious and gaudy dresses which are absolutely unsuited for the time and circumstances of the play. It was not very long ago when Giris Chandra's 'Praphulla' was staged at the 'Star Theatre,' the dress of a jail-prisoner in the play was funny to the point of being ludicrous. Then there is that absurd combination of English blouse, Benarasi 'sari' and Hindustani slippers for the dress of a 'Queen.' Soldiers, porters, courtiers and citizens are most indifferently dressed. Rajput, Pathan or Mogul dresses are invented without the slightest regard to even the historical information available about them. In Pauranic plays, of course, there is no possibility of knowing what the legendary heroes and heroines used to wear,

but the producers ought to exercise their own imagination instead of dressing up their men and women in the most fantastic costumes of the present day.

THE PROFESSIONALS

But by far the greatest obstacle to the development of the Bengali drama is the narrowness and ignorance of the professional actors and actresses. They are so stiff and so self-conscious and so tied down to the crude technicalities of their life that they can never step out of their theatrical roles. If they could only get in touch with real life and find themselves in a world quite different from their own, the Bengali stage would be richer in experience and outlook. But the professional theatre in Bengal is dominated by one great superstition, that an actor has his appropriate type of part and must never be cast for another of a different sort. He may change his tailor, but never his mask or method, as he moves from one play to another. And even a play will be found for him that will just suit his part. In fact, this largely explains why the majority of the Calcutta theatres today are dominated mostly by the plays of the old masters. It can scarcely be otherwise so long as the theatres are in the hands of a small group of veteran professionals of the old school. The managers do not show the slightest regard for public sentiment and continue to stage only such plays as will allow their permanent stars to make good in their respective roles. All that is wanted to remedy this state of affairs is that playgoers should show more independence and courage of conviction. If they support new ventures, new amateur companies, new authors and new experiments, the traditional monotony of the professional stage will be broken. We must have reverence for big things and big artists, but we must not allow tradition to become a fetish. We must beware of too much reverence for Giris Chandra or Dvijendra Lal. Their works must be treated as things to be experimented with, and must not be continually produced in the traditional manner of the old school. There

is no knowing when a single good play may be written, but good play will not follow good play unless three factors co-exist: people who can write good plays, people who will produce good plays, people who will go to see good plays. With the death of Giris Chandra and Dvijendra Lal, the first great epoch of the Bengali theatre came to an end. Their plays cannot possibly hold the modern stage for an indefinite period of time. So it would be the height of indiscretion on the part of a modern producer to feed his audiences night after night with one or other of the old masterpieces. The younger generation will have to furnish plays of its own time, to be acted by men and women of its own time, before the people of its own time. It should be the ambition of the theatre-technician to provide in his stage an artistic medium which shall not only give greater freedom of production to old masterpieces but clear the way for new dramatic works and enterprises. The stage must become the centre of sound, the centre of light, the centre of colour and the centre of the affection and enthusiasm of the audience. In this alone lies the hope of a good future for the Bengali drama. That hope can only be fulfilled in a durable and permanent alliance between actors and playwrights on the one hand, and producers and stage-practitioners on the other. The scientific and artistic possibilities of the Bengali theatre under these conditions will be unlimited.

Kalaprapurna Venkataraya Sastry

BY G. V. SUBBARAMAYYA, M.A.

The life-career of Kalaprapurna Vedam Venkataraya Sastry Garu¹ covering over seventy years has been so rich in varied experiences, and his genius is so many-sided, that it is impossible to deal adequately with either the one or the other within the brief space of an article. What I propose to do, therefore, is simply to bring out the most striking features of the genius and the personal character of the Kalaprapurna.

A LITERARY HERCULES

What impresses us most with regard to his genius is its stupendous, almost superhuman dimension. He is truly a literary Hercules, perhaps the last of the giants' race. This is seen not only in the mass of his output, but in the very nature of his undertakings. The editing of more than two dozens of leading classics in Telugu and Sanskrit with the most exhaustive notes and commentaries, the translation of some seven first-rate Sanskrit dramas and of 'Katha Saritsagaram,' and the composition of three original plays and some ten other Telugu works, are for sheer mass sufficient to impress one with the magnitude of the Kalaprapurna's genius. But our wonder must be considerably enhanced when we learn that the above include many a work which singly might have been the

¹ It is quite laudable that the 'Triveni' should invite contributions giving accounts of the great living authors who have achieved classic fame in Telugu Literature; and I particularly thank the Editor for giving me this opportunity of paying my humble tribute to one, to whom for the most part, I owe what little culture I possess in Telugu and Sanskrit.

life-achievement of an individual,—nay of a whole academy—and might be enough to ensure its author's immortality. Such are, for instance, his commentary on 'Megha Sandesam,' the editions of 'Naishadham' and 'Amuktamalyada,' the 'Prasanna Raghava Vimarsha' and at least one of his original dramas, the 'Prataparudriyam'. His genius is cut out for great achievements; and his 'giant-nerve' does not feel satisfied unless in grappling with the mightiest issues. The editing of the toughest classic such as 'Amuktamalyada,' the writing of a ten-act play 'more epic than drama,' or the valiant fighting single-armed against a whole army of pundit-opponents, alone affords proper exercise for his high talents. The rest is for him a mere child's play. We have it on his own authority that he wrote many translations and even original works of lighter vein by way of recreation and relief in the intervals of serious pre-occupation with a principal concern. A bubble of a lyric, a sentimental short-story, a sketchy farce, a rambling causerie are not in his way. Only a Colosseum would his art like to construct or reconstruct; only an Ilium would his shafts care to demolish.

DEPTH OF LEARNING

Another striking feature of his genius is the depth and soundness of his learning, and what go with it, an exquisitely refined taste and the keenest critical sensibility. He began by mastering Sanskrit, both grammar and literature, and thus equipped, he took up Telugu and cultivated it as widely and intensively as the former. His splendid success as an author and critic may be accounted for chiefly by two factors. One is his right procedure in first acquiring a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit grammar and classics, which is a necessary pre-requisite and sure foundation of all other knowledge. The other factor is his acquisition of a sound education in English. He confessed to me many a time that for his skill and refinement as a teacher, author and critic, he owed not a little to his



Kalaprapurna Venkataraya Sastri

English learning. He is by no means a blind admirer of old methods and models. Nothing is dearer to his heart than to assimilate whatever is good and beautiful in Western culture. Only he insists upon a foundational knowledge in whatever subject you may have chosen. He would himself never agree to play the dilettante, nor would he allow others to do so. The well-known definition of genius as "an infinite capacity for taking pains" is fully borne out in his case. He was thus best fitted to give the right lead in criticism or creative art, by upholding good taste, propriety and sound critical canons in everything, and by opening up new, fruitful avenues in literature. At a time when the decadent 'Prabandhic' school banished all higher imagination, originality, naturalness and truth from Telugu Literature, our Kalaprapurna entered the field and rendered yeoman service by setting up the right standards. In prose, poetry and drama, he has, by his example and precept, fought ruthlessly against servile imitation, sensuality, low taste, and the stereotyped, artificial diction set up as the fashion by the 'Prabandhic' cult. Like so many other innovators, he has had to incur great unpopularity, but he has braved it quite heroically and is now rewarded with the satisfaction of knowing that his ideals of art and his critical opinions have been fully vindicated by time. He has moreover an amazing power of penetrative insight into the poet's heart ('Kavi hridayam'), which has stood him in very good stead, in revising old, unsatisfactory texts of ancient authors, and commenting upon them. I am not exaggerating when I state that but for his labours in this direction, many invaluable Telugu works, which he has practically recreated for us, would have perished unregarded or unknown. Though literature as his chosen subject has been the main field of his devoted labours, his marvellous industry, sympathetic imagination and penetrative insight have borne equally beneficial results in other fields as well, into which circumstances compelled him to stray. The controversies concerning the Social Reform movement

forced him to explore the 'Smrities' and the 'Dharma Sastras,' so that we have from his pen, the most authoritative exposition of the Shastraic view-point. The commentary upon the 'Amuktamalyada' a work mainly devoted to the extolling of the Visishtadvaitic philosophy, necessitated a deep study of the Vedas, the 'Brahma Sutras' and the 'Upanishads' with their different 'Bhashyas'; and thanks to his labours, we are furnished with the most lucid interpretation of the different systems of Hindu philosophy, with an amazing wealth of quotation and reference inaccessible even to the professional philosopher. These and other commentaries he undertook have familiarised him, and through him the readers, with the most ancient authorities on Indian Politics, Economics, Ethics, Astrology etc.

ORIGINALITY AND INDIVIDUALITY

Another remarkable feature of our Kalaprapurna's genius is his extreme originality and individuality which are the obverse and reverse of the same thing. His individuality is best illustrated in his style both in prose and verse, which quite fulfils the oft-quoted definition that "style is the man." Succinctness, precision, transparent lucidity, avoidance of superfluous ornament, and the consequent strength and beauty are the chief merits of his style. It is like a highly polished mirror for the complex hues of thought. It is like the pole-star whose identity you never mistake. He is not content in his plays with merely dramatising the materials handed to him by legend or tradition, and in his comments and criticisms with merely standing by the classical rules. In the one case, he invariably develops the plot in his own way, and either creates new characters, or elaborates or strikingly modifies the old ones. In the other, he seeks to apply the classical rules to modern conditions of art, and attempts a *rapprochement* between the Western conceptions and ours. Either way, we unmistakably see his originality and individuality at work. In his 'Prataparudriyam,' his 'Yugandhar' and

the washerman are brilliant elaborations of faint figures furnished to him by crude tradition, while 'Chekumuki Sastry' and 'Vidyanadha Kavi' are his own. Besides, the conception and execution of that marvel of a plot which might do credit even to Ben Jonson, are also his own. His advocacy of 'gramyam' (the spoken dialect) for low characters in drama, shows his skill in interpreting old rules and conventions, so as to find in them a true aid for the solution of modern problems. He has not only kept himself abreast of the current of literary culture, but fed it with his own tributaries. In every field in which his genius has ranged, it has not only pushed to the utmost bounds of knowledge, but advanced the bounds themselves perceptibly. Of him indeed, it may be truly said that "he touches nothing but he adorns it."

HIS GIFT OF HUMOUR

As another striking feature of the Kalaprapurna's genius, I would mention his gift of humour. If his learned lectures are able to attract vast crowds and keep them spell-bound, if his dramas containing profound art and psychology are such a phenomenal success, if his subtle expositions of points of purely academic interest are so widely read and richly relished, if, in short, the weight of his erudition does not press him down but sits upon him lightly and gracefully like a flower, it is not a little due to his humour. While it adds poignancy to his satire, it imparts an agreeable flavour to all that he says; it acts as the motley beside the tragic hero; it not only relieves the strain of following up an abstruse discussion, but heightens our interest in the same. It no doubt makes his attacks as in 'Prasanna Raghava Vimarsha' all the deadlier in their effect upon the victim, like poisoned arrows. But how much less attractive would his 'Prataparudriyam' become, in the eye of the common people at any rate, without the humour of the washerman and the sepoys? Who could muster patience and bear the strain of breaking into the impregnable fastnesses of that formidable 'Amukta-

malyada,' or of treading upon the thorns and briers of Shastraic controversy, but for the beckoning flashes of the critic's wit and humour with which they are interspersed? Who would agree to swallow the bitter pills of grammar and formal rhetoric but for their coating of his sugared humour? To sum up, his humour gives his speeches and writings their peculiar quality; it forms the main source of their irresistible charm; and thus, it serves to bridge the gulf between the unapproachable learning of the Kalaprapurna, and the common sense of the laity.

Before concluding this part of my article, I must confess that however long I may draw the list of our Kalaprapurna's qualities, something still remains unsaid and inexpressible, and that genius being a divine gift, baffles all attempts at exhaustive analysis. I shall therefore content myself with saying that the Kalaprapurna's genius comprises the above qualities and that 'enlivening spark' which fills the gap, and fuses them all into one, and which goes by the equally mystic name of 'Personality.'

AS A TEACHER

Coming to the personal traits of the Kalaprapurna, I think I will not be wrong in mentioning first his excellence as a teacher. Not only did he adorn the teaching profession for more than a quarter of a century, but he realised his highest joy, nay, he discovered his very soul, in teaching. He had in him the making of the best teacher. He possessed the gifts of lucid and arresting presentation, unfailing memory, unbounded resourcefulness, irrepressible humour, and the capacity of unrelenting discipline. A great genius as he was, he never spared any pains to be of use to his students. He had and has a genuine affection for youth, perhaps natural to a poet, and even now, though retired, semi-blind, decrepit, and fallen on evil times, he cannot pass a day without surrounding himself with boys and 'old boys' and leading them gently into the ever-fresh Elysium of Letters. His striking

success as a teacher may be measured by the deep, abiding love, bordering on adoration, which his old and present pupils without exception cherish for him. Along with a great English poet, our Kalaprapurna would declare: "I wish to be regarded as a teacher or as nothing."

Another feature which goes with his skill in teaching and in great measure accounts for it, is his passion for study. As no one can rule who cannot obey, no one can be a great teacher, who is not at the same time an earnest student. Not only does the Kalaprapurna never weary of poring over his favourite classics, but he welcomes with avidity the latest offerings to the Muse. When recently I expressed incredulous surprise at his regret that owing to his failing eye-sight he could no more read 'Sakuntala,' he emphatically asserted, "Yes, I mean sincerely, my real study of that work is just beginning." He has however no liking for aimless, idle reading for its own sake. The same book he may read again and again, but each time with a definite purpose. A couple of years ago, he was reading the Telugu 'Bharatam' I do not know after how many times,—and he informed me that he was studying it from the view-point of grammar. Like Browning's 'Grammarians,' he would not mind devoting a whole life to laying, by incessant study, the foundation of future knowledge; his faith in the continuity of the Soul's progress is as lofty as that Grammarians'.

AS CONVERSATIONALIST

Having so long fed upon the ambrosia of our Kalaprapurna's conversation, I cannot here omit to eulogise his greatness as a talker. His company and talk put me in mind of the immortal meetings of the Literary Society, presided over by another Doctor of Letters, very like our Kalaprapurna in many respects. Only a Boswell is wanting to give a faithful picture of this mighty scholar, unbending, mirthful and reminiscent. A literary dictator like Dr. Johnson, he too is revered and listened to with rapt attention; his ever-new jests bear repetition for all time; his anecdotes are numberless; his manner of narrating them makes the scene

live before you again; and you witness too, a 'terrible buffeting' of social reform and literary imposture. But behind them all, is a like gift of laughter, of heartiness and geniality, arising from a simple, believing heart. Of him also, it may be said that "he has nothing of the bear but his skin." From a distance, he may be dreaded as the 'king of the beasts'; but at close quarters, he is loved as a 'friend, philosopher and guide.'

At this point, I wish to clearly state that his opposition to the old order of social reformers ought not to be understood to mean that he was an orthodox bigot and obscurantist. He told me many times that he felt called upon to measure swords with the social reformers, not because he was opposed to all reform, but as he found them tearing the scriptural passages out of their context, torturing them to yield a meaning suited to their purpose, and in many cases, guilty of literary dishonesty. He was concerned with pointing out that the passages in question could never yield the meaning wanted by the reformers; if in this particular, he found himself in agreement with the blind Sanatanists, it was only an accident. On the other hand, he is at one with all those who frankly maintain that the old Smrities will not do under the changed conditions of modern life, and that the *illuminati* of today must put their heads together to so modify them as to bring our nation into line with the advanced communities of the world. He went further and told me that if such a 'Parishad' could be formed, he would gladly contribute his mite to make it a success. Only he cannot approve of the philosophy of every individual doing what he likes. He is afraid that liberty in that case would degenerate into license, and that society would be disintegrated in no time.

LOVE FOR TELUGU

In conclusion, I should like to mention one aspect of our Kalaprapurna's character, that is not often fully comprehended. If only he wished, he could have done much of his work in Sanskrit and gained an all-India

fame, if not world-renown. If he is little known outside the Andhra Province, it is because he has chosen the medium of the Telugu language, and has published even his Sanskrit works in the Telugu script. This sacrifice on his part has been as deliberate as it is heroic. I need not say how much to this circumstance we owe the dissemination of culture among our Andhra brethren of whom only a very small percentage knows Sanskrit and the *nagari* script. His personal loss has thus been the country's gain; and in thus sacrificing his personal preferment, he has shown himself a genuine lover of the Andhras, a true patriot.

FALLEN ON EVIL DAYS

I wish to end with a prayer and an appeal. Like Tennyson's 'Ulysses,' our Kalaprapurna has already 'become a name.' His life-task has been accomplished. A high pedestal has been already reserved for him in the Temple of Immortality. Though he is "not now that strength which in old days moved earth and heaven," there is still in him that 'grey spirit,'

"Yearning in desire,

To follow knowledge like a sinking star,
Beyond the utmost bound of human thought."

May the Almighty therefore spare him for us for many years more, to serve as a living fountain-head of inspiration and enlightenment to the rising generation, if not to deck the Goddess Saraswati with some more brilliant ornaments of his making! May this evening of his life be attended by all happiness and serene tranquillity!

It must be pretty well-known, that like the great English poet Spenser, and our own Sreenadha, the Kalaprapurna in his old age is forsaken by the Goddess Lakshmi, never too kind to him before, and is subject to the attentions of her Elder Sister¹. This is the price he is now paying for the robust independence that has throughout distinguished

¹ The Goddess of Evil Fortune.

his life. All true lovers of culture, and the Andhras in particular, have therefore a sacred duty to discharge. There have been too many cases of the dear and the great being encumbered with post-mortem honours and costly memorials but being cruelly neglected while alive. May we escape from this charge in the present instance at least, by contributing with a free hand to place our Kalaprapurna above want, and thus making him feel that his services and sacrifices have been duly appreciated!

India's True Heritage

BY DEWAN BAHADUR K. S. CHANDRASEKHARA AIYAR

Every race has a life-spring of its own, which shapes its character and texture, and on the preservation of which depends its continued existence and individuality. An instance of this leaps to the mind. It used to be the fashion not so very long ago to refer to the Turkish Empire as the 'sick man of Europe,' and to predict his early expiry which was eagerly looked forward to by greedy neighbours. With the shedding, through trial and suffering, of the elements of weakness and corruption, the sick man has revived miraculously, and is being borne on the wings of new ideals and aspirations to higher and healthier levels of national existence.

It may not be quite so appropriate to speak of Mother India as a sick person, though some foreigners seem to take delight in bringing together all sorts of evil details, real or imaginary, concerning her condition. Her constitution, built up and sustained by deep reserves of inner vitality, has been too strong to be seriously undermined by a continuous succession of adversities and sufferings such as would have destroyed the existence of any other civilization. She has been for centuries bound in fetters forged by a variety of causes which have helped and re-inforced one another. For one thing, her people have progressively declined in physical energy, partly owing to climatic conditions and unhealthy customs and modes of life, and partly to economic conditions, increasing poverty and the stress of living. Even more serious is the spiritual poverty consequent on the relaxation and weakening of the ancient ideals of duty and mutual helpfulness, and the absence of fresh ones tending towards unity and the true civic spirit amidst modern conditions, to counterbalance the operation of selfish and material motives.

This has been aggravated by excessive mental inertia, the product of ignorance and superstition on the part of the masses, and the obsession even of the intelligent classes by custom and tradition without reference to their utility and reasonableness, and blind unthinking obedience to external authority,—an inertia sufficiently indicated by the general inaccessibility to new ideas and a marked lack of enterprise. No wonder that these and other factors have always attracted and facilitated foreign invasions, culminating in the establishment of the rule of the strongest European power within the last hundred and fifty years.

One result of the British connection was that India became indoctrinated with Western ideas and methods. This, of course, was not without its advantage specially in that English education introduced new and valuable cultural elements, and gave impetus and a widened outlook to the Indian mind. But, at the same time, it led to an almost complete neglect of the inherited culture and learning of the land, of its language, literature and religion; the minds of the educated, filled with borrowed ideas, lost the power of originality and became grossly imitative; and the soul of India, which could alone hold the people together, became starved. It is a true saying that we can never be strong through others' souls, great though they may be, and that, while life may be roused from without, action must proceed from one's own vital self. Western civilization was useful in so far as it helped to rouse India from its crust of inertia to new life; it became harmful when it attempted to supplant the civilization and to suppress the soul of India.

As a matter of fact, a marked reaction set in towards the end of the last century, and has been gathering force with the passing of the years. It has been noticed that young Indians educated in Western ideas imbibe a spirit of political freedom from the study of European and especially English history and the stirring accounts of how other peoples have achieved their political emancipation. The Indian imagination has been stirred by the example of

Japan with her triumphant westernization and her sudden rise to the first rank among the great powers of the world. In recent years, the events of and following the Great War have given a strong stimulus to the natural desire of all peoples for self-government. Simultaneously with these tendencies, there has also been a reaction against the Western bias as such and in the direction of a renaissance of ancient Indian thought. India, according to a recent English writer, turned back wistfully to the glories and learning of Her past, and soon the conviction spread that, in Her own resources of philosophy as well as of social and religious institutions, India could find all she needed for her regeneration. And he adds that the question arose whether the right ideal was a reversion to an imagined golden age, or to press forward to a modern State, with the help of science, or organization, and representative government. This, however, does not give a quite accurate idea of the forces at work: it was not simply a question of giving up foreign things and borrowed ideas, and going back to the indigenous things and the ideas of olden time; it was not even merely a revolt of 300 millions against the dominance of a few score thousand foreigners; it was also a spiritual revolt and upheaval, a deep searching of hearts and minds. It began to be borne in more and more upon the thoughtful and the earnest that India must be on Her guard to preserve Her individual uniqueness, unless She was content to be assimilated to others and thus to lose Her own Soul. And where could She gain the strength, the inspiration, to save Herself, except from Her own cultural inheritance? No individual and no race can continue truly to live except by being himself, by being itself, and not as a mere reflection of others. India must therefore, in order to live, be faithful to Herself.

This, however, cannot mean that She should obstinately cling to everything that is old; that is the very course that has crushed the Soul of India under a mass of dead tradition; and it is nearly as bad as to cast aside everything which has come down from the past and to imitate slavishly

the ways and ideas of the West. We have to discard without compunction the dead, injurious, valueless part of our heritage; and while retaining all that is good and useful, all that is essential and permanent, make the same once again a living inspiration, and not a fetish to be blindly worshipped and followed. And, undoubtedly, we should at the same time welcome with eagerness new ideas, new truths, new sources of inspiration, whencesoever they may come; we should not simply swallow, but assimilate them, and make of them an integral portion of our life and culture.

This takes us on to the question, what then is our true heritage, the vital, essential and permanent part of our inheritance from the past? The answer, as given by a living Teacher of today, is emphatic. It is none other than that genius for liberation which is at the root of the Indian nature, that profound detachment and sense of Reality which is still strong and living beneath the mass of accretions, and which has, in fact, kept the Soul of India from perishing in spite of darkness and oppression.

I should like to develop this point in some little detail. Those who have really made a study of India's wonderful religious and metaphysical system, have been the first to recognize her unique genius for grasping and expounding the realities behind the phenomenal world and the innermost meanings of life. India has ever been famed for her deep introspection and Indian thought for its wonderful quality of touching the root of things. Indian religion, as expounded in the Vedas and Upanishads and that crest-gem of philosophic literature, the Bhagavad-Gita, is a religion of eternity. Resting on principles which harmonize the World and God in one, it balances the claims of the life of the world and of the spirit in a manner which no other religion has done so fully and logically.

Now what are these basic principles? Essentially they are few and simple; and like the seed which has in it the potentialities of the mighty tree, they contain within a nutshell all that is necessary to develop and sustain a whole philosophy of life.

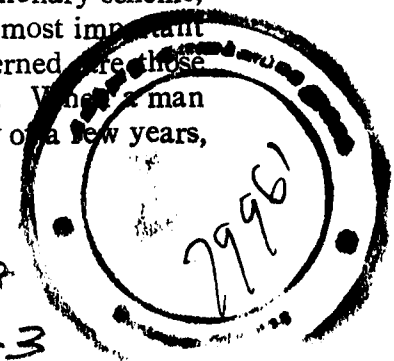
Thus they declare—not as speculation but as positive knowledge to be reached by all seers of the Wisdom,—that there is One Supreme Being, the Source of All. Hinduism teaches as a fact the unity of all things in the One Absolute Self, which is the only ultimate Reality. The material universe and all things and beings therein are expressions of this Eternal Spirit in time and space; they are finite forms or manifestations of the One Infinite Being.

Next, the inner Self of Man, though one in essence with the Supreme, has involved itself for necessary purposes of growth in matter; and thereby has become limited in nature and bound by personal interests and fleeting attractions. It thinks itself separate from its Divine Source, and separate from all other forms of life derived from the same Source. It puts itself forth into all manner of experiences in the search for happiness, but does not find anywhere real satisfying permanent happiness as distinguished from fleeting pleasures, until it learns to overcome selfishness and to merge the personal interests of the separate self in the common interests of the whole. It is when it conquers selfish desire and identifies itself with the Self of All, that it enters into the eternal Bliss which is its birthright, because it is of the very nature of the Supreme. The end of existence for man is therefore Self-Realisation, which is the same thing as liberation from the world of forms, from the bondage of matter, and conscious re-incorporation with the Divinity from which man has come.

The purpose behind the Divine manifestation, of which man's experiences are only a fragmentary part, may be stated as continuous evolution towards perfection, a process carried on in accordance with laws which are themselves the organised expression of the Divine Nature in time, space and matter. These laws, which embody the spirit of Divine Justice, and which directly subserve the evolutionary scheme, work themselves out in countless ways. The most important forms, so far as human progress is concerned, are those associated with Karma and Reincarnation. When a man realises that he is not a perishable personality of a few years,

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but an immortal fragment of the Divine Self, with an eternity of time and opportunity before him within which to achieve perfection, he sees that no other teaching than this can account so fully and satisfactorily for life's apparent inequalities, for the otherwise baffling mysteries of sorrow, suffering and frustration of effort. Far from being the plaything of blind forces or of a capricious deity, man is in truth the master of his own destiny ; for just as he has fashioned the conditions and environments of his present incarnation by the thoughts and aspirations, the actions and emotions, of the past, so may he now, by conscious effort, change them for the better by the same means.

Morality is that aspect of the Divine Law which concerns human conduct. Shortly stated, that which promotes individual and general progress, which develops the sense of unity, and conduces to liberation from the bonds of matter and the attainment of lasting happiness as distinguished from evanescent pleasures, is moral ; on the other hand, that is un-moral which retards progress, fosters selfishness and separatism, and leads to sorrow and suffering. The ultimate sanction of morality is thus the happiness which follows from harmony with the world-order, and the suffering which follows on opposition to it.

Universal brotherhood again, is a fact in nature, based on the identity of all separate lives with the One Life ; and the realisation of it in intellect and in conduct is both an essential part of morality and a sure help to the realisation of one's own unity with the Self of All and hence to liberation. The principle of brotherhood, if earnestly accepted and logically carried out, will also prove to be the most helpful and efficient basis of social and national life, the most powerful solvent of international difficulties. The sincere recognition of the fact that the interests of all humanity are bound up with one another will, indeed, completely change the aspect of life all over the world, and materially help to establish the reign of peace and happiness on earth.

There is, I may say, much confusion of thought among people with regard to the duty of renunciation. What the

great Teachers of the world have enjoined is not the renunciation of action as such, but that of the desire for the fruit of action, which is a very different thing. Desire for fruit binds the doer to the world of results where alone the fruit can be obtained, and is thus a hindrance to liberation. But when man realises the Supreme Consciousness in all things, and regards himself as a channel, or instrument, of that Consciousness, the desire for personal benefit is utterly burnt out. We should not, therefore, flee the world of action, nor ignore the supreme value of life both as the expression, however finite, of the Infinite Source from which it comes, and as affording the opportunity (the only one available to us) through which we may reach the goal. We may make the world itself the seat of liberation, and may in ourselves harmonize the Ultimate Reality and Its appearance. To feel for and help one's fellow-men, to serve one's country and race to the best of one's power, this is indeed real worship of God, perfect devotion to the Eternal Self in whom all of us live and move and have our being.

True progress and emancipation is thus seen to depend on inner freedom ; not merely material and political freedom, though that too is important, but freedom of the soul to pursue its chosen, its appointed, end. It implies a free and independent spirit which looks to itself to do its own work, and does it with courage, vigour and adherence to the great ideals of the race. As has been well said, a complete and free manhood is itself a part of true morality, and those who are politically and culturally dependent, by that very fact, show themselves devoid of it. It is this inner freedom for which we in India should strive, and attaining which we shall as a matter of course win political autonomy and all other external freedom, for it will mean complete '*Svarajya*' both at the source and in the onward current of the national life. And the way to attain such inner freedom is to rescue India's true heritage from the mass of accretions under which it lies buried, to give the deeper Soul of India freedom to express itself in all departments of national life.

Expansion of the Gupta Empire

BY PROF. V. RANGACHARYA

About the year 335 A.D. the founder of the Gupta Empire, Chandra-Gupta I, died, leaving a small territory extending along the Ganges from the borders of modern Bihar to the confines of Oudh. During the next hundred years, this small area was the nucleus of an empire which extended over the major portion of Hindustan and which rendered everlasting service to Hindu culture and civilization. During these 100 years, three great sovereigns—Samudragupta, Chandragupta Vikramaditya I, and Kumaragupta—wielded the destinies of the empire and, we may add, of Hinduism. At the end of this period, about the beginning of the latter part of the 5th century, the magnificent empire over which these sovereigns ruled began to decline for various reasons; and though the dynasty continued to hold power for nearly two centuries after it, the greatness of the empire had become a mere memory. In the present article and the next, the progress of the empire is rapidly traced.

SAMUDRAGUPTA (Circa 335-80).

The immediate successor of Chandra-Gupta I was his son Samudragupta. From the expression '*tatparigrahitah*' found in almost every inscription referring to Samudragupta, and from the express statement that his father was specially delighted at his achievements as a prince, we have reasons to believe that Samudragupta was not the eldest son, but selected from among several brothers by his father for the crown, in recognition of his valour and distinction. It has also been suggested that the expression '*Samudragupta*' was a later imperial title assumed by the new monarch and that his earlier name was 'Kacha'. A number of coins bear-

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ing the name 'Kacha' and exactly resembling the 'Archer' type of coins in legends, designs and scripts, issued by Samudragupta, are believed to indicate this identity. Very probably, as Alan suggests, Kacha adopted the imperial title of 'Samudragupta' after his conquests, the ending *Gupta* having been adopted in imitation of his father's name. In this case, what had been originally a mere accidental or clan designation, became a proud imperial one.

It may be pointed out here that it has been suggested by Dr. Hoernle that a Maharajadhiraja Sri Dharmaditya who figures in an inscription at Faridpur¹ in East Bengal was also Samudragupta, the title being analogous to '*Vikramaditya*' wielded by his successor. The arguments in favour of this view are: (1) the appropriateness of the title when applied to Samudragupta who is always described as a great '*dharmika*' and master of the '*sastra-tattvartha*', and (2) the use of the epithet '*apratirathah*'; but it is now agreed that the identification cannot stand. Mr. Alan points out that the seal of the Faridpur inscription—the '*abhisheka*' of Lakshmi, indicates a later dynasty and date. He further infers, from the analogy of later reigns, that the epithet '*parakramaditya*' would be more suitable to Samudragupta than '*dharmaditya*.' Above all, Dr. Hoernle himself² later on preferred to attribute the inscription to Yasodharman. We may therefore conclude that Samudragupta was quite distinct from *Dharmaditya*. With regard to the duration of Samudragupta's reign, we have already seen that Chandra-Gupta I was on the throne till perhaps about 335. Samudragupta, we know, was on the throne for a considerable period. The terminal dates assigned to him vary from 375 to 385. Vincent Smith has argued that Chandra-Gupta's marriage with the Lichchhavi princess took place

¹ See *Ind. Antq.*, Vol. XXI, pp 43-44. Dr. Hoernle gives the example of *ya* and *sha* to show the early date of the inscription, which resembles Gupta records in its beginning. It records a gift of land to Somasvamin of the Lauhitya-gotra and Vajasaneya-Sakha by a Vasudevasvamin for erecting apparently a *dharmasala*.

² J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 136.

probably about 308 A.D., in which case we may suppose that Samudragupta was less than 27 years of age when he came to the throne. However it might be, there is no doubt that Samudragupta had a long reign of nearly fifty years, during which period he made himself the greatest emperor of the period. We may attribute the end of his reign to between 380 and 385.

SAMUDRAGUPTA'S INSCRIPTIONS

The history of Samudragupta's reign has been entirely constructed from inscriptions and coins. One of the greatest figures in Indian history owes his name thus to modern research in entirety. Of the inscriptions, two only are available, directly concerning him.¹ The first of these is a posthumous record and inscribed on a pillar at Allahabad, which was discovered in 1834. The column is 35 feet in height and as old as the 3rd century B.C.; for it also contains an edict of Asoka. It is now a conspicuous monument in the Allahabad fort. From the fact that the Asokan edict is addressed to the rulers at Kausambi, it has been suggested by Cunningham that the pillar was originally at Kausambi and later on removed to Allahabad, just as the Asokan columns at Merut and Sewalik hills were removed in Mahomedan times to Delhi. If this were the case, the removal must have taken place after the 7th century; for Hiouen-Tsang, who was for such a long time at Allahabad, does not mention the column there. It is possible, however, to argue that it might have been omitted by him. The Gupta inscription is in the North Indian alphabet of the 4th century A.D., and of course in Sanskrit. It is not dated; but it describes Samudragupta, whom it panegyrises, as already dead. It was evidently, therefore, issued by his son and successor Chandra-Gupta II. The inscription is one of the most unique and valuable records in Indian history; for it gives a detailed list of the countries and peoples conquered by the emperor. The list

¹ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, Nos I and II A.

is neither chronological nor geographical; but there is some scheme in the arrangement which, as will be shown presently, is very instructive in regard to the character and constitution of the Gupta Empire. The record, moreover, is a *kavya* by itself and, as pointed out by Buhler¹, is one of the earliest examples of the style in which Kalidasa was a past master. The author of the *prasasti* was Harisena, who was by no means a mean poet.

The other inscription of Samudragupta is that of Eran, ancient Arikina, a village in Sagar District, Central Provinces. This record, which is unfortunately fragmentary, belonged to a local Varaha temple. It is in the Southern style of alphabet,—the box-headed style, as it is generally called. It also is in Sanskrit. The portion naming the monarch is spoiled, but from the terms of eulogy, we can easily identify him with Samudragupta. The record refers to Arikina as the city of his delight, and apparently commemorates the erection of the Varaha temple. As has been already said, Samudragupta's name is not available; but the record is exactly like Harisena's Allahabad *prasasti*. It has been suggested that the lavish distribution of gold referred to in it indicates the performance of the Asvamedha sacrifice and the engraving of the inscription at the end of the reign. In lines 12, 13 and 17, we have references to Samudragupta's conquest of all kings of the earth and his provision, by his own valour, of a dowry for his queen.

Mention should be made here of a spurious inscription of Samudragupta which was discovered at Gaya in 1883. This inscription² is now regarded as a forgery of about the 8th century A.D., though the seal (which contains the figure of a 'garuda' with outstretched wings and a legend in five lines read as 'Samudraguptah') is a genuine one. This record was issued from the royal camp at the city of Ayodhya.

It purports to be dated in the year 9 (328-329 A.D.),

¹ In a Vienna Journal, 1890.

² Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 60.

on the tenth solar day of an unspecified fortnight in the month of 'Vaisakha', that is, in April-May. It gives a brief recital of the genealogy of the dynasty and records the grant to a Brahman (Gopasvamin of the 'Bharadhvaja-Gotra' and 'Bahvricha-Sakha') of the 'agrahara' of 'Revatika' in the 'Gaya-Vishaya'. The deed is said to have been written by the order of Dyuta Gopasvamin, the *Akshapataladhikrita*, the officer in charge of legal documents.

It has been already pointed out that the Faridpur inscription of Dharmaditya cannot be attributed to Samudragupta.

SAMUDRAGUPTA'S COINS.

Next to inscriptions, coins form the chief materials for the construction of the reign of Samudragupta. Thanks to his great conquests, Samudragupta was able to issue a varied and plentiful currency in gold. There can be no doubt that Samudragupta acquired enormous riches and spoils in the course of his victorious career. There are at least eight types of gold coins (he issued no silver coins) struck by him. The earliest of them, which has been usually styled the 'standard' type, shows the immediate transition from, and imitation of, the Kushana type of coinage. We find in the obverse of this 'standard' type the figure of a standing king as in the Kushan coins. In the presence of the nimbate over the king's head, the close-fitting cap, the coat and trousers, the ear-rings and necklace, the possession of a standard (bound with fillet) by the left hand, the dropping of incense on an altar with the right hand,—in all these we find the Kushan coins imitated. The only change is that, in place of the trident, there appears a 'Garudadhvaja', which is quite natural in a monarch who was a devotee of Vishnu. There is also the figure of a 'garuda' with crescent above it. The reverse of the Gupta coin also reproduces the Kushana symbol of Lakshmi seated on a throne, with a nimbate over her head and with a loose robe, necklace and armlets. There is a fillet in her

outstretched right hand; and a cornucopia¹ in her left hand. Her feet rest on a lotus, and the whole is surrounded by a border of dots. The Gupta coin is superior in workmanship to the Kushana coin. The 'dhvaja' type of coins has got, besides the above figures, legends both on the obverse and reverse. The obverse contains the expressions *Samudragupta* and *Samara sata-vitata-vijayo jita-ripurajato divam jayati* in the *upagiti* metre. The reverse contains the legend *Parakramah* (the valiant).

Besides the 'standard' type, Samudragupta issued as many as seven other types of coins. The first of these is known as the 'Archer' type. This became the commonest and most characteristic of the Gupta coins, as it was struck in imitation of Samudragupta, by his successors. It was a natural development of the 'Garudadhvaja' type. The king is standing. There is a nimbate above his head. He is dressed as in the 'standard' coin, but instead of the 'dhvaja,' he holds a bow in his left hand and an arrow in the right hand. The head of the bow rests on the ground. The reverse contains the figure of Lakshmi as in the 'standard' type. The legends in the obverse are *Samudra* beneath the left arm and the expression *Apratiratho vijitya kshitim sucharitaih divam jayati* (the unrivalled charioteer, having conquered the earth, conquers heaven), in the *upagiti* metre. The reverse contains the legend *Apratirathah*, (the unrivalled charioteer).

The third type of Samudragupta's coins is usually styled the 'battle-axe' type. Here, in the place of the archer or the standard, there is a battle-axe, *parasu*. In the obverse, the king stands with a nimbate, cap, coat and trousers, ear-rings, necklace and sword, and holds a *parasu* (axe) in the left hand. His right hand rests on the hip. To his left, there is a second attendant figure or dwarf, behind whom there is a crescent-shaped standard. The reverse contains the figure

¹ The cornucopia is an ornamental vase (*kalasa*) from which corn, fruit and flowers overflow. Lakshmi, as the Goddess of Plenty, is naturally represented with it. The term *cornucopia* means 'the goat's corn' which, as the corn of plenty, figures in the legend of Zeus.

of Lakshmi as in the types already described. The legends in the obverse are (1) *Samudra*, (2) *kr (Krtanta)*; (3) *Samudragupta* and (4) the expression *krtanta-parasur-jayat-yajita-rajajeta-ajitah* (the deadly axe conquers; the conqueror of invincible kings; the invincible), in *prithvi* metre. The reverse contains the legend *Krtanta-Parasu*. In a variety of this type, the king wears a sword and the boy something like a sword, and the standard has two fluttering ribands at the top.

A fourth type of Samudragupta's coins is the one bearing the name *Kacha*, to which reference had already been made. This is also a development of the 'standard' type. The obverse contains the usual figure of the standing king holding a standard in the left hand and sprinkling incense on an altar with the right hand. There is the legend *Kacha* as well as the expression (*Kacho-gamavajitya-divam-karmabhir-uttamair-jayati*) (*Kacha*, having won over the earth, conquers heaven by the best deeds), in the *upagiti* metre. In the reverse there is, unlike in the coins we have thus far studied, a standing instead of the seated Lakshmi. She wears a loose robe, holds a flower in her right hand and cornucopia in the left. Sometimes she stands on a lotus. There is also the legend 'Sarvarajochchhetta' (the uprooter of all kings).

The fifth type of Samudragupta's coinage is known after the figure of the tiger in it. The king stands wearing a turban, waist cloth, necklace, ear-rings, and armlets; and tramples on a tiger which falls backward on account of his shooting it with a bow in the right hand. The left hand draws the bow back behind the ear. Behind the tiger there is a crescent standard as in the battle-axe coin. The legend in the obverse is 'Vyaghra-parakramah' (valiant like tiger). The reverse contains the figure of a standing Lakshmi or Ganga on a *makara* (elephant-headed fish), wearing ear-rings, necklace, anklets and armlets. She holds a lotus in the left hand, but the right hand is empty and outstretched. There is also a crescent-standard to the left. The legend on the reverse is '*Raja-Samudraguptah*'.

The sixth is the celebrated 'lyrist' type. This represents the king with a 'veena' in his right hand. He is seated cross-legged wearing a waist cloth, necklace, ear-rings and armlets, on a high-backed couch, playing on the 'veena'. Beneath the couch is a pedestal, with the inscription *Sri-Maharajadhiraja Sri-Samudraguptah*. The reverse contains the figure of Lakshmi seated on a stool. She has a cap and jewels, besides fillet and cornucopia in her hands. Beneath, there is the inscription *Samudraguptah*. There are also three slight varieties of this type. The 'lyrist' type is of unique interest for the fact that the emperor is completely orthodox or Indian in dress, posture and environment. As Brown, Allan and others point out, the excellent modelling of the king's figure, the skilful delineation of his features, the ornate design and the careful attention to details, make this type the highest expression of the Gupta numismatic art.

In the seventh or 'Asvamedha' type of coins which were issued probably after 'the world conquest' of Samudragupta, the obverse contains the standing figure of a horse before the sacrificial post, which is surmounted by flags. Sometimes, there is a low pedestal below. Beneath the horse, there are the inscriptions 'Sri' and the expression *Rajadhirajah prithvim vijitya divam jayatyaprativarya-viryah* in *upagiti* metre. The reverse contains the figure of the queen standing. She wears a loose robe and jewels. Her right hand holds a chowry which goes over the right shoulder. Her left hand simply hangs by her side. To the left of her figure is a sacrificial spear bound with fillet. There is the legend *Asvamedha-parakramah*.

Lastly, the coins bearing the figure of Chandra-Gupta I and his queen (to whom he hands over a ring) in the obverse and seated Lakshmi in the reverse and the legends *Chandragupta*, *Sri Kumaradevi*, in the obverse and *Lichchavayah* in the reverse, might have been issued by Samudragupta; but more probably they were issued by Chandra-Gupta himself.

Such are the coins of Samudragupta. One peculiarity in them is the growing nationalism of the designs. In

Garuda, Lakshmi and Asvamedha, we find the growing tribute to pauranic Hinduism. The monarch becomes more and more dressed in the orthodox fashion. In the 'tiger' type, he is already seen in waist-cloth and turban. In the 'lyrist' type he is completely Indian in dress, in his cross-legged posture and his play on the 'veena'. In the 'Asvamedha' type, he figures as the complete supporter of the orthodox clergy; for the coins themselves, it has been suggested, were medals made for presentation to them. The scripts, the language, the subject-matter and other details indicate the Gupta pride in all the ideals and practices associated with the '*kshattria-dharma*.'

SAMUDRAGUPTA AS DESCRIBED IN INSCRIPTIONS

Before analysing the inscriptional records, it is advisable to see what they say in regard to Samudragupta in general, so that we can understand what sort of man he was. Samudragupta is described in very eloquent terms. He was a world-conqueror, whose fame spread everywhere. He was always accustomed to associate with learned people. He was the supporter of the real scriptural truths. By commanding the collective merits of learned men, he removed obstacles to beautiful poetry. He himself enjoyed, in the world of the wise, supreme fame acquired by poetic composition. He enjoyed the deep affection and regard of his father. His noble nature gave protection to the weak and the distressed. Doers of wrong were humiliated by his powers and made contented and loyal. His building was that of religion. His fame had the witness of the moon. His wisdom pierced the essential nature of things. As a compound of all virtues, he was a worthy subject of contemplation by the worthy. He was a hero of hundreds of battles, and had a body full of the marks of battle-axes, arrows, spears, pikes, darts, swords, lances, javelins, iron arrows, *vaitastikas* (?) and many other weapons. He restored numerous royal families after conquering them and got from them presents in the form of maidens, 'garuda' tokens, and territories. He rubbed out the

fames of other kings with the soles of his feet. His spirit caused the production of good and the destruction of evil. He could always be won over by devotion and obedience. He was a giver of hundreds of thousands of cows. A glorious personification of kindness, he was ever inspired by the desire to lift up the poor, the miserable, the helpless and the afflicted. He employed his officers in restoring the wealth of the kings conquered by his arms. He was a *Dhanada*, *Varuna*, *Indra* and *Antaka* rolled into one. He put to shame Indra's preceptor and Tumburu and Narada, his sharp and polished intellect, his choral skill and musical accomplishments. He established a claim to the title of *Kaviraja* by composing poetry which could have given subsistence for the learned. He was a mortal only in observing the human duties. Otherwise he was a god. His wealth in elephants, horses, grain and money was endless. He was emperor, 'Paramabhattacharaka', 'Parameswara', 'Maharajadhiraja', 'Apratiratha', the ruler of the sea-girt world. He was in short an ideal monarch.

ANALYSIS OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

We shall now analyse the inscriptional materials, of which the Allahabad pillar *prasasti* is the most indispensable. Though a large portion of the beginning of this inscription is lost, there is enough of it to show that, besides panegyrising the emperor in the terms described above, it gives accurate details of his political conquests and the extent of the empire. It opens with an eloquent description of the qualifications of the young emperor and of his selection as *yuvaraja* by his father in the presence of the whole court. It then proceeds to enumerate his conquests. First, he is said to have uprooted the chiefs Achyuta and Nagasena (line 13). He had him, who was born in the Kota family or dynasty, to be captured by his troops. He delighted, as a result of this, in the city which bore the name of Pushpa (Pushpapura). He then captured and released (line 19):

(1) Mahendra of Kosala; (2) Vyaghraraja of Maha-

kantara; (3) Mantaraja of Kurala; (4) Mahendra of Pishtapura; (5) Svamidatta of Giri-Kouttura; (6) Damana of Erandapalla; (7) Vishnugopa of Kanchi; (8) Nila-raja of Avamukta; (9) Hastivarma of Vengi; (10) Ugrasena of Palakka; (11) Kubera of Devarashtra; (12) Dhananjaya of Kusthalapura and other *Dakshinapatha* kings.

He then (line 21) exterminated, we are told, the following, besides many other kings of *Aryavarta*:

- (1) Rudra-deva; (2) Matila; (3) Naga-datta; (4) Chandravarma; (5) Ganapati-Naga; (6) Naga Sena; (7) Achyuta; (8) Nandin; (9) Balavarma.

The emperor then made all the kings of the forest countries (Atavika-rajās) his servants. He then compelled (line 24) these 'Pratyanta-nripatis' (frontier or neighbouring kings):

- (1) Samatata; (2) Davaka; (3) Kamarupa; (4) Nepala; (5) Kartripura; and 'other countries'

He then reduced:

- (1) The Malavas; (2) The Arjunayanas; (3) The Yaudheyas; (4) The Madrakas; (5) The Abhiras; (6) The Prarjunas; (7) The Sanakanikas; (8) The Kakas; (9) The Kharapatikas; and other tribes.

He was paid (line 23) various respectful tributes like personal service, presentation of maidens and 'garuda' tokens, the entrustment of their own territories for his enjoyment, and willing obedience by (1) The Daivaputras; (2) The Shahis; (3) The Shahanushahis; (4) The Sakas; (5) The Murandas; (7) The Simhalas; and (8) other islanders.

Lines 26—7 and 30 give the panegyrics of the emperor, already mentioned. Line 29 gives his genealogy and describes the pillar erected by him as an arm, as it were, of the earth proclaiming his fame as a conqueror of the world, as one who departed to Indra's world to enjoy its pleasures. Lines 31—33 conclude the whole with a reference to the 'Sandhivigrahaika Maha-Dandanayaka' Kumaramatya Harisena (the son of Dhruvabhuti Khadyatapakika, the devoted servant of the emperor) who composed the verses. It also refers to another

executive officer, Maha-Dandanayaka Paramabhattacharaka Tila-Bhattaka.

DR. FLEET ON THE ABOVE DOCUMENT

This very important record has naturally attracted the attention of the scholars engaged in the study of the dynasty. Dr. Fleet, with characteristic erudition, tried to identify some places and kings, but left the majority alone on account of the difficulty which they presented. For example, he acknowledged that, with regard to Achyuta and Nagasena, nothing was known. With regard to Pushpapura, he surmised that it might be either Pataliputra or Kanyakubja (which was also known as Kusumapura); he would surely identify it with the former but for the facts: (1) that no inscriptions of the dynasty have been found there till Skandagupta's time; (2) that Pataliputra is not expressly mentioned as the capital even in inscriptions of Chandra-Gupta II (which mention it) and (3) that the earlier inscriptions of the dynasty are seen more in the vicinity of the latter place. With regard to the Kota family, tribe or dynasty, again, Fleet was able to make no suggestion. With regard to Kaurala, he changed it into 'Kairala' and then corrected it into 'Kerala' on the ground that he knew of no place or city of the name of Kairala. By changing Kauralaka into Kairalaka and Keralaka, Fleet postulated the conquest of Kerala by the king. Pishtapura he identified correctly with Pithapuram in Godavari District. With regard to 'Giri-Kautturaka,' Fleet identified it with Kailas-Kotta on the Mahendragiri hill; but as, by this interpretation, Svamidatta would have to be made the king of two localities whereas the inscription uniformly mentions one, he was disposed to believe that Kottur was a Dravidian place¹ and that it was probably Kottur in Pollachi Taluk, Coimbatore District. The forest countries he identified with the lands between Madhura and Narmada,—practically modern Central India. 'Pratyanta-nripatis' he doubtfully interpreted as the frontier or neighbouring states. Lastly² he identified Erandapalla with

¹ Sewell's *Antiquities*, I, p. 222.

² J. R. A. S. 1898, p. 369.

Erandol in Khandesh district. To this list of identifications, we may add Kielhorn's equation of Kaurala with Kurala, that is, the Colair Lake.¹

DR. VINCENT SMITH'S ELABORATION

Dr. Vincent Smith gave flesh and blood to the theory on the basis of the identifications made by Dr. Fleet. Taking his identification of Kerala, Kottur and Khandesh, he added to the list by regarding Palakka as Palghat, Devarashtra as Maharashtra. As a result of this, he was able to make a connected theory of Samudragupta's conquests and raise him to the position of an Indian Napoleon whose arms were felt from the Himalayas to the extreme south of the peninsula. After subduing as many as eleven chiefs and kings of the Gangetic plain, as well as many forest tribes, monarchies and republics within and beyond the frontier, in short, after reducing North India, Samudragupta, says Vincent Smith, started on a splendid campaign to the land south of the Vindhyas. Marching through the area now forming Chota Nagpur, he continues, Samudragupta first attacked and reduced King Mahendra of Southern Kosala, then subdued the chiefs of the forest area between Orissa and the Central Provinces, one of whom was called Vyaghra-rajā, and then advanced southward along the coast. Vanquishing the chief of Pishtapuram (Pithapuram in the Godavari District) and the hill-forts of Mahendragiri and Kottura (Ganjam District), Samudragupta next reduced Mantaraja on the banks of the Colair lake (in regard to which he accepted Kielhorn's view) and the Pallava king of Vengi between the Krishna and the Godavari as well as the Pallava king of Kanchi, whose name was Vishnugopa. After subduing another Pallava chief named Ugrasena at Palakka (Palghat), Samudragupta turned to the north and began his homeward march along the West Dakkan, subduing on the way the kingdoms of Devashtra (Mahratta country) and Erandapalli (Khandesh).

¹ Ep. Ind., VI (1900-1) p. 3, foot note.

"This wonderful campaign which involved more than 3000 miles through difficult and unknown country", surmised Vincent Smith, "must have occupied a number of years." And he assigned it to the period ending with A.D. 340.

A DEFECTIVE INTERPRETATION

This roseate account has been found to be defective in several respects.¹ In the first place, the relative chronology of the conquests of the Gupta emperor as laid down by Vincent Smith is not supported by the inscription itself. He believes that the Southern campaign began *after* the conquest of North India; but the inscription mentions the Southern campaign first. And though there is nothing in the inscription to show that it adopted a chronological order, yet the presumption must be in favour of the priority of the Southern campaign in case other evidences do not conflict with it; and scholars like Prof. Dubreuil and Dr. Bhandarkar do in fact favour the theory of an earlier date for the march against the South.

Secondly, the interpretations of some of the geographical terms given by Dr. Fleet, Kielhorn and Vincent Smith, do not stand scrutiny. The expression 'Paishtapurakamahendragirikautturaka-Svamidatta' was interpreted by Dr. Fleet and Smith as mentioning Pithapuram, Mahendragiri and Kottur; but Prof. Dubreuil¹ points out there is no reference to Mahendragiri at all, and that the term should be translated as 'Mahendra of Paishtapura' and 'Svamidatta of Giri-Kotturaka' (that is, the fort of Kottura on the hill). The result of this interpretation would be that some of the perplexing elements in the political geography of Vincent Smith would be removed. Again, Erandapalla (or Airandapalla) was identified with Erandol in Khandesh by Dr. Fleet—a fact which was instrumental for the enunciation of the theory that Samudragupta visited

¹ These criticisms are found in Prof. Dubreuil's *Ancient History of the Deccan* (English version, 1920), p. 58 ff; and D.R. Bhandarkar's article in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*.

² *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p 59, para (2).

Khandesh on the way to his capital from his supposed conquests. And this was confirmed by the identification of Devarashtra with Maharashtra. But Prof. Dubreuil points out that, as the Allahabad inscription mentions Airandapalla next to the Kauttura¹ hill, it should be looked for on the coast of Orissa; and that, as a town of the name is referred to in later inscriptions near Chicacole, it must be located there.² In fact, Devarashtra is proved by later Eastern Chalukya inscriptions to be the country which included Elamanchi Kalingadesa,³ that is the country round Elamanchili in Vizagapatam District. Again, the identification of Kaurala with Kerala, Kauttura with Kottur (Pollachi Taluk) in the Coimbatore District and Palakka with Palghat, points out Prof. Dubreuil, is wildly speculative and incorrect. Kerala, it has been suggested, might be the modern railway station of Khurda⁴. Kauttura has been identified with Kothoor in Ganjam District; and Palakka⁵ with the Pallava capital of that name south of the Krishna, which figures in the early Pallava plates of the Nellore District. The logical result of this is that the theory of Samudragupta's going to the extreme South of the peninsula and turning westward as far as Palghat and Coimbatore, etc, vanishes into air. All places belong to the eastern coast of the Dakkan. The reference to Palakka and Vishnugopa, surmises Prof. Dubreuil, must have been to a confederacy of chiefs under the lead of Vishnugopa, the Pallava king of Kanchi, whose territory extended beyond the Nellore District as far as the Krishna. Samudragupta, therefore, probably did not even go as far as Conjeeveram,

¹ Ancient History of the Deccan P. 59, para (4)

² See Ep. Ind., vol XII, p 212, for a grant to an inhabitant of Erandapalli in the Chicacole region. The inscription is the same as C.P. No 4 of 1912-13 which is noticed in my *Topographical list* as VG. 68-A, where the correct identification of Erandapalli is noticed.

³ See VG. I in my *Topo. List.*, which is the same as C.P. No 14 of 1908-9, and Madr. Ep. Rep., 1909, p.p. 108-9.

⁴ By Dr. S.K. Aiyangar in his *Studies in Gupta History*, p. 27.

⁵ The Uruvupalli grant was issued from here. See Ep. Ind., Vol VIII, p 161.

SAMUDRAGUPTA'S REAL ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE SOUTH

From all these facts, it is clear that Samudragupta's campaign did not cover 3000 miles at all; that, on the contrary, it comprised only the province of Kalinga or Orissa as far as the Pallava kingdom. The Allahabad inscription does not at all "speak of Kerala, Pollachi, Palghat, Mahendragiri, Colair lake, Erandol in Khandesh and Maharashtra. All the kingdoms mentioned in the inscription are situated on the east coast of the Dakkan. The expedition was solely confined to the coast." Further, even this limited undertaking was not quite a success. It was in fact tantamount to failure, due either to the successful resistance of the Pallavas or to Samudragupta's necessity to go to the North in order to meet the rising of the Northern kings. In other words, the Southern campaign was not for establishing an empire after conquering Hindustan, but a preliminary and unfortunate attempt to reduce Kalinga, interrupted untimely by a rising in the North. "After all those rectifications that we have just made, the expedition of Samudragupta presents itself before our eyes in quite another form. It is no more a new Alexander marching victoriously through South India; it was simply the unfortunate attempt of a king from the North who wanted to annex the coast of Orissa but completely failed."

Prof. Dubreuil thus sums up his view of Samudragupta's achievements in the South:

"About 340 A.D. Samudragupta left his capital Pataliputra and marched directly towards the South. First he conquered Southern Kosala, where King Mahendra was reigning in the vicinity of Sirpur and Sombalpur. He then crossed the forests that are to the south of Sonpur and found there the small kingdom of Mahakantara, which means 'the great forest', and where the Vyaghraraja, the tiger king, was reigning. Then he reached the coast of Orissa. Mantaraja, king of Korala, Mahendra of Pishtapura, Svamidatta of Kottura, a citadel on the top of a hill, and Damana of Erandapalli tried to stop him,

but were captured. Samudragupta now prepared to make new conquests, when he was opposed by a confederacy of all the kings that reigned near the mouths of the Godavari and Krishna, the most powerful of them being Vishnugopa, the Pallava king of Kanchi. The other kings were Nilaraja of Avamukta (unidentified), Hastivarman of Vengi, Ugrasena of Palakka, Kubera who reigned in Devarashtra, and Dhananjaya whose capital was Kosthalapura. Samudragupta being repulsed by the kings of the Eastern Deccan, abandoned the conquests he had made in the coast of Orissa and returned home."¹

It may be added that the places mentioned in the inscription are not in geographical order. The Mahakantara on the borders of Orissa and Bundelkhand was apparently the northernmost territory in this list. Inscriptions of kings named Vyaghrarajas have been obtained in the 5th century from the vicinity of Ganj and Dachne in Bundelkhand. Its reduction by the Gupta forces earlier than the other parts is natural. But Korala (or Khurda station), Pishtapura, Kottura, Erandapalli, Kanchi and Devarashtra, are all mentioned promiscuously without any geographical order. Consequently it is difficult to say where the places Avamukta and Kasthalapura, unidentified as yet, have to be located. Kasthalapura, it has been suggested, might be connected with Kusasthali, a river south of the Krishna mentioned in the Tamil poem *Kalingattupparani*.² It might be either Koradala, eleven miles west of Sompeta in the Ganjam District, or any of the Kotapalles figuring in Ganjam (six miles south of Sompeta) Krishna and Nellore Districts, if the philological variation of 'Kosthalapura' into 'Kotapalli' in the course of ages is possible. With regard to Avimukta, it is only another name for Kasi and it must be some place in the coast named after the great centre of Hinduism. As the name of its local king is given to be Nila, and as Niladri is another name for Puri, one is tempted to connect Avimukta with that celebrated place in an earlier stage of its legendary greatness. But there is no

¹ Ancient History of the Deccan, p. 61.

² Dr. Krishnasami Aiyangar in his *Studies in Gupta History*, p. 27, note I.

definite warrant to place the Avimukta of King Nila so far North, though it is not impossible.

With regard to the kings who, according to Prof. Dubreuil, formed a confederacy under the Pallava king of Kanchi, one or two facts may be noticed. Mahendravarman of Pishtapura¹, Hastivarman of Vengi and Ugrasena of Palakka, have been distinctly mentioned by different writers to be Pallavas. A different version is that they were not Pallavas but feudatories of the Pallava empire which had its capital at Conjeeveram. Mahendra, it is now certain, was not a Pallava at all. He was not improbably the last of the 'Brihatpalayana' kings who was shortly after overthrown by the Salankayanas. Hastivarman might be a Salankayana, not improbably the immediate predecessor of Vijayadevavarman with whom began a list of four kings whose inscriptions, from about 350 to 450 A. D. are well-known. Ugrasena might be a Pallava chief, as we distinctly know that Palakka was a Pallava capital; or he might be the local governor under the Pallava rule. It is quite possible that all these chiefs were rallied by the Pallava king of Kanchi and made to oppose the Gupta invader. This surmise of Prof. Dubreuil is very probably correct; but it has to be distinctly proved that Samudragupta did not visit Conjeeveram.

SAMUDRAGUPTA IN ARYAVARTA

It is probable that Samudragupta's return to Aryavarta from the Dakshinapatha was caused by the rise of some kings against him there. It is the belief of some writers that it might be due to the fact that he was a younger son, but this is yet to be proved. It is also believed by some that it might have been led by Chandravarman of Pushkarana who, it is maintained, was also the issuer of the Susuniya rock inscription and, according to some, of the Miharauli pillar inscription too. It is true that the name 'Chandra' occurs in the list of opponents of Samudragupta, but there is no evidence to distinctly

¹ Godavari Gazetteer, p. 18 and p. 233.

connect him with Miharauli. But it is quite possible that Chandravarman, who was either the local king of Pokarna or Susiniya or both, rose against Samudragupta together with the others. Rudradeva has been indentified by some with Rudrasena of the Vakataka dynasty, but this is yet to be proved. With regard to the other chiefs—Matila, Nagadatta, Ganapatinaga, Nagasena, Achyuta, Nandi, Balavarman, etc.—we have reasons to believe that the majority of them were Nagas. The Puranas refer to Naga rulers at Padmavati (indentified with Padam Pavaya, 25 miles to the north-west of Narwar) and Muttra. Nagabhatta and Ganapatinaga are clearly Nagas. They might have been subordinate to Chandravarman of Susiniya. Nagasena and Achyuta seem to be repetitions. The coins of a chief named Achyuta have been discovered at Ahichchatra, and Samudragupta's opponent might be identified with him. We cannot say whether Samudragupta's victories against these were due to his own offensive or to their provocations. From the fact that he is said to have defeated Achyuta and Naga and taken back Pushpapura, we have reasons to believe that he began as a defender of his heritage, but passed on subsequently to the career of a victorious imperialist.

Samudragupta's reduction of Aryavarta under his sole imperial 'umbrella' can be divided into distinct stages. During the first stage, he dealt with the Naga and other chiefs who might have formed a confederacy against him, and carried the Gupta arms beyond the Jumna river in the west and across the forest lands, till the Vindhyan border in the south. During the second stage, Samudragupta engaged himself in the conquest of the frontier chiefdoms. These were Samatata in the Gangetic delta; Kamarupa further north; Davaka now forming the districts of Bhogra, Dinajpur and Rajshahi north of the Ganges; and the sub-Himalayan States of Nepala and Kartripura (which included Kumaon, Almora, Garhwal and Kangra). The third stage was the conquest or rather conciliation of the tribes—mostly Republican—beyond the Chambal, in modern Rajputana

and the Punjab, like the Abhiras of Rajputana, the Madrakas of the Central Punjab etc. The same was the case with the Shahs or Kushans of Kabul; the Daivaputras or the later Kushans; the Shahanushahis of Bactria; the Murundas of Sindh valley; and so on. All these were in friendly terms with the Gupta monarch. They were not subordinate chiefs, but were interested enough to be in very friendly terms with the new and growing empire.

It is thus obvious that the component States of the Gupta Empire did not belong to the same status. The empire proper extended from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas and from beyond the Chambal to the eastern basin of the Brahmaputra. The central portion of this was directly under the emperor; but some parts at least were feudatory chiefs paying tribute. Thirdly, there were the frontier or border States nominally paying tribute, but for all practical purposes independent. Still further beyond, were peoples and tribes who only had friendly communications with the emperor and who were in no way politically connected even in a subordinate capacity with him. The Western Satraps, the Kushans and Sakas of the West Punjab, Kabul and Bactria, the Vakatakas of the Dakkan and the Simhalas of Ceylon, seem to have been in this position. Even taking the parts of India which were directly and definitely subject to the emperor, it is clear that the empire of Samudragupta was extensive enough, though not so extensive as that of Asoka. Though much of the glamour of the 'Indian Napoleon' has been made dim by the iconoclastic character of later research, there still remains to his credit an achievement sufficient to give him the title of a magnificent empire-builder.

SAMUDRAGUPTA AS AN INTERNATIONAL PRINCE

From the fact that Samudragupta had diplomatic relations with the rulers of Gandhara, Kabul, Bactria and Ceylon, we are able to say that he had an international reputation. The communication with Ceylon is said to have begun in this way. King Meghavarna of that country,

who¹ it is certain, was on the throne about A. D. 350, sent two Buddhist monks to Gaya, but they did not find convenient places to stay therein. Meghavarna therefore sent pearls and other tributes to Samudragupta and won his sanction for building an excellent three-storied monastery for the benefit of Ceylon pilgrims to Buddha Gaya. The structure, which is now in the form of a mound, occupied the site north of the Bodhi tree under which Siddhartha became the Buddha. It is remarkable to note that Samudragupta, who seems to have had no direct dealings with the Tamil States, was in close touch with Ceylon. This seems to have been due to direct communication between the Dakkan and Ceylon. The story of the Kalinga Princess Hemamala and the tooth-relic of the Buddha, which is described in the *Mahavamsa* as having taken place in the 9th year of Meghavarna, seems to illustrate this. This Princess, we are told, fled from her country and her father's capital, Dantapura, in consequence of the invasion of a Yavana named Raktabahu; and after staying for sometime in the diamond sands near the mouth of the Krishna, sailed away to Ceylon, where Meghavarna welcomed her and built for her tooth-relic a shrine in the Maha-vihara which, together with the Abhayagiri Vihara, to which it was taken in procession, was ever after a scene of grand festivities lasting for three months every year. Fa-hien describes this festival in 412. We do not know who the Yavana invader was, but he might have been an officer of Samudragupta. In this case, we may suppose that Samudragupta's conquest of Kalinga led, thanks to the

¹ The chronology of Meghavarna has given rise to some confusion. The *Mahavamsa* says that he came to the throne in 808 A.B. This would fall in 325 A.D., if the Buddha's Nirvana took place in 483 B.C. In this case, Meghavarna would have ruled from 325 to 352 A.D. But there would be difficulty if the theory of the Buddha's Nirvana in 543 is accepted. Dr. Sylvain Levi would place the reign from 352 to 379. In his *Studies in Gupta History* Dr. S. K. Aiyangar is inconsistent and confused. Compare pp. 30—1 and 33. He seems to accept both the views, though later on he distinctly is for 352 to 379. The acceptance of this would place Meghavarna's embassy to Samudragupta about 361. The question cannot be considered to be free from doubt.

Kalinga Princess and the tooth-relic, to the establishment of friendly relations with Ceylon. The very embassy of Meghavarna might have been due to it.

The want of reference in Samudragupta's inscription to the Vakatakas of the Dakkan and the Tamil States further south gives rise to some interesting problems. Did he establish suzerainty over the Vakatakas? We have seen how, according to Prof. Dubreuil, he did not go to the Dakkan in his 'dig-vijaya.' One strong evidence in proof of this is the great power possessed by the Vakatakas in this period. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar suggests that Samudragupta might have been either on friendly terms with the Vakatakas or even conquered¹ them. He points out that, while Samudragupta performed Asvamedha, the contemporary Vakataka King Rudrasena I or rather his son Prithvisena I had no¹ imperial titles which their predecessor Pravarasena I had professed, thus indicating the transfer of imperial power from the Vakataka to the Gupta dynasty. Again, it has been maintained by some that Rudradeva of the Allahabad pillar inscription might be Rudrasena, the Vakataka; for, in a sense, the Vakataka king might be included among the Northern princes. On the whole, however, the exact relation between Gupta and Vakataka rulers in the period is obscure. The want of reference to Prithvisena I is perplexing. The material at our disposal is yet too scanty to throw much light on the matter. Samudragupta might have regarded the Vakataka kingdom as a buffer state between the empire and the region of the Western Satraps. We know that there were marriage relations between the two dynasties later on, and there might have been an equally friendly understanding in the time of Samudragupta. It is quite probable that the Vyaghrarajas of Bundelkhand acknowledged the rule of one or the other as convenience dictated.

¹ Dr. S. K. Aiyangar would place Prithvisena I from the last year of Chandra-Gupta I to a few years at least of Chandra-Gupta II. This seems to err on the side of exaggeration—at any rate in regard to the commencement.

So far as the Tamil States are concerned, we have already seen that no inscriptions refer to them. Some scholars have seen in the celebrated campaigns of Raghu, as described in the 'Raghuvamsa', an echo of the campaigns of Samudragupta. But we have seen that Samudragupta never went to the Kaveri region or the West Dakkan. The theory of Kalidasa's reproduction of Samudragupta's campaign was formulated at the time when Samudragupta was regarded as having conquered South India. We have, therefore, now to conclude that Kalidasa's description is not quite literal; that it was rather a poetic license; that the reference to the Kaveri, the Parasikas, etc., must be attributed to his geographical knowledge rather than treated as a fact of history.

SAMUDRAGUPTA'S GREATNESS

The new theory of Samudragupta's conquests, however, does not take away from him much of his greatness. The empire over which he directly ruled and the high international fame he had, made him eminently fitted to perform the Asvamedha, the great symbol of imperialism, the memorials of which we have got in his coins and in his imperial titles. As a temporal conqueror and as the supporter of 'Dharma', Samudragupta was undoubtedly the greatest man of his day. A great patron of religion and literature, an eminent artist and patron of arts, he must have impressed his contemporaries as much by the beauty of his character as by the efficiency of his valour. At once soldier, statesman, organiser, artist and man of letters, he was indeed a versatile genius. He must have been to the Brahmanical advisers of his court the very embodiment of Dharma. Samudragupta's achievements in the realm of peace in all its multifarious aspects cannot be dealt with here; but it should be stated that to him, more perhaps than to any other sovereign, must be given the proud and privileged position of the saviour of the Hindu culture at a critical time. His pre-eminent place in history is the discovery of archæology and epigraphy; and though the information afforded by these is substantial, still one feels very much dissatisfied with what is

available and hungers for more knowledge of one who is so great and so elusive.

We cannot exactly say when Samudragupta's reign ended. As he came to the throne about 335 and as he ruled for a long period—45 or 50 years, to judge from his coins—his death may be assigned to sometime between 380 and 385. Samudragupta's chief queen was named Datta Devi; and he seems to have had a number of sons by her and others; for we are told that he specially chose one of them, the later Chandra-Gupta II, to succeed him. This seems to indicate that this prince was not the eldest son. Unfortunately we have no details. But if Chandra-Gupta was in reality chosen by his father in preference to his elder brother or brothers, we must infer that Samudragupta added to his other talents a fine faculty for judging character; for Chandra-Gupta proved an excellent monarch and did no mean service for the empire created so skilfully and so efficiently by his father.

Our Banking Messiah II¹

BY PROF. B. RAMACHANDRA RAU, M.A.

While accepting some of the salient conclusions of Sir Daniel Hamilton, *viz.*,

- (a) that the paper-rupee is the most suitable monetary unit of the proposed system ;
- (b) that it should not be based on gold and silver ;
- (c) that the co-operative credit societies should be the machinery through which the money instruments are issued indirectly to the people ;
- (d) that paper created should be covered by goods or work in actual existence ;
- (e) that credit is the '*elan vital*,' the energising influence and integrating force of the modern State, political and economic ;

I believe that the organisation of the new monetary system should be on the following lines and pay heed to the lessons of our past experience.

As it is deemed advisable to provide for a better organisation of the monetary system, it has to be declared that the paper-rupee issued by the National Board of Currency Commissioners or a Central Bank shall by law be current as money within the Indian Empire. It shall also be declared lawful tender in all payments whatsoever. The present outward appearance of the paper-rupee note has given entire satisfaction and should continue to be so in the future, except that the minimum denominations of the paper-note would be one-rupee. Bills of exchange representing actual work, which are already used to a certain extent in

¹ This is the second and final article on Sir Daniel Hamilton's Free-paper Standard Scheme. The first was published in 'Triveni' for March-April, 1929.

the import and export business of our country, should be drawn on specific goods and all paper-rupees in future issued against such first-class trade bills alone. The co-operative banks should discount first-class trade bills and create this money which would be issued to them on the strength of such bills by the Central Bank or the National Board. This new authority will be issuing such paper currency from its office to the co-operative banks, which in turn place it in the hands of the real users of money. The quantity of money issued would not only be elastic but the automatic liquidation of bills at the end of the period would ensure the return of paper-rupees. The only business of the Central Bank would be to create the paper money against such bills arising out of purchase and sale of articles alone, and place it in the hands of the co-operative banks who endorse it before discounting the same at the hands of the National Board. The co-operative banks must also see that paper money is issued against such bills alone located definitely in its hands. If the market rate of interest is adjusted carefully to suit the demands of trade, agriculture and industry, the output of paper-money would be possessing the steady purchasing power of money. The price-stabilisation policy, mainly with the object of realising economic stability, has to be pursued by the National Board acting in co-operation with the co-operative banks and the existing banks, which would have to perform the same discounting of trade bills or agricultural bills or industrial bills. The rediscounting rate might be lower than the market rate so as to induce them to offer the highest class of bills for rediscounting.

Comprehensive publicity of the National Board's or the Central Bank's operations and efficient supervision by the Government would enable the new machinery to work smoothly. The profits arising out of this business should go to the Government who might spend it for securing the wider interests of the country. This is the kernel of the new scheme and so long as no single plank of the outlined reform is broken, sound money would result out of this suggestion.

MAIN POINTS OF DEPARTURE

The chief point of departure from Sir Daniel's outlined scheme is the adoption of the Government-guaranteed bank currency or national money. Mere Government currency is in no way superior to a Government-guaranteed bank note. The example of Government currency in the early days of the U.S.A. warns us against placing too much faith in the creation of value. The public had no faith in the 'continentals.' Even the legal tender laws could not make them circulate. "Fine, imprisonment, forfeiture of claim, outlawry and death" were the penalties decided upon to be meted out to those who refused to take the notes at their face value. But they were of no use. 'Not worth a continental' has become a famous English proverb.

Starting with the fundamental assumption that money is not capital but a ticket to make easy the transfer of capital for the main purpose of creating further wealth, it is absolutely essential to see that these tickets are not increased in any way without specific increase of goods, for, in the event of overissuing these tickets, the holder can get only a proportional dividend out of the stock of goods. A Government issuing money is apt to overissue it and bring about such a deplorable situation. Hence the Central Bank or a disinterested national machinery such as the National Board to issue the Government-guaranteed bank note or national money. The quantity of this money would be the natural outcome of economic conditions throughout the country. The interplay of these conditions *i.e.* the economic demand for currency and the totality of bank-note currency created would automatically fix the bank rate.

PERFECTING THE CO-OPERATIVE MACHINERY

Before the actual commencement of this permanent system for providing the national paper-money can be taken up in right earnest, the perfecting of the machinery of the co-operative banks has to be achieved. The present defects of the co-operative movement should be analysed by Provincial Committees set apart for the work of reconstruction.

As I have pointed out elsewhere¹, the three arms of the co-operative credit triangle need much strengthening. The co-operative financial arm, the non-official training, propaganda and supervision arm; and the Government arm of inspection and audit; has each its own defects which require early attention. Each arm consists of three parts. The co-operative credit arm is composed of the co-operative credit society, the co-operative Central Bank and the Provincial Apex Bank. The non-official arm consists of the supervising unit, the district federation, and the Apex Provincial Co-operative organisation society. These need immediate strengthening. Finally, inspection, auditing and liquidation, are the duties of the Governmental arm. If the different arms or limbs of the co-operative body do not harmoniously combine with each other, it is quite possible that there would be complete paralysis as in the case of the old parable—the man and the limbs.

DIFFICULTIES IN CHANGING THE CURRENCY SYSTEM

Even granted that the monetary instruments are perfected and the needed co-operative banking machinery is created, it must be remembered that the existing money system cannot be scrapped light-heartedly. The gold and silver hoards would lose value. As it is impossible to have a clean slate in the matter of monetary reform, the claims of these people must be considered. The position of the silver-rupee is in the present system illogical. It is a stumbling block even to the peaceful and steady return of the gold bullion standard. These difficulties would be aggravated thousandfold if neither silver nor gold is used as currency. The only possible thing is to think of their sale abroad, but the mere announcement of the Hilton-Young Commission's recommendations, though no actual 'dethronement of the rupee' was contemplated, pulled down the value of silver. Hence the sale of unwanted silver on a large scale without actually paring its value to a very great

¹ See my third edition of 'Present Day Banking in India'—Calcutta University.

extent is impossible. Nor can the new Central Bank or the National Board immediately take up the task of supplying at a fixed rate these new units as compensation for the present holders and as a means of averting possible loss to the stored-up energy in the form of precious metals. Even if it is attempted and even if it were possible to sell it gradually on the world markets in small quantities by means of the tender system, the value would still fall. There is no source that can be indicated as a desirable fund to withstand this loss. The gain to the Corporation of the National Board or the Central Bank would not be very great in the beginning. It would not be sufficient to act as a reservoir to bear this loss.

Most of the present day contracts and monetary claims are payable in gold or legal tender currency. Their value would be affected to a certain extent by the introduction of this reform. When doubts arise in people's minds as regards the soundness of the newly introduced paper, difficulties are sure to arise.

India should after all have a domestic gold bullion market. With the least sign of over-issue of inconvertible paper currency, a premium on gold would ensue. This would bring further discredit on the paper money in use.

If other countries do not adopt this self-same policy, as they are not likely to do, there would be danger to our society by rising prices or falling prices elsewhere. Tempted by falling prices, they may be led to sell stocks of goods in our country. If our price-level is kept steady, as it naturally would be if money is created only in due response to business needs, our exports might fall off. There would be increasing competition which our manufacturers would have to bear. Secondly, the foreign producers, though paid in paper, would go to the Central Bank or the National Board and get it converted into foreign exchange which would be useful for their own domestic uses. Thus a drain on the foreign exchange resources of the currency authority would ensue.

Taking the converse case of rising prices elsewhere, there would be irresistible temptation to sell our goods in

foreign countries, and gold or foreign exchange resources would have to be liberated. Our price-level would again be levelled up to the one prevailing in the outer world.

It is inevitable that with managed and stabilised currency for domestic purposes, the foreign exchanges must be made to fluctuate when world prices are unstable. When all countries of the world are now attempting to achieve relative stabilisation of the price-level by a return to the better managed gold standard and obtain exchange stability, our above-foreshadowed plan would be running contrary to their plan of action. Lack of a fixed unit par of exchange or exchange stability at such times has its own evil effects. It would be extremely disturbing to trade, government finance, and free flow of capital for investment purposes.

MANAGED GOLD STANDARD

Thus this monetary reform would be futile except for a brief period, and disturbances would be created as a result of extraneous circumstances over which we have no control. We would have to dance up to the tune sung by other peoples. All over the world, there has been the return to the gold standard and the problems confronting the present day gold standard are to be solved.

India's contribution towards the gold problem can indeed be a magnificent one for which the whole world might be held in fee. Were the future gold stocks to be smaller than the actual demand, the disgorging of her hoards which would indeed be a slow process and dependent on the development of the banking system, can be counted upon. The idea of the gold coin accompaniment, which a gold bullion standard can hope to possess, would have to be sacrificed. With the creation of a Central Bank of Issue co-operating with the other Central Banks, the perfection of the domestic banking system and the popularising of the credit currency can be achieved. It can mobilise gold and issue notes during times of scarcity of gold stocks. With the advent of sound banks, 'the store of value' function which hoards are now doing can be safely entrusted to them. The industrial or

the arts demand for gold can be lessened to a certain extent. But much progress cannot be achieved in this direction until the legal status of women is improved.¹

India's contribution can be equally weighty even if there were to be an actual increase of gold stocks with reference to world demand. Her use in the arts can be stimulated. The gold bullion demand for hoarding might now be acting as a god-sent gift or measure. The Central Bank of Issue need not hope to immobilise or impound gold in its reserve as was done in the U.S.A. banking system in 1923 or send it to the treasury and get gold certificates issued against gold. The above two remedies would be very efficacious in this respect.

The upshot of the above discussion would be that India can safely join the ranks of the gold standard countries. By creating a Central Bank of Issue and by perfecting the needed statistical service, that would be required for presenting a true state of the exact economic conditions of society, the management of the gold standard can be efficiently done by this enlightened body. India need not worry herself about the gold problem confronting her as well as the other nations. But she can be a tower of strength to the other nations of the world and can hope to render substantial service in either direction, of gold shortage or gold inflation, that might occur in the near future. Her services in this direction would be in no degree less than the supposed and doubtful benefits that she will confer by pointing out the path to achieve a new monetary era—the regime of free-paper standard.

Under such circumstances, the wisest course is to co-operate with the rest of the world. An effective and sound monetary system can be secured thereby very easily. Gold fiat money introduced and managed by the Central Banks of the different countries of the world as a result of mutual understanding, would be immensely superior to the Government paper currency or the free-paper standard managed by the Central Bank or the National Board. Monetary

¹ See my article on Hoarding—in the *Indian Finance*—1928.

isolation from the rest of the world would be introducing far more serious consequences than cultural or economic isolation. Monetary non-co-operation is unthinkable at this stage of our economic development.

Recognising the full stabilising influence of international gold fiat money, India must join the ranks of other nations rather than isolate herself. It is by doing so alone that India can possess a stable monetary unit for internal as well as external purposes, than by tying herself up to a free-paper standard scheme which may not after all be nicely and intelligently regulated. Secondly, by removing risks attached to unstable currency, interest rates would be stable and low at the same time. Thirdly, stability of exchange with all the gold standard countries can be easily obtained and India's exports can easily find a sale for them in the Gold standard countries. Fourthly, greater confidence abroad in India would encourage the free flow of capital for productive purposes. "Without currency stability, conservative capital would shrink from the country" says the Kemmerer-Vissering Report¹ and that has been our very experience during 1870 to 1892, years of unstable exchange. Fifthly, gold money or silver money which is so convenient for the people can ultimately be used under the gold standard. This is far more sanitary than bank notes or the Government paper currency of Sir Daniel. Sixthly, the credit-standing which India now possesses abroad would not be destroyed under some form of the gold standard or other. It is risky policy then to adopt the managed free-paper standard.

Even if we accept a reformed and much improved scheme of Sir Daniel, India would become one of the money wrenches that would be left sticking in the world's monetary machine. It all looks very grand to inaugurate a new monetary era, but it may perhaps bring in its train insuperable difficulties. That the "whirligig of time brings in its own revenges" should not be forgotten. To remedy

¹ Report on the Resumption of Gold Payments by the Union of South Africa.

them all, the world should be brought over to India's new monetary standard. This international concerted action in using managed paper currency is apparently an impossible task. If the mountain does not come to Mahomed, Mahomed must go to the mountain. It is folly to sever ourselves from the world standard and money.

CONCLUSION

Taking all things into consideration, the interests of the people who have the small hoards of silver or gold, the inherent difficulties involved in the transition to the new monetary era, the possible consequences that would befall us by monetary isolation from the rest of the world, the grip and fascination which gold exercises over the Indian people, the lack of the truly reliable co-operative societies, and the dearth of the financial statesmanship that would be needed by the members of the Central Bank or the National Board, I reject the free-paper standard, no matter how perfect the scheme might be made by ingenious safeguards against inflation and its possible consequences. India can confer a permanent and lasting benefit to the world by joining the ranks of the gold standard countries and perfecting the Central Bank of Issue in the light of international requirements and co-operation that would be forthcoming. A fairly intelligent regulation of credit currency is infinitely superior to Government fiat money. Gold price fluctuations can and should be eliminated by credit currency operating under an enlightened regime and nexus of international Central Bank solidarity. Of both the systems, the gold fiat and the Government fiat systems, the gold fiat system is 'a new and experimental one' but it is gradually improving its technique. If it succeeds in removing the tidal action on prices without attempting to establish complete surface tranquillity, with the help of a uniform system of index-number agreed upon internationally, the quest for a sound monetary system need not be carried further.

Current Topics

LORD ROSEBERY

Lord Rosebery, scholar and statesman, has passed away. The writers of obituary notices are careful to remind us that he was not only the last survivor amongst the Premiers of Queen Victoria, but also the last Premier of England to win the Derby. Lord Rosebery was a typical Whig nobleman to whom a political career was as much a matter of heredity and tradition as his broad acres or his race-horses. Wealthy and talented, his eminence in public life was a foregone conclusion. But he relinquished office and retired from politics, all too prematurely, because he felt that while he was a Liberal by conviction, he was not fitted by temperament to lead the Gladstonian Liberals. And his exclusion, as a Peer, from the House of Commons was a severe handicap. But with Lord Rosebery, politics was by no means an absorbing passion. He will long be remembered as an ornament of English society, and as the brilliant 'orator of the empire,' who on great occasions could be trusted to give utterance to the most exalted sentiments in choicest diction. His memorial tributes constitute a literature by themselves. Men like Lord Rosebery cannot organise a nation for victory in war, nor lead it in times of crisis. But their work is of more enduring value than that of the 'mere' politicians untouched by a glow of idealism or the refinement of learning. We can never have too many men of this class—the class to which belong Viscount Bryce and John Morley of England and Mahadev Govind Ranade and Srinivasa Sastri of India.

SCHOOLS OF POLITICS

We desire to invite the reader's attention to Mr. E.S. Sunda's article in the present number on 'Politics as a Profession.' We are in entire agreement with him as

regards the need for provincial schools of politics, where politicians in the making might get the requisite equipment for public life. Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar has such a school in contemplation, and Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya has long been wishing to start a like institution for Andhradesa. For some years now, the patient study of public questions and the eagerness to be posted with facts and figures, have been lamentably lacking in our country, more especially amongst Congressmen. The Liberals were poor fighters, and their advocacy was always vitiated by a too great anxiety to accommodate themselves to the view-point of the 'other side.' But they were great scholars and took infinite pains to apprentice themselves to public life. Their example is certainly worth imitating in this respect.

Mr. Sunda, intellectual aristocrat that he is, flings a cheap gibe at the younger Congressmen of today. In his view, they are mere 'nobodies'. But it is worthwhile remembering that but for these youngmen who left their schools and colleges at the call of the Congress in 1921, the national movement would not have made any headway. While the older men were involved in endless discussions about the validity of the Non-co-operation programme and kept aloof from the great struggle for freedom, these youngmen gave up their all—though their 'all' might not amount to much in Mr. Sunda's view—and literally stepped into the breach. They covered the land with a net-work of village Congress Committees, preached the gospel of Swaraj from a thousand platforms, filled the gaols to glutting and brought imperishable glory to the Motherland. It was 'war-time' when every single unit was valuable. They were ill-equipped for their task, but if their 'betters' sulked in their tents, was it not their manifest duty to rush to the fray and keep the flag of Swaraj flying?

But all this by the way. The need for provincial schools of politics is imperative, and we are sure none would welcome them more than the intrepid youngmen of the land. The various Provincial Congress Committees ought to address themselves to this question. Such schools have their

value, even apart from work in the Legislatures, which in the conditions of non-Swaraj India is like ploughing the sands.

GANDHIJI AND THE KALASALA

With reference to the note about the Kalasala in our March-April number, Gandhiji writes to the Editor:

"I do not know what more I can do than what I have done, which you may not know. I purposely invited the teachers at Dr. Pattabhi's residence, and in his presence had a long chat with them. I needed no enquiry in the matter. My opinion was fixed, namely, that on no account could that institution seek affiliation. After having accepted large sums of money from the public on the strength of its rigidly national character, I suggested that it was a matter of honour with them to preserve the national character of the institution even if it was deserted by every single boy. Even if I stayed in Andhra Desh for a month and that at Masulipatam, I could not carry the matter any further."

This only proves that not even Gandhiji can help those that refuse to help themselves.

K.R.

THE BRITISH ELECTIONS

It is hazardous to indulge in election forecasts. The task is much more difficult in the case of the forthcoming British elections in view of the 'flapper' vote. Yet, a careful analysis of the electoral conditions may help us to know which way the wind is likely to blow. It is better that we should recall at this stage how after the General Elections of 1924, the House of Commons opened with 413 Conservatives, 150 Labourites, 40 Liberals, 1 Irish Nationalist, 7 Constitutionalists and 4 Independents, and how at the time of the dissolution of the House, the Conservatives lost 15 seats, the Labourites gained 13 and the Liberals 5, apart

from other variations in the strength of the minor parties. Thus, ominously enough for Mr. Baldwin, the Conservative stock had already begun to fall. This has not, however, unnerved the Premier and he is now, in spite of the huge alarm sounded in his ears by valiant and veteran fighters like Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, placidly smoking his briar pipe. He has now put up 588 candidates against 570 Labourites, 510 Liberals, 25 Communists, and 31 members of other parties. It may incidentally be mentioned that there are 68 women candidates. The nominations, it is further understood, altogether total 1274 which is a record for British Parliamentary elections.

Everyone who has so far entered into a conjectural competition in regard to the election has invariably thrown a cold douche on the Premier's feet. Mr. Baldwin has been in the saddle for five years without commanding a good press and capturing public imagination. It is certain that he will have no majority huge enough to defy the Opposition benches, while it is even doubtful if he will lead the single largest party in the House. And now, on the eve of the elections, he is hardly in a position to counteract the growing influence of the Welsh Wizard who startled the electorate with a catching slogan. That therefore in any case Mr. Baldwin will drop a considerable number of seats, none can deny.

Then there is the Labour Party under the leadership of 'the good old Mac.' As the Conservative ranks are sure to be thinned and as the Liberals have no prospect of sweeping the field, though they can be sanguine about increasing their numbers, it is Mr. Macdonald and his party that will stand to gain most in this turmoil. But can he get back to 10, Downing Street? The possibility is not ruled out. If he does, it must be only as a result of an understanding he arrives at with Mr. Lloyd George. And Mr. Lloyd George, the most consummate political strategist that he is, is certainly not the man to put Mr. Macdonald at the head of the Cabinet, without demanding a good price from him.

These negotiations are not unlikely to lead to the formation of a Coalition Cabinet. Mr. Lloyd George has, in an electoral sense, "got away with a flying start" by bringing the most startling issue of Unemployment to the forefront and compelling even his opponents to fight on that very issue. Great Britain is once again under the spell of his wizardry. In the next House he will be a force to be reckoned with.

But after all, much depends upon the mood of the woman. And who can count upon so fickle a thing as a womanish mood? The three million votes Miss John Bull has gained, will decide the issue. As A. G. G. puts it, while summing up the parties' prospects in an English Weekly, "If she smiles upon Mr. Baldwin, she may still save him. If she smiles the other way, anything may happen." But whatever may happen and whichever party may come into power, it makes no difference to India. That ought to be plain to everyone from the incontrovertible fact that all the parties have agreed upon omitting the question of India in their election programme. India must deliver India from bondage. That is the moral we can learn from the campaign in Great Britain that is now in full swing.

I. D.

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.]

Sparks and Fumes.—By K. ISWARA DUTT (40, Broadway, Madras) Price, Re. 1.

When the author happens to be your friend, it is much easier to write a preface than a critical review. But as the Associate Editor has performed the former function, the latter falls to our share.

The pen-portraits of thirteen Andhra worthies collected in this attractive volume are already familiar to the public through *Swarajya* and to a slight extent through *Triveni*. Mr. Dutt has established a reputation as a writer of sketches after the manner of 'A. G. G.' He has the true Boswellian instinct for anecdote, and aided by a powerful memory and a remarkable felicity of expression, he is able to make the subjects of his sketches 'live' through his pages. This is something out of the way in Indian journalism, for with us, such sketches have a tendency to become more biographical and less critical. Mr. Dutt has chosen his men from all schools of thought, and while it is not possible that we should agree with his estimate in every case, we ought to concede that he has spared no efforts to be fair and judicious. Most of the public men brought under his searchlight are personally known to him, but he has very rarely permitted his affection and regard to cloud his judgment. This is especially so in the case of Mr. C. R. Reddy, who is to Mr. Dutt what Johnson was to Boswell. We mean no disparagement of either.

Like most students of literature who are anxious to copy 'models', Mr. Dutt has acquired a little too much of what may be called 'the quotative habit', the Sam Weller touch which inclines him to fortify himself at every turn with a pompous narration of what "so-and-so said of so-and-so." There is also a desire to pile up phrases for the sake of balance and to choose words for their alliterative effect. This leads to monotony after a certain point. These are, however, minor faults induced, firstly by a too close study of the manner and methods of the writers of 'journalese' albeit of the superior type, and secondly by a belief that all that glitters is gold.

REVIEWS

Mr. Dutt is a writer of rare promise, and his 'arrival' an event of importance in the history of Indo-Anglian literature. He has taken the public by storm. His sketches are extremely interesting and suggestive. In fact, there has been nothing like it since the late G. Parameswaran Pillai's brilliant portraits of 'Representative Indians' and 'Eminent Congressmen'. There are passages like the description of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya's lecture at the Chintamani Theatre and the malignant fairy at Mr. Reddy's cradle, which induce one to exclaim, "Hats off to Mr. Dutt". Our reading of this book has whetted our appetite for more of the same kind. And Mr. Dutt, we know, is not the man to let the grass grow under his feet.

K. R.

The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore.—By K. R. SUBRAMANIAN (Madras, 1928.)

This sketch of the history of the southern outpost of the Maratha Empire is well done: it is short, crisp and clear. From a survey of the conditions which invited the Marathas to stroll down south, the book proceeds chapter by chapter, to unfold the story of the rise and the fall of a Kingdom, till the settlement of the country by its absorption into the British Dominions. Not only the political history of the Kingdom but its administrative system and its economic conditions are succinctly set forth. Mr. Subramanian has even added a chapter on the charities of the Kings and their religious policy which was guided by a very wise and enlightened spirit of toleration. Though the table of contents does not disclose it to the casual reader, the author has at different places enlarged on the cultural history of the country during this period and showed how the Marathas kept alive the intellectual activity of their subjects. Mr. Subrahmanian has managed to invest the history with much of interest, and to compress into a short compass a history which it would have taken another a much longer volume to tell. If the history of Tamil literature in the period is omitted, or so important a figure as Pachaiyappa in the economic settlement of the Kingdom is not even mentioned, and some other valuable facts and tendencies are ignored, we have to impute it to the anxiety of Mr. Subramanian to deal with an important subject within the compass of a primer.

We wish Mr. Subramanian god-speed in his explorations into Indian history.

T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN.

GUJERATI

'*Chunban ane beigi vatho.*'—Sjt. Nagindas. N. Parekh. (Prasthan Karyalay, Ahmedabad.) Price Re 1.

This is an anthology of short-stories translated from Czech, French, Italian, Polish, Russian and Hungarian languages. Karolina Svetla, Prosper Merima, Maupassant, Kisfauldi are some of the writers translated in this volume. Mr. Parekh and his collaborator Mr. Sivasankar Sukla who also translated a few pages, have in this attempt, presented to the readers the treasures of a few rich foreign mines; and their work may serve as inspiration to other enterprising discoverers. Youngmen of Gujerat with the ambition of writing short-stories will certainly find much to be studied and digested in these consummate works of Continental masters.

Mr. Parekh has already established a name through his journalistic activities as the chief Editor of his College Monthly 'Sabarmati' while yet an undergraduate of the Gujerat Vidyapith, and later by his translations of Tagore's Bengali plays: viz., 'Visarjan', 'Lakshmir Pariksha', 'Natir Puja' etc. His various independent contributions to important magazines have already acquainted him to the public of Gujerat. If he pursues his literary career unflinchingly, he will before long get admission into the Sabarmati school of writers.

The difficulty of translating Continental authors in diverse languages has been simplified by their having been already cast into the English language; while any idea of bringing out a representative anthology of stories from all the Indian vernaculars is utterly impossible at present owing to the necessity of one's being conversant with all those languages. Tagore and Chatterjee of Bengal, Dikshitulu and Gudipati of Andhra, Munshi and 'Dhumaketu' of Gujerat, and Premchand of Hindi have won distinction in the field of short-story writing in our country. How far have we tried to bring out anthologies of their writings in any vernacular?

Mr. Parekh, in the present volume, has mastered up-to-date Gujerati style, the criteria of which are clarity in expression, naturalness in construction, moderation in figures and imagery, a strict economy of words and a harmonious combination of all these qualities. We heartily congratulate the young translators in so far as they have successfully withstood the ugly temptation of the pompous, high-sounding, and circumlocutous style found in some of the Telugu translations from English.

The introductions to the book written by Mr. Ramanarain

Pathak—the Arnold of Gujerat—as well as by Mr. Parekh himself are of immense help and interest to the reader. Besides other valuable suggestions, they have added a list of renowned writers of the short-story in the various European languages. A few lines about the author with a short analysis of the theme precedes each story, which is an essential feature in such a volume. We earnestly desire anthologies of this type published in every Indian language. It might again be insisted that editing of collections of modern Indian short-stories is equally necessary.

We congratulate the publishers of this book on the fine printing and get-up as well as the reasonable price.

B. G. REDDY.

TELUGU

The 'Andhra Patrika' Annual

This *Ugadi Sanchika* has become a regular Andhra institution. Its publication is looked forward to with eager interest every year. During two decades, the Andhras have learnt to admire the skill and enterprise of the publisher, Sjt. K. Nageswara Rao. But we must confess to a feeling of disappointment with regard to the present number. While the 'annual' has grown considerably in bulk, there has been a marked lowering of the standard of achievement. We should like to see a much more rigorous censorship exercised in the selection of poems, short-stories and essays. The tricoloured pictures ought to be chosen with greater care and reproduced in an infinitely better fashion. Several of the prints are no better than ugly patches of coloured ink. Then again, we see no point in reproducing an endless series of photographs of persons of no consequence and crowding them by the dozen into successive pages with unmeaning 'artistic' borders. The advertisements are coming to be a grave menace. They invade the inner and outer covers and are thrust right into the letterpress.

These criticisms are offered in a friendly spirit. We are anxious that whatever is published from Andhradesa should be of the finest quality. We have no doubt that with his ample resources and his trained staff, Sjt. Nageswara Rao will be able to bring out a much brighter number next time.

K. R.

'Samadarsini' New Year Number

We have just received the 'Samadarsini New Year Number' for the *Sukla Samvatsara*. This is the second issue of such a number, the

TRIVENI

conform and from which they tend to stray further and further away. It is one of the greatest problems awaiting solution, the problem of the failure of representative Democracy and its reconciliation with the ideal of perfect Democracy. It becomes all the more grave, because this failure is the fruitful source of all those disintegrating ills manifesting themselves in the body politic of today, the forces of Bolshevism and Fascism, and the forces of Capitalism and Monarchism, which are the subtlest and the most powerful forces that pit themselves against Democracy and all that it stands for. These forces are in part a reaction against representative institutions, which fail to satisfy the craving of the several sections of the people to find their own place in the scheme of things, in so far as they (the representative institutions) are susceptible of being influenced by elements which are selfish in their outlook and particularistic in character. Bolshevism, which can be summed up as the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat", seeks to do away with all institutions, economic or political, which perpetuate class disabilities and distinctions, though in doing so, it gives rise to the worst forms of class tyranny and oppression. It is Communism of the extreme variety, a variety directly and absolutely antithetical to the extreme of autocracy, which was a predominant feature of the Czarist regime. Fascism, on the other hand, is another phase of the reaction against Democracy, aiming at the destruction of all that for which the constitutional or the representative system stands, though it tolerates the retention, for purposes of embellishment and show, the outward semblances of that system, while the real power is concentrated in the hands of a Dictator, who, if he has done much for the improvement of the condition of the people, has done still more in the direction of suppressing by ruthless measures, the rights and liberties of all those who dared to oppose his Fascisti methods. Democracy in Russia and Italy can be said to be practically defunct, if at all it had any trial, though it is not too much to hope that, after the first spell of their respective Dictatorships, they will be able to evolve a pure and chasten-

MODERN DEMOCRACY

ed form of Democracy. As Bryce, the eminent writer on Democracy says, "These two (Fascism and Bolshevism) are strange and unexpected evolutions of Democracy." He continues, "Democracy overthrows the despotism of the one man or the few, who ruled by force, in order to transfer power to the people, who are to rule by reason and the sense of common interest in one another's welfare; and after two or three generations, there arises from the bosom of Democracy an effort to overthrow it in turn by violence, because it has failed to confer the expected benefits. The wheel has gone round and the physical force which was needed to establish democracy is now employed to destroy it." The wheel has completed or is completing its round, and when it does so, Democracy will again resurrect itself.

VII

The third force that Democracy has to contend against is Capitalism. On the one hand, Capitalism perpetuates the distinction between classes; on the other it denies equal opportunities to all to enjoy economic independence, and keeps down a section, necessarily a large section, under economic subjection. There is no wonder, therefore, in those classes who have to bear the brunt of this economic tyranny revolting against it and trying to overthrow the system which makes it possible to exist and continue. Of course, one cannot be unaware of the fact that the working classes in many countries are fast coming into their own, that the movement among them for combination and joint action has gone on apace, and that the introduction of adult suffrage has resulted in their attaining to a considerable voice in the determination of political and administrative questions. But all these developments notwithstanding, the influence which capitalists and money-power wields is still very great and makes the grant of adult franchise a mere shibboleth without much significance. There are many methods by which the influence of money-power is felt in a Democracy; and by far the worst method, according to Lord Bryce, by which it poisons the life-blood of Democracy is that of corruption;

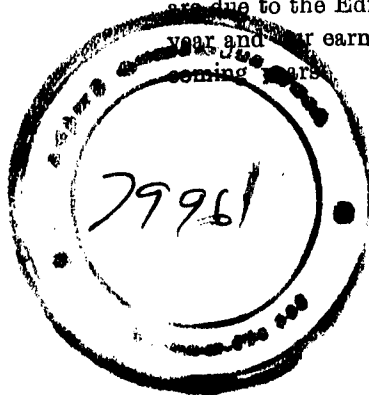
tradition of which was set up only last year. The attractive get-up with the stately portrait of the late lamented Raja of Panagal is praiseworthy. The liberal-minded and brief editorial note from the pen of Mr. Subrahmanya Sreshti reviewing the present state of world-politics and especially the Indian situation is particularly well-written.

The general standard of the contributions is very high. Some of the more valuable contributions to the number are 'Development of Village Industries' by the Hon'ble V. Ramadas Pantulu, 'Women of the West' by Mr. L. V. B. Chowdary, B.A. (Oxon), 'Encouragement of Arts' by Mr. Burra Seshagiri Rao, 'Neglected Literature' by M. Somasekhara Sarma, 'Insurance Companies' by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, and 'Life after Death' by Challa Seshagiri Rao. Among the contributors of the short-story Mr. G. Venkatachalam is a popular writer, while the powerful story by Mr. P. V. Rajamannar is also highly appealing. Well known among the contributors of verse are Messrs. Krishna Sastri, Ramireddi, K. Venkata Rao and Bapiraju. Some of the promising younger contributors are Messrs. Srinivasa Rao and Satyanarayana in criticism, B. G. Reddy and Pitchi Reddy in language and literature, T. V. Ramamurthy in the short-story and P. Venkata-ramaiya, Viswesvara Rao, Bapayya and Narayanababu in the section of poetry.

The printing and the paper are high-class, though some of the beautiful verses of Sri Krishna Sastri are sadly marred by mis-arrangement and printer's devils. The printing of photos of prominent Andhra men and women is well-executed. The pages are left unnumbered, probably owing to oversight. The advertisements ought not to have come in between reading matter.

The most attractive feature of this number is the reproduction of half-a-dozen beautiful paintings. But at a time when journals of other provinces are publishing with pleasure paintings by promising artists of Young Andhra, it is a matter for regret to find a Telugu Annual so barren of the rising genius of our own province. We hope the Editors would make up for this next time. The frontispiece by Alla Bux, 'Bhava Sundari' by Purna Chandra Sinha and 'Chandrika Sudhakaram' by Sidheswar Misra are highly pleasing. Our hearty congratulations are due to the Editors for bringing out such a model number for this year and our earnest hope is to see more of the same quality in the

M. V.



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