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Renaissance

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TRIVENI

A JOURNAL OF THE INDIAN RENAISSANCE

EDITED BY
K. RAMAKOTISWARA RAO



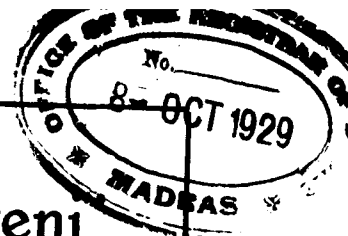
*Adore enthusiasm, the dreams of the virgin soul,
and the visions of early youth, for they are a
perfume of Paradise which the soul retains in
issuing from the hands of its Creator.*

MAZZINI.

Vol. II. No. 4

Madras
(India)

July-August
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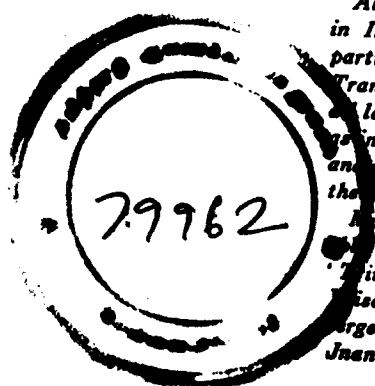
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(The rest are already familiar to our readers.)

OUR LIFE-SUBSCRIBERS

The permanent Life-subscription for *Triveni* is Rs. 100/-. The following is the further list of those who have enlisted themselves since April last. The Editor's grateful thanks are due to all Life-subscribers. We trust more will come in.

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Selected Examples of Indian Painting and Sculpture

BY O. C. GANGOLY

[In my Address before the Art Section of the Fifth Oriental Conference held at Lahore in November last, I tried to emphasize on the crying need, in our educational curriculum, for provisions and opportunities for students to develop their power of understanding and appreciation of the works of artists, ancient and modern,—to achieve a trained knowledge of the beauties of the Masterpieces of Art and of the principles upon which they are founded,—in the same way as elaborate courses are prescribed for helping students to form an intelligent acquaintance with the beauties of the Masterpieces of Literature, by an intimate study of the best examples of Poetry, Drama, and Prose (*Belles Lettres*) without any pretention to train up Poets, Dramatists, or Story-writers. Our modern education, while it has weaned and estranged us from the standards and ideals of old Indian cultural life and the forms and repositories of their expression, has created a gaping breach between our modern outlook and the forms of old Indian Art in which the best phases of Indian culture are incarnated. In this way, the gaze of the modern Indian has been gradually turned away from the visage of Indian Art. This has led to a lack of contact and sympathy. Indian Art has come to be regarded as something to be brushed aside, neglected, and ignored. In the field of Literature, a frequent contact with the Masterpieces of Letters, (be it in English or in the Indian vernaculars), has helped to awaken in our college students a reasonable critical sense for apprehending the values of literary forms of different periods and *motifs* and a fair amount of the power of appraisal of literary merits. In the field of plastic forms, the average educated man from college is utterly incapable of apprehending the merits of Visual Arts—of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture—not having an opportunity to train his vision or critical faculty of appraising the quality of beauty in a given work of Art, owing to a lack of contact with the Masterpieces of Art under any kind of trained guidance,—for, the Plastic Art is a forbidden fruit in our college

studies. The doors of the Masterpieces of Buddhist Plastics, Brahminical Sculpture, or of the Schools of Rajput Painting, are as much barred against the comprehension of the average type of educated Indians as any European obsessed by Hellenistic or Græco-Roman prepossessions. But while the foreign critic, by reason of a general grounding in æsthetic education, is able to find a key to the understanding of Indian Art, to the educated youths from our colleges, the peculiar beauty and the special forms and *motifs* of Indian Painting and Sculpture appear to be for ever inaccessible. It is only by cultivating an intimate acquaintance and frequent contact with the different phases of Indian Art that Indians can be persuaded to realise the value of their priceless heritage. By the courtesy of the Editor of this Journal, it is my privilege to present in each number selected examples of Indian Painting and Sculpture, with suitable verbal comments, to accompany the reproductions. The Editor hopes by this means to awaken interest among educated Indians in the study and understanding of Indian Art, on which Indians have hitherto thought fit to heap nothing but disregard and neglect. It will be useful in this connection to recall the following remarks of Mr. E. B. Havell:

"Even if, for Europeans who think like Macaulay, all Indian Art should be worthless, it will always remain a priceless boon for Indians, offering them something which the best European Art can never give them. Let Indians of the present generation, who through Macaulay's narrow and short-sighted policy have never enjoyed this precious heritage, see that their children are put in possession of it."]



MOTHER AND CHILD.
Yasodharma and Rahula, Ajanta, Circa 500 A.D.



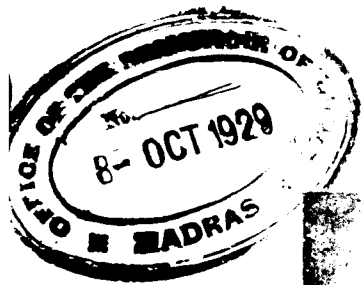
I MOTHER AND CHILD

(*Yasodhara and Rahula*)

FRESCO CAVE XVII, AJANTA

On the spacious walls of the cave temples and monasteries of Ajanta, the monk-artists of Buddhist India have bequeathed for us a rich series of fresco-paintings, which from the quality of their deep and sincere religiosity, their grandeur of design and rhythm, their free and sweeping brush lines, and, above all, their sublime vision, must be taken to rank with the best of the masterpieces of pictorial art in any part of the world. The finest achievement of Italian painting has become an indispensable part of the heritage of European culture. The mural paintings of Ajanta deserve a similar place in the renaissance of Asiatic culture. Da Vinci's *Madonna of the Rocks*, or Botticelli's *Madonna of the Pomegranate* is familiar to most schoolboys in England—but how many of our school-teachers or College Professors can claim familiarity with our Buddhist Madonna, one of the magnificent fragments of the mural paintings of Cave XVII at Ajanta? The priest-painters of these Buddhist frescoes attempt to transport us to a new world of spiritual dreams, realized in terms of a deep and intimate familiarity with the joys, the passions and the sorrows of human life, and set down in a language of Form in which the physical and the spiritual are fused in a happy harmony. This fragment of the representation of 'A Mother and Child' is said to illustrate an incident when the Buddha accidentally met his wife, Yasodhará, and his son, Ráhula, as he went about begging from door to door in the city of Kapilavastu, which he had left as a Prince, and to which he had returned as a beggar-monk. The uplifted face of the mother of Rahula is illuminated with an

expression of serene tenderness and a poignant pathos which easily rival many an Italian Madonna's. Her eyes, almost brimful with tears, plead as well as rebuke. They plead for the desolate heart of a deserted wife, and they rebuke the Prince for his begging bowl and his robe of renunciation. Yasodhara is pictured here as a veritable 'Mater Dolorosa' of Buddhist Art. Even if we eliminate the religious and the sentimental appeal in this pictorial composition, the remnant of its æsthetic and visual qualities offers a rich and perennial fountain of delight. The finely-poised head of the Mother, rich in its delicate and sensitive outlines, is echoed by the head of the child, placed at a similar angle, to lend emphasis to the design by a clever repetition. The gentle but sweeping curves and the nobility of the descending line of the arm and the hands, as they caressingly hold the child, almost merge in the outline of the figure of the child—thus blending the two figures in a happy unity. Indeed, all the motives and gestures of the two figures are attuned to one subtle and delicate harmony. The whole story is told through the medium of sensitive and sure outlines—without the aid of light and shade or modelling. In such supreme achievements of pictorial expression, the Indian artist anticipated the Italian painters by several centuries.



TARA
Nepalese School, Late 12th Century
Collection of Mrs. A. DALY, DUBLIN.

II A BUDDHIST TARA

(Copper-gilt figure)

SCHOOL OF NEPAL, c. 12TH CENTURY

The development of Mahayana Buddhism has bequeathed to the Sculpture Gallery of Indian Art a shining gallery of images of great depth of conception, of sensitive forms, and of a wide variety of attitudes and gestures. In this example of a standing form of a Buddhist Tara (Saviouress), we have a conception of suave elegance, and at the same time an image of great power and concentration. The youthful body, posed in a sensitive *avanga* flexion, is graced by a soft and delicately contoured pair of arms—terminating in a pair of finely-modelled hands—one in a *abhaya mudra*, and the other in a *lola mudra* which are made to rest on the two hips—to emphasize, as it were, on the general effect of repose suggested by the figure. This static feeling is culminated in a head, conceived in an expression of deep and introspective concentration and meditation. As a saviouress burdened with the duty of relieving all the miseries of the world, her sense of responsibility is symbolised in a depth of expression—and a static self-contained movement. The facial expression is not the equivalent of an idle and passive reverie, but of an active sympathy with the sorrows of a suffering world, which the saviouress has accepted as her own, and of an energetic meditation for the means of alleviation. This deep and serious contemplativeness is relieved and illuminated by a sweet, but a very fragile smile, which seems almost to break under the burden of her sorrows, which are not of her own, but those of the suffering world. All the technical devices, and details of dress and iconography,

are designed to emphasize on the sense of repose and contemplation. The whole pose of the figure affixed on the lotus pedestal, with the weight of the body laid on the left leg, is conceived in a delicate equilibrium. This sense of equilibrium is re-inforced by the descending lines of the hands, and of the drapery, particularly of the *uttariya*, hanging in graceful and rhythmic folds from the left hand, its terminating end coming to rest on the pedestal. The only opposing movement is the upward spring of the three points of the *tri-chuda* crown, the effect of which is neutralized by the circular *siras chakra*, the decorative halo round the head. The lobes of the ear with their load of *kundala* are lengthened to touch the shoulders, the curves of which naturally lead to the bosses of the armlets on the upper arms, which slope down, in logical sequence, and melt into the descending lines of the hands—the sense of descent being carried and continued by the lines of the drapery until they reach the pedestal. In order not to disturb the effect of these descending lines, all the horizontal lines are given in soft and almost obliterated indications. The necklace (*upagriva*) and the waist-band (*kati-bandha*) are almost invisible, and their drapery across the breasts is barely indicated by a pair of soft lines. This skilful design of a cascade made of a series of sweet and fluid lines, descending from the top to the bottom, is a happy and appropriate symbol of the flow of sympathy and mercy of the great saviouress,—the spiritual consort of Avalokiteswara—the Maha-karuna, the incarnation of Great Benevolence. Conceived with great power and concentration, this Indian statuette stands for an order of spiritual beauty which is on the opposite pole from the superficial flesh-forms of Greek Venuses, or Italian Angels.

A Basis for International Amity

BY JAGADISAN M. KUMARAPPA, M.A., Ph. D.

(Formerly known as John J. Cornelius)

The cross fertilization of culture has been and is one of the main factors, though little recognized as such, in the social and intellectual progress of mankind. The traveller who went to a foreign country in search of knowledge and brought with him to his native land a knowledge of the cultural achievements and activities of other peoples, performed a service of which we have hardly any exact knowledge, and much less definite appraisal. Similarly the function of the foreign student in the dissemination of culture and promotion of goodwill has not, even now, been clearly understood. Since the World War, there has come about an earnest desire that just as man's science has helped to create a neighbourhood out of the far-flung countries of the world, so also neighbourhood of man's spiritual ideals should help to create a brotherhood of races. All thoughtful leaders and prophets of the New Age are searching for a common meeting ground, and utilizing it in bringing different races together so that the hidden purpose of this New Age may be revealed and realized.

A LARGER FAITH

While science has helped to break down the physical barriers, other obstacles have sprung up, and they militate against the union of the different races of mankind. Rightly does the poet Tagore point out, therefore, that men go on living as though the old limitations were still real. In place of the natural boundaries, artificial modes of exclusion, such as the immigration laws, prohibitive tariffs, passport regulations, etc., have been put up by them. These new obstructions being artificial, says

the Poet, are not only a burden to the people, but by the might of their dead material create deformities in their moral nature. Hence such obstacles tend to keep the different races spiritually apart, though they have come physically near. Therefore if the world-neighbourhood is to be made into a brotherhood, it could only be done by helping mankind to realize a unity, wider in range, deeper in sentiment and stronger in power, than ever before. Since our problem is great and complex, we have to attempt to solve it on a bigger scale, to realize the God in man by a larger faith, and to build the temple of our faith on a sure and world-wide basis.

The Great European War was fought to end war, and yet we seem to be farther to-day from peace than we were prior to that war. The Nation-spirit is still marching on and many far-seeing statesmen are sounding notes of warning. Not long ago the famous English philosopher and noted writer, Bertrand Russell, wrote saying that the strongest democratic passion in the modern world is nationalism, and it is that that is bringing the nations to ruin. With the progress of methods of destruction, it is to be expected that the next great war will kill about half the civilian population on each side. The intellectuals in every country, ever since 1914, have been doing their best to accelerate and intensify this disaster by exasperating national hatreds, spreading untruthful propaganda and selling their brains to the War Offices and Navy Departments of their respective governments. From this madness, all who wish to save the world must emphatically stand aside. War, righteous or unrighteous, defensive or offensive, means, thanks to modern science, the death of all that has value on both sides.

THE MENACE OF NATIONALISM

The international jealousy, commercial rivalry, the race for armaments and the revolt of subject races, seem to threaten the world with a universal disruption in the near future. When the world is thus menaced by the spirit of

nationalism, is there any way of ushering in the reign of peace, the brotherhood of man? This world is a moral world and so long as we do not recognize moral principles in human relationship, so long shall we continue under the tyranny of the Nation, and there will be no universal peace, no international friendship. Nationalism has broken up the wholeness of human society; further, it has created a social atmosphere which continually emanates such collective ideas as are prejudicial to interracial understanding. Many evil passions and destructive ideas are now controlling the society of nations: race pride is generating contempt and hatred of others; greed for wealth and power makes the powerful exclude the weak from the benefits of their civilization; suspicion and distrust of other nations, equally powerful, eats away the heart of wholesome human relationship; commercial and political gluttony exploits helpless peoples and their lands. The spirit of nationalism is thus depriving man of the greatness of his purpose, and his society of the beauty of its completeness.

In spite of these disquieting aspects of the world situation, we seem to see the dawn of a New Age in human history. Just as the French Revolution rejuvenated Europe in thought and life, so also the Great European War shook the world from coast to coast and released new thought currents and spiritual forces. Having been stirred as never before, men are now seriously seeking for ways and means of educating the people to carry out the purpose of this New Age. Just as the collective egoism of the Nation has hitherto been cultivated in our schools, even so, says poet Tagore, it will be necessary for the purpose of the New Age to establish a new education on the basis, not of nationalism, but of a wider relationship of humanity. Further it is necessary to create opportunities for revealing the different peoples to one another. While it is true that different peoples do have varied accidental interests,—where they cannot meet,—yet it is also true that all the races have a region of common aspirations, where they can all come together. A common meeting place is,

therefore, found for racial and international co-operation in the region of culture,—a region where conflicting interests are absent. The peoples of the world are ever ready to share their cultural wealth with each other, since it is their achievement and not that of the Nation.

CULTURAL CO-OPERATION

Since the War, there has come about in the West a new movement to use cultural co-operation as a means to promote goodwill. As a result, the Institute of International Intellectual Co-operation under the direction of Professor Alfred Zimmern was organized in Europe. Professor Zimmern, like poet Tagore, holds that the problems of the modern world demand a special kind of education in which world consciousness is substituted for national consciousness; but he maintains further that only by a widespread understanding of the differences in national viewpoints can real international co-operation be attained. He seeks to accomplish this in two ways. The first is by means of contacts; the second, by the study of international relations. He brings together in Geneva every summer a group of the best students from thirty or forty different countries and also lecturers of world-wide repute on international relations. The fact that the school is held during summer in Geneva is considered in itself significant, for it enables the students to study present-day problems in the laboratory where the experiments in international co-operation are being made.

Professor Zimmern declares that in order to attain true international-mindedness, the relations between nations must be approached from every conceivable angle. It is his conviction that a knowledge of national cultures as well as national policies is necessary to those who wish to engage in international affairs. The study of international relations is, therefore, approached from a different point each week for the summer months when the Institute is in session. The subject is considered from the point of view of history, economics, geography, art, literature, philosophy, law and

psychology; and eminent men who are specialists in those subjects are engaged to lecture. Professor Gilbert Murray of Oxford, J. Maynard Keynes of Cambridge, Ferdinand Maurette of the International Labor Office and Dr. Ernest Jaekch of the Hochschule fur Politik, Berlin, are among the lecturers engaged for July and August of this year. The work of this Institute has met with marked success during the last six years of its existence, and, it must be said to its credit, the problems of international relations have never been approached in so broad a manner as is being done in that Institute.

Similarly, immediately after the war some far-seeing American leaders founded the Institute of International Education in the United States for the purpose of cultivating better understanding through educational agencies between America and the foreign countries. With this end in view, the Institute has been organizing and encouraging such activities as the exchange of professors and other intellectual leaders, the establishment of interchange student fellowships, the holding of conferences on international education, and the publication of books and pamphlets on the systems of education obtaining in different parts of the world. It has also been instrumental in establishing many of the present-day exchange fellowships between Europe and America. Every year the corresponding agencies in the European countries notify the Institute that they would undertake to provide board, lodging and free tuition, for a number of American students. In return, the Institute in New York obligates itself to provide similar opportunities for students from each of those countries. Outside of the great number of American students prosecuting their studies in Europe at their own expense, there are over 100 students on such exchange fellowship system studying in the different European countries.

When we turn our attention to the United States and her southern neighbour, we find that the relations between them have not been very cordial during the last few years, owing to the North American economic imperialism.

Moreover, Latin America is attracted more to France and Spain, by reason of her cultural affinity, than to North America. And with the rise of national consciousness, the tendency on the part of Latin American Republics to stress their national individuality is becoming even more intense. Under these circumstances it is nothing but natural that they should desire the friendship of the United States, only on a basis of reciprocity. In view of such strained relations, far-seeing statesmen in both the continents are organizing cultural societies to promote more friendly relations between them. As a gesture of friendliness, the Institute of International Education invited a few months ago a group of twenty representatives of a newly-formed body in Argentina known as the Argentine North American Cultural Association, to enjoy the hospitality of the American institutions of learning. That party, made up of university professors, medical men, scientists and child-welfare experts, spent a few months visiting and inspecting schools, hospitals and social service organizations in the various cities and towns of the country. Several such Cultural Associations have now been organised in the Latin American Republics for the purpose of promoting better understanding and closer cultural relations between the two Americas.

An interesting sign of the times is that thoughtful citizens everywhere are very responsive to the idea of forming such cultural societies. The Hungarians, for instance, have organized the Hungarian Society for the purpose of encouraging the exchange of students between the American and Hungarian universities. The Hungarian Government offers five fellowships to American students, which are available in any of the universities in Hungary or in the Academy of Music in Budapest. And, in return, American colleges have extended their hospitality to nine Hungarian students. There is also a plan under consideration to enable Hungarian students to study American industrial organizations and their efficiency methods. Besides, the Hungary Society of America, with headquarters in New

York, serves as a social centre for all friends of Hungary and also arranges lectures on Hungarian affairs, and exhibits sculpture, painting and other art productions of the country.

There are similar organizations for the promotion of friendly relations between Italy and the United States, and among them the Italia-America Society and Casa Italia are outstanding. The place of Italy in civilization is best realized by trying to eliminate that place from the history of European civilization and culture. Take away her contributions to law and government and her leadership in the realm of science and art, and what is there left of European civilization? In recognition of Italy's great contributions to civilization, Italian students and professors are invited under the auspices of these societies to study and lecture respectively in American colleges and universities. Similarly American students are asked to enjoy the intellectual hospitality of Italy; they are awarded fellowships to enable them to study architecture, sculpture, painting, classics, musical composition and landscape architecture. Such societies for the exchange of culture exist also in Poland, Germany, Scandinavia, France and Great Britain. A couple of years ago, an organization was founded in New York for the purpose of promoting cultural relations with Russia. An intensive programme for the interchange of ideas and information is being arranged by that Society; already several branch organizations have been established in different cities of the United States. An extensive library of contemporary Russian music was recently opened in New York with the assistance of Russian and American musicians. It includes works of every recognized composer, and is open to the use of musicians and students of music. The art and book committees of the Society cultivate contacts with experts in Russia in order to keep the people informed of interesting developments in important fields, and American books are freely exchanged for various valuable works of Russian authors. Negotiations for exchange of students in several of the music and theatrical schools, colleges and universities of Russia are

now under way. The work of this organization, like that of many others, is allied with that of the Society for Cultural Relations with America.

SOME AMERICAN EXPERIMENTS

There are many independent organizations both in Europe and America which are trying to promote better understanding through cultural co-operation. But all of them cannot be described within the short space of an article. However, the novelty of one or two recent developments in the United States may justify the indulgence of referring to them. One notices at present a growing tendency on the part of many of the leading American colleges to encourage undergraduate students to spend the junior year abroad; even scholarships given for the purpose have come to be designated as the "Junior Year Abroad" scholarships. There are many American undergraduates who are now spending their junior year in foreign countries. The fundamental idea back of this movement is that the undergraduate of that age, being more open and plastic, imbibes more readily the culture of another race; such an experience, it is held, easily widens his outlook, broadens his sympathies and develops in him the spirit of internationalism.

The other interesting movement is what is known as the Floating University. Its main purpose is to give its students a first-hand knowledge of the different countries of the world, its peoples, their life and their thought. The students of the University are taken round the world under the guidance and instruction of experienced professors especially chosen for the purpose from different universities. The curriculum comprises a wide range of subjects, including languages, sociology, philosophy, religion and history. The students are divided into various groups according to their special interests and are expected to attend classes regularly while travelling. And the work done at sea and in ports is supplemented by observation tours under the direction of the professors of the departments concerned. Such contacts and visits, it is

maintained, will give them a sympathetic understanding of the different races and their cultures. Though it is only five years since that University first began to function, yet it is making a sincere attempt not only to co-ordinate theory with practice, but even more to broaden the students' outlook and widen their sympathies.

ORIENT AND OCCIDENT

The reader is perhaps now ready to ask: What about cultural relations with the Orient? Though there has not been much sharing of culture between the Occident and the Orient in the last century, yet a large number of students migrated to European centres of learning as Europe held then the spot-light of educational progress. Such centres as Oxford, Cambridge, London, Paris, Berlin, etc., were very popular with students from the Orient. Within the last few years, however, the student-migration from Asia to the United States has steadily increased. The registration of foreign students in American colleges and universities shows that at present the largest number is from the Orient. For sometime past, the relations between Japan and America have been greatly strained. In view of that situation, a Japanese-American Cultural Society was recently organized in New York to promote friendly relations between them. It is gratifying to note that there are 650 students from Japan studying at present in various institutions in America. Similarly, students from Korea, the Philippines and India now migrate in larger numbers to America in quest of knowledge. Among all the countries of the world represented in American centres of learning, China has the largest number, the enrolment being well over two thousand.

It is but natural that England, France and Holland, with their Asian possessions, and Germany, with its traditions of scientific scholarship, should have not only been interested in the Orient, but produced outstanding Orientalists and schools of Oriental Studies. To America, however, the Orient was not of any special interest, as the former

was too much concerned then with her own domestic problems. Though the Americans speak of the "Near East" and "Far East", they overlook the fact that they are misnomers as far as America is concerned. Yokohama, for instance, is at the same distance from Seattle as Naples is from New York. The "Far East" which embraces China, Japan, the Philippines and the Dutch East Indies, is, in fact, nearer to the United States than is the so-called "Near East". Be that as it may, it is gratifying to note that America is now beginning to show greater interest in the Orient.

Many of the leading American universities are not only offering scholarship aids to students from the East, but are introducing courses on Oriental subjects. A recent investigation of more than five hundred institutions of learning revealed that one hundred and eleven of them offer courses on the literature, philosophy and religions of the East, with a total enrolment of more than six thousand students. Harvard and Columbia offer courses on Oriental languages, fine arts and history. Princeton University has a great project now under way to catalogue, edit, publish and, in some cases, translate over 3,000 Oriental and Occidental manuscripts. It is reported that the material contained in them would help to alter certain aspects of present knowledge of the Crusades, and of the history of geography, chemistry, arithmetic, astronomy and medicine, thus revealing the debt that Western peoples owe to Arab and other Oriental civilizations. It is calculated that the completion of this task, which Princeton has undertaken, will take centuries, and when that is done, the University will have made a distinct contribution to the history of Oriental culture, and created for itself the reputation of being a great centre for such work.

Outside of these outstanding institutions in the East, the chief centres of interest in Oriental affairs are on the Pacific Coast. Facing, as they are, the Oriental countries, the Pacific Coast States are striving to develop closer relations with them,—relations growing not only out of increased commerce and travel but of the gradual

adjustment of the long disturbed relations between the Oriental and American peoples of that region. America's interest in Oriental studies is of recent origin. In Europe a greater emphasis has long been laid on the literature, language, history, and arts of Oriental countries. Though Europe has produced some Orientalists of pre-eminence, numerically speaking, the output of the European universities has been rather small. But the work turned out by them has been, in the main, of a higher quality because of the longer interest and closer contact which have made possible the ripening of minds versed from youth in the affairs of the Orient. In time America will also develop Orientalists of real merit and genuine ability. Till recently American emphasis has been more on the study of contemporary politics and economics than of the arts and languages. In view of the recent recognition, both in Europe and America, that the time is at hand when the Western world must learn more from and about the Orient, studies in Oriental literature, history, philosophy and religions are now being popularized in most of the institutions of learning in the West.

The East and the West are necessary to each other, since they emphasize different and, not infrequently, complementary aspects of truth. The Western continents have been engaged in securing protection against physical death. On the other hand, the striving of the Eastern peoples has been, as the poet Tagore points out, to win for man his spiritual kingdom, to lead him to immortality. By their present separateness, East and West alike are in danger of losing the fruits of their age-long labours. For want of that union, the East is suffering from poverty and inertia, and the West from lack of peace and happiness. The spiritual impotency of Western civilization having been disclosed by the World War, some of the thinkers of the West are now beginning to feel that the Occident must draw some benefit from the spiritual wealth of Asia. "There are a number of us in Europe", writes Romain Rolland, "for whom European civilization no longer suffices,—dissatisfied

children of the spirit of the West, who feel ourselves cramped in our abode, and who, without depreciating the subtlety, the brilliance, the heroic energy of the philosophy which conquered and ruled the world for more than two thousand years, nevertheless, have had to confess its insufficiencies and its limited arrogance. We few look towards Asia." Such sentiment is expressed by many eminent Europeans. And yet how pitiful it is that, when Europe is turning instinctively towards the East, we of the Orient are unaware of its claim for succour and fail to recognize the honour of the call to serve humanity at this hour of need!

THE VISVA-BHARATI IDEAL

Where is India, the mother of philosophy and religions, in this new movement to exchange cultural hospitality? Having played so important a part in the history of civilization, is she not to be the fountain of Indian wisdom and Oriental culture? In Ancient India, our universities served two great purposes: they were first of all centres of learning where students acquired knowledge from the best products of the Indian mind; and secondly, they were centres of India's intellectual hospitality, where foreign students who came in quest of knowledge were welcomed as guests. But, alas! our modern educational institutions are India's "alms-bowl of knowledge". There is not a single university to-day in the whole country, with the exception of Visva-Bharati, to really fulfil one or both of those functions. Even to specialize in Oriental studies, a son of the soil is obliged to go to Europe! Could intellectual poverty be possibly worse in any civilized country on the face of the earth? The introduction of Western learning into India at the expense of her own culture, the utilitarian objective of training men in India for the carrying of the white man's burden, and the wofully low economic condition of the country have reduced her to this shameful state. Such a disgraceful position and the pressing need for an Indian seat of learning drove the poet Tagore to set himself the task of founding an Indian university to help India to concentrate her mind and to be

fully conscious of herself; to seek the truth and make that truth her own wherever found; to judge by her own standard, give expression to her own creative genius and offer her wisdom to the guests that come from other parts of the world. With such ideals, the Poet founded Visva-Bharati as the seat of Indian culture and centre of India's intellectual hospitality.

During the last eight years of its existence, famous scholars and students from different parts of the world have enjoyed the hospitality of Visva-Bharati. Professor Sylvain Levi of Paris, who is probably the greatest living Indologist, was there for sometime as a visiting professor. Other noted European scholars such as Dr. Stella Kramrisch, Mlle A. Karpellez and Professor M. Winternitz of Prague University, Professors Collins, M. Benoit, Lim and Bache have also been the guests of Visva-Bharati. Professors Tucci and C. Formichi, the noted Orientalists of the University of Rome, were sent out there to enjoy India's hospitality by the Italian Government. Dr. Sten Konow of Christiania also was a guest of the Institution for sometime. India is thankful that she has at least this gift of Tagore's to save her face and extend her cultural hospitality to the pilgrims of knowledge and messengers of goodwill. In view of the fact that a new interest in Oriental culture is aroused in the West, a greater effort must be made not only to revive our culture, but to establish a larger number of cultural centres in India, China, Japan and other countries of Asia, to provide common meeting ground for East and West.

Though this new movement for the promotion of better understanding among the peoples of the world through educational agencies is only in its early stages, yet those who have had something to do with it bear witness to the fact that the students and professors who have returned after an enjoyment of educational opportunities in foreign countries, exhibit an increased breadth of vision and keener interest in international affairs. It is to be hoped, however, that not merely the beneficiaries

themselves may profit through such exchange, but also the nations they represent, and that better understanding and friendly relations may be fostered and established among them. We are, indeed, witnessing a cultural co-operation in this generation, which is bound to have a far-reaching influence in the spread of goodwill. The foreign student of to-day is destined to play a role far greater in its influence and far more significant in its effect, upon race relations. The fundamental idea back of this movement is the promotion of peace through the cultivation of human sympathies. Though this movement of cultural co-operation is of recent origin, yet its importance in the quickening of social progress and the furtherance of goodwill among the nations of the world cannot be over-emphasized.

Some Aspects of Muslim Polity

BY PROF. S. V. PUNTAMBEKAR, M.A. (OXON),
BAR-AT-LAW

The revolt of Turkey against the Muslim conception of polity, society and religion, is one of the outstanding facts of modern Asiatic history. Writers like Amir Ali have claimed an extremely democratic character to the political and the social institutions of Islam. But to-day we find Muslim Turkey, the home and seat of Khalifas for the last four hundred years or more, revolts against the idea of Khilafat in the interests of true democracy and progress. The Khilafat theory and organisation are the very roots of the Muslim polity and society, rule and religion. Hence in order to understand the political value of Muslim ideas of polity, we must understand the Khilafat theory and organisation and see critically the real elements of political democracy in the Muslim polity as conceived by the early Arabs and their prophets and the Khalifas.

The modern State is not based on ideas of religious uniformity or racial identity. It is primarily a territorial and not a credal or tribal conception or unit. The forces which give it a unity, an organisation and a distinctness are partly geographical, partly historical and partly cultural. The feeling of neighbourhood and common attachment to the land dominate its mould. Common spirit and a feeling of common danger underlie its political activities. A feeling of common citizenship actuates its internal policy.

None of these elements are visible in the true Muslim State and polity. The idea of religion as laid down in the Kuran and the injunctions laid down therein to spread and to maintain that religion are the basic principles of Muslim polity and society. It is really a religious brotherhood or community. Within the community, every true Muslim is equal to the others religiously and to a large extent socially,

though racial differences like those of Arabs and non-Arabs may raise some aristocratic tendencies in some racial groups. But the community never recognised a democratic form of government in its political activities and organisation.

Outside the religious community, as against the non-Muslims, there is no sanctioned feeling of real neighbourhood or common citizenship. On the contrary, the attitude is to be one of continuous warfare against unbelievers or 'infidels' till they are converted, enslaved or rooted out. Toleration of non-Muslims is a religious lapse on behalf of the Muslim sovereign. Only men of 'the book' could be allowed to live on payment of a capitation tax. But they are not real citizens, but subjects only tolerated and not loved or associated with or served as fellowmen. Others who may be polytheists, idolaters, atheists, etc. may be forcibly converted or murdered. There is no third alternative.

Muslim polity grew out of the needs of self-preservation of a primarily religious community. Therefore the aim of the polity, in theory and practice, was first to preserve and defend and then to spread and maintain the new religion. It did not arise out of the necessity of preserving or defending economic needs or advantages nor political ambitions nor ideals. The conception of religion being inspired by and laid out in the other world, is authoritarian and does not change. Hence whatever is laid down or enjoined upon in the inspired 'Book of Utterances' is not subject to discussion, change, or the influences and needs of environment. But a political community and its polity which grows out of economic needs and political ambitions, or the social needs of safety and security, cannot acquire an authoritarian character. Economic needs and political aims are laid out and based on earthly considerations and environment. Therefore its form and organisation cannot be permanently sanctioned but have an adaptable and alterable character. Here people's needs and individual ambitions and ideals count. Therefore in the case of a religious community growing into a political community, the polity of a theocracy naturally develops and its form and character remain authoritarian and imposed ;

while in the case of a real political community which has grown out of economic needs, or need of tribal security and safety, the forms of polity become various and acquire their monarchic, aristocratic or democratic character according to the dominance and wisdom of the classes who compose that particular community.

Any people who claim to be ruled by God or a God's representative in the interests of a particular Divine dispensation possesses a theocratic polity. With them, the ruler is the chief priest, and the chief priest is the ruler. Political power is the handmaid of the religious power.

Persons who govern claim a special authority to declare the Divine Will or to interpret it if it is already known. There is no place for individual conscience or interpretation. The right of free worship or free thought in religious and social affairs does not exist. The political authority which empowers order and discipline is therefore in the hands of such a special authority, uncontrolled by popular will or unrelieved by popular wisdom. The conception is authoritarian and not democratic.

Thus among the Muslims, the conception of the State and the Church is not differentiated, and when it becomes differentiated owing to the political conquests of the Turks, the State is only the police of the spiritual power. God is really the ruler. Khalifa is His agent on earth. He is to carry out the Kuranic Commands. Political power is for the maintenance and promotion of true religion. Both powers are in the hands of the Khalifa. But he exercises the lower one in the interests of the higher one. Thus politics is subordinated to religion. Sinners and apostates are considered to be seditionists and rebels. Non-Muslims cannot be full citizens.

This theocratic conception of the State and its ruler left no chance for the development of any democratic ideas of government. Modern democracy is a territorial representative democracy. Ancient democracy was a direct democracy. But the Muslim Khilafat or monarchy was an irresponsible monarchy. Excepting the Kuran, to none was allegiance due

by the ruler. There was no right to rebel against Kuranic injunctions or Khalifa's orders and interpretations. It was both a sin and a sedition to do so. Thus it is evident that it was primarily an allegiance to a particular religion and its leader and not to the State and its ruler. There is no State apart from the religious community or church. It is only its temporal aspect and its police.

Muhammad, the Prophet, developed this theocratic conception and organisation of a religio-political community after his flight to Medina in 622 A. D. And the first two Khalifas, Abu Bakr (632-634 A. D.) and Umar (634-644 A. D.) who were his able and loyal successors succeeded in spreading it over the conquered countries and also perfecting it. As long as the succession to the Khilafat remained undisputed and the Khilafat remained undivided, the force of this absolutistic theocratic theory was great. But under conflicting theories about the election and the succession of the Khalifa, and the ensuing conflicts of their followers, the Khilafat split among three Khalifas in three parts of the world and came to be claimed by a number of houses whose members thought themselves to be its rightful holders. Its political power gradually decayed and was usurped by Turkish Sultans who were ambitious governors or officers and had conquered a large part of the Khalifa's territory for themselves. Such Sultanates or Amirates were established in various parts of the Muslim world, and some of them were new conquests of non-Muslim territories. These Sultans had very little religious power of their own, but had political power over the conquered territories. Therefore though they had accepted Kuranic teachings, still they tended to become powerful rulers and to look to their own stability and interests from the political point of view. No doubt they used their religious ideas to trouble or to oppress their subjects by depriving them of their civil and political rights and financial security. Still for the safety of their rule, they had to ally themselves with dominant races in the country who were non-Muslims and give back to them some of their religious rights and political

privileges. They often used them against their Muslim opponents in a civil or a foreign war.

In the early history of these newly-risen Sultanates, the authority of the Khalifas was formally retained. But later on, these Sultans and Amirs began to consider themselves to be the Khalifas of the age and the country of their rule. They claimed both political and religious supremacy. Though a strong body of 'Ulemas' or learned theologians had gradually arisen as being the true interpreters of Kuranic injunctions, and often proved to be a great check on the heretic or liberal tendencies of a sovereign, still it often happened that the tendency of the political and the religious power to unite in the person of the ruler asserted itself according to the theory of the Khilafat, namely, that the Sultanate (political leadership) and Imamat (spiritual leadership) should be in the hands of one person. These two powers were really two aspects of one power.

The other point about the Khilafat which deserves notice here is the theory of the so-called 'election' of the Khalifa by the entire Muslim world. This is considered to be a democratic element in the early Muslim polity. There is hardly any such theory as well as practice found fully accepted by the learned or the laymen among the Muslims. Muhammad never laid down any such theory. The practice of the election of the Khalifa after him has neither any uniformity nor continuity. None of the first four Khalifas was regularly elected by the body of Muslims as a whole. The so-called election was confined to the relations of Muhammad and the members of the Kuresh tribe. The Shias believed in the hereditary succession of Ali and his descendants. The Sunnis had no regular theory except that the Khalifas must be of the Kuresh tribe. Kharjites or puritans alone believed that a true Muslim, whoever he may be by race, can be elected by the whole body of the true believers as the Khalifas. But this school arose at the time of Ali and no Khalifa was really elected according to its notions. There was always some manipulation by the leading men and families of Mecca

and Medina regarding the succession of a new Khalifa. After the death of Ali, the fourth Khalifa, either civil war or heredity decided the issue. Thus there cannot be said to be any democratic method of election when a new Khalifa succeeded the old. The reading of his name in the Khutba or public prayer was an approval after the event.

The Khalifa's or ruler's powers were absolute. They were not checked or controlled by any group of ministers or men regularly assembled. There was no parliament or assembly of men to control his resolutions and activities. There was no body of local or personal law which he could not override. There were no democratic ideas in the organisation of the State. There was no inalienable right in power, property or person, given to anyone except the ruler himself. The ruler was all in all. What pleased him had the force of law. What displeased him had the character of crime and sedition. Whatever he allowed to exist may be tolerated. It was only a measure of necessity or expediency, not a law based on any principle of justice or equality.

The ruler interfered personally in all matters whenever he wanted to do so. The executive departments were not fixed, nor were they well organised. They increased or decreased according to a ruler's wishes. Thus the government machine emanated from him and worked under him. He was the political head, the religious head, the judicial head and the executive head.

It is not possible to accept Sir Amir Ali's statement in *The Spirit of Islam* that "an examination of the political condition of the Muslims under the early Caliphs brings into view a popular government, administered by an elective chief with limited powers". There was no real election nor does Kuran leave any powers to the people. Muslim polity was largely a personal despotism unchecked by the people or the people's counsellors and representatives. Non-Muslims had no civic rights. There was no common citizenship amongst the ruled and there was no

responsibility of the rulers to the ruled. Thus there was no democracy in any sense. The results of the assertion of the old ideas of Muslim polity are being seen in the present revolution going on in Afghanistan. They do not leave any scope for necessary changes in politics and in society, and are again maintaining Afghanistan as a mediæval stationary state. Turkey has destroyed old Muslim polity for the sake of her existence and progress. Afghanistan is re-emphasizing the old ideas of Muslim polity and society, for the sake of what, we do not know. But certainly it is not for democracy, social and political.

Studies in Rajput Painting

BY G. VENKATACHALAM

II. NAYAKA-NAYIKA SERIES

Love, both human and Divine, was a subject of deep study in Ancient India, and there is a profound science and art of love elaborated into a system of philosophy which is at once interesting and instructive. Its great exponent was a Rishi, Vatsyayana, and his 'Kama-sastra' is a standard work on the subject. The modern science of sex psychology is merely a tiny fragment of that old science which dealt with not only physical sex-appeal, sex-impulse and sex-attraction, but with deeper founts of human nature. It is both a psychological and physiological treatise; a mine of information on one of the fundamental forces of life. That Vatsyayana was a clever psychologist with a vivid imagination and penetrating intuition, will be apparent from the following poetic conception of his on the origin of the first woman: "When Brahma", he writes, "the Creator of the Universe, was minded to give a helpmate to man, he became, to his consternation, aware that he had already used up the whole of his material on the creation of man. Not knowing what to do, Brahma looked about him and too the stuff to fashion woman from the rest of his creations. He took the lovely curve of the moon, the sinuous undulations of the body of the snake, the mobile grace of the quaking grass, the satin softness of the flower, the tender tendrils of the climbing creeper, the witchery of the dancing sun-beam, the slender suppleness of the willow, the vanity of the proud peacock, the ingratiating wiles of the cat, the sweetness of honey, the gentleness of the dove, the cruelty of the tiger and withal the coldness of ice and the heat of the fire. After this manner did Brahma create woman."

STUDIES IN RAJPUT PAINTING

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The rise and spread of Vaishnavism with its 'Bhakti' cult brought about strange psychological changes in the nature of the people. Devotion and service were held up as the modes of salvation, and the union of the human and Divine soul (which in their essence were one) was the aim and end of life. This path to union with God was made intensely personal and direct, and every devotee sought after his Beloved through song, music, poetry and worship. Outpourings of devotional songs and hymns considerably enriched the literature of the period and a new kind of mysticism influenced the life and arts of the people. Love-songs, love-poetry and love-festivals were much in vogue, and various new cults arose out of them. The central theme for artists and writers was the love of Radha and Krishna, symbolising the love of the human soul for the Divine, and this, in its higher aspect, became a great elevating spiritual force, and in its lower aspect became a kind of degraded sex-worship. The painters of those days have found rich materials in this for their art, and another strikingly interesting feature of the Rajput School of painting is the depiction of Erotics in pictorial forms. They are as significant as the 'Ragamala' series. In many respects, except for the theme, the pictures look alike in treatment and technique.

The ancient writers classified this subject into very many details, and clever psychologists as they were, they analysed both men and women according to their *temperaments* and their emotional nature, and categorically divided them under eight main headings, *Nayakas* and *Nayikas* as they were called. A *Nayaka* is a man-lover or hero and a *Nayika* is the heroine. There are eight types of them, and these formed an absorbing theme for the Rajput painters. Here, as in 'Ragamala' pictures, the interpretations were the artists' own, and to those who knew its vocabulary, grammar and idiom, its meaning and significance were quite clear.

One of the commonest of representations in this series is the *Abhisarika Nayika*, where the *Abhisarika*, or the

young girl-lover, goes in search of her lover in the night time, through dangers and difficulties. The picture is a study in nocturne. The timid figure of the young girl dressed in coloured garments stands out against the dark background of the night. The sky is threatening with heavy clouds, and lightning is flashing illuminating the dark spaces of the trees. A storm is brewing and the birds are on the flight. The rain is pouring down and serpents are hissing about her. The picture is treated in a realistic manner, but some of the significant *motifs* are symbolically treated.

Another favourite theme is *Virahini*. There are many versions of this subject. The girl-lover is consumed with the fire of love for her separated lord and she is seen lying on a couch of leaves to keep her cool. Two maids are fanning her with their hands and at the same time offering her sandal paste and lotus flower to soothe and comfort her, but she is not consolable. In another version of the same theme, the girl is seen reproaching an artist whom she had commissioned to execute a portrait of her separated lord, and the verse behind the picture is interesting and reads as follows. She says to the painter: "From evening to morning and morning to evening, the days are passing and months go by. What do you know of the woes of another? I gave you clean paper, fresh and shining like glass. Ah! painter, how many days have gone by, and you have not drawn the picture of my friend." In *Uta Nayaka*, we have the familiar scene of the heroine waiting anxiously the coming of her lover at the place of tryst in a lonely grove beside a bed of leaves. She is depicted in nervous expectation and she is holding the stem of a tree to support herself. There is a pond of lotus near by and a deer is drinking water.

Mr. O. C. Gangoly has an interesting note on one of them, the *Vasaka-Sayya*: "It is a picture of a white pavilion painted on a background of deep Indian red, surrounded by a group of trees, with one human figure, a lady dressed in a diaphanous skirt, standing at the entrance to the pavilion.

The bed which is kept ready for the expected guest in the shrine of love is emphasized by the blankness of wall, which in its turn is contrasted with the crowd of trees which practically fill the space outside, poignantly suggesting that everybody is here but the beloved one. In the words of an old Vaishnava song, 'My temple alone is empty'. It is a vigil of love and she is waiting for her lover, standing motionless on the tip-toe of expectation. Her loneliness is laid stress on by the echoes of five straight perpendicular cypress trees, schematic in their rigidity. The monotonous red is the very symbol of prolonged agony of separation, which is the burden of the song and the theme of the picture."

Some of the best specimens of this series are from the brush of Kangra masters and therefore of exceeding beauty and charm. The 'Ragamala' series are mostly from the artists of the Rajasthani school and therefore of earlier date than the 'Nayaka' series. These pictures are more than mere pictures; they are not only pleasing to the æsthetical sense with their flowing lines and harmonious colours, but they reflect in a great measure the idealism and the sweet serenity of Indian life. They are an index to the cultural level of the people, a mirror of their mode of life and expression, a commentary on an interesting phase of Indian history. Few artistic endeavours in the world can lay claim to such originality, variety, sweetness of conception and perfection of achievement.

The Chenchu Couple

BY CHINTA DIKSHITULU¹

(I)

Lingadu was living in a bamboo hut beside a perennial stream in the forest of the Black Hills.

Lingadu was a Chenchu. He was young, dark-complexioned and good-looking. The hamlet of the Chenchus consisted of a number of round huts made entirely of bomboos splinters. The hut of Lingadu was at a distance from the hamlet. Lingadu had been married only recently. Eramma was his wife. The young couple chose to have nothing to do with the hamlet for the time being, and they built a hut for themselves by a mountain stream.

Their love-episode was similar to that of civilised people. Their mental experiences were identical.

In their childhood they swung by the hanging creepers entwined round the branches of trees. They went to the forest early in the morning to hunt a beast or a bird, make a feast over it and return in the evening. They also studied in the same school. Their teacher distributed sweets to them whenever they attended school. They went to school mainly to receive sweets and eat them sitting under a tree. The Chenchu pupils received free clothing too. They wore the cloths and absented themselves from school, in order to go a-hunting. By the time they left school, they learnt to identify the letters of the Telugu alphabet. They could not understand why their teacher was taking so much pains to teach them those crooked lines called letters. Like many in India, they perhaps wanted not education but food, not knowledge but clothing.

Eramma was at the threshold of youth. Lingadu's

¹Translated from his own short-story in Telugu.

THE CHENCHU COUPLE

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mind began to stray into dreamlands. One day Lingadu and Eramma wandered into the forest in search of honey-combs. They were searching among precipitous rocks under projecting ledges. At last they could discover one. Lingadu went up the hill and Eramma, standing at its foot, was watching him. Slowly and cautiously he crawled to the edge of a rock under which a tempting comb was visible. He poked at it with a bamboo stick. Being disturbed, the bees rose up buzzing and surrounded him on all sides. Lingadu could not bear their stings and he came down. Eramma was disappointed. They had been fasting the whole day and they were hungry. They hoped to feast on the comb filled with honey, but it was not to be.

Eramma tried to 'smoke' the comb, and for the purpose she was collecting dry faggots. She did not know that it was dangerous to light fires in the forest. But Lingadu knew. (On one occasion Karigadu had lost his arrow in the forest, and to get it back he burnt the forest down to ashes. He got back his arrow and got a few months too for his trouble.) He dissuaded her from lighting the fire and got up the hill again. Eramma followed him. Both reached the edge of the rock. Eramma held to the projection of a rock firmly and gave her other hand to Lingadu. He held her hand and crawled, crawled out into space till half his body was in the air. He bent down and with the other hand forcibly plucked out the comb. Eramma pulled him back. They smiled at each other. They got the comb but their bodies were full of stings.

They smeared their bodies with some leaf-juice and sat under a tree beside a lake. The sun had set. The moon had arisen. The forest land was strewn with the moonlight-patches. The *Tandra* flowers were filling the forest with sweet scent. The birds reached their tree-houses and were making melody.

Eramma broke the comb into pieces and reached them to his lips. They ate up the comb and drank the lake-water to their fill. Under that tree, standing on the edge of the lake amidst the moonlight-patches, they gave themselves up

to an embrace and kissed each other. The forest 'scented' sweeter, the birds sang merrier and the moon shone brighter.

(2)

They wandered in the forest every day to satisfy their hunger with small game, honey-combs or 'chenchu bulbs'. Thus passed some days. Though they failed to secure food for a day or two, they did not mind. Gradually they fell into line with the other Chenchus and laboured for their food.

Lingadu was felling the bamboos, splitting them and thus earning six annas a day. Eramma wandered in the forest from sunrise to sunset, to gather tamarind, soap-nuts, 'chara' pulse, myrobalams and similar things for selling them to Government agents, at rates fixed by Government. Thus she too earned a few annas every day. With the money thus earned, they purchased food-stuffs and clothes for themselves, and iron tips for their arrows.

Formerly the Chenchus sold the forest produce to middlemen at very low prices. With a view to improve their position, the Government intervened and bought the produce themselves. But the Chenchus never improved. As before, they had to suffer for want of plain food and clothing. Wild animals and wild men are born children of the bounteous forest. The animals perhaps have enough to eat, but the men have very little. Is Mother Nature partial, or are their fellowmen cruel? In the summer, they appeased their hunger with mangoes and milk. Cows and buffaloes were the sole property of the Chenchus. The Chenchu couple had ten cows.

Thus passed one year. One day Lingadu went into the forest to cut bamboos. He toiled hard and when he returned home in the evening, Eramma was not at home. It was time she returned and cooked food for them. Lingadu was very hungry. He wanted to know why she was detained and started in search of her. He took the path by which Eramma was accustomed to return. He saw her under a tree sitting on a bough that shot athwart, just a little above the ground. The bundle of things she had gathered that day

was at some distance from her. Her upper cloth, that should have covered her breast, dropped down and lay on the bough. In front of her there was a Chenchu sitting and handing something to her. She was gazing at him.

Lingadu was full of wrath. He drew the bow and was about to shoot an arrow at the Chenchu but restrained himself. He hung down his head and turned homewards. This restraint was perhaps unusual with the Chenchus but Lingadu had his own misgivings. No doubt Lingadu was sincere in his love for his wife. But all the same suspicion crept into his mind. The smile on his face was blotted out for ever.

Eramma came home late at night and cooked their food as usual. Lingadu would not speak to her. Every movement of her body provoked his suspicions. He took a little gruel, spread his cloth outside his hut and laid himself down on it. Eramma slept at the doorway of the hut.

As on that other night, the moon was shining and fragrance was wafting. But to Lingadu the world was wrapped in sorrow.

(3)

Time is a quick healer of mental wounds. Lingadu's mind regained its calm, but not its balance. It was the time when the Chenchus had no work. Everyone was intent on earning somehow his daily food.

One fine morning, the Chenchu couple started for the forest. Lingadu was holding the toils for catching animals and Eramma was carrying a basket. They walked on a little distance along a foot-path when they came upon bamboo thickets. The screeching of the insects was heard from within the bushes. At some distance could be seen vultures hovering in the sky over a carcass left behind by a tiger overnight. The hillside was a thick mass of bamboo bushes.

They entered the thicket with some difficulty. At a spot where it was very dense, Lingadu spread his net. Eramma, meanwhile, secured from the topmost bamboo stalks a goodly quantity of rice. They sat in the shade of

a bush and began to eat the rice. The sun was growing hotter.

Lingadu without accepting the rice from her hands cast a piercing glance at her, and fell to talking of Bayigadu, in whose company she had been found. Eramma began to show signs of restlessness. She could not answer his questions. But she took him into her embrace and thus consoled him. Lingadu was quiescent for sometime. He was pleased with Eramma for what she was saying and doing for love of him. He began to wonder if his suspicions were baseless. He conversed with her in a pleasant manner. They caught hold of the hare that ran into their toils, roasted it, ate it and set out for home.

He was a mild man though brave. It was not in his nature to pick up quarrels or rush into dangers. She admired all brave deeds. She could use the bow with skill. Her arrow seldom missed its aim. She was charmed with similar skill in others. She loved Lingadu but she admired other brave men too. Bayigadu was one of them. When Lingadu spoke to her about Bayigadu, she managed to satisfy him for the time being. But she was labouring under a grievance. Why should her lover suspect her? It was unnatural, she thought. Even though her conduct might seem suspicious, she could not see why Lingadu, of all men, should be so mean as to suspect her. She became indignant. She wanted to tease her husband further.

One day, the couple were returning home. On the way, she saw Bayigadu resting by a stone slab on which the big stag he had killed that day was lying. Lingadu also saw him. Eramma told him that she would return home with Bayigadu and she stayed behind. Lingadu hid himself behind a tree. He had with him only his toils, but not his bow and arrows, nor his sword. Bayigadu had his bow with him. Lingadu thought discretion was the better part of valour.

Eramma sat beside Bayigadu. He placed his hand on her shoulder, but she removed it. He engaged her in conversation and drew a smile from her lips. Lingadu observed

that smile. She got up and took the bow and arrow of Bayigadu and hit at a bird concealed in the branches of a tree. He showed his admiration for her by lifting her up and embracing her. In deep anger, she flung him aside and started home. Darkness descended on the forest.

Lingadu saw that embrace. He lost his balance of mind and began to wander in the forest.

(4)

Why should this grief afflict him,—a wanderer in the forest? He was not guilty of any indiscretion. Why should his heart ache while others had sinned? When his cows were fondled by strangers, did he grieve?—or when his bow and arrows were used by others? Why should he interfere with the freedom of others? But then, was he not, after all, an animal? And was not jealousy common to animals? So he felt he was justified in resenting such conduct. His heart sank deeper and deeper within him. That night, and in the depths of that forest, it is hard to say what thoughts agitated the mind of Lingadu.

The next morning, a Lambady woman, while wandering in the forest for dry wood, saw a strange corpse, hard to recognise, beside a stone. Near by were footprints of a tiger.

All through the night, Eramma lay awake in tense expectation of her husband. He never turned up. At early dawn, she went in search of him into the forest. Nowhere could his trace be found. She began to repent her naughty behaviour of the previous evening. Remorse and indignation filled the whole of her being.

Was she not innocent? Did she not love her husband? Her heart, which she surrendered at his feet that day near the lake, with the goddess of the forest as her witness, was never taken back and given to others. Was he then justified in attaching blame to her? Was she really guilty? Could it be said that a woman did not love her children, merely because she fondled others' children? Is this sin? If so, why did this sin glow intensely in her heart, promising

her new happiness? Ignorant of the laws of man, she indulged in all kinds of wild thoughts.

With such thoughts agitating her mind, questioning wild men that came across her way and dragged onwards by the cords of love, she wandered in the forest. The Lambady woman crossed her path. Eramma heard her story. The sun was vomiting fire from the mid-sky. The unknown corpse was at last recognised by the Chenchu woman.

The red rays of the setting sun that evening covered the corpse of a woman floating on the waters of the cavernous Krishna river. A fawn, come there to appease its thirst, began to gaze at it strangely with its big rolling eyes.

The New Freedom

BY N. S. RAMA RAO, M.A. (Cantab)

Man has conquered nature and pressed her secrets for his own benefit. Science, physical science, that long-legged giant, has walked from peak to peak as from discovery to discovery and has traversed much of the visible universe. The knowledge of chemistry has made it possible for man to make many things in his laboratory while nature builds them up laboriously in hers on a limited scale. Physics has brought within his reach the tremendous energy that still lies coiled in the atom. This energy when freed and harnessed would turn the great Sahara into an Eden and the frozen poles would become a fair habitat for man. Botany, like her sister science zoology, has yielded her secrets and many new nourishing vegetables and fruits and cereals, proof against bacteria and blight, are growing under man's observant eyes. Psychology and its attendant psycho-analysis are laying bare human repressions to the scorching rays of self-analysis. Mathematics and astronomy are scanning the skies to discover our earth's affinity in other stars. Of daily occurrence are inventions and discoveries which could fain make human life happier and inject more leisure into our feverish activities.

From the above, we see that the long sought of millennia is almost on us. It would indeed be with us if only we would give it a chance. Man has conquered nature and has established his empire over her by wresting her innermost thoughts from her unwilling bosom. She cannot resist his importunities and has delivered herself for good and all into his trustful hands.

In spite of all this, why is it that there is so much misery and distrust among men? For the simple reason, while being busy in bending nature to his needs man has failed to

surpass himself. He looks at himself with complacent insouciance and glories in his victories over his environment and little he thinks of himself, as one destined to become a superman. Man, looked at from this slant, is a glorious failure.

Realising this lapse in him, one or two of his own kind have risen in every clime and among every people to point him his real destiny. They say that just as you have conquered turbulent, unruly, disobedient nature, by understanding her secrets, you can with equal success be a master of your desires, passions and achievements. Impugn yourself before the bar where you are the judge, jury, the accused as well the accuser, and pass the verdict of guilty or not on yourself. Man has let himself be valued by others; he has for long ages been arraigned and adjudged

It is easy for things to be so: as who of us wants to think? A very difficult process indeed. Let others do it for us. But, no! says the thundering voice of those of our kind who have surpassed themselves: "There is freedom, the greatest heritage of man." This is a new freedom to which mankind is not accustomed and feels there is something unholy in it and it says in effect: "It is unholy that man should be his own master. He has created a God, the monitor, whose perpetual slave he wishes to be."

Functions of Local Boards

(A HISTORICAL RETROSPECT)

BY PROF. M. VENKATARANGAIYA, M.A.

To understand the nature of the expenditure of Local Boards, it is necessary at the outset to have an idea of the scope of their functions. Legislation and the executive orders of the provincial government have defined as exactly as possible the particular purposes on which their funds may be legitimately spent. Before they were constituted for the first time in 1871, three local cesses were raised in rural areas, each one for a special purpose. The cess instituted by the Madras Act VI of 1863 could be spent only on schools; the village cess levied under the Act of 1864 could be utilised to pay the salaries of the village establishment; and the road cess authorised under the Act of 1866 could be applied only for the construction, repair and maintenance, of roads and communications. The first and the last of these cesses were repealed in 1871 and the objects for which they were raised were included among those for the realisation of which the Local Funds Act was passed in that year.

There have not been great changes in the functions of Local Boards since their formation in 1871. They were then defined as follows:—

(1) The construction, repair and maintenance, of roads and communications.

(2) The diffusion of education, and, with this object in view, the construction and repair of school-houses, the maintenance of schools, either wholly or by means of grants-in-aid, the inspection of schools, and the training of teachers.

(3) The construction and repair of hospitals, dispensaries, lunatic asylums, choultries, markets, tanks and wells,

the payment of all charges connected with the objects for which such buildings have been constructed, the training and employment of vaccinators and medical practitioners, sanitary inspection of towns and villages, the cleansing of roads, streets and tanks and any other local works of public utility calculated to promote the health, comfort or convenience of the people. (Section 26). It was only in minor respects that modifications were introduced into this list. Thus in 1884 when a new Local Boards Act was passed, the Boards were authorised to spend their revenues on,

“(4) the planting and preservation of trees on sides of roads and on other public places” and

“(5) the establishment and maintenance of relief works in time of famine or scarcity” (Section 95 Clauses ii and v).

When the Act was amended in 1900, the Boards were empowered to construct slaughter houses and cart-stands (Section 95, clause iii). For about thirty-six years no alterations were made in their functions. In the interval, however, the Royal Commission on Decentralisation made its recommendations and the Government of India issued resolutions indicating in broad outline the direction in which changes were desirable in local self-government. The Minto-Morley Reforms gave increasing opportunities for popular representatives to move resolutions in the Legislative Council and place before the Government the views of the educated public on this subject. The question was also carefully considered in the “Montford” scheme of Constitutional Reforms. The result of all this activity was the passing of the Local Boards Act of 1920. It absolved the Local Boards from responsibility for famine relief; it authorised them to utilise their revenues for the construction of poor houses and orphanages, the removal of congestion of population, and the provision of house-sites, the payment of contributions to the funds of Health and Welfare institutions and the establishment and maintenance of libraries and reading rooms (Section 112 Clauses (ii), (iii), (iv) and (v)). The functions of Local Boards at the present day are based upon this Act.

REASONS FOR CONSERVATISM

Communications, education and public health, have thus been regarded as falling within the sphere of Local Bodies. No acute controversies arose in respect of these. It was only when proposals were made to include particular items under one or other of these heads or to add to them that differences of opinion arose between the Government on one side and the non-official members of the Legislature. It may be said that on the whole the Government adopted with much justification a cautious and conservative policy in the matter. A review at this stage of the several factors that contributed to this conservatism is of much importance.

(1) One of the essential factors was the inadequacy of the resources of Local Bodies. In the earliest days of legislation on the subject, the Government ignored this aspect of the question. It thought that by merely creating Local Bodies and calling upon them to discharge certain functions, they would be enabled to do the work entrusted to them quite satisfactorily. It was in those days left to responsible officials and non-officials to invite the attention of the Government to the financial weakness of the Boards and the consequent folly of throwing heavy work upon them. Even education was regarded by them in such light. It was only later on when the Government obtained actual experience of the real capacities of the Boards that it understood the point of view of the critics. This standpoint was emphasized in the famous Resolution of Lord Ripon's Government, where it was clearly stated that when a new liability was transferred to the Boards a corresponding source of revenue also should be made over to them (Section VI). It was on this ground that opposition was shown to throwing on Local Boards the responsibility for famine relief (Speech of Ratnasabhupathi Pillai, M.L.C.P. 1900). The Madras Government retained in 1900 the clause regarding famine relief merely out of deference to the views of the Imperial Government and not

because it was satisfied with the justice or the expediency of the case. For, the history of famine relief clearly brought out how the finances of Local Boards were handicapped when they had to meet the charges on famine; and after all what they contributed was very small when compared with the huge famine expenditure incurred by the Government. For instance in 1897-8, the Madras Government spent 92.86 lakhs on relief works and it was proposed to debit only five lakhs to the account of Local Boards. Even this resulted in heavy deficits which, under the rules then existing, Government had to make up by means of provincial subventions. It was not permissible to spend the funds raised by one Board in the jurisdiction of another. The local funds of all districts did not constitute a common purse. Though one Board might be in an exceedingly flourishing state, its funds could not be spent in another district suffering from famine (Financial Statement M. L. C. P. 1898, P. 19). In spite of these difficulties, the Clause was retained in the Act of 1900. It was however a dead letter and it was removed in 1920. During the discussions on the amendment of the Act in 1900, there were non-official proposals for including among the purposes the construction of poor-houses, the establishment of model farms, the importation and distribution of superior kinds of seed, etc. but all this was objected to mainly on the ground that local funds were unable to bear the additional expenditure. Various suggestions were placed before the Royal Commission on Decentralisation for expanding the scope of the work of Local Boards, but the Commission rejected all of them on the main ground that the administrative duties already assigned to Rural Boards were quite large enough and what was really needed was not an extension of functions but larger resources for the work already falling on them. (Report Para. 745). A similar opinion was expressed by the member in charge of local self-government during the discussions on the Bill of 1920, when it was proposed that Local Boards should be empowered to spend their revenues on agricultural and technical schools, home industries, etc.

and the Legislature concurred with him. (Speech of Sir P. Rajagopalachari). The general feeling has throughout been that if without increasing their resources—which was not found to be possible or practicable—new functions were added, it would do them more harm than good.

It may be argued that no evil effects will result if the list of permissive functions is enlarged, leaving it to the discretion of individual Boards to spend funds on them in case they can be spared. This will, it may be said, incidentally serve as a reminder to the Boards of the ideals for which they have to strive, the directions in which they have to move, and the great volume of work that lies before them. Two points, however, deserve consideration in this connection. There is a danger of funds being frittered on fanciful schemes likely to capture the imagination of the electorate, each Board trying to outdo the other in this pursuit. Secondly, even under the existing legislation, the field open for Boards is wide enough to give full scope for years to come for expenditure on a variety of useful undertakings. Public health, education and communications, require all the funds that they raise. Concentration on these few items is in the long run likely to bear better fruit. A mere extension, therefore, of functions will not at this stage be of any real use.

(2) While the financial factor was of fundamental importance in determining the course of legislation on this subject, influence was also exercised to some extent by a few secondary factors. Where a state department had been created to work in a particular field, it was considered inexpedient and uneconomical to allot work in the same field to Local Bodies. This was the view put forward by the spokesman of the Government during the discussions on the Bill of 1920, when it was proposed to permit the Boards to open agricultural schools, model farms and technical institutions, etc. The agricultural and the industrial departments with their Directors and other officers were already entrusted with work of this nature. It was apprehended that if the revenues of Local Bodies were permitted to be

spent on the same purpose, the state departments may shirk their responsibility, grow slack, indifferent and even careless in their work. (M. L. C. P. 20th September 1920). These fears were really groundless. With a state department of education, the Local Boards have been entrusted with the establishment and maintenance of schools; and with a state medical department, they have been opening and managing hospitals and dispensaries; and these departments have not grown indifferent in consequence. So, a state agricultural department need not necessarily mean that Local Bodies should have nothing to do with agriculture. The fact of the matter is that the interest in the scientific development of agriculture is to be found only to a small extent among the masses of people. Boards consisting of their elected representatives cannot be expected to devote much attention to agricultural schools or farms; and their capacity to organize and manage such institutions is limited. Under these circumstances, the cause of scientific agriculture may suffer if its success is made to depend on Local Boards. Moreover, the subject is still in an experimental stage and it is better that for some time more it is entirely left in the hands of the state department. Owing to the large volume and variety of work in education, a division of labour has been brought into effect between Local Boards and the state education department—the former establishing and maintaining schools, the latter providing with inspection and general co-ordination. There is as yet no scope for such division of labour in the agricultural or the industrial department.

CHANGES AHEAD

It is circumstances like these that stand in the way of additional work being thrown upon Local Bodies at present. Conditions are bound to change with time and the above objections may cease to have force in future. Whether expenditure on a particular item would benefit only a class or the generality of ratepayers in the area, is another factor which influences the policy in regard to the functions of Local

Bodies. Though the diffusion of education was recognised as one of the main functions of these bodies, objection was raised in the early days to expenditure on secondary education and on reading-rooms and libraries. The ground of objection was that these would be of advantage to only a small minority of the population, especially the members of the higher castes. The strength with which this objection was held is best brought out in the speech of Mr. Arundel who was in charge of the Local Boards Act Amending Bill in 1900. He said: "I am more out of sympathy with this amendment (re: public libraries, reading-rooms) than with any other hitherto proposed. . . . With regard to reading-rooms and libraries, if any of these were to be provided for, it would be in larger Unions where the people who would avail themselves of this advantage would be the officials, the vakils and the schoolmasters; and the people from whom the taxes are levied which go towards providing these things would, for the most part and with rarest exception, derive no benefit. In proposals such as these, we are altogether going beyond what is wise and expedient for Local Fund Boards". (M. L. C. P. 3rd April 1900). The growth of literacy and the spread of the library movement through the efforts of voluntary organizations weakened the force of this objection by 1920 when, as has been noted already, expenditure on reading-rooms was declared legitimate.

A contrast is often drawn between the growing volume and variety of work turned out by Rural Boards in western countries and the narrow sphere in which the Boards here have to function. But it must be recognised that this contrast is only the counterpart of the difference in the standards of life and in material prosperity. The provision of swimming baths, wash-houses, gymnasia, museums, etc., should be considered a luxury in a land where there is not as yet an adequate supply of pure drinking water; and continuation schools should be regarded in the same light where universal primary education has not yet been provided for. It is only when the general economic conditions undergo

improvement and the annual national income increases, that Local Boards would be able to come into possession of larger funds and try to approach the western standards of local administration.

PROPORTION OF EXPENDITURE

Legislation has not only defined precisely the functions of Local Boards but it also attempted in the past to regulate the proportion in which the revenues of these Boards should be distributed among the several functions allotted to them; and where legislation failed to lay down such a rule, the administrative orders of the provincial government took its place. Thus, for instance, the Act of 1871 laid down that all the net income derived from tolls and two-thirds of the income obtained from the land cess should be spent on roads (Section 36); and the balance from the land cess should be set apart for expenditure on education, medical relief, sanitation, etc. The proceeds of the house-tax were intended for expenditure on schools, but when that tax was suspended, the Government issued a rule that ordinarily one-sixth of the land cess together with the miscellaneous educational receipts should be spent on education (Report of the Committee on Local Self-Government, Para 182). These rules resulted in very small expenditure on public health. So, the Committee appointed in 1882 to report on the condition of local self-government in the Madras Presidency in the light of Lord Ripon's Resolution expressed the opinion, that: "So much has now been done to improve them (roads) throughout the Presidency and the demands of the other services are now so imperious, that the time has come when the proportion of land cess appropriated by law to road fund may properly be reduced from two-thirds to one-half" (Para 246). In the Act of 1884, no minimum of expenditure on roads was fixed and discretion was allowed in the matter to the Boards. Between 1884 and 1895, the Boards paid increasing attention to education and public health and it appeared to the Government that roads were being neglected. There was

also an impression in those days among the members of the Government that the need for educational expansion was not urgent and they were even prejudiced at the progress it was making. When in 1895 a non-official member of the Legislature asked for additional allotments for education out of the Provincial funds, the Hon'ble Mr. Bliss replied: "The tendency of Local Bodies to spend more money upon education is encouraged by the local departmental officers, just as expenditure on sanitation is constantly fostered by the strenuous efforts of the Sanitary Commissioner. The consequence is that both Local Boards and Municipalities have been starving other departments for the sake of education. In fact, the roads upon which the prosperity of a country in my opinion depends, are now fast going out of existence. My impression is that so far from there being any prospect of more money being spent on education, the question that arises is whether less should not be spent". (M.L.C.P. 1895, P. 171). At about the same time, the Government of India was particular on more money being spent on "railway feeder roads". (G.O. No. 1369 L of 8th June, 1892). The remedy for the bad conditions of roads would have been the payment of provincial subsidies to Local Boards as was done before 1876 and not the curtailment of educational expenditure. But so averse was the Government to such a policy that it issued an order calling upon the Presidents of District Boards to allot every year for expenditure on roads an amount equal to half the land-cess and the net receipts from tolls, and to furnish an annual statement to show how far these instructions were being carried out. (G.O. 1686 L. of 14th September, 1895). A similar step was taken some years later in regard to expenditure on avenues. The Government of India called attention to this subject, (Resolution No. 21-34-14 of 11th July, 1905), and in 1904-5 the Madras Government issued an order that every Board should spend annually on avenues not less than the average income from them during the preceding five years (A. A. R. 1904-5). This contagion of fixing the percentage of

expenditure became widespread and an ingenious suggestion was put forward by Castle Stuart, the President of the Godavari District Board, who was so very much frightened at the growth (very slow, as it really was) of education that the Government should fix the maximum (not the minimum as in other cases) that might be spent on education (Letter of 16th December 1899. G. O. 1337 L of 3rd August, 1900). The Director of Public Instruction took a quite contrary view of the matter. He complained about the evil effects of the Government Order on roads, and wanted that the minimum obligatory expenditure should be fixed in the case of education and not of roads (G. O. 425 Education, of 6th September, 1900).

A rigid rule fixing the percentage of relative expenditure is not called for. Conditions vary from one local area to another. In some districts, owing to the paucity of railways or canals, more expenditure on roads may be necessary while in others *e.g.* Godavari and Kistna, less. A uniform rule applicable to all the districts in the Presidency will under these circumstances be an obstacle to real progress. In some cases, it is sure to lead to extravagance and waste. It will also be fettering the discretion of Local Boards and cut at the root of local self-government. Government has every year the opportunity of reviewing the administration of each District Board and that may be availed of for making the necessary suggestions. Reliance may be placed on the good sense of the members of the Boards, their local experience, and public opinion as expressed by rate-payers. (Report of the Decentralization Commission, Para 778).

GROWTH IN RECENT YEARS

The growth in the magnitude of the work of Local Boards is clearly brought out by the statistics of their expenditure. Taking the annual average in each decade commencing from 1872-3 when the first Local Funds Act was in full operation, the figures work out as follows:—(The figures are calculated from the statistics given in the Annual Administration Reports).

1872-3	Rs. 50,12,433	
1873-4 to 1882-3	„ 57,24,015	per year
1883-4 to 1892-3	„ 66,77,235	„
1893-4 to 1902-3	„ 84,14,721	„
1903-4 to 1912-13	„ 121,15,826	„
1913-14 to 1922-3	„ 209,33,836	„

These figures indicate a continuous and, in the more recent decades, a rapid growth in expenditure. It rose by 15 per cent. in the first decade, 15.8 per cent. in the second, 27.2 per cent. in the third, 44 per cent. in the fourth, and 72.7 per cent. in the fifth and the last decade, and Local Boards now spend per year more than five times as much as they spent in 1872-3.

It is also noteworthy that this increase is shared by all the important heads of expenditure, although there is a difference in the rate of relative increase under each head. Broadly considered, the rate of increase under communications was slow up to 1902-3 amounting to only four per cent. while in the following two decades it rose by 63 and 71 per cent. respectively. The growth under education has been more steady. The annual average expenditure in the first decade was 51 per cent. more than the expenditure in 1872-3, while in each of the following four it was 46 per cent. 58 per cent, 46 per cent. and 248 per cent. more than that in the immediately preceding decade. The extraordinary increase by 248 per cent. in the last decade is the result of the new policy adopted after 1911 in regard to elementary education with the ultimate object of making it universal. Similarly under public health, the expenditure has been going up from time to time, though at a varying rate. The percentage of increase in this case is 74.18, 55, 48 and 21 respectively. Under management the expenditure stood at Rs. 1,74,902 in 1882-3 while in 1922-3 it was 13.92 lakhs, thus showing an increase of 800 per cent.

Apart from causes affecting particularly each individual item, mention may here be made of those more general factors responsible for the enormous growth of

expenditure referred to above. It is to be noted in the first place that the services which the Local Boards have been called on to administer are of such a nature that they offer a limitless field for an ever-increasing outlay. It is not therefore surprising that in this long period of more than half a century, the expenditure should have increased to vast dimensions. In 1872-3 about fifteen thousand miles of road were maintained by the Local Boards while the mileage in 1922-23 was nearly twenty-six thousand. Similarly in 1872-3 the number of schools managed by the Boards and the number of pupils attending them were respectively 323 and 10,631. In 1922-23 schools increased to 9131 and pupils to 536,287. With regard to hospitals and dispensaries the number in 1872-3 was 93 and in 1922-3 it was 421. Only 427,179 patients were treated in the earlier year, while nearly five millions were treated in the later year. All this is what may be called the result of natural growth. In the second place there has been a striving after greater efficiency in each department of service. Better communications meant an increasing expenditure on bridges across rivers. More efficient education involved expenditure on school buildings, on furniture and on better apparatus for teaching, which of course included the employment of a larger number of trained teachers. Improved medical relief carried along with it better equipment of hospitals, more accommodation for in-patients and a larger supply of trained midwives and nurses. In the third place, another important factor has been in operation in recent years. It is the rise in the general level of prices, wages and salaries. The cost of materials required for roads, buildings, etc. increased in consequence; and after 1917-18, there has been an all-round revision of the salaries paid to those in the service of Local Boards. These general causes explain to a great extent how, as in the field of national and provincial expenditure, the expenditure in the field of the Local Boards also tended to continuously go up.

Rabindranath's 'Red Oleanders'¹

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

Rakta Karabi (Red Oleanders) represents, more than any of his plays of the symbolical type, Rabindra Nath Tagore's dramatic genius in its fullest maturity. It has all the lyrical beauty of the earlier plays and dramatic sketches and also the spiritual depth of his developed thought. It has for its main theme the conflict between the true spirit of man and a materialistic and mechanical order of society. It is only natural that a play with such an avowed purpose by a man who has always held very independent ideas on most things, social or political, and has frequently expressed himself strongly on the problems of modern civilisation, should have a genuine present-day interest.

Let us first see how the play is presented to an audience. It opens in front of a royal palace in Yaksha-Puri where the bulk of the population slaves in the gold mines. The King is hidden from public gaze behind a net-work screen, before which the whole action of the play takes place. The affairs of the town are administered by his officials and he himself never appears among his people but busies himself in piling up the gold-nuggets that are being dug from the mines. None of the workmen can escape from their bondage except by death. They remind one of the Robots of Karel Capek's play 'R.U.R', mere machines, with numbers instead of names, completely under the mercy of a greedy super-capitalist. There is a Professor who also lives behind a net-work of scholarship and pedantry. He discusses philosophy and æsthetics with Nandini, the heroine of the play—a woman so beautiful that even the King is enamoured of her.

¹ The play first appeared in 1924 in the Bengali original in "Prabasi" a Calcutta literary monthly. The English version came out later in the year in the September number of the "Visvabharati Quarterly".

Nandini has a lover, Ranjan by name, whom she adores and loves and waits for his coming to liberate the people. Ranjan calls her his 'Red Oleander' because the colour of his love is red like the oleanders she wears on her neck, on her breast, and on her arms. The red of the oleanders is intended to suggest not only beauty and love but a foreboding of the strange and fearful things that are about to happen. Kisor, a boy-slave, worships Nandini and brings her red oleanders even at the risk of his own life. Nandini goes to have an audience with the King but she can only speak to a voice that comes from behind the net-work curtain. She bids him come out of his seclusion and tells him, however much she may admire his strength, he ought to be ashamed of his cruelty to the workers and of his greed in grabbing at the dead wealth which they dig up for him out of the bowels of the earth. The King says he is weary of his strength and covets her love. But she cannot give him love in return, for she loves Ranjan and is eagerly awaiting his coming to Yaksha-Puri. Workers, some of them in rebellious mood, pass before the palace, discussing their sorry plight and trying in vain to devise ways of escape from this hell of slavery. Bisu, a vagrant wanderer whom the Government had wanted to use as a spy, is the real friend of the workman. Bisu is an enigmatical character who sings songs and really serves as a mouthpiece of the author's gentle satire upon the false political economy of Yaksha-Puri. He mocks the tyranny of the machine-made institutions of the place and expresses a passion for a world entirely free from ugliness and cruelty and greedy, acquisitive passion. Nandini is his idol and the symbol of all his noblest aspirations. But the wives of the workmen tell him that some day "that girl with her noose of red oleanders will drag him to perdition". Later in the play, Nandini tells Bisu that she does not fear the King any more, for she has seen him face to face. He is hungry for love and wants desperately to live; for when she told him that she could give up her life for the love of Ranjan, he got frightfully angry and drove her away. Bisu becomes a little apprehensive for her

safety. In a third interview between Nandini and the King, the King threatens to kill Ranjan, if he ever gets hold of him. Nandini says: "Those whom you have scared all along, will one day feel ashamed to be afraid. If my Ranjan were here, he would have snapped his fingers in your face and not been afraid even if he died for it." She goes off and waits for Ranjan by the wayside. Meanwhile, Bisu has been arrested on a charge of inciting the workmen to insubordination. Ranjan comes at last, evading the watchfulness of the King's officials, but he is not seen upon the stage until he has been killed by the King himself, because he had challenged him to fight. The King does not know whom he has killed, and when he learns that it is Ranjan, he cries out—"I have killed youth. Yes, I have, indeed, killed youth—all these years, with all my strength. The curse of youth, dead, is upon me." He realises that all his life has been a mistake and calls on Nandini to help him to destroy the system that has been built up around him:

NANDINI

What would you have me do?

KING

To fight against *me*, but with your hand in mine.

That fight has already begun. There is my flag. First I break the flag-staff—thus: Next it's for you to tear its banner. Let your hand unite with mine to kill *me*, utterly kill *me*. That will be my emancipation.

GUARDS (rushing up)

What are you doing, Your Majesty?

You dare break the flag-staff, the holiest symbol of our divinity—the flag-staff which has its one point piercing the heart of the earth and the other that of heaven; What a terrible sin—on the very day of the flag-worship:

Comrades, let us go and inform our Governor.

(They run off)

KING

A great deal of breaking still remains to be done. You will come with me, Nandini?

NANDINI

I will.¹

All that we hear now is that Nandini has "dyed her garland the colour of oleanders with her heart's blood" and "gone in advance of us all to the last freedom"; the King has just gone off to his death, hearing Nandini's call and, according to the Professor, "has at last had tidings of the secret of life". Ranjan has left behind "in death his conquering call—he will live again and cannot die"; the workmen have broken into the prison and released Bisu, and the net-work before the palace has been torn to shreds. Bisu comes out and calls on his comrades to come on to the fight and as we hear the shouts of 'Victory to Nandini!' the curtain falls. A song dies away in the distance:

'Hark it's autumn calling—
Come, O come away!'

The rather severe satire in the play on the tyranny of a materialistic order of society with all its ugliness and inhumanity is, however, relieved by an exquisitely delicate sensibility and imaginative beauty. If the author has lashed materialism and worldly greed, it is with a silken whip. If he has rebuked tyranny, cruelty and falsehood, it is with a gentle and benevolent kindliness. His satire does not sting—it only awakens pity and understanding. The character of Nandini stands out very clearly as a type of the grandeur and pathos of love, which runs as a red thread through the tapestry of human bondage and slavery. She has "for her mantle", as the Professor says in one place in the play, "the green joy of the earth.—That is our Nandini—In this Yaksha town, there are governors, foremen, headmen, tunnel diggers, scholars like myself: there are policemen,

¹ 'Red Oleanders' (Visvabharati Quarterly, Sept., 1924) p. 82.

executioners, undertakers—and they all fit in perfectly into the scheme of the place. She alone seems out of place here. "Midst the clamour of the market-place she is like a lute in perfect tune". The author has used his extremest skill and imagination in the painting of the portrait of this lovely, warm hearted and brave woman, and we cannot help feeling sad when she passes out of our sight like a bird of passage, like a figure made, as it were, of pure abstraction, passing out into nothingness, leaving nothing behind but her bracelet of red oleanders. The *denouement* exactly suits the Poet's temperament. It seems strange that she who had made so vivid an impression upon us as a human being, as a physical reality, should come to such an end. As Rabindra Nath himself explains: "She is not an abstraction, but is pursued by an abstraction, like one tormented by a ghost. Nandini is a real woman who knows that wealth and power are *maya* and that the highest expression of life is in love which she manifests in the play in her love for Ranjan. But love-ties are ruthlessly molested by a megalomaniac ambition, while an acquisitive intellect plies its psychological curiosity, probing into the elusive mystery of love through vivisection . . . I have a stronger faith in the simple personality of man than in the prolific brood of machinery that wants to crowd it out. This personality—the divine essence of the infinite in the vessel of the finite, has its last treasure-house in woman's heart. . . The joy of this faith has inspired me to pour all my heart into painting against the background of black shadows. . . the portrait of Nandini as the saviour of the message of reality, the saviour through death."¹

It will be quite evident that what the Poet has attempted in this play is not the exposition of a new idea but the clothing of his most vital thought on the problems of life and religion in a new outward attire. We have the same fruitlessness of idle curiosity and covetousness as in *Raja* (The King of the Dark Chamber), we have the

¹ See 'Red Oleanders: Author's Interpretation.' ('Visvabharati Quarterly' October, 1925) p. 285.

self-same futility of a machine-made order of life as in *Achalayatan*, (The Immovable Sanctuary), we have the same redeeming potency of love as a restorative as in *Prakrtir Pratisodh* (Nature's Revenge), we have also the same note of the eternal craving of the human spirit for the distant and the unknown as in *Dak Ghar* (Post Office) and *Phalguni* (The Cycle of Spring), only in a slightly different dress. All these ideas again form coherent parts of the leading idea—the cruelty and stupidity of a mechanical and soul-less civilisation. This idea is also closely bound up with the Poet's favourite doctrine that each individual is enslaved or freed by something within himself and that if he breaks the outward chains of authority, this is only the revelation of the freedom which he has achieved within himself. There is no need to hide the fact that by means of a dramatic parable Rabindra Nath quite frankly attempts a criticism of the political machinery of modern times and of the consequences of the commercialised civilisation of the present-day. In a recent article in the 'Visvabharati Quarterly', the Poet has said that the purpose of the play is to show what a menace to humanity is contained in the 'organised avarice' which has captured the imagination of the western races and threatens to "trample down life's true harvest" throughout the world. He says of this 'grim apparition': "It is intensely real; its hot breath is upon us; its touch is all over our shrinking souls. It is the principal hero to-day in the drama of human history; and I trust I have the right to invoke it in my own play, not in the spirit of a politician but of a poet, possibly a lyrical poet."¹

There is a vast amount of abstract truth expressed through the different personages of the drama and wrought into a richness of imagery and delicacy of rhetoric and metaphor by a master of beautiful words. The individuals of the play have not perhaps come to life exactly in the way we might have expected, but they are much more than

¹ See October Number, 1925, pp. 283-286.

² See 'Visvabharati Quarterly,' October, 1925, p. 284.

mere types. They are entities, and one and all succeed in conveying the Poet's thought and feeling and have an universal appeal to human emotion. There could never be a mathematical measure of art, for all art in its essence must be universal. By universality we do not mean that all people will share an author's ideas or feelings; in point of fact, they will not. Rabindra Nath's true universality of emotional appeal in this play consists in his exquisite rendering of the subtle beauty of human life and nature, in giving everlasting vitality to a flashing moment of joy or pain, and thus widening our sphere of understanding and sympathy. He enables us to grasp reality, not so much through a process of reasoning, as through feeling and this end he achieves again and again with unmistakable success. Herein lies perhaps the real greatness of his art in rhyme or prose.

An Andhra Statesman In the Far South

BY N. KRISHNAMURTI

Poverty is rich in stimuli. Its beneficent powers lie in riotous profusion all around its beneficiaries as the fertilities of mother earth lie scattered about the mighty oak in primeval forests. Otherwise is it with those who come out with silver spoons in their mouths. The subject of this memoir was born of poor parents, literally poor. Ancestors unknown had left their ancient home¹ in the *Andhradesa* and come as far south as Tinnevely. Nagam Aiya was the fourth of a family of five children born to a pious couple of Telugu *Aruvela Niyogi* Brahmins whose stock of racial pride was all that was left to them through the vicissitudes of migratory living. Four years later, another boy was added to the family, and circumstance which it will take too long to narrate here sent these, roving again for shelter, to the shrine of Sri Padmanabha. That was perhaps the stroke of destiny. The young arrival duly went to school and to college too. And in 1870 H.H. the Maharaja's College sent up its first batch for the B. A., and Nagam Aiya earned the distinction of being the first graduate from His Highness' college. As his old professor of revered memory, Dr. Harvey, wrote to him on his appointment as Acting Dewan—"I must congratulate you on being our first Dewan as well as our first B.A." But poverty had not smoothed the way to a degree. For after matriculating he had to seek a job to help keep the pot boiling, and studies and breadwinning in a lowly capacity went hand in hand. But the lowly job ere

¹The village of Boppudi, (Narasaraopet Taluk, Guntur District), where representatives of the family may still be found.



Dewan Bahadur V. Nagam Aiya
Dec. 1850—May 1917.

the degree came had been changed for the privileged one of Assistant Professor of History and Mathematics in his own college. With passing the B. A., the young man was marked out for preferment, and was at once drafted to the Dewan's English Office, as it then was, by Raja Sir Madhava Rao.

His rise was rapid. He was appointed a Tahsildar in 1872, then Superintendent of Census in 1875, and wrote the *first* Census Report of Travancore in 1876. Kottayam marvelled at its 'Boy-Tahsildar' as he was spoken of, whose official duties no more oppressed him than games a schoolboy, but who at the same time laid the foundation of those qualities which distinguished his later career. The Census work turned all eyes to the young officer, who, to quote the words of the official review by the Dewan, "in the course of executing the work entrusted to him has displayed superior intelligence, great tact for organising, instructing and controlling a large and special agency which the necessities of the work called for". Passing through the appointments of Police Sheristadar and Marahmut Sheristadar in the Huzur, he found himself by the time he was barely thirty called upon to fill the place of Dewan Peishkar and District Magistrate of the Padmanabhapuram Division, the highest executive office in the State under the Dewan. The Peishkar was a *Ma Bap* then, and Nagam^a Aiya held the office in three out of the four Divisions and left everywhere indelible marks of the benevolent autocrat who did everything to promote the fundamental well-being of the people under his charge. The Dewan was gratified to observe "contentment pervading the bulk of the people in your Division". His Sovereign was pleased to write to him—"Nothing could be more gratifying to me than to hear that the division under your charge is in such a prosperous condition. I know you are sparing no pains in making the administration alike popular and beneficent to Government." From the charge of the Division it was in his day a promotion to be appointed to the charge of the Settlement operations then in progress. The Settlement Dewan Peishkar

had just become Dewan. The next senior officer so stepped into his place, and Nagam Aiya filled it for twelve years animated by one principle, "light taxes and large revenues". He believed in the noble maxim that money was more fruitful in the hands of the people than in the privy coffers of the State.

Throughout this long period he laboured under the disadvantage of strong differences with successive Dewans both on policy and on methods. The Dewans were the victims of pressure from the Madras Government whose views in the direction of rates of assessment and speedy settlement conflicted with Nagam Aiya's essentially. Matters came to a head with the coming into the Dewanship of Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, and at a series of Settlement Conferences, strong differences strongly expressed led to a situation calling for a decisive step. His Highness thought—"let the Dewan go on with his scheme, let Nagam Aiya now take up the writing of the State Manual which work had officially been entrusted to him even during the Dewanship of Rama Rao". Whether as Settlement Officer or as Dewan Peishkar on Special Duty for the State Manual, Nagam Aiya had reached the step just below the Dewanship, and speculators and wags, in the press and elsewhere, were conning the chances for and against him. Dewan Krishnaswami Rao went to the Delhi Durbar of January 1903 with His Highness, and for the first time Nagam Aiya was Acting Dewan. "I have no doubt that this is a sure indication of what is in store for you at a date not far off." So wrote the Dewan himself. The chorus of congratulation on the appointment and appreciation of his temporary administration were crowned by the terms in which his Sovereign-master acknowledged his work. His Highness wrote:—"I have often thought of writing to you after my return from my trip to Delhi last year to express my high appreciation and satisfaction of your work when you were in charge of the administration during my absence from Travancore for more than six weeks. I know what difficulties and troubles you had to overcome but you

worked with your wonted zeal and energy and carried on the duties of the administration to my entire satisfaction. I have much pleasure therefore in placing you again in charge of the administration. It is needless for me to express the high opinion I have always entertained of your integrity and abilities. I have every confidence that you will afford me the same satisfaction whenever you are placed in charge of the administration."

But the fair weather which had so far carried him along the high seas of success and achievement now deserted him. The goal was in sight but unattainable. He may hold charge of the Travancore Administration, and he did on five occasions, but he may not be Dewan *pucca*. So the career which opened on a note of ample promise, and which for 42 years kept Nagam Aiya poised on rising pitches of success and fame, broke at last on a note of tragedy. Contemporaries, friends, foes, have variously explained this dismal trick of fate. But the truth lies hidden in the labyrinthine meshes of political practice which coil round kings and governments, and the story may therefore, perhaps, be never told. Or it may be. The time is not yet, perhaps, nor is this the place. But those who know, know too that neither Nagam Aiya nor those whose affections, hopes and admiration gathered round him, had just cause to say—"He missed the Dewanship, and he did not deserve it; his Maharaja did not care for him, and would not have him".

With the Census Report of 1876, Nagam Aiya revealed the talent that lay in him for authorship. He then discovered himself to be for at least another thirty years the official spokesman of Travancore. The Census Reports of 1881 and 1891 established his pre-eminent literary gifts. His Government in recognition of the Census work not only recorded in formal terms high appreciation but also bestowed an honorarium of Rs. 2,000. A further gift of the value of Rs. 2,500 followed when after sixteen years Nagam Aiya made his last official publication, the three splendid volumes of the Travancore State Manual, in 1907. The work which was acclaimed as his *magnum opus* brought him such a chorus

of praise and congratulation ; it was a fitting conclusion to his career as publicist for his Government, and one which in the words of a British Resident addressed to the Maharaja, "will serve for all time as a memorial of Your Highness' reign in Travancore"; and to Nagam Aiya wrote the same authority—"I congratulate you on this lasting memorial of your connection with the State". Space here does not allow of further extracts from a pile of enthusiastic appreciation, nor of a fuller account of the other numerous literary activities which embellished his career. Suffice it to say that for the press and for the platform, he was ever in demand, and people's memories enshrine the warmth and vivid charm and dignity of his personality, his mellifluous voice and silvery laughter, his lively sense of humour and finished diction. His broad outlook prevented his taking a parochial view of things, and to Indian politics he gave as anxious a study as to problems that lay close around, and he was a regular writer to the columns of *The Hindu*. He was of no party. A Brahmin of Brahmins, his best friends were drawn from among Nairs, his other non-caste brethren, from Christians and Mohamedans. His writings testify to this, and memories of him are fragrant with this unbigoted and warm-hearted trait in him. Conscious of his own high birth and opportunity, he was alike conscious that every one else had a right to a place under the sun.

He was spared to spend ten years after retirement from office, which time he filled with congenial literary pursuits, with visits to important towns in his own Presidency, with unfailing regularity in Tennis and Billiards, with the dispensation of gracious hospitality, while himself the recipient of his Maharaja's unabated confidence and regard, to whom he paid his customary two visits a week, the unexpected recipient too of the title of "Dewan Bahadur" from the Viceroy which all friends said was "somewhat belated, but in no case was better deserved", "so tardily conferred by the British Government", and so on, until in May 1917 the end came with a suddenness so becoming the justly proud and the truly noble. Such must die standing;

it was almost so in his case. A slight stomach trouble took a quick serious turn without warning, and on the third day morning the world heard of him as no more.

Life's race well run,
Life's work well done,
Life's crown well won,
Now comes rest.

Expansion of the Gupta Empire

BY PROF. V. RANGACHARYA, M.A.

Chandragupta II, Vikramaditya (Circa, 380 or 385 to 413)

Chandragupta II, the son and successor of Samudragupta, was a worthy son of his father. From the fact that his records give him the title of Vikramaditya, it has been surmised by a number of scholars that he has a better claim than any other sovereign to be regarded as the original of the mythical hero of that name who figures largely in the Indian legends. The suggestion has been vehemently denied by others, Dr. Hoernle, for example, preferring to see the original of the legendary Vikramaditya in Yasovarman of Malwa nearly a century and a half later, and Mr. Vaidya considering that there was a real Vikramaditya in the first century B. C. after all. It is not possible to enter into a detailed discussion of the question as it primarily concerns the origin of the Vikrama Era; but it may be mentioned here that, if there is any truth at all in the glories attributed by the legends to Vikramaditya, the Gupta monarch richly deserves to be regarded as such a hero. Chandragupta II, in fact, seems to be entitled to the name and glory of the greatest monarch of his illustrious line. Chandragupta seems to have been known, to judge from at least two inscriptions, also as Devagupta or Devaraja.

The materials for the study of the reign can, as in the case of his predecessor's, be divided into two classes, inscriptional and numismatic. But these can be substantially supplemented by the singularly interesting account left by Fa Hian, the Chinese traveller, and by literary evidences.

The available inscriptions of Chandragupta II are five in number. Three of them are dated, and two un-dated.

EXPANSION OF THE GUPTA EMPIRE

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The former belong to the Gupta years 82, 88 and 93, corresponding respectively to 400-1, 407-8, and 412-3, A.D. The earliest is in a cave in the Udayagiri hill, two miles to the north-east of Bhilsa, where a temple dedicated to Vishnu was, if we are to judge from the figures of Vishnu and His Consorts carved outside the cave, excavated¹. The inscription is in the 'boxheaded script' peculiar to Central India in this period. It is of course in Sanskrit and in prose, and dated on *Ashadha-Sukla-Ekadasī* of G. E. 82 (A. D. 401-2). It says that a certain feudatory Maharaja, who belonged to the Sanakanika family (which, we know from the Allahabad *Prasasti* had paid tribute to Samudragupta), endowed something to the shrine. The chief's name, which is partly lost, apparently ended with the expression . . . *dhala*. His father was Vishnudasa and his grandfather Chagalaga.

The second of the inscriptions² is on a stone at the village of Gadhwā in Allahabad district, now deposited in the Calcutta Museum. It is in the northern Gupta script and in prose. The emperor's name is mentioned, and of the date portion, the number of the year, 88, is clear. The epigraph is in two parts, each recording a gift of ten *dināras* for the maintenance of a *sattra* for Brahmans.

The third dated inscription³ of Chandragupta II was discovered by Cunningham in 1834. It is engraved on a stone in the rail of the eastern gateway of the great *stupa* at Sanchi. It is in Sanskrit prose and the southern script. It is dated in *Bhadrapada Chaturthi* (the *paksha* being not given), in G. E. 93. It is a Buddhist inscription and records that a certain Amrakardava, the

¹Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*. No 3, pp. 21-25.

²*Ibid*, No 7, pp. 36-39. The inscription mentions Pataliputra as apparently the imperial capital. The *Dinara* was adopted from the Roman *Aurei* which had the figure of an eagle to which V. A. Smith traces the Gupta Garuda.

³*Ibid*, No. 5, pp. 29-34. Fleet does not believe that *Devaraja* was another name for the emperor; but the Vakataka inscriptions corroborate this record.

son of Undana and a feudatory of Chandragupta II, gave some village or land, besides a sum of *Dinaras* for the feeding of the mendicants and the maintenance of lamps by the Aryasangha in the Vihara of Kakanadabota (Sanchi). The merit of the gift was to go to himself as well as the emperor (to whom he was evidently highly indebted). The epigraph gives a clue to the toleration of the Gupta monarch, whom it also calls Devaraja.

The first of the un-dated inscriptions was discovered by Cunningham in 1880. It is in the back wall of the cave at Udayagiri,¹ to which reference has been made already. It is, like the other records, in Sanskrit. Its script is in the northern style. Though not dated, it clearly mentions the name of Chandragupta. On palæographical grounds this can be Chandragupta II only. It records the excavation of the cave shrine to Sambhu at the instance of a Virasena, a Minister of Chandragupta. Virasena (*alias* Saba), we are told, belonged to a hereditary line of ministers. He was in charge of peace and war (*Sandhivigraha*) and belonged to Kautsa Gotra. He knew the meaning of words, logic and the ways of mankind. He was further a poet and a native of Pataliputra. The inscription says that he came here accompanied by the emperor, who was seeking to conquer the whole world, and caused the cave to be excavated.

The second un-dated inscription², which was discovered by Cunningham in 1853, is on a piece of stone found originally in the gateway of Madhura (United Provinces) and now located in the Lahore Museum. The record, which is fragmentary, is in the northern script (with some peculiarities). It says that the son of Samudragupta—it does not name Chandragupta—by Queen Datta Devi, gave some endowment, the details of which are lost. Only that

¹Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 6, pp. 34—36.

²Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 4, pp. 25—28. Though the extant portion does not name Chandragupta, there is no doubt of his being mentioned in the missing portion.

part of the record which gives the Gupta genealogy is extant.

THE COINS OF CHANDRAGUPTA II

Passing on to the second source of the history of the reign, namely the coins¹, the most important point to be realised is that Chandragupta II was not only the issuer of gold coins like his father, but also of silver and copper coins. The silver coins were issued for the first time by him, and the copper coins almost exclusively by him among the Gupta sovereigns. Chandragupta's gold coins which were at first called *Dinari*² and later on *suvarnas*, were even more abundant and versatile than those of Samudragupta. He continued the Archer and Tiger-slayer types of his predecessor with some modifications. In the former, for example, Lakshmi (surmised by V. A. Smith to be an adaptation from the Indo-Scythian Ardochro) is given an open lotus seat instead of a four-footed throne,—a truly nationalistic change. The Archer types are the most common of Chandragupta's coins and indicate, it is believed, by their modes the geographical range of their circulation as well as the transitional periods of their issue. It has been surmised, for instance, that the Throne reverses indicate an earlier period as well as circulation in the northern provinces, while the Lotus reverses indicate a later period and circulation in the central and eastern provinces. A single coin

¹These are dwelt upon exhaustively and from every scientific standpoint by Vincent Smith in *The coinage of the early or Imperial Gupta Dynasty* (reprinted from the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*) and by Mr. John Allan in his *Catalogue of the coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Sasanka, king of Gauda* (1914). These supersede all earlier works on the subject which are copious. In his little book, *The coins of India* (Heritage of India series 1922), Mr. C. J. Brown gives an excellent summary in pp. 40-49. All the three works contain plates which can be directly consulted. Rapson's *Indian Coins* (1897), pp. 24-5, is still useful.

²One general fact to be noted regarding Gupta coins is that the obverse contains the conventional forms of the king and the reverse a mythological figure like Lakshmi. For the very few exceptions see V. A. Smith's *Catalogue*, pp. 13 and 16.

which has both the Lotus and Throne¹ reverses suggests a connecting link. All these suggestions however have yet to be definitely proved. One thing is certain, however, namely, that the Archer types are the most conservative of the coins of Chandragupta and indicate, by the Kushan dress in earlier instances, a contrast to the other types which are distinctly nationalistic. Even in these coins, however, the general tendency to growing orthodoxy is seen by the replacement of the conventional Kushan dress by the Hindu waist-cloth and sash. Passing on to the Tiger-slayer type, the change introduced by Chandragupta was the substitution of a lion in place of the tiger. The lion either combats or retreats² or is trampled upon. While the Tiger-slayer type of Samudragupta (which, it may be noted, is unique and characteristically national) had apparently the Ganga with the Makara on the reverse. Chandragupta's Lion-slayer type has on its reverse the figure of Lakshmi seated on a couchant lion and holding a lotus (or fillet, *pasa*, symbolical of the earth-girding sex) in her hands. All the successors of Chandragupta continued the Lion type, showing that the Guptas were very proud of the symbology depicted therein. One unique variety of it shows Chandragupta attacking the lion with a sword. Another type of Chandragupta's coins is the one named after the *chhatra* or umbrella figuring in it. It may be regarded as a variant of the standard model. On its obverse there is the figure of the

¹There are several varieties of each of these types. Vincent Smith suggests, though hesitatingly, the derivation of the devices from the Persian Darica. See his *Coinage etc.*, p. 18.

²The distinction between the combatant and retreating lion was first made by Vincent Smith. Others, with more correctness, do not see the difference between the two. But the other varieties pointed out by Vincent Smith are obvious. This writer would trace the Gupta lion and tiger obverses to the Greek Heracles contending with the Nemean lion. Though he is "not able to show any clear connection between the Greek and Indian designs", he still sees a Greek look in the retreating lion and feels persuaded "that its spirited design was inspired by western models." (*Ibid*, p. 20). To one who cannot see a spirited design only in western models, the Greek look of the retreating lion may not be obvious!

standing king, whose right hand sacrifices at an altar and left hand rests on a sword-hilt; and by his side there is a boy holding an umbrella over his head. The reverse shows Lakshmi standing upon a blossoming lotus, which Vincent Smith mistook for a dragon, (see his *catalogue* p. 14 and 91), with fillet or lotus in her hands.¹ Chandragupta issued a new coin, usually styled the Horseman type, which his successor afterwards adopted as his most favourite model. The figure of the horseman² had once been employed by the Bactrian Greeks and Sakas; but the Gupta rendering of it is, as Brown points out, original and spirited—a change which Vincent Smith failed to notice. The king rides on horseback. He is either fully clothed or has a waist-cloth the long sashes of which fly behind. He faces either to the right or left, and has either a sword or a bow. The horse is fully caparisoned in the Indian fashion, with a plume on its head. Sometimes there is the figure of the crescent too. The reverse of this type contains, as in Samudragupta's Veena coins, the figure of Lakshmi seated on 'a wicker stool'³ and holding lotus and fillet in her hands. The rarest of the gold coins of Chandragupta is the one known to numismatists as the Couch⁴ type, which seems to have been derived from the Veena model of Samudragupta. Here the emperor is seated on a high-backed couch. His right hand hold aloft a lotus. His left

¹The Goddess stands either full or three-quarter. Sometimes she stands on an altar. In some coins she is in the walking posture.

²Vincent Smith divides the coin into two types as the horse faces right or left, but Allan rejects this classification on the grounds that the same fabric is seen in both cases and that it is the presence or absence of the symbol on the reverse that should be regarded as the true criterion for classification.

³V. A. Smith ascribes this to the Greek coin bearing the figure of Demeter. See p. 24 of his *Catalogue*.

⁴One is reminded of the couch which is used in Tamil inscriptions synonymously with the throne. Vincent Smith notes that it was an imitation from Indo-Scythian coins and draws attention to figures in the same attitude in the Amaravati sculptures of the 2nd century A.D. See his *Catalogue*, p. 18.

hand rests on the side of the couch. On the reverse there is Lakshmi seated on a throne with a lotus or fillet in her hands. The emperor calls himself *Vikrama* (Cf. Samudragupta's *Parakrama*)¹ and *Rupakriti* in these coins.

In regard to the silver coins which, as we have already seen, Chandragupta issued for the first time, there is the warrant for the belief that they were issued immediately after the reduction of the Western Kshatrapas in whose province they seem to have circulated. The model was that of the conquered people, which in turn had been based on the Græco-Bactrian *hemi-drachm*; but in place of the Kshatrapa *chaitya* there was introduced the Gupta Garuda (which Vincent Smith has mistaken for a winged peacock) and in place of the Saka era, the Gupta era (with the additional letter *vo* for *varshe* or year). Further the Kshatrapa coins had contained only the conventional head to represent indiscriminately all kings; but Chandragupta introduced his own portrait. All these changes, together with the slightly altered clusters of dots representing the rayed sun, are easily intelligible. It must be noted here that the silver issues of Chandragupta's mints were very small when compared with those of his successors; and this can be explained only on the basis of the lateness and smallness of his silver mintage.

The copper coins of Chandragupta II—his predecessors had not issued any on account of the abundance of the Kushan coins which were still in circulation—were of nine different kinds (though Vincent Smith notes only four.) In eight of these, there is the figure of Garuda with the name of the emperor in the reverse and the head or bust in the obverse. In the ninth model there is the reproduction of the *Chhatra* type with a fine *kalasa* with flowers and leaves hanging down its sides in the reverse. The king has often flower in his hands, as well as an attendant holding a *chhatra*. The Garuda has sometimes a snake in its mouth. Sometimes the bird stands on an altar and is represented

¹To the types given above Vincent Smith adds a Javelin type which is most singular in having a reverse in which the king and queen are seated in a Couch. He sees a Macedonian influence in it. *Ibid.* p. 17.

with or without human arms.¹ The copper coins, in short, are distinguished in the obverse by devices of the umbrella, the standing king, the bust or head of the monarch. The Bust type is an imitation of the gold coins of Huvishika.

THE LEGENDS ON THESE COINS

The legends on Chandragupta's coins are as poetic and picturesque as those on Samudragupta's. The Archer type has on its obverse *Deva-sri-Maharajadhiraja-Sri-Chandraguptah*. The Couch type has the same in the genitive, some specimens however having the additional terms *Vikramaditya* and *Rupakriti*. The reverse of all these has the simple and short legend *Sri Vikramah*. In the obverse of the *Chhatra* type we find, in addition to the simple expression *Maharajadhiraja Sri-Chandraguptah*, the metrical legend *Kshitim avajitya sucharitaih divam jayati Vikramadityah*. (Having conquered the earth, by his good deeds, Vikramaditya conquers heaven). The Lion-slayer type has got the epithets *Narendra-chandra*, *Simhavikramah*, *Narendrasimha-Chandraguptah*, besides this verse in the Vamsastha metre.

Narendrachandra (h) pratitha (sriya) divam
Jayatyajeyo bhuvi Simhavikramah.

The Horseman type gives the epithets *Parama-bhagavata* and *Ajita-vikramah*. The silver coins have: *Paramabhagavata-Maharajadhiraja Sri Chandragupta Vikramadityah* and *Sri Gupta-kulasya Maharajadhiraja Sri Chandragupta*

¹The following excellent summary of Chandragupta's coins by Mr. Allan is worth quoting: "The coins of Chandragupta display considerable originality of type. In his reign the throned goddess is replaced by the purely Indian type of a goddess seated on a lotus. The Couch type and the Umbrella type are original. He also introduced the Horseman type which became so popular with his successor. Samudragupta had represented himself in combat with a tiger, and Chandragupta developed this idea in four distinct types in which he is represented slaying a lion, with legends descriptive of his prowess and strength. His reign is chiefly remarkable for the introduction of a currency in silver and copper, the former of which was considerably extended by his successors, Kumaragupta I and Skandagupta."

Vikramadityasya, together with the title *Vikramanka*. The copper coins have the simple titles of *Sri Chandragupta*, *Sri Vikramadityah* and sometimes *Maharaja*.

THE INFERENCES FROM THEM

The historical lessons we are able to derive from these epigraphs and coins are indeed very interesting. The latter show that the emperor was physically a strong man, capable of fighting with lions, and intellectually a versatile and accomplished expert in the arts of peace and war. They seem to indicate that, as a man, Chandragupta was as amiable and gifted as his illustrious father. From literary works of the period as well, which we shall presently refer to, we find that Chandragupta was personally a bold and daring adventurer who did not hesitate to go into the strongholds of his most deadly enemies in order to accomplish his objects. From these works we also understand that he was regarded as as much a poet as Kalidasa and others. No doubt the version which classes him with Kalidasa and other literary luminaries is not quite trustworthy in details; but the very existence of the legend and its incorporation into literary tradition indicates the great reputation which Chandragupta had for literary accomplishments. Chandragupta was also a man of toleration. His orthodoxy is clear in his coins and the majority of the inscriptional records; but one of the latter (the Sanchi epigraph) indicates his friendship with the professors of the Buddhistic creed. These materials show that Chandragupta II ruled over an empire which included regions which had not been reduced by his father, which extended in the west as far as the sea, while literature and Vakataka inscriptions indicate that his influence extended southward as far as the extremity of the Vakataka kingdom. One other inference we are able to make is that Chandragupta was an excellent administrator. The abundant currency he issued shows a long reign of comparative peace and the devotion of the people to the pursuits of trade and enrichment.

RELATIONS WITH THE VAKATAKAS

The endeavours of Chandragupta II to carry the Gupta empire to greater glories than those achieved by his father are particularly obvious in two directions, namely, his relations with the Vakatakas and his relations with the Western Kshatrapas. Light is thrown on the former of these by the records of the Vakatakas as well as a few literary references of the period. The Vakataka kingdom was at this time ruled by Rudrasena II, the son and successor of Prithvisena I, the conqueror of the Kuntalas. We do not know exactly when Rudrasena II came to the throne; but we can learn from the researches of Dr. Vincent Smith that he must have married Prabhavati, the daughter of Chandragupta II, about the year 395 A.D. It is very probable that Rudrasena had already ruled for a few years before he married the Gupta princess. It is also probable that, in bestowing his daughter on the Vakataka king, Chandragupta pursued a policy of wise conciliation inspired by his desire to checkmate the Western Kshatrapas who, as will be shown presently, were rather restless in the latter part of the 4th century. The immediate result of this marriage was the practical control of the Guptas over the Dakkan. The events which happened subsequently seem to have gone to emphasise this control. Rudrasena seems to have lived only for a very few years after his marriage with Prabhavati. About 400 A.D. he was succeeded by his young sons Divakarasena and Pravarasena II; and the actual administration of the kingdom was carried on by the talented queen-dowager in the name of the boy kings for 18 years at least. Gupta by birth and Vakataka by marriage, this lady immortalised herself not only by an efficient administration but by her religious ardour and services to the Srisailam temple in the southern border of the Vakataka kingdom. The legends of the temple say that Chandravati (probably another name for Prabhavati), the daughter of the Gupta monarch, conceived

a passion for the God on the Srisaila hill and offered every-day a garland of jasmine flowers¹ to him. Queen Prabhavati probably gave, as Prof. Dubreuil suggests, either a daughter or grand-daughter of hers to one Madhavavarman and made him the governor of the eastern parts of the Dakkan². It was this Madhavavarman that founded the Vishnukundin dynasty. That is why he declares himself to be the husband of the Vakataka princess and the adorer of the God of Srisailam. But the marriage of the Vakataka princess with Madhavavarman need not have taken place in the reign of Chandragupta II.

The practical supremacy of the Guptas over the Vakatakas must be obvious to one versed in the circumstances. Queen Prabhavati must have been a closely connecting link. Her frequent visits to her father's capital and court, must have had a large influence in bringing the two lines together, which the common danger from the Western Kshatrapas must have fostered. The misfortunes of the queen—the death of her husband and the necessity to carry on the administration for many years—must have still further increased the bond. We can almost imagine the Vakataka prince, the grandson of the Gupta emperor, being brought up in the Gupta capital and initiated into all the political notions and prejudices of the northern dynasty. It was a circumstance which would not only have enabled the Gupta political power to be supreme over the south but facilitated

¹See Madras Epigraphical Report for Aug. 1915, pp. 91–94 for a detailed account of the place. The Government Epigraphist has committed the incredible blunder of confounding the Gupta and Maurya Chandragupta with one another. The inscriptions (see my *Topographical list*, Kl. 446–489 P, which includes Mackenzie's collections too) do not mention Prabhavati or Chandravati. The exact durations of the reigns of Divakara Sena and Pravarasena II, are not known. The Vakataka records refer to the 13th year of the former and 18th year of the latter during the regency of the queen. But some have taken both these kings to be one and the same. Indeed a third name Damodarasena is also held to refer to the same. See for example Krishna-swami Aiyangar's *Gupta Studies*, p. 4. The question is discussed in detail in the chapter on the Dakkan history.

²Ancient History of the Deccan (1920), pp. 74 and 90.

the expansion of the Gupta culture into the Dakkan and from there to the further south.

A clue to this is afforded, as has been already said, by literature. A dramatic work called *Kuntalesvara-dautya*¹ (or *Kuntasadautyam*) which has been ascribed to Kalidasa, says that Kalidasa was once sent by Vikramaditya to go to the court of Kuntala (that is, the Vakataka kingdom which included the Kuntala country) and see how the administration was carried on and that he reported, on his return, that Kuntalesa was, in consequence of his having placed the burden of administration on the emperor, devoting himself to a life of pleasure. This is only another way of saying that, secure of the protection of his grandfather, Pravarasena had an easy and prosperous administration, and he utilised this security for the pursuit of literature and pleasure. We know that Pravarasena² wrote the Prakrit kavya *Setubandha* and that, according to one commentator (the author of the *Ramasetupradipa*), was revised by Kalidasa at the suggestion of the Gupta monarch. As the commentator says that this work was composed by the Vakataka king immediately after his accession, we have to suppose that the mission of Kalidasa referred to above must have taken place subsequent to the composition of the *Setubandha* by the Kuntala king.

RELATIONS WITH THE WESTERN SATRAPS

While the Gupta emperor thought it wise to pursue a policy of friendliness and intermarriage with the Vakatakas, he deemed it necessary to adopt an entirely different attitude towards the Western Satraps. We do not know what this was due to. Vincent Smith suggests plausibly that the Gupta monarch's ambition as well as the desire to end a dynasty of impure foreign rulers who differed in race, creed and manners, was responsible for it. From the coins of the Western Kshatrapas we know that, after 348 A. D., the

¹The work is referred to in detail in the chapter on literature. Here it may be simply pointed out that Rajasekhara, Bhoja and Kshemendra mention it.

²Bana refers to this. For other notices see the chapter on literature.

Kshatrapas had, for some reason or other, become completely eclipsed. Prof. Rapson believes that it might be due to some foreign trouble. Probably it was caused by the encroachments of the rising Guptas on the one hand and the Vakatakas on the other. Samudragupta, as we have already seen, had been approached by the Satraps (who may be identified with the Sakas referred to in the Allahabad inscription) in a conciliatory and friendly manner. Apparently about the close of the 4th century, there was a restlessness among the Sakas who were then under the Satrap Rudrasimha, son of Satyasimha. It was the encroachments of this king perhaps that made Chandragupta proceed against them. His alliance with the Vakatakas might have been due to the desire for a joint effort against the Sakas.

As regards the date of the undertaking of hostilities against the Sakas, we can make a fairly definite estimate. Chandragupta was making donations in the Udayagiri cave whither he came, we are told, on his way to conquer the world, in 401 A.D. We also know that the last of the coins of the Kshatrapas is dated S. 31 x that is, sometime between 388 A.D. and 397 A.D. From all these facts we have to suppose that the war between the Kshatrapas and the Guptas took place during the last two or three years of the 4th century. We have already seen how on the authority of Vincent Smith, we can attribute the Gupta-Vakataka marriage, which was just prior to the actual declaration of hostilities with the Sakas, to 395 A.D. The reduction of the Kshatrapa territory which about included West Malwa, Gujerat and Kathiawar must have taken place between 395 and 402, roughly. A few years this side and that may have to be added in the light of future researches.

The Gupta war against the Sakas is amply demonstrated by the supersession of the Saka currency by the Gupta, to which we have already referred. Literature also comes to our aid and throws some interesting side-lights on the war. In his *Harshacharita*,¹ Bana refers to an incident in

¹Cowell's Translation, p. 194.

the war. He says: *Aripure cha parakalatra-kamukam Kamini-vesha-guptah Chandraguptah sakapatim asatayat.* (At Aripura, Chandragupta who was in the guise of a lady, killed the Saka chief who longed for another man's wife). The commentator (Sankara) has interpreted this passage to the effect that the *acharya* of the Sakas made advances to Dhruvadevi, the wife of Chandragupta's brother (*Bhratr-jaya*) and that Chandragupta killed him after assuming the guise of the lady, in the midst of a number of soldiers who were dressed as her women attendants. This passage of the commentator is interesting for its proving that the Chandragupta of the Harshacharita was the Gupta emperor; for Dhruvadevi was a Gupta. But the commentator has made one mistake. Dhruvadevi was, we know from inscriptions, not the wife of Chandragupta's brother but of Chandragupta himself. The Bhilsad¹ stone inscription (dated G. E. 96, A. D. 415-6) for example, distinctly says that he was the son of Chandragupta by Dhruvadevi. We have to suppose that, in this as well as the reference to the *Acharya* of the Sakas, the commentator is inaccurate. Fortunately, the *Srinagaraprakasika*, an anthology discovered recently by the Office of the Madras Oriental MSS. Library and attributed to Bhoja, gives extracts from a drama called *Devi-chandraguptam*, which throws true light on this incident. These extracts say that Chandragupta entered the *Skandavara*, the camp of his enemy, at Alipura² in the guise

¹Gupta Inscriptions, No. 10.

²The printed editions of the *Harshacharita* have *Nalinapura* or *Aripura* but the *Devi-chandraguptam* calls the enemy's city *Alipuram*. *Alipuram*, it seems to me, might be *Alina* 14 miles to the north-east of *Nadiad*, taluk headquarters in *Khaira* district, *Gujerat*. The village has been the site of the discovery of two copper-plate charters—one of *Dhruvasena II* and the other of '*Siladitya VII*—for which see *Ind. Antq.*, Vol. VII, p. 80 and *Gupta Inscrns.* No 39, p. 171 ff. Prof. Krishna-swami Aiyangar says: "There is a place called *Alirajapura* and a district dependent thereon, but on the mere name it would be hazardous to suggest an identification." The Professor apparently refers to *Alina*, but I cannot understand why an identification on the basis of names is hazardous when political and geographical circumstances favour it. He then refers to the mention of an *Aripura* in

of a woman for killing the lord of the Sakas and that, when he was reminded by the Vidushaka of the extreme danger he ran by going in the midst of so many enemies, he replied that there was not much danger at all as he was exactly in the position of a lion emerging out of his cave against a herd of elephants. It is clear from all this that Chandragupta's queen probably fell a prisoner in the hands of the Sakas in the course of the campaign against the Satrap, and was rescued from the importunities of the Saka monarch, Rudrasimha, by the Gupta emperor, in the guise of his queen. It is unfortunate that the *Devi-chandraguptam* has been lost. Its discovery is bound to be of unique interest¹.

It was apparently the Saka conquest that made Chandragupta assume the title of Vikramaditya in imitation of the original hero of Malwa who founded the Vikrama era of 56 B.C. By slaying the last of the Satrap kings and by annexing their territory, Chandragupta extended the Gupta empire over Malwa, Gujerat and Saurashtra. One effect of this was that Ujjain, the famous centre of learning, became the second capital of the empire. Again, by extending the borders of the empire to the Arabian sea, Chandragupta brought the advantages and resources of the magnificent seaports of the coast to the imperial coffers. The contact with the coast is also maintained by some to have promoted the direct sea-borne commerce of India with Egypt, Europe and other parts in the West, as well as the interchange of ideas from one part to the other. The extent to which this interchange of ideas took place is generally described in accordance with the prejudices of particular scholars. Some scholars exaggerate

Kalinga by the *Silappadikaram* and *Manimekalai* and makes the transparently obvious remark that it "seems too far east even for a Saka raid at this period." It is, to say the least, curious that a scholar who deprecates geographical identification on the mere basis of names passes on, in the very same breath, to a suggestion on the same basis though his conclusion is rightly against the identification.

¹V. A. Smith does not regard the tale as 'genuine history,' but the literary tradition is too particular and striking to justify the scepticism.

the invasion of European ideas on literature, art and science through the Alexandrian merchants. There is perhaps a tendency in the other school to go to the other extreme; but on the whole the influence of India on the external world was far more momentous in this period than the influence of the external world on India.

ADMINISTRATION

The Gupta empire now reached the height of its glory and the maximum of its size. By annexing the territories of the Sakas and by exercising a large influence, or possibly even control, over the Vakatakas, Chandragupta carried the south-western and southern limits of the Gupta empire to those of the Mauryas under Asoka. It is quite possible that the Salankayanas of the East Dakkan were under the control of the Vakatakas and therefore of the Guptas. Further south, the Kadambas, Gangas and Pallavas were fast emerging into big powers; but they had no direct dealings with the Guptas. In Hindustan, the empire extended from the Himalayas to the Vindhya and from the Brahmaputra to the middle Punjab. It is almost certain that western Punjab and the States further west were under the Kushan chiefs who succeeded the earlier Kushans and who must have been in touch, sometimes friendly and sometimes hostile, with the Sassanian dynasty of Persia. No records are available about the other parts of the empire upon which light is thrown by the *Prasasti* of Samudragupta; but we may take for granted that, in these cases, there was no change. Both the administrative divisions and arrangements probably continued to be in this reign what they had been in the reign of Samudragupta. The official hierarchy was constituted on the same model. The frontier and friendly States were probably on the same political relationship. One remarkable thing to be noticed in the administration of Chandragupta was the part played by women. We have already seen how Prabhavati was all-powerful in the Dakkan for years. Similarly queen Dhruvadevi seems to have been entrusted with some hand in the

administration of the province of Vaisali (Basarh). Clay seals¹ bearing her name and the name of her son Govindagupta have been discovered in the neighbourhood of Vaisali. It must be acknowledged, however, that the inclusion of the name of the empress with that of a prince in administrative matters and during the life-time of the emperor is rather anomalous. The only way of explaining it seems to be that the seals were dated subsequent to the death of Chandragupta and that the queen-dowager was probably the guardian of Govindagupta, one of the younger sons of Chandragupta, who was in charge of the province of Tirhut. The seals discovered in this region also include the seals of other princes like Ghatotkachagupta, probably a near member of the royal family whose exact kinship is yet to be ascertained, and of a large number of officers. The very titles of these officers are significant and their importance must be realised by every student of the constitutional theory and practice in this period.

THE CAPITAL

One important question which has to be decided in this connection is whether Pataliputra was the capital of the empire. Vincent Smith says that after his conquests, Samudragupta had shifted the royal residence, though not the official capital, from Pataliputra to Ayodhya (Fyzabad) in Southern Oudh. He is disposed to believe that, owing to the more central situation and traditional greatness of Ayodhya, it might have been the imperial residence and premier city. We do not know how far this is true, though the spurious Gaya epigraph and the reference of Hiuen Tsang to the Gupta monarch's company with the Buddhist philosophers of that place might be regarded as arguments in favour of the theory. At the same time, there is no doubt that Pataliputra was a populous and magnificent city in the 5th century and is described, as we shall presently see, in glowing and eloquent terms by

¹For these excavations of Dr. Block, see *Archæological survey of India, Annual Report, 1903-4*, pp. 101-120.

Fa Hian. Literary evidences as well as political circumstances, it may be pointed out here, seem to show that, in the latter part of the reign, Ujjain too was as prominent a seat of government as Ayodhya or Pataliputra. Probably Chandragupta used all the capitals. The exodus to Ujjain seems to have been rather permanent after the annexation of the Kshatrapa territory, though it is difficult to be positive about it. The emperor's desire to keep close watch over the movements of the newly conquered people of the west and to give security to the trade and traffic which, ever since the annexation of their land, had become a source of prosperity to the empire—might have made Ujjain the most important of the capitals in the last years of the reign.

FA HIAN'S ACCOUNT

So far as the effects of Chandragupta's administration on the country and people are concerned, we unfortunately do not possess sufficient illuminating materials. There is one source of knowledge, however, which, though indirect and incidental, is for that reason all the more valuable; and that is the account of the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian, who visited India in this reign. It is true that the celebrated pilgrim does not mention the name of the emperor; but as we definitely know from Chinese sources that his travels took place between 399 A.D. and 414 A.D., no other sovereign could have been intended. Fa Hian¹ had a purely religious mission. His object was to collect the genuine sacred scriptures of Buddhism for the benefit of the Buddhists of his country who had had hitherto access only to mutilated and incomplete collections of the treatises on *Vinaya*. It was in 399 A.D. that the young monk—for Fa Hian was then only 25 years of age—left his native country at the instance of his sovereign. For the next fifteen years he

¹Fa Hian's account has been translated by several scholars,—Beal in the first volume of *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, 2 volumes, 1885; by Legge (Oxford, 1886) and by Giles (1877). For the full bibliographical history, see Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*, 4th Edn. (1924), pp. 24-25.

was engaged in his journey. Six of these years he actually spent in India, six in his journey up to India, two in Ceylon and one in transit from Ceylon to China. In the course of his extensive journey he visited all the sacred places associated with the life and labours of the Buddha and has left realistic accounts of them. He visited all the monasteries where he sought the precious books and relics, and recorded, with a most charming and refreshing naïveté and sincerity, their history, together with the life of the monks, the miracles of the Buddha, and other details. His narrative is thus a classic on the Buddhistic conditions and methods of worship in the reign of the most orthodox of the Gupta monarchs; but incidentally there are references to social and political conditions. Fa Hian visited the principalities or provinces of Udayana (Kabul), Svat, Gandhara, Takshasila, Peshawar, Madhura, the land later on forming Rajputana, the Madhyadesa (by which we have to mean the heart of the Gupta Empire), the various scenes of the Buddha's life and labours in this region which were already far gone in the path of neglect and ruin, Bengal and Ceylon. He also gives a hearsay account of the Dakkan. In every one of these he describes the absolute, though not relative, strength of Buddhism and the facilities he had for copying the scriptures he wanted. His interesting account of the journey from Ceylon to China is an indispensable authority for a knowledge of the Indian trade conditions and colonies in this period. All these, however fascinating, are not germane for our present purpose. So far as *this* is concerned, there are, in the story of his travels, only a few passages; but these are sufficiently instructive.

Fa Hian describes the Madhyadesa—the central part of the empire—in terms which make us believe that the Gupta emperor was able to bestow on the people the benefits of a sound and orderly administration, which enabled them to enjoy much material prosperity. Fa Hian says that the people, who enjoyed the warm and equable climate of their land, were opulent and contented. Travelling was both free and safe. Fa Hian testifies to the mild and sympathetic

character of the judicial administration. There was no capital punishment, he says somewhat surprisingly, except for treason which was chastised with the amputation of the right hand. He notes the absence of judicial torture and the usual punishment of crimes with fines alone. He observes the absence of heavy tolls and other restrictions on trade and traffic. He says that rent was collected from crown lands and that the king's personal servants were paid fixed salaries. One remarkable fact emphasised by the pilgrim with pleasure is that the Buddhistic idea of sanctity for life permeated all classes of the population. There was a complete abhorrence to the killing of animals, to the drinking of wine, and, (curiously enough) to the eating of garlic and onions! There were again, says Fa Hian, no dealings in swine, fowls, and cattle for the purpose of slaughter. The chandalas, butchers and fishermen alone, he notes, dealt in flesh and the slaughter of life. For ordinary purposes, we have reasons to believe from Fa Hian, the people used cowries or shells as currency, coins being presumably used by the rich and higher classes alone. Fa Hian notes the liberal endowment made by the sovereigns and nobles for the Buddhistic monasteries from generation to generation, as the result of which the monks were free from all cares regarding food, housing and luxuries. Donations of houses, fields, gardens, men and cattle were showered by nobles as well as the ordinary householders. The title-deeds were handed from reign to reign, so that there could be no violation of them. The resident priests of the *viharas* were fully provided with mats, beds, food, drink and clothes without stint. Fa Hian speaks with particular admiration of the city of Pataliputra and its people. He refers in detail to the palaces of Asoka and the legends connected with them. He describes the city as highly opulent and the people as vying with one another in practising benevolence and righteousness. He remarks that the nobles and householders founded numerous charity-houses and hospitals where the poor, the crippled and the diseased could get gratuitous treatment. The prosperity of the capital city as described by him forms a strange contrast

to the ruins of the Buddhist centres. Fa Hian found it necessary and profitable to stay at Pataliputra for three years; for though it was the headquarters of an extremely orthodox and beloved Hindu emperor, he found more materials here than in Buddhist places of worship. During this period of three years he learnt Sanskrit, and copied a number of MSS. in the local Mahayana *vihara*, which he could not get elsewhere in the west in consequence of the system of teaching by memory which was in vogue there. Fa Hian's description of the local monasteries and festivals indicates the advanced state of idol worship, the close co-operation between the Buddhist and Brahmanical leaders and the inordinate love of gaiety and display which the court and the people indulged in. It would be hard to find a more pleasing picture of harmony and co-operation than the one presented by the pilgrim in this connection.

It is, therefore, not surprising that the late Dr. Vincent Smith has remarked that "probably India has never been better governed after the oriental manner than it was during the reign of Vikramaditya". The judgment is all the more acceptable for the reason that Fa Hian himself contrasts the condition of North India with that of the Dakkan in a manner which is quite unfavourable to the latter. We do not know to what part of the Dakkan Fa Hian refers. Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar believes¹ that it applies to the Vakataka kingdom and he sees a demonstration of Fa Hian's condemnation in the story that Kalidasa reported to his sovereign that the Kuntala king devoted himself, in consequence of the all-powerfulness of the Gupta monarch in administration, to a life of pleasure, neglecting his proper duty. But Fa Hian could not have referred to the Vakataka country. He, it is almost certain, referred to the unsettled country on the coast, which was either under the Kalinga or Salankayana dynasty. The government of this part of the country was not efficient enough to secure the

¹*Studies in Gupta History*, p. 55.

safety of person and property. Communication was sadly neglected, so that the country was precipitous and the roads dangerous. "Those who wish to go there, even if they know the place, ought to give a present to the king of the country, either money or goods. The king then deputed certain men to accompany them as guides, and so pass the travellers from one place to another, each party pointing out their own roads and intricate by-paths."

The reign of Chandragupta is not only politically important but highly eventful in the history of literature and arts. It is not possible to deal with these subjects here; but it may be noted that some of the most renowned poets and philosophers, Brahmanical and Buddhist, belonged to his time and court; while the emperor's taste for architecture, sculpture and painting created an atmosphere favourable to the bequeathal, to posterity, of some of the most enduring monuments in the world. These subjects are dealt with elsewhere.

THE CHARACTER OF CHANDRAGUPTA II

It must now be obvious that, from every standpoint, the reign of Chandragupta II was a glorious epoch in the history of the Guptas and of Hindu India. From numismatic evidences we find that the earliest date of his son and successor Kumaragupta was G. E. 96 (A.D. 415). We have therefore to suppose that Chandragupta died in that year or more probably, a year or two earlier. The year 413 A. D. has been generally taken, certainly with plausibility, to be his last year. Chandragupta had wielded the destinies of the Gupta empire for about twenty-eight years and, it can be hardly doubted, with the highest credit to himself and the highest benefit to the country. To the Brahmanical leaders and scholars he must have been the very incarnation of divinity; and alike in the history of religion, art, literature, politics, and statecraft, he has left a name second to none. Chandragupta's private life is, as in the case of almost all ancient Hindu monarchs, obscure. The few existing records say that he had at least two queens,

namely, Dhruvadevi, the heroine of the *Devi-chandraguptam* and the issuer of the Vaisali seals, and Kubhera Naga the Naga princess and mother of Prabhavati, the queen of the Vakatakas. Chandragupta must have had other queens, but we have no information about them. Both Kumaragupta who succeeded him and Govindagupta who figures in the Vaisali clay seal finds, were the sons of the first and senior queen. The legends of Vikramaditya, if they are to be taken as referring to Chandragupta II, seem to indicate a most amiable and charming personality who loved women simply because they were women ! It is quite possible that Chandragupta was a lover of the fair sex as he was a lover of valour, culture, beauty and learning. At any rate, that is what the legends clearly indicate. But apart from this surmise, there remains the solid fact that, as an empire-builder and as a patron of culture, he was the most conspicuous and commanding figure in all India during (roughly speaking) the last fifteen years of the 4th and the first 15 years of the 5th century. To posterity his political work has become nothing; but the results of his patronage of art, literature and all that is likely to elevate and enrich human life, have endured to the present day. Further, the consequences of his instrumentality in that change in the balance of power which eventually saw the absolute and unqualified death of Buddhism before the all-absorbing and all-assimilating Hinduism, have been about and upon the peoples of India through the long vista of the last fifteen centuries. Chandragupta's great civil and military talents, his successful lead of armies to victory and his combination of good government, peace, order and security with the force of full royal authority, must have been big achievements in the eyes of his contemporaries; but the effects of these have passed away, sharing the fate of the work of every other great eastern empire-builder and statesman; but the results of his efforts to illuminate and beautify the world, to help the cause of what he regarded as the true morality, the true creed and the true social structure and manners, have, for good or for evil,

endured. And if in the course of centuries the Brahmanical civilization has displayed a marvellous vigour, force, and enduring power, it must not a little be due to the successful endeavours of the great Gupta monarch to engraft what were then regarded as the highest ideals upon what was then regarded as the highest political ambition or achievement.

Thoughts on the Art of the Theatre

BY GAJANAN KATHARDEKAR

Life as we see it is full and varied in its presentations, but art is fuller and richer. Life is limited by physical circumstances, but art which is the creation of mind and emotion has no limitations. Where imagination has full play, fanciful dreams are raised and we reach out to regions which life has never so far touched.

To present life in vivid reality seems to be the ideal of the play-producers. The child who puts on his father's glasses and struts about with assumed importance is lovingly styled as 'a little actor'. The art of imitation which wins him this title is the recognised art of acting. This art is, by its very nature, closely connected with the art of the theatre, and therefore we see on the stage a craze for imitating life. The more accurate and conventional things are, the greater is the satisfaction of the play-producer: and in that feeling of satisfaction is to be seen a grave danger to the progress of art.

To use art for imitating life is narrowing its ideal and purpose. It all depends on what you go to the theatre for. If you want to see life as it is, nature as it usually exists, and emotions as they are normally and conventionally expressed, go to the modern theatre and you will be satisfied, provided you go to the best of its kind. There you will see faithfully represented in a historical play the dresses of that particular century, created out of the unearthed records of the period. Perhaps, if you are sensitive, some colours may jar on your eyes but you must curb your revolt, since, there, art is limited by accuracy.

The modern theatre at its best is indeed delightful; but one

wonders if that is all. Life—flesh and blood life—is attractive. There is a loveliness even in sorrow. The story of a life-time is written on the wrinkled forehead of an old woman who carries on her head a bundle of fire-wood. The dawn of love as painted on the face of a maiden has a poetry which words could never interpret. The innocent baby-tricks, it is for the child alone to do. Life embraces all these little scenes of human existence. But there is, now and again, given to us a vision of something more wonderful than the world of life: it is the vision from the world of dreams, the vision of dancing spirits lovelier than men, the vision of colours lovelier than nature, the vision of emotions lovelier than love. To interpret these on the stage is the work of art, art that is not limited by life.

In order to release this art from the commonplace, we must aim high. We must cultivate our imagination and dwell in the abstract. Hundreds and thousands of people, weary of heart, care-worn, down-trodden, full of longings and disappointments, go to the theatre every night. If the theatre could lift them up to the sublime regions where everything is lovely, where they see life from a higher altitude, where sorrow spreads its wings of pain only to carry them from experience to experience till at last they get the glimpse of the snowy heights of attainment: if the theatre could soothe and uplift the sorrow-laden humanity, will it not bring greater harmony in human relationship?

When the moon sheds its calm lustre on our world, our thoughts soar up higher and higher. Environment plays a large part in the making of man. The beautiful is perfect and perfection is beautiful. Why not then surround men with beautiful visions so that they will be filled with beautiful thoughts, and move, however slightly, towards perfection?

The struggle between the Spirit and the Flesh is the struggle between the beautiful and the ugly. But struggle itself is essentially inartistic. The Flesh could as well be conquered by the expansion of the Spirit. Let us fill our minds with beautiful images, beautiful emotions, beautiful

thoughts, beautiful symbolism, so that ugliness is crowded out of our life. "It is in and through Symbols" says Carlyle, "that man, consciously or unconsciously, lives, works, and has his being", and the noblest age is that which can the best recognise symbolical worth and prize it the highest.

Keeping these ideals in view, the need of being 'creative' instead of 'imitative' on the stage will at once be felt. You can be realistic to a fault and never attain the sublime effect which is intended by true artists. You could present a sentiment on the stage in many ways; let us take two of these, typical of the realistic and the idealistic in art. For instance, take this idea from Omar Khayyam :

"For in and out, above,
 "About, below,
 "'Tis nothing but a magic
 "Shadow-show,
 "Played in a Box whose
 "Candle is the Sun
 "Round which we Phantom
 "Figures come and go."

You could present it on the stage either by dressing up a man in a Persian costume, taking, of course, good care that every fold in the dress is accurately Persian!—and flooding him with top-lights and foot-lights, make him recite these lines in front of a Persian lamp. Or you could present this idea in another way, such as this: let a huge lamp, hung from above, with fantastic figures on its sides, revolve in the centre of the stage; keep just under it, flasks of wine amidst a heap of pearls and jewels; with no other lights but the one in the centre, let there emerge people dressed with flowing, flimsy garments—never mind Persian or Arabic—and let them hungrily, blindly dance round the weird lamp, and gradually vanish into darkness. Let the words come from nowhere, so to speak, and then let the vision fade. Both these presentations, neither of them the best in their line, are, perhaps, good

enough to make my meaning clear, and to speak for themselves.

Gordon Craig complains of the realistic actor: "He never dreams of his art as being an art, such for instance as music. He tries to reproduce Nature; he seldom thinks to invent with the aid of Nature, and he never dreams of *creating*. As I have said, the best he can do when he wants to catch and convey the poetry of a kiss, the heat of a fight, or the calm of death, is to copy slavishly, photographically,—he kisses—he fights—he lies back and mimics death—and when you think of it, is not all this dreadfully stupid? Is it not a poor art and a poor cleverness, which cannot convey the spirit and essence of an idea to an audience, but can only show an artless copy, a facsimile of the thing itself?"

To produce plays of symbolic nature is by no means an easy task, even for Stanislavsky, a master at his art. "It is a hard nut to crack—the Symbol", he says, "it is successful when it has its source not in the mind but in the inner soul. . . . It is necessary to play a role hundreds of times, to crystallize its essence, to perfect the crystal, and in showing it, to interpret the quintessence of its contents. The symbol and the grotesque synthesize feeling and life. They gather in bright, courageous and compressed form the multiform contents of the role."

Symbolism is interwoven in the life-fabric of the Hindu. From the misty height of symbolism it is easy to tumble into a travesty of art. To build well and truly the structure of a new Theatre in India, are required men of the genius of Stanislavsky and Copeau, and also constructive critics of the type of Craig, men of keen perception, refinement, and intelligent imagination. To fulfil this mission, who knows, but that, even as centuries ago the melody of Krishna's flute hailed the Gopis from far and near, likewise, in its own time, the dance of Nataraja may draw together artists of the highest order!

Life at Oxford

BY L.V.B. CHOWDARY, B. A., (Oxon), BAR-AT-LAW

The aim of all education must be to develop character, to mature intellect and to equip a person with proper tools to make the best of his life. In the West, this object of education is aimed at and different methods are adopted in different countries to achieve this object. In England itself, there are variations in the method of imparting education but every variety contributes on a smaller or a larger scale to the same object. And England has for centuries past been bred on Public Schools, though of late, such institutions as County Schools have come into the field and are challenging the former's supremacy. There are some people nowadays who deny the value of Public Schools to the nation and who even assert that they breed snobbishness, class spirit and diehardism and are therefore harmful. But it has generally been recognised that Public Schools build up character, that is, fair play to your opponents, obedience to authority, loyalty to your friends and sacrifice for your college and university. Moreover, a good grounding in the outlines of different branches of knowledge is given there and solid foundations for future building up of knowledge are laid. Whatever else may be said of them, it is true that able administrators like Lord Curzon of Kedleston, rulers of men like Lord Palmerston, statesmen like Gladstone and generals like Wellington are made there and that the battle of Waterloo was won on the cricket fields at the Lords. Public Schools like Eton and Harrow have glorious traditions and these traditions along with the excellent training that is received in them are carried to universities like Oxford and Cambridge where they are developed to a high standard and blazoned to a magnificent beacon for all to see and follow.

Now, there are two sides to a school, college or university. One is 'learning' side and the other is 'playing' side. The chief features of Oxford University on its 'learning' side are its tutorial system, its enforcement of residence by the students, its proctorial supervision and its club life. Residence is intended for promoting *esprit de corps* among the alumni; proctorial supervision is there for keeping young men and women within proper bounds of behaviour and conduct; and club life is fostered for social intercourse and developing business, oratorical and debating powers. The most important of all is the tutorial system. It is by this system that Oxford and Cambridge stand or fall on their 'learning' side. The system means that a young man or woman has two or more tutors to look after his or her education to guide him or her along the proper channels. The tutor plans out your work for the term, asks you to attend such and such lectures, gives you a question or two for writing an essay or two, and refers you to various books and various chapters in different books which you will have to read for your essay or essays. This is done once or twice every week. When the day comes, you take your essays called 'tutorials' to your tutor. Sometimes, you will have sent them to him the previous evening, so that he may look into them carefully and make notes on the margin. When you go to him, you either read the essay aloud to him or he reads it with you and he points out your mistakes and explains your difficulties. He will thrash out points with you and will occasionally give you orally a summary of the subject. And then he gives one or two questions again and asks you to refer to various books and journals as before, and you take again your tutorial to him. This thing is repeated week in and week out, throughout the academic year. Besides these tutorials, there are what are called 'collections' and they are examinations at the beginning and the end of every term. The tutor will have given you some work for the vacation and you are, on your return to the college, examined in that work. So is the work that is done during the term, tested at the end of the term, to see

how far and how much you have taken in what has been presented to you. If either tutorials or collections are not done satisfactorily, you are warned once or twice and if you are obstinate and do not heed the warning, you are 'sent down for good', that is, you are *dismissed* from the university.

The education you receive at Oxford is very liberal and you are free to develop your personality and individuality as you please. It is not compulsory at Oxford to attend lectures. Of course, you will have to attend those which your tutor recommends, but there is no sanction attached to non-compliance with your tutor's advice. He may be displeased with you, if he finds you are not attending them, because you have become a slacker, but he will not mind in the least if you tell him that a particular lecturer is no good and that he speaks awful rot. In any case, you will not attend more than ten lectures at the most in a week, but of course you are not precluded from attending any lecture you like and you may attend as many as you please. Only, you must not neglect your work and write poor tutorials for your tutor. Since there is no compulsion of attendance at lectures, there is no roll-call. I think the roll-call is a hideous thing. I am afraid it is based on distrust of students with regard to their willingness to work and learn. I am sure the atmosphere of distrust is not congenial to the healthy growth of young men and women. Students are left to develop themselves in their own way, although under the wise guidance of their tutors. Tutors do not exact agreement with orthodox notions and compliance with their own ideas. New ideas and opinions are encouraged; and individuality and originality are fostered. Only, there must be in your speech and writing, a system, a method and a cogency. If your arguments are cogent, logical and probable, you are encouraged and supported. No matter whether your tutor personally likes your views or not, he will not come in your way. On the other hand, a really good essay, whether your tutor agrees with it or not, receives his unstinted praise.

Your tutor will not be stiff-necked with you, nor will he treat you as if you were a child or worse still. He will put you at your ease in his presence and make you as comfortable as possible. You may even smoke his cigarettes and offer him yours. Your tutor and yourself are really friends: he knowing more than you do, and being anxious to tell you 'all about it'. He may be your elder brother taking a keen interest in you, as all good brothers ought to in their younger brothers. At the worst, he is something like a father to you, admonishing and correcting, but full of kindness and affection. The dons of your college are your elder brothers or uncles and the College Head is a veritable patriarch who beams kindness and concern on you. The proctors with their bull-dogs may at times disconcert you, but when you come to know them better, you will find that they are really jolly good fellows at heart.

Oxford is not 'the home of lost causes', as Matthew Arnold, a great alumnus, once said of it in half-playful and half-sentimental mood, but is a haven for new faiths, new ideas and great ambitions. It is full of life, full of romance and full of dreams. It abounds in various clubs and societies where you meet and mingle with different types of people from a good many countries of the world. You find there young men from almost every part of the world and from almost every race and religion. Nowadays girls of many nationalities are to be found there as under-graduates of the University. Oxford is a little world in itself, and its club life is the breath of its training. It is in its various clubs and societies that beginnings of great careers are made and foundations of noble ambitions are laid. Oxford club life forms a battle-field where competing wills and rival intellects fight a hard and strenuous battle. There are clubs for all tastes and for all convictions. There are Conservative, Liberal, Labour and Communist clubs; and diehard Unionists, Radicals, Syndicalists and Bolsheviks have also their associations. There are the Union Society, the Indian Majlis, the French Club, the Spanish Club, the Chinese Association, etc. They have

societies like the League of Nations Union, the International Association, the Asiatic Society, the British Empire League and the Social Service League. You have clubs of a clique complexion such as the Lotus Club. And there are high-brow, snobbish, exclusive and *bonhomie* clubs, such as the Bullingdon, the Vincent, and the O.U.D.S.¹ There used to be a club for drinking also, called the Mermaid. There are various University Associations such as the Historical and the Hellenic Associations. Besides these, every college has its arts and science associations, its debating society, and its sports and games clubs.

The Union Society at Oxford is the foremost of the debating societies in the university, and its fame has far transcended the university-bounds. It is called the House of Commons nursery and it more than justifies that appellation. When you hear the witty and brilliant speeches that are made there, you will feel that it is nearly as good as any House of Commons is and much more amusing than any deliberative body can be. It is really good to see a sturdy young man eagerly get up and deliver a slashing, fervent, and torrential attack. It is pleasant to notice a healthy youth proceed in a deliberate way and make point after point in a cool, scientific manner, demolishing his opponents' arguments and building up his own case. It is very interesting indeed to observe a good-looking young man get up languidly from his seat and spin out an amusing speech with a twinkle in his eyes and a smile on his lips. Youth after youth gets up and many foolish things and many mere nothings are said. There are epigrams, paradoxes, witty sayings and *bon-mots*. There is seriousness in the minds of the audience and there is amusement in their eyes. Laughter and shouts are not uncommon and everybody seems to enjoy himself. At times the debating society seems to have somehow turned into a picnic party. A very pleasant aroma spreads over the whole house. They come with expectation and they go away with satisfaction and

¹The Oxford University Dramatic Society.

enjoyment. The Union Society can boast of such illustrious names among its members as Gladstone, Lords Salisbury, Asquith, Birkenhead, Curzon and Milner, Sir John Simon and Hilaire Belloc, besides many other famous people.

The Indian Majlis has its lessons to offer to the young Indians who go to Oxford for study. It also serves as an avenue for the coming together of some Englishmen and Indians. It has had quite a reputable career, but I am afraid it is not at present at its best.

The various other clubs in the University bring men and women of many races and nationalities together and provide opportunities for the understanding of each other's point of view. All these clubs and societies contribute to the making and growth of the youth. The youth finds, himself in a glorious lake of many enchanted waters, which is surrounded by wonderful groves of magnificent fruit and flower trees and by beautiful meadows of limitless verdure. And without shame or shiver, he discards whatever he has on him and plunges into it in all his nakedness and ingenuity and with all relish, joy, freedom, and abandon of a bubbling young life. He is like a *Salaka* (a sharp razor-blade) and his physical, mental and emotional qualities shine sharpest and brightest and he is ready for a fight and victory. He is all freedom, all joy, all daring, and all conquering.

Now we shall turn to the 'playing' side of the Oxford University. We have already noticed that building up of character is a chief characteristic of Public Schools and that that characteristic is perfected in the universities like Oxford and Cambridge. Well, character-building is chiefly done on the 'playing' side of a university. When you are playing a game and taking part in sports, you will come into contact with your opponents and you have to deal with them squarely and fairly. Fair-play is to give the Devil its due and to act in a 'give and take' spirit. You have your comrades who throw in their lot with you, and you will all have to pull together your burden along and carry your team into victory. This teaches you loyalty, loyalty to your friends and co-workers. You will have to play the 'game' or

what is sometimes called 'cricket', by them. You will also learn obedience to authority. You have the Captain of your team and unless you obey him implicitly and with good humour, you will not be able to pull the cart along as you ought to, and you will thereby spoil the chances of victory for your college or 'Varsity. So, you learn the maxim that only those who are able to obey, are those who will be able to command. Sacrifice also is sometimes demanded of you. You have to forego your personal ambitions for the sake of the team. You must be prepared to have your collar-bone broken in the preparation and the fight that the games and the sports entail upon you. You sometimes take part in them against great odds or in the face of danger to your health or studies, in order to uphold the reputation of your beloved college or 'Varsity.

Oxford is famous for its rowing and rugger. Its 'Torpids' and 'Eights' are well known and its annual boat race with the University of Cambridge on the Thames, has become a national institution. It is not infrequently that the Prince of Wales who was up at Oxford for two or three years before the war, and the Duke of York who can boast of being an alumnus of Cambridge, follow the boats of their respective 'Varsities along the race course from Putney Bridge to Mortlake. There is a happy rivalry between Oxford and Cambridge in various sports and games, but the object on which the rivalry is most concentrated is the annual boat race. This race serves as a link between the old and the new alumni of the Universities and refreshes memories in the minds of the old students and reinforces their sentiment, affection and loyalty to their beloved *Alma mater*.

Oxford in summer is very pretty with flower and foliage and the University is very gay during the 'Eights' Week' which comes in the summer term, when inter-collegiate boat races take place. The Isis, which flows through the city and on which the boat races are run, is at its full and it flows slowly and majestically. There are expanses of lawns and meadows on its either side and on its western side

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there are magnificent trees which form a glorious background for the stately barges of various colleges. During the 'Eights' Week' undergrads and 'undergraduettes' put on pretty things full of colour, and college and 'Varsity colours are simply enthralling. Young life bubbles over with vigour, hope and confidence. Parents and friends of *statu pupillari* are invited to Oxford for the 'Eights' Week'. The varied colours of the pretty dresses of their friends and relatives and those of their blazers, the humming life around them, the green foliage and the warm sunshine give zest to student life and arouse enthusiasm in young men and women to strive and achieve. These make the youth ambitious to win the laurel crown before their parents, friends and sweethearts. Moreover a heat in a boat race is something like a hard fight with life. Sports and games prepare young men and women for the worst in life. They knock the soft side out of them and make them hardy and prepared for the struggles of life. A rowing or a rugger blue can equally stand the scorching heats of the equatorial Africa and the biting colds of the Poles. He is better able to spread culture and civilisation on the banks of the Amazon and he is better fitted to govern the turbulent tribes of North-West Africa. We know the maxim that a sound mind is in a sound body. Oxford is a happy combination of a sound mind and a sound body.



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Mr. Sastri's Work in South Africa

BY R. L. RAU

The first thing that seems to have struck Mr. Sastri on his arrival at the Headquarters of the South African Government, was the very deplorable condition of the Indians themselves; and notwithstanding the warmth of the welcome, he could not but feel disappointed at the spirit of discord and disunion which prevailed among the Indians. This was no new experience to him, coming as he did from India; but one presumes, it is that bright optimism which he has always about him, which seems to have carried him through many a crisis, through many a delicate, if not embarrassing situation. And so the first step according to him was the establishment of goodwill and of understanding amongst the diverse Indian communities themselves. Mr. Sastri declared his intention that he was going to stand by the Capetown Agreement to the very letter, and in spite of the popular clamour which wanted him to consider only the beneficial aspects of the said legislation, he stood firm and declared he would do nothing that would either excite the suspicion of the Europeans, or give scope for the slightest misunderstanding; and this he made clear to everyone in South Africa. He used every opportunity to advantage in so laudable a task, and wherever he went he made his position very firm and unequivocal.

There were two things which were decidedly in favour of Mr. Sastri. The first and the foremost was, of course, the personality and the dignity of the man; and secondly the sweet reasonableness and the magic of his speech. These he used to the fullest advantage and at most of the mayorial dinners he pleaded arduously for co-operation between the European and the Indian. Such a policy as he pursued then could not fail of its desired effect; and the newspapers of

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Africa were the first to take up his cause. It went a long way to evoke in the heart of these oppressed people a response, and a feeling of confidence. They felt that in Mr. Sastri, they had found a worthy exponent of a somewhat forlorn and a lost cause as well. And after all sympathy is one of the biggest factors in the happiness of an individual. Ever since 1914, since the departure of Mahatma Gandhi, no Indian worth the name had shown any concern in South Africa and its affairs, much less, sympathy for their cause. So Mr. Sastri's attitude drew round him the people as nothing else had drawn before.

The very first speech he delivered on the Capetown Agreement was listened to with a great deal of attention and sincerity on the part of the Whites, and in the course of the speech Mr. Sastri suggested the appointment, in the first instance, of a Commission on Education in Natal. It was a moderate and a well conceived demand. But the African publicists were not prepared for even such a mild gesture, coming as it did from an Indian! The *Natal Mercury* was the first to take up arms; and it suggested too that what mattered most to the Indian population was not so much the need of compulsory education as the need of a cleaner standard of living. But on the other hand, the *Natal Advertiser* was good enough to see the justice of Mr. Sastri's humble demand and for the first time ushered in the slogan 'Education First'.

Naturally, therefore, the controversy so created attracted a great deal of public attention. But the Government remained obdurate. There was not much love lost between the Provincial and the Central Governments. The Provincial Government were decidedly at an advantage with their autonomy, and the Central Government could do little either to bring the Provincial Government to its view of thinking and action, or to impose its authority. And the Capetown Agreement seemed to be almost a dead letter. To add to this unpleasant situation, the Cabinet of General Hertzog and the Natal Government were far from having that attitude of co-operation and help,

which any one would have expected them to have between them. General Hartzog was much misunderstood and he had no majority behind him.

One can well imagine how delicate, how embarrassing, the position must have been. It was not so much dealing with a set of men who were amenable to good feeling and reason, as it was dealing with a set of diplomats and vested interests; and one speculates whether any other person would have been equal to this stupendous work of clearing up the atmosphere of suspicion and doubt, as Mr. Sastri himself. But it must be said to the credit of this great 'Brahmin' of the South that he did it well.

The 22nd of September 1927—it was his birthday too, and on such a day as this a 'great measure of relief' was granted to the South African Indians in the shape of the announcement of the Commission on Education by the Government of Natal. The *Natal Witness* was the first paper to congratulate Mr. Sastri on this signal achievement, and on the significance of the day.

But it was one thing to appoint a Commission and another to get into working order with the co-operation of all parties concerned. A small deputation consisting of Dr. Kitchlew (the Deputy Director of Public Instruction in the U. P.), and Miss Corrie Gordon, an Inspector of Schools in the Madras Presidency, was specially sent from India to aid Mr. Sastri in his new scheme. Dr. Kitchlew proved a valuable asset and Miss Gordon drew up a scheme of education for the Indian girls and a Training College as well. Of all provinces in South Africa, Natal is the one which is thickly populated and where the majority of Indians have been living. Of the 1,00,000, of men and women and children, it was found about 9,500 children attended the schools: and of the 9,500 nearly 7,500 were either in the elementary or primary classes. Such a thing as higher or university education was unknown!! There was one Indian boy studying for the matriculation examination and none at all in the university classes: and of course the number of children that were never sent to school

school was something phenomenal. So much about the children.

The teachers and the schools were not less exempt from neglect. There were 52 schools for the whole of the Indian population out of which 43 were conducted by private individuals. The teachers had little or no training in the theory and practice of education. But all the same, the Provincial Government received from the Central Government £ 5,5sh. for each boy as grant-in-aid and one knows too well how the money went. In the year under question (1927), the Government of Natal obtained £ 40,000, towards the cost of educating the Indian! And it is a fact worth remembering that even out of this sum only £ 28,000 was utilised for the said purpose. The rest of the £ 12,000, went to the maintenance and education of the European children. This glaring injustice was at once brought before the newly-appointed Commission by Mr. Sastri and he took the first opportunity of impressing on the Natal Government the moral obligation of allotting the whole sum. He insisted too on the introduction of compulsory elementary education and the establishment of Training Colleges all over the land.

But this was not all. It was a disastrous plan to rely eternally upon the goodwill of a Government which had its likes and dislikes, not to say prejudices. So Mr. Sastri induced his countrymen to have the control and the establishment of educational institutions on their own account. The plan was quite successful. In less than a year, a sum of £ 20,000 was subscribed by the Indians and a Training College, later named after that illustrious worker, was also established at Durban.

One cannot forget in the chronicling of these events the wonderful result of the lectures of Mr. Sastri at the universities in South Africa. He spoke in many places, and often as he spoke on the philosophy, on the culture, and the ancient literature of the country he loved and served so well, there were many in that crowd of listeners who felt a little touched, and who could not but admire the eloquent

appeal of that dignified person. And many of them wondered too how a man, whose skin was perhaps as dark as the coolies that worked in the Rand or in estates in Kenya, could speak in the very tongue they (the Whites) spoke. For the first time in their lives, they knew of a greater, nobler, India. For the first time in their lives, they knew that India, not 3000 miles from Capetown, was not a nation of coolies and 'niggers'. To this new awakening in the minds of the Whites, Mr. Sastri brought a new vision as it were and spoke to them simply and straightly of a justice, of an equity which they had neglected to give to that oppressed race. The magic of his words, more than anything else, brought Mr. Sastri the thanks of many an Indian, for, for the first time in South Africa the White man paused ere he contradicted an educated Indian, and it is interesting to remember that Mr. Sastri eclipsed even General Smuts in his oratory and beauty of speech.

After the educational facilities were provided for, came the question of public health. Yet another Commission was the result of his endeavour. Then came the work of social organisation, and the formation of Trade Unions amongst the workers, all of which Mr. Sastri with his ever willing colleagues organised in an efficient manner. The next important phase of his work was the satisfactory working of the two Ordinances, the 'Assisted Emigration Act' and the 'Condonation Act'. It is impossible in the course of this brief resume to give all the details but it has been the object of the writer to point out that Mr. Sastri's work was no less important than the work of some of our bigger political workers of the land. It remains a melancholy fact that amidst the thunder and lightning of a political war-cry, amidst the fights 'within the Congress' and 'without the Congress', the work of a man like Mr. Sastri is often left unnoticed. This is neither the time nor the place for a homily—but work of the type that Mr. Sastri has done will stand for all time to come. "It is not the life that matters", said Hugh Walpole, "it is the courage you bring to it." How true it is of Mr. Sastri!

From the post of a lonely schoolmaster, then to the Presidentship of the Servants of India Society, and then the accredited Agent of the Indian Government in South Africa is a long jump indeed: but it has been a magnificent career, and the story of his life and courage is an unparalleled page in the history of modern India; and only to such a man as he, could General Smuts have said during the Flag controversy:

"South Africa having made a solemn agreement with mighty India, could not lightly repudiate that Agreement."

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Mr. Hirst's Life of Morley

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

It is a singular feature of the Englishman's character that if he loves or admires another for his higher traits or for a life of ceaseless and varied activities, he scarcely fails to write his biography. The biography swells into volumes, when it is fortunately within the power of the author to avail himself of a store-house of information, such as carefully preserved epistles. But the dearth of materials of a very helpful kind, never seems to stagger the mind which is bent upon producing at least a collection of impressions. Hence, Mr. Hirst, whose allegiance to the great man assumed that of a political disciple, has not stinted in his efforts at creating a true picture of one who lived to a ripe age after strenuous toil in the fields of journalism and politics, despite the lack of full information of the early years, when the aspirations of youth could have amply shown us the true inwardness of the future statesman and litterateur. It is the admiration that the writer of these two volumes felt for Lord Morley, that proved the incentive for the publication of the life of a man who has left an equally brilliant name in literature as well as in politics. For, he says in the introduction, "he struck me as the greatest man I had ever met, most inspiring of politicians, most fascinating of talkers. I never changed my opinion."

To write the life of one whose favourite form of composition was the biography, appears to us to be the most appropriate tribute paid to his memory. Indeed, it is but strange that Lord Morley with an excellent record of achievements in different spheres and ranging over a period of many years, should have delicately cautioned against a 'superfluous memoir' of himself. The author of the 'Life of Gladstone' in three corpulent volumes, deserves no less a treatment at the hands of his own biographer. But realiz-

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ing, as we do, the difficulties of Mr. Hirst's task, we consider it praiseworthy that he should have given us in the present form, the life of his political preceptor, quite engrossing, and gratifying to a great extent our avidity to peer into the lives of the great. "The satisfactory form of biography is a well-edited correspondence," was ever the contention of Morley himself, and his biographer has properly taken upon himself the task of publishing some of his letters. Hence our pleasure at reading the letters—most of which found here are addressed to his sister Miss Grace Morley and his life-long friend Mr. Frederick Harrison, who were both kind enough to hand over these interesting records—the memorials of a fine penman and an admirable and attractive character.

Of Morley's boyhood, nothing very interesting is known except that he had been a pet with Mr. Hoole, the headmaster of a school at Cheltenham, and that his relish for the classics was such that it even stimulated him on one occasion to indulge in a harangue to an audience in Greek. The chapter on Oxford only discloses to us his association with some names, which figure later on in Parliament and elsewhere as the most eminent personages. The future author and Parliamentarian was not at all conspicuous in the 'Varsity' records. His emergence from the portals of college heralded the beginning of the career of a journalist, no mean vocation, especially as it was deemed so at the time in England. From a regular contributor to *The Saturday Review*, which received many a flashy article from his pen on the works of eminent novelists like Victor Hugo and George Eliot, he soon achieved the rare distinction of being appointed editor of *The Fortnightly Review*. Hereafter his style of composition received the higher quality which distinguishes him and places him in a class apart from the prose-writers of the nineteenth century. His peculiar leaning to the study of the lives of great thinkers and writers, with an equally strong desire to cultivate the art of biography, enthused him to give to the reading public a series of biographical sketches, starting

with that of Burke. His philosophy of Government and his own individual views on life and the State found prominent expression, when he dealt with that statesman of the eighteenth century.

The chapter on his first candidature brings home to us vividly, how such an uncompromising idealist had to modify his aspirations in the course of the political and party warfare. The Franco-German War found Morley enjoying a brief respite from his political activities and devoting his time to writing books. It was his phenomenal equipment that was actuating him to utilize his leisure hours to the noblest of endeavours, that of immortalizing men of honour and distinction. The lives of Condorcet and Turgot as well as of Carlyle and Byron were published about this time. The post-war period is full of letters written to his friend Frederick Harrison and they abound in criticisms of his friend's favourite theories on Communism. His *Voltaire* was published much to the excitement and admiration of his friend who broke out, "I pronounce it our best modern biography". Again letters are the connecting links between the years 1870 and 1873 and we find in them many traces of his critical faculty and enlivening discussion. His book on Rousseau which receives the encomium from his friend again as "a consummate piece of biography" was published during this time. Morley's prepossessions against revolutionary doctrines had not warped his mind so as to disable it from exercising a proper judgment on the work of Rousseau both "as a political speculator and as a motive force in revolutionary thought."

The times were very momentous in the history of parliamentary legislation. The education of the masses was the prime object of reformers, and *The Fortnightly Review* was vigorous in voicing forth its opinion on national education, with a trenchant criticism of that section of the House, whose vision was blurred with the prospects of Empire expansion. Morley's letters to Frederick Harrison, stating his personal views on a topic of such national import,

convey to us the enormous capacity in him to pursue a subject to its furthest limits. The chapter on Morley's religion, shows us how he has been logical in his conclusion to remain a Rationalist while bestowing careful attention on the prevalent controversies. We feel that Mr. Hirst, with a conviction that was founded upon his intimate knowledge of the true workings of Morley's mind, exalts him almost to the skies when he says "true, for him, Faith was not anticipation of a future and a better world after death, but a belief in human progress and in the perfectibility of mankind . . . on this Faith in human destiny, allied with Faith in democracy, he built Hope. And above all hopes he worshipped Truth". What higher aim or end can any religion preach to wavering minds? It sums up, how "in his permanent moods, Morley's thoughts moved in a loftier and rarified air, above the smoke and stir of vulgar controversy." The vicissitudes of party supremacy at that time caused no little perturbation to the members of the House of Commons, and Morley, a true Liberal of the Gladstonian fold, does not cause us any surprise, when he calls the regime of Disraeli "a square-toed humdrum, disguised by blazes of indiscretion". The pungency of this remark reveals to us the extraordinary vigour of the editorial pen, especially when it sides with a party or a policy. As a partisan, Morley's entire want of sympathy with the Royal Titles Bill, his inveterate attack on Mr. Bartle Frere for the "Forward Policy" though he spared here a friend of his, Lord Lytton, his complete disagreement with Imperialism, and his hearty contempt for Jingoism, all bear strong testimony to his consistency of thought and action and his preparedness for healthy combats in the chosen arena of politics. With the change in Government, when Gladstone regained power, Morley found himself also editor of *The Pall Mall Gazette*. It was that then his *Life of Cobden* found its way to the hearts of the Liberals, particularly in Lancashire and Yorkshire, where Richard Cobden and John Bright were "house-hold gods of Political Non-conformity".

Now, begins a period of ambition and parliamentary successes. It sealed his journalistic career since he felt it impossible to share together the responsibilities of an editor and a politician. His candidature for Newcastle and his election by a clear majority, were much rejoiced over in political groups, and, if a leading journal said that Newcastle would thereafter have as its representative

one 'of candour and character,' it is no little praise bestowed upon the man, who was to be its spokesman at Westminster. As a speaker, Morley was attractive for his 'choiceness of phraseology' and 'gift of evoking moral enthusiasm for good causes'. Why, as a Liberal he was second to none in his integrity and fervour for the cause he espoused. His enthusiasm to imbibe any healthy principle and his readiness to do propaganda for any good cause are his chief traits which claim our admiration. His acceptance of Radicalism, though a fresh-born creed, was justified by him when he describes it as "Liberalism only made more alive".

Mr. Hirst depicts in a short compass almost all the incidents connected with his hero, but they hardly satisfy our desire to know intimately the *man* Morley as he was. We are disappointed with the mere narration of the history of the House of Commons, where most of his part was played. Instead of a critical examination of the professions and actions of Lord Morley, which is legitimately expected of his biographer, it is a mere placid survey of his work that has been given us.

These two volumes draw us to the irresistible conclusion that Morley was one of those few men, who have distinguished themselves in two of the highest spheres, namely Politics and Letters. Lucidity of expression and freedom from confusion in narrating the details of a life crowded with incidents, mark every page of these volumes. It is not quite so easy, as it may appear on a superficial estimate, to collect materials and furnish them in a manner which would infuse into us the same devotion and sympathy that the biographer felt towards his object of adoration. True, the greater the emotional note the biography strikes, the more interesting it becomes. The minor incidents of the private life of a man bear always a distinct charm for us, since they alone reveal to us something of the personality. There is very little of Morley's home in these pages. We are not admitted into his domestic circle and permitted to know more of Morley the husband, and the eldest living member of a family bound together by the most affectionate ties. But, none the less, Mr. Hirst by his publication of Morley's own letters has compensated for this to a great extent. We have hardly any other feeling than one of extreme respect for the author, who has so nobly and successfully accomplished his task.

The Poetry of Sarojini Devi

BY V. N. BHUSHAN

What is richer than thoughts that stray
From reading of poems that sweetly flow?

—ROBERT BRIDGES

Down through the ringing corridor of the ages, India has kept her history fragrant with the enduring memories of illustrious women that have shed their lustre on the paths of life. Even in the early dawn of Indian literature, we can see a Vishyavara or a Ghosha sing with upfolded hands the invocatory hymns of their own composition. Since then every Indian language and every age has had its representative Women of Letters. To this day we read with delight the lovely and graceful songs of Rupamati, of Mirabai, of Zeb-un-Nissa, of Muddupalani and of Anandamayi. And among the few women of India that have decked English Poesy with their song-offerings, the names of Aru Dutt, Toru Dutt, Kamini Roy, Padmavati and Sarojini Devi stand conspicuous.

With eyes full of poetic fire, Sarojini Devi moves on the sacred strand of song, lyre in hand; and as her heart dances to the drum-beat of rumbling clouds of thought, she delicately touches the strings; anon, we hear a thrilling sound of vibrant notes. She is a magician that spreads the lure and leads us on to the celestial heights of Parnassus where eternal music sounds amidst everlasting sunshine.

Her poems are like the joyful notes of the contented spring-messenger, radiating charm and vitality. They are like herself, delicate and sensitive, as delicate and sensitive as the snow-flakes that descend at dawn from above, but no, not so volatile. They move before our mind's eye like a pageantry of the stars and open up to our clouded visions the magnificent dreams of her powerful and poignant soul. They are dreams to the dreamer, songs to the singer,

madrigals to the strephon. They beckon to us, coquet with us, perfume us and haunt us evermore with the lingering echo of their music.

Sarojini Devi is a poetess of the spirit, of sublime emotions. She is a high-priestess of romanticism, sailing on seas of song and singing as she sails. She expresses moods, thoughts and visions that are happy, lovely and beautiful in ornate diction, in lines 'frisking light in frolick measures'. It is as if Sarojini Devi has caught the silver flutter of dancing star-maids and limned it through her verse. And when she rides "sublime upon the seraph wings of ecstasy" through the luxuriant lawns of imagination, her poems come to us "wind-carried, butterfly-borne, or as softly a-sail as a rose-petal upon a stream's surface." They are a dream of beauty—a veritable 'rapture of song.'

'THE EASTERN MAGIC'

In her love of Nature and her speckled scenes of beauty, Sarojini Devi has a close proximity to the twin inspirers of Poesy—Shelley and Keats. She is nevertheless eminently Indian in temperament and well merits the exclamation of Arthur Symons that "her poems have in them an Eastern Magic". Let us now take a peep at her Palace of Song, that we may realise how astonishingly Oriental she is.

In the Bazaars of Hyderabad conjures up a picturesque vision. Beside the perpetual stream of people along the thoroughfare, we see the merchants with their rich

Turbans of crimson and silver,
Tunics of purple brocade,
Mirrors with panels of amber,
Daggers with handles of jade,

the vendors with their

Saffron and lentil and rice

Sandalwood, henna and spice,
the goldsmiths busy making

Wristlet and anklet and ring,
Bells for the feet of blue pigeons,
Frail as a dragon-fly's wing.

the fruit-sellers with trays of

Citron, pomegranate and plum

the musicians playing on their

Oithar, sarangi and drum

the magicians casting

Spells for the aeons to come

and the dainty flower-girls weaving

Crowns for the brow of a bridegroom,
Chaplets to garland his head,
Sheets of white blossoms new-gathered,
To perfume the sleep of the dead.

Close upon the heels of these people come the picturesque
bangle-sellers with their

.....shining loads...
.....delicate, bright
Rainbow-tinted circles of light.
Lustrous tokens of radiant lives,
For happy daughters and happy wives.

What a strange variety of men and things!

Let us contrast the above scene with a Western one described by Mr. John Drinkwater in his poem *Symbols*:

All day long the traffic goes
In Lady Street by dingy rows
Of sloven houses, tattered shops—
Fried fish, old clothes and fortune-tellers—
Tall trams on silver shining rails,
With grinding wheels and swaying tops,
And lorries with their corded bales
And screeching cars. 'Buy, buy' the sellers
Of rags and bones and sickening meat
Cry all day long in Lady Street.

Here indeed is the glaring difference in outlook!

SONGS OF SPRING

Devi Sarojini is a lover of the Spring that comes "with the lure of her magic flute". Spring robes everything in flaming colours, and in the rapturous joy of the season,

Kamala tinkles a lingering foot
In the grove where temple bells ring,
And Krishna plays on his bamboo flute
An idyl of love and spring.

Spring with its varied songs stirs passionate souls ; one in eagerness queries,

Springtime, O springtime, what is your secret,
The bliss at the core of your magical mirth,
That quickens the pulse of the morning to wonder,
And hastens the seeds of all beauty to birth!

In yet another quarter, we espy a lonely village girl. Enamoured of the boatmen's rustic songs, she tarries long at her duty and while returning says feelingly :

Full are my pitchers and far to carry,
Lone is the way and long,
Why, O why was I tempted to tarry,
Lured by the boatmen's song.

From another side we hear the alluring melody of the milkmaid Radha's song,

I carried my curds to the Mathura fair...
How softly the heifers were lowing...

which is at once expressive of love and admiration for the Divine Flutist of Brindavan. It also reveals to us how the commonplace people misunderstand an exalted soul like Radha, who was mocked at when, in sacred adoration of Krishna, the Divine Cowherd and Musician—the 'Divine' Beloved of every Hindu heart, she chanted :

Govinda ! Govinda !
Govinda ! Govinda !

To Sarojini Devi, Spring makes an intense appeal as a season for mirth and merriment and she would do nothing else on a spring-day :

Their joy from the birds and streams let us borrow,
O, heart, let us sing.
The years are before us for weeping and sorrow,
To-day it is spring !

POEMS OF LOVE

With many writers of verse, the love theme is a lute with many strings that can be harped at will in accordance with the flow of the ebb and tide of their fancy. And even then their interpretation of Love never rises to superb heights. But the love poems of Sarojini Devi have a fascination all

their own, and to her, Love is something more than a mere earthly passion. Her conception of Love transcends all human limitations. To her, it has something of the Divine, of the Eternal. To her, it opens a path in the never-ending pursuit of perfection. She does not depict Love as amorous, as passionate. It is serene, sublime—triumphing over Death and surviving through Eternity. She sings—

You permeate
With such profound, supreme and intimate,
Knowledge, possession, power, my life's domain ;
O, are you not
The very text and title of my thought,
The very pattern of my joy and pain ? ...
Shall even Death free
My soul from such intricate Unity ?

Elsewhere she assures the lover—

You haunt my waking like a dream, my slumber like a moon,
Pervade me like a musky scent, possess me like a tune.

You are the heart within my heart, the
life within my life.

This reminds us of some lines of Mr. Maurice Baring. In his excellent play, *Dusk*, he makes the hero say to Jessamine, a beautiful water-spirit that has strayed out of the 'cool and silent depths' and enticed him :

I love you while I breathe, sun of my day ;
I'll love you when I die, star of my dusk ;
I'll love you after death, moon of my night,
Through all the trackless ways and deeps of space,
Amidst the murmur of this clamorous world,
And in the silence of Eternity.

We have already noticed that her idea of Love is something unique, overleaping all mere mortal conceptions. Here is a quest for Love Divine :

Alone, O Love, I breast the shimmering waves,
The changing tides of life's familiar streams,
Wide seas of hope, swift rivers of desire.

FONDNESS FOR FLOWERS

For flowers of various kinds—the jasmine, the champak, the cassia, the gulmohur, the poppy and the irls, Sarojini

Devi has an extraordinary fondness, and brings to our memory the name of yet another votary of the English Muse—Poet-Laureate Austin. He too has a passionate devotion to the bloom and fragrance of beautiful flowers—the banksia, the wild rose, the cistus, the lily, the primrose—a devotion so strong, so sincere that it makes him say of his poems—

Their music they stole from the deep-hushed rose;
And he celebrates his love of the primrose thus:

You have brightened doubtful days,
You have sweetened long delays.

Sarojini Devi sings of the age-long admiration of humanity for flowers when she says of the champak blossoms:

.....'t is of you thro' the moonlit ages
That maidens and minstrels sing.

Nay, she even goes farther and attributes divinity to them:

I sometimes think that perchance you are
Fragments of some new-fallen star.

THE PATRIOTIC NOTE

She is not only a poet but a patriot too, striving her best to free her country from the degrading shackles of alien domination. Affection of the highest order it is that leads her to address these impassioned lines to the land of her birth:

O, young through all thy immemorial years!
Rise Mother, rise, regenerate thy gloom,
And like a bride high-mated with the spheres,
Beget new glories from thy ageless womb.

And Sarojini Devi looks up to India as the spiritual *Sardar* of the world:

The Nations that in fettered darkness weep
Crave thee to lead where great mornings break.

She kneels in humble adoration before the shining altar of her Motherland beseeching her for guidance and for benediction:

Waken, O Mother! thy children implore thee,
Who kneel in thy presence to serve and adore thee,
* * *

Awaken and sever thy woes that enthrall us,
And hallow our hands for the triumphs that call us.

THE PURANIC PAST

She has an unparalleled admiration for the immortal heroines of our Puranic Past. For her they always remain as images of devoted loyalty and perpetual radiance, envisaging before her artistic vision the multicoloured film of our halcyon days. The very thought of these historic women makes the fire of her poetic inspiration flare up; and in its lambent light we behold a gorgeous parade of bygone times—of holy India, bright and sublime with its righteous men and devoted women, its sacred-souled *sadhus* and its silver-bearded sages, its temples echoing with orisons and avestas, and its places of pilgrimage resonant with the measured chants of Vedic hymns. It is of such times that the Poetess sings to us, nay, even makes us partake of,

.....Savitri's sorrow and Sita's desire,
Draupati's longing, Damayanti's fears,
And sweetest Sakuntala's magical tears.

Elsewhere, she consummately sums up the serene ideal of a typical Hindu wife, when she makes Damayanti say to Nala in the hour of exile:

What fate shall dare uncrown thee from this breast
O God-born lover, whom my love doth gird
And armour with impregnable delight
Of Hope's triumphant keen flame-carven sword?

AWE AND REVERENCE

Exhilarating, enrapturing, ecstatic—such are her poems, avoiding that tremendous word 'mystic,' for I firmly believe that Sarojini Devi's poetry is not at all mystic,—in the same way that the poetry of Herbert and Vaughan, of Tagore and Iqbal is mystic. But though she is not mystic in her outlook and though she does not strive to interpret in symbolic terms the hidden mysteries of heaven and earth, yet she has a profound sense of awe and reverence for the all-ruling Power. She is extremely sensitive of her eternal indebtedness to the All-merciful for all that He has vouchsafed unto her. For all that she is endowed with, she asks—

Have I not poured my life in glad libation
Like pure, vermillion wine,

And swung the censers of my adoration
 Sleepless before your shrine ?
 And of my days made a mellifluous pæan
 To you who dwell apart,
 In the untrod enchanted empyrean
 Of my surrendered heart ?

She does all this because—

My glad heart is drunk and drenched with Thee,
 O inmost wine of living Ecstasy !
 O intimate essence of Eternity !

Beyond these utterances of faith, we meet with some scattered lines that tell us of her conception of life :

And all our mortal moments are
 A session of the Infinite !

* * * * *
 Life is a prism of My Light,
 And Death the shadow of My Face.
 * * * * *

And all Life's ripening harvest fields await
 The restless sickle of relentless fate !

THANKS !

To that brilliant English Man of Letters, Sir Edmund Gosse, are due our warmest thanks. It is an exquisite piece of good fortune that he prevailed upon young Sarojini Devi and her 'girlish ecstasy' "to write no more of robins and skylarks in a landscape of Midland counties,..... to be a genuine Indian poetess of the Deccan, not a clever machine-made imitator of the English classics". By voicing forth the silent musings of her Oriental heart through the medium of an alien tongue, she has helped to bridge the yawning chasm of creed and culture, and flooded the West with a sublime saga of our life and love, of our joys and sorrows. We rejoice today in the thought that she has remained with us to sing to the world of the soul of India, and the spirit of the Orient. Devi Sarojini the singer, the gifted holder of the winged word, the happy denizen of the 'moon-enchanted estuary of dreams', the admired queen of our minstrel group,—with her haunting visions of heavenly beauty and sibilant echoes of aerial melody, moves with regal pomp in the realm of song.

'Ketaki'

BY NIRMAL CHATTOPADHYAYA

The Spring is gone and dead is the Rose
 The Koil from the *Sahakara* bower has fled,
 Cloud-prince, dear yet terrible, come thou to-night !
 The green carpet is there for thee,
 But dying is thy bride.

Yet, stay awhile,
 Dear and awful Cloud-prince ! stay :
 Away from the garden, in forlorn sands I ever
 pray for thee ;
 And sleep enchained in a castle of thorns ;
 While around me in slumber lie snake-guards
 heaving deep :
 In a thorned tower I sleep away my charmed days.

Vain are the morning rays for me
 While in dreaming sleep pass night and day ;
 Ketaki, Queen of thorns am I.
 The bee steals away my gold,
 But to thee my scent-offering I waft
 On the cool wings of the evening breeze ;
 Dreaming ever of when my black Prince-charmer
 will come and rend my chains,
 And awaken Ketaki with his magic-wand !

Anon, thou hast come beside me, my dark Cloud-
 prince dear !
 For there dies whispering thy poignant tear on my
 cheek.

O Life and Love !
 Dearer than gold shall be these very sands,
 If but my Prince would kiss his Ketaki ere she is
 cold !

Draw close, and closer, my Prince ! before I droop,

And thy coolest kiss upon my brow be laid !
 Tho' my lips have not the runaway Rose's glow,
 Nor the coming *Sephali's* graceful sweet perfume.

Am I pale ?—
 But pale have I grown thro' waiting,
 Because my Prince would never come !
 My thorns ?—
 They but sprouted in bitter shame—
 My burning tears be they !
 My fragrance bitter-sweet thou mayn't scorn,
 For, in severest pain was it fraught !

Ever and ever in forlorn dreary sands I await,
 And dwell in fear that he might never come,
 My cruel, beloved Cloud-prince.
 In distant death tower in dumb lament pine I,
 Ketaki, Queen of thorns !
 And slumbering serpents guard me round !

A free translation from BENGALI by

PULIN BEHARI SEN

Satya's Resentment

(From the Telugu *Parijatapaharanam*)¹

Like a fierce trodden she-serpent or a fiery tongue of flame Satya arose; the flush of ruby-flare in her eyes flooded her cheeks with the crimson light of *Kumkum*, and in a voice injured and tremulous, she said:

"Was such the advent of that sage who feeds on strife? And was such indeed his talk? And did he, the lord of the Gopis, lend a willing ear? And what proud words spoke Rukmini? O, lotus-faced maiden, tell me the whole truth at once and hesitate not the least.

"Be it that Narada made a friendly present of that flower to Achyutha, proudly avowing the peerless excellence of the gift; and be it that he in his turn offered it where his love did rest: but, tell me what right had that artful sage of the gods to bring in my name on that spot?

"To speak full many words that prick like thorns may be the very nature of that world-trotting sage, to whom discord is merriment. But should not my lord then have prevented such talk?

"And yet, and yet, the fault is not the sage's. Why, pray, should Rukmini so accept the gift? And what must I think of the conduct of that graceless cow-herd? Will not the heart break when one's husband, dear as one's own life, behaves this wise?

"Uncritical about their own ways, these men still tell us that we women cannot be trusted. But, in truth, is it not men that are fickle-minded even as the fleeting clouds of *Sarat*? How can we trust them, then, my friend?—tell me how can we?

"Woven into the very texture of my life with meshes of

¹Translated by M. Visvesvara Rao from the famous Telugu *Prabandha* of Timma Kavi, one of the poets of the Imperial Court of Vijayanagara, during the reign of Sri Krishna Deva Raya.

pure affection, living with me in desires ever insatiate, loving me and blending with me in pleasures ever so guileless, could he, my lord, have acted thus? But, ah! it may be that, caught in the jealous charms of that Rukmini, he has forgotten me and my love!

"To every wife, her lord is the life of her life, her protector, her God—but, when even he chooses to be ungracious, O, tell me, what prop is then left to the devoted ones?"

"The taking back of riches once given can be borne without pain. But, O my maiden, when love is once offered by the lord—and then withheld, what charm has life for me?"

Thus wailing and weary, and full of jealousy and wrath, Satya, lovely as the creeping vine, rushed into the "Chamber of Resentment" like unto a *Naga* maiden passing into her grotto in a *Harichandan* trunk.

The Parijata of Love

BY K. RAMAKOTISWARA RAO

I

"Sri Krishna respected Rukmini, but he loved Satya", said I.

"No", angrily retorted my friend, "Sri Krishna loved Satya, but he *adored* Rukmini."

Do you think it passing strange that an Indian love-story of the long-long-ago enshrined in the immortal classic of the race—the *Bhagavata*—should have roused a warm discussion in the drab, prosaic, work-a-day world of ours? But the memory of Sri Krishna and his queenly consorts is ever fresh and fragrant even as the *Parijata* which he plucked from the garden of the gods and planted on earth, that it might fill the world with its perfume. Sri Krishna was indeed all things to all persons. And in the manner of their approach to him, was also the outflow of his beneficence and grace. In India, through the ages, men and women have poured forth the love of their hearts to Sri Krishna, the wonder-child, the player on the flute, the charioteer, and the giver of the *Geeta*.

But there are two relationships of his that have fascinated me above all else. I love to think of him as the comrade of Arjuna and the lover of Satya. These, unlike the rest, did not look up to him as God incarnate, as one to be placed on a pedestal and worshipped with reverent awe. Arjuna among men and Satya among women, cherished for him the purest and the most ardent love. Theirs was an intensely human fellowship. Imagine Sri Krishna stepping into the Court of the Pandavas. After the formal greetings are over, and the pressing problems of the hour are discussed, what would Sri Krishna long to do? What, except to take Arjuna aside, enfold him in a warm embrace and forget

the cares of state in the joy of re-union with the hero-prince? If Arjuna knew and felt that Sri Krishna was an Avatar, it was not as one far away in the clouds, but as one nearest his heart—a loving and beloved comrade.

So too with Satya. She felt for Sri Krishna little of the reverence of Rukmini or the self-effacing adoration of Radha. To Satya, Sri Krishna was ever the charming prince, the fond lover who, if he was guilty of transgressions, was certainly to be punished by an expression of her just resentment. Was it right, was it chivalrous that on great occasions and on small, Sri Krishna should slight her and seek to humiliate her in the presence of Rukmini and his other queens? Was it her fault that she came into Sri Krishna's life later than Rukmini, or that her marriage was in the nature of a diplomatic alliance¹, not a love match like that of Rukmini? Satya as depicted in the *Bhagavata* and in subsequent literature based on the epic, is not the mere conventional Hindu wife, devoted to her lord and always prepared to subordinate her will to his. She has, like Savitri and Draupadi, like Kaikeyi and Kunti, plenty of energy and initiative. She does not hesitate, on occasions, to stand up for her rights as woman and as wife. Alone of all the consorts of Sri Krishna, she follows him to the field of battle, fights by his side and vanquishes his foes. In beauty and in valour, in the graces and accomplishments of womanhood, she is indeed the leader of society in the city of Dwaraka. It is therefore round her that the allegory of the *Parijata* is woven.

II

It is a belief universal amongst Hindus that Sri Krishna was an Avatar (incarnation) of Vishnu, the Preserver—the second Entity in the Trinity, and that in glory and power his was a much fuller manifestation of the Lord than the other Avatars including Sri Ramachandra. But some scholars hold that the child Krishna

¹Satrajit, father of Satya, unjustly suspected Sri Krishna of having stolen a valuable gem of his. To make amends for this wrong, he presented Sri Krishna "the gem, and with it, this gem among maidens" as the Telugu *Bhagavata* puts it.)

of Brindavan, hero of the *Bhagavata* and friend of the Gopis, was an entirely different individual from Krishna, Prince of Dwaraka, leader of the confederate Kshatriya clans of the Andhakas, Vrishnis and Bhojas—the warrior and statesmen whose deeds are immortalised in the *Mahabharata*. Possibly they are right, and later tradition might have blended the two conceptions of Krishna into one. The Krishna of the *Mahabharata* must have lived his life on earth several centuries earlier than his namesake of the *Bhagavata*. When we speak of Krishna as a 'complete Avatar' the reference is nearly always, albeit unconsciously, to the later Krishna of Brindavan. The earlier Krishna, if he was an Avatar,—as I believe he was—must have been what is termed an *Avesa* Avatar, that is to say, a highly evolved individual on whom, at a certain stage in his career, the Spirit of the Lord descended in all its glory and dwelt for a period, that, through him, the worlds might be blessed.

This conception of an *Avesa* Avatar is quite in consonance with Hindu tradition. We have been told that during the encounter between Parasu-Rama and Sri-Rama after the breaking of the Bow of Siva and the winning of King Janaka's daughter, the Light of the Lord passed from Parasu-Rama and entered the body of Sri-Rama, the mighty bowman and Prince of Ayodhya. The great work that had to be achieved through Parasu-Rama was over, and young Sri-Rama, by reason of his valour and his attainments, was marked out as the 'Man of the Age'—as the proper tabernacle for the indwelling of the Lord's Spirit. Evidently, then, Sri-Rama was not *born* an Avatar like the child Krishna of the *Bhagavata*, but he *became* one after his encounter with Parasu-Rama. The Christian Gospels tell us that when Jesus was thirty years old, he one day bathed in the waters of the Jordan, and as he came out of the river, the Spirit of the Lord descended on him in the shape of a dove. It was then that Jesus became 'the Christ' and commenced his blessed ministry.

If such is the nature of an *Avesa* Avatar, is it possible for us to mark the exact point in the career of the Krishna

of the *Mahabharata* when he became an Avatar of Vishnu? Was it when he gave the great teaching of the *Geeta* to Arjuna on the fateful field of Kurukshetra, or was it much earlier, when he planted the *Parijata* tree on earth, for the love he bore Satya?

III

The story of the *Parijata* is one of the most picturesque in the Hindu *Puranas*. Narada the gifted singer and messenger of the Gods¹ visited Sri Krishna at Dwaraka, while he was in the palace of Rukmini, and presented him with a *Parijata* flower—the flower that blossomed only in the *Nandana vana*, garden of Indra, god of gods. Sri Krishna was charmed with the beauty and fragrance of the *Parijata* and, as a token of his love, bestowed it on Rukmini. Narada complimented Rukmini on being the fortunate recipient of this divine gift, and true to his nature as one that ever fed on strife, spoke slightly of Satya. This news was conveyed with lightning speed to Satya by one of her maids. And Satya, the beauteous and the accomplished, was filled with resentment that Krishna should have so openly showed his preference for Rukmini and—what in her view was a greater lapse from decorum—permitted Narada, without a word of protest, to speak the things that he did.² And then, the story is told, Krishna humbled himself before Satya, confessed his many and egregious faults, and at last appeased her anger by promising to plant the entire *Parijata* tree—and not a mere flower—in her own garden. For this purpose, Satya and Krishna invade the city of Indra, vanquish the heavenly hosts and come back triumphant to Dwaraka with the coveted *Parijata* tree.

A beautiful allegory—for what does the *Parijata* signify but the *Parijata* of Love, the heavenly gift which Sri Krishna, in his narrowness, bestowed on Rukmini alone?

¹The late Andhraratna Gopalakrishnaiah humourously styled Narada as the "Postmaster-General of all the worlds".

²The passage from the Telugu *Parijatapaharanam* translated by the young Associate Editor is a brilliant portrayal of the resentment of Satya on the occasion.

Krishna, before he became an Avatar, lavished his love on Rukmini and did not admit Satya into the innermost sanctuary of his heart. But she claimed his love, and won it too, through long years of devotion and the outpouring of a love that was wide as the heavens above, and deep as the ocean around. Thus she enabled him to attain his destiny as an Avatar. When Sri Krishna could love Satya as ardently as he did Rukmini, his love was that instant transmuted into the Love of the Lord—the Love that doth flood the Universe. That is what is meant when it is said that in company with Satya he planted the *Parijata* on earth, after snatching it from the gods.

And yet, the popular conception seems to be that Satya's love was somehow inferior to that of Rukmini or Radha and that Sri Krishna humiliated Satya for her own good, to enable her to attain that perfection of love which she lacked. In recent Telugu literature, and I believe in other Indian literatures too, poems and dramas have been written in pursuance of this idea. I have witnessed plays like the *Parijatapaharana* of Chilakamarti Lakshminarasimham, the *Radha-Krishna* of P. Lakshminarasimha Rao and the *Thulabharam*—'the weighing of Sri Krishna in the scales'—by the late lamented Professor Subba Rao. Everywhere Satya is made to look very small; her love for Sri Krishna is represented as intensely selfish and grasping, as "of the earth, earthy." Playwright, actors, audience, all are satisfied that Satya deserved to be humiliated for her arrogance. Even talented actors like Mr. Sthanam Narasimha Rao in the rôle of Satya and B. Subba Rao as Sri Krishna in the *Thulabharam*, have not been able to do justice to the supremely noble nature of Satya. All this arises out of a false reading of the character of Satya and an utter incapacity to gauge the love of Satya for Krishna and of Krishna for Satya.

Satya's love was neither selfish nor grasping. In fact it was through her love that Sri Krishna became the Lover of all beings—worthy of his destiny as "Teacher of Gods and men".

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.]

Murugan, The Tiller: By K. S. VENKATARAMANI, M. A., B. L. ('Swetaranya Ashrama', Mylapore, Madras. Second Edition. Rs. 2.)

We welcome with delight a new edition of this charming tale of South Indian life from the pen of a South Indian of acknowledged literary eminence. *Murugan*, as an interpretation of Hindu life and ideals, deserves to rank with the late R. C. Dutt's *Lake of Palms* and Lal Behari Dey's *Bengal Peasant Life*. The first edition received unstinted praise from all quarters but 'Triveni' was not then in existence and we were denied the pleasure of noticing it.

Murugan, the hero, is the typical Indian peasant, humble and pious; unlettered but rich with the wisdom of the centuries behind him. Ramachandran and Kedari represent opposing ideals and pursue different paths in life. But they end by 'going back to the land' and drawing sustenance, physical as well as spiritual, by close communion with Mother Nature. They are, however, much more than mere types. We seem to be seeing Kedaris and Ramchandrans every day of our lives. Mr. Venkataramani, it is clear, has more of Ramachandran than of Kedari in him, though by an irony of fate, he is practising law like Kedari, and in the immediate neighbourhood of Kedari's Nadu Street and Tank Square. But Mr. Venkataramani's dreams of a life of *Vanaprastha* in the 'Swetaranya Ashrama' of the future may one day materialise. Meanwhile, we heartily congratulate him on the recognition he has gained and which he so richly merits. An excellent Tamil translation of *Murugan* has already appeared and we hear a Telugu edition is in progress. Other Indian languages ought to copy this example.

Mr. Venkataramani of the old Victoria Hostel days, winning prizes in *Bookman* competitions and—it was whispered amongst us with awe—actually corresponding with Prof. Saintsbury, has blossomed into an important literary figure. We rejoice that it is so, and look forward to more from this gifted writer.

K. RAMAKOTISWARA RAO.

REVIEWS

SRINIVASA AIYANGAR, P.T., *History of the Tamils, from the earliest times to 600 A.D.*, (1929, C. Coomaraswami Naidu & Sons, Madras, Rs. 5 nett).

The origin of Tamil culture has for decades been a subject of much speculation, but few have brought to bear ripe scholarship and discriminating judgment on a study of the problem. Caldwell took up the study as a philologist, but his conclusions stand vitiated by his ignorance of the development and the genius of Tamil literature. Kanakasabhai Pillai gave us a masterly presentment of Tamil culture as preserved in its literature, but he failed to interpret it for us. M. Srinivasa Aiyangar speculated on the ethnology of the Tamils and evolved theories which are remarkable for their crudity. The less said about Dr. G. Slater's views on the Dravidian problem the better. Mr. T. B. Sessa Aiyangar brought together a miscellaneous assortment of views and successfully evaded a formulation of any conclusions of his own. Of casual contributions to the subject there is no end, but none of them is of any the least value.

Kanakasabhai Pillai started with the literary vestiges of early Tamil: the still earlier period of culture remained to be reconstructed and a picture drawn of the social and the intellectual conditions of the age. To a scholar of a very different type has fallen the task of reconstructing that earlier history. Kanakasabhai was deeply versed in Tamil literature, but he lacked the intellectual alertness, the omnivorous scholarship and the heretical zeal of Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, to whom no subject is beyond his grasp and no belief is too sacred to be spared lightly. He was not nursed in the traditions of Tamil scholarship and he has come late to a study of it, but being an easy and consummate master in many of the domains of scholarship, he has been able to attain, in a remarkably short time, to a mastery of Tamil literature which none but *pandits* can lay claim to. For two generations Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar has enjoyed the reputation of being an intellectual giant, and, if proof of the reputation were wanted, it would be found in the remarkable work now before us. In its six-hundred and odd pages of close print we cannot find more than fifty pages which do not bear the imprint of original thinking: some six-hundred extracts from the Tamil classics have been rendered into English for the first time: many a novel theory is evolved with surprising clarity and enforced with abundant illustration. And this work, which another man would have taken a full twelve-month merely to fair-copy, was all thought out and set forth within a period of twelve months. The

surprise is all the greater as it follows close on the heels of his *Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture*, which itself was a triumph of unremitting industry and illuminating exposition. He has always scorned to take either his facts or his conclusions at second-hand and he is too conscientious a literary man to be content with facts fished up for him by others. To get hold of ideas from more reticent scholars, to work them up into theses, to publish each of them in half a dozen periodicals and at last to gather them up in a collected edition are arts which he has never had need to practise. He is, indeed, the youngest of scholars in industry and in intellectual enterprise: at the same time, in the amplitude of many-sided learning he is the oldest of scholars. In him we have a happy blend of youth and age,—the industry and enterprise of youth and the ripeness and maturity of age.

The main basis of Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar's deductions as to the earliest culture of the Tamils is the literature of the so-called Sangam Age, including the *Porul-Adiharam* of the *Tol-Kappiyam*, accounted the earliest of the available Tamil grammars. His interpretation of Tamil culture is based on three central theories,—the effect of the geography of South India on its culture, the transition to a fireless cult, and the indigenous character of all the peoples and the cultures of India. That there is much of truth in Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar's contentions can scarcely be denied, but it is open to question whether the three lines of argument advanced by him account adequately for all the cultural phenomena.

Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar traces much of the individuality of Tamil culture to the fact that the culture developed in five classes of habitable land, all of which lie in fairly close juxtaposition in the Tamil country,—the hills, the dry wastes, the woodlands, the deltas and the littoral. We do not agree with Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar in the determination of the factors governing the evolution of Tamil culture, but, it is this disagreement that makes us appreciate all the more the infinite resource with which he supports his position. He exhausts Sanskrit and Tamil literatures for appropriate illustrations; he adds instance to instance and piles quotation upon quotation in such profusion as almost to smother disagreement before it is born.

Having attempted to evaluate the culture of the periods for which there are no contemporary records, Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar passes down to the age of the early poems attributed to the Sangams or Academies. He discounts heavily the theory of three Academies and questions shrewdly the value of the poems for the purposes of history.

An interesting chapter deals with the history of the intercourse which the south of India had with the north and he seeks to show that the assumption that the south was an entity apart from the north is absolutely without foundation. That the Cheras were not unknown to the age of the Taittiriya Aranyaka is an interesting suggestion for which one would like to have evidence more cogent than is now traceable. In a series of chapters Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar gives a lively account of the foreign trade of South India in the first and the second millenniums before Christ. In a chapter on the *Ramayana* he would make out Valmiki to be a contemporary of Pāṇini and the *Ramayana* as it stands now to be a composition of the period when the *agamas* had made the doctrine of *avatars* popular. Following Pargiter's suggestion, Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar postulates a succession of Agastyas: the first of them was, twenty generations earlier than Rama, the husband of a princess of Vidarbha, a kingdom south of the Vindhya, and had his *asrama* in the western part of the Satpura range: the second of them, a contemporary of Rama, was visited by him close to the banks of the Godavari: the third was a much later one who had his seat on the top of the Malaya hill, much further south, and the fourth was the author of the grammar which bears his name. This southward migration of 'Agastya' through the generations is said to be the symbol of the spread of the Aryan cults in the south. This is an alluring hypothesis and deserves considerable attention. An interesting chapter is devoted to chronicling the rise of the *agamas* and another to the growth of the schools of Bauddhayaṇa and Apastambha, and in both chapters an attempt is made to determine the extent to which the south and the north stood mutually indebted: Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar's views on these questions are not only bold and uncompromising but also provocative of thought; further and prolonged research alone will establish whether he is wrong.

We reach next a succession of chapters in which the real character of early Tamil literature is laid bare. That that literature, as it now survives, is preserved mainly in anthologies has often been pointed out before, but no attempt was ever made to determine the course of its stratification. Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar advances a very interesting theory that the *Tol-Kappiyam* and some poems of the *Puram* and *Aham* collections are among the earliest of that body of literature and that the *Kali-Tohai* is among the last: the theory deserves and will repay careful consideration. He discounts rightly the myths about the three Sangams and gives a picture of the development of the Sangam literature which is more natural

than any so far drawn by historians. In another series of chapters he traces the history of the three principal dynasties of the Tamil country, so far as that history can be reconstructed from the Sangam books: he does not go into the question with the thoroughness which characterises the rest of his work as he must have rightly recognised that an adequate study of the subject will entail the writing of a book fully as long as and much more detailed than the present one.

It will be recognised on all hands that the merit of Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar's work lies in the huge volume of evidence he has collected and marshalled and in the clarity with which he has argued out his conclusions. No reader of the work can lay it down without being impressed by the great erudition of the author and the close thinking which characterises every page of it. For decades this work will stand out as a monument of scholarship and as a beacon to voyagers in the yet uncharted seas of the early cultural history of our country.

The impression may be left in the minds of some readers that Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar has interpreted our cultural evolution to the advantage of the Tamilian and shown less than justice to the Aryan. Even if the impression be well-founded, we must not forget that Sanskritists have held the field so long and so obstinately that the Tamilian scholar who wants to wrest for his own culture what he considers to be its birthright cannot hope for success unless he bears down furiously on his antagonists and hits hard enough. In remote antiquity, Agastya strode forth southward to redress the injustice done to Tamil, and, if Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar now goes forth with equal rage it is because he has had equal provocation from the Sanskritists of modern times. We are confident that this new book of his will help to restore the balance and to reinstate Tamil in her lawful seat.

T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN.

MARATHI

"*Lagnacha Bazaar*" or "The Marriage Market": By Mrs. Shanta Nasekhar, B.A.

[Publisher V. N. Marathi. The 'Grihalakshmi' Office, Dhummatkar House, 241, Girgaum Back Road, Bombay. Price Rs. 2.]

This is a new novel written by Mrs. Nasekhar and has for its theme the eternal problem of the Hindu marriage. This familiar subject forms the mainstay of her story: but she has also dwelt upon

the subtle tyranny of the present day social reformers, which takes a hundred shapes, as it often happens in the middle-class Hindu families.

For instance, Satyavati the daughter of a middle-class family, is married in her 19th year to Suresh, a civilian. Suresh's parents have squeezed out forty thousand rupees from Satyavati's father as a dowry. This sum is not exactly a dowry, but it is supposed to be paid towards expenses which Suresh incurred whilst studying for the I.C.S. in England. The first chapter of the story deals with this and incidentally reflects what modern girls have got to say about this most pernicious custom. The chapter itself is styled, "Marriage or Auction" a very suggestive title. But luckily Suresh is not the average type of youngman. He feels very disconsolate about his father's doings, and confesses to that effect to Sushila who is a great friend of Satyavati. One feels however Suresh would have been more of a real man if he had the courage to return that forty thousand instead of giving long-drawn apologies which he pours out to Sushila, his wife's friend. Meanwhile a certain amount of intimacy is the result of Suresh's communications to Sushila, and it is not strange that Suresh gets to like her more than Satyavati, with the result that a tragedy is worked out and Satyavati's life is ruined.

Mrs. Nasekhar deals out her story warmly and one must congratulate her on the selection of characters which are so true to life. She deals with a good many problems in her own quaint way. The relationship of the married man with other married women is so well worked out in the gradually developing interest and intimacy which results between Sushila and Suresh. The character of Sadhu Anna, the heartless educated father who sells his daughter with forty thousand rupees is a good study too, and when later on the writer depicts the tragic end of the heroine Satyavati, and yet after the tragedy is worked out, she makes them the units of a better organised society, Mrs. Nasekhar shows a consummate skill in the study of human nature and its frailties, as well as its pathos.

When all is said, one feels however that it is an old old tale, this evil of misfits and the system of marriage in vogue in Hindu society. It was Mr. Apte who first made people conscious of their callous indifference to this very vital question in Maharashtra Society; and we must confess too that even after Mr. Hari Apte's attempts, we have not been able to evolve such a thing as right, healthy, public opinion about certain aspects of our customs.

But one feels the women are the worst sinners in this respect, for it is they who are so singularly instrumental in causing misfits and

tragic endings to what otherwise would have been normal healthy married lives! No grown-up girl is free from their criticism. If a girl goes to college, well, she must be criticised; if she stays at home, well, she must be talked of; and the 'dowry', that famous word! If only the women made up their minds when they married their daughters or sons, not to have anything to do with this system, what a reform would have been worked out!

These are some thoughts which arise from a perusal of Mrs. Nasekhar's very interesting work. The language is very simple, and easy, and it ought to appeal to the women of Maharashtra in particular.

The Golden Champak: Selected poems of Prof. S. N. Chaphekar, M.A., LL.B., I.E.S. [Deccan College, Poona.]

The name of Prof. S. N. Chaphekar is well known in Maharashtra. As a poet, dramatic critic, and familiarly known as Shree Krishna, Prof. Chaphekar holds a unique position. The volume under review is a collection of the professor's work of art and it fully justifies itself. It is a varied and interesting collection, where the reader will find verses and songs on everything that is beautiful in daily life. Here are a few lines at random. He sings about the golden dawn:

*Nikata, Nikata, Khachita Yeta!
Subha Dinichi Suprabhata !!
Hoteela Jay Saphala Hatu!
Sakala Apule !!*

(Swiftly comes the dawn of a brighter day—the golden dawn when our desires shall be fulfilled and we shall behold the glory), or when he sings of the old year that is a-dying:

*Viserun ya ! Bhutakala !
Bhutanchich ti Masal !!
Tapa, Shoka, Bhayakaral, !
Smarana de teeche !!*

(Come let us forget the old year: with its dying embers and the dead hopes, and the fever of yesterday.)

It is this bright optimism that endears Prof. Chaphekar to his readers. Unlike many of his contemporaries who are content with sentimental forebodings and who try to imitate slavishly the poetry and the spirit of the West, Prof. Chaphekar has a genius of his own. Some of his lyrics are exquisite, as in the case of *Diwali*, *Dasara*, or *Pimpalpan*. He has got his own inimitable style of rendering into appropriate Marathi, some of the finest lines and thoughts of Shakespeare. Witness these lines:

"Shall I compare thee to a Summer's day?"

He says,

*Vasantantalya Tula Dinachee Upama Deun Kai ?
Adhika Ramyatara Adhika Sojvala Tyahuni Pari
Tava Kai ?*

The book is attractively got-up and priced one rupee.

R. L. RAU.

MALAYALAM

Velu Thampi Dalava: By Mr. K. M. Panikkar, M. A. (Oxon), Barrister-at-Law.

These are fine verses written by one who is well known to Malayalam literature. There are eight pieces in this collection. (1) Anjali. (2) Velu Thampi Dalava (3) Paris (4) Gnanam (5) Sagarasthobram (6) Navavathsaram (7) In Spain (8) Parajayaganam.

The author has reputation and indeed he writes well. In the book under review, the author maintains his own traditions. These verses may not be quite novel to those of us who are acquainted with European literatures. But to the old school in Malayalam literature, some of them may be interesting, for instance, the verses on Spain and Paris. Perhaps they may not interest them at all for lack of historical knowledge. The author's reference to Napoleon in his poem on 'Paris' is not very happy nor relevant, and is inexcusable in an impartial student of history.

There are indeed some points for criticism which can be done best only in Malayalam. But I would point out two glaring instances of what I may call 'immaturity in a poetical aspirant.'

(1) "As Pranava to the Vedas, so is Paris to the historians of Europe—So do they (historians) merge in Paris". I would merely say that I fail to appreciate this 'alankara'.

(2) "Prowess equal to Karthikeya"—I cannot agree that Velu Thampi Dalava possessed 'Veeryam' which was equal to that of Sri Karthikeya. Our efforts at poetic exaggerations for the sake of strength of the 'alankara' fail when a mortal, though of the best of mankind, is compared and made equal to the Most High Power.

But the poems as a whole are of the highest order in versification. 'Velu Thampi Dalava' in particular is remarkable for its delightful symphony, terse expressions and noble sentiments of patriotic feelings that pervade the soliloquy, as it were, of that great soldier-minister of Travancore. The name 'Velu Thampi Dalava' has a significance to the people of Kerala which Cambronne, the last of the Old Guard at

Waterloo has created for his in the hearts of Frenchmen. Mr. Panikkar has unquestionably chosen the fittest hero to express feelings of patriotism that are mighty like French Revolutions, which only a Velu Thampi Dalava could feel and act up to. I offer Mr. Panikkar my most hearty congratulations on this piece.

P. NARAYANA KURUP.

KANNADA

Publications of the Adhyatma Karyalaya, Dharwar

The Adhyatma Karyalaya of Dharwar seeks to present the great principles incorporated in the ancient religious books of the Hindus to the Kanarese reading public in easy Kanarese. Its publications are finding a ready sale in the educated circles of Karnataka. The Karyalaya intends in future to expound the Hatha-Yoga, Raja-Yoga, Karma-Yoga, Bhakti-Yoga and Dnyana-Yoga, as also the spiritual Sadhana, Sidhi, Upadesha and the lives of Shri Krishna, Shri Ramakrishna, Buddha and others. The following are its publications till now:—

Upanishat-prakash—Parts 1 and 2. The first edition has already been sold and a second one issued. The two parts contain a simple translation of the Esha, Kena, Katha, Mandukya, Prashna, Mundaka, Itareya and Taittiriya Upanishads, as also their summary and clear explanation. The author is Mr. R. R. Diwakar, M.A., LL.B. Both parts together run to about 350 pages and are priced Rs. 1-8-0 only. The preface to the second part contains a clear exposition of the object and utility of the Vedanta Shastra.

Geeteya Guttu—by the same author as above. Pages 300. Price Rs. 1 only. This is a popular attempt to carry the message of the Bhagawad-Geeta to every Kanarese home in a very simple and easy style. It also contains a lengthy preface in which various questions relating to the Geeta are dealt with in an exhaustive manner.

Upanishad-Bahasya.—This is a free Kanarese rendering of "A Constructive Survey of Upanishadic Philosophy" by the celebrated scholar Mr. R. D. Ranade, now Professor of Philosophy at the Allahabad University. The translators, Messrs. R. R. Diwakar, D. R. Bendre and S. B. Joshi, have spared no pains to make the great principles adumbrated in the book easily intelligible to the ordinary Kanarese reader. It contains the exposition of 13 Upanishads that are considered to be the oldest, together with notes on Cosmology,

Psychology. Ethics, the Darsanas, the Absolute and Self-realization. Pages 406 Demy Octavo. Price Rs. 3. The printing and get-up of the book are quite up to the mark.

V. S. MIRAJI.

TELUGU

Mutyalasaramulu: By the late GURUJADA APPA RAO GARU (Published by his son Mr. G. V. Ramadas, Vizianagaram.)

The author of this slender volume is famous in the Andhra Desa for his '*Kanyasulkam*'. Some of his original poems along with two short stories in prose are here given posthumous publication.

Apparao Garu is, in the words of the Editor of this Journal, a 'Herald of the Dawn' of modern Andhra Renaissance. He is the precursor and founder of the new and rapidly growing school of lyrical poetry in contemporary Telugu literature. The title of this small book which may be rendered in English as 'Strings of Pearls' echoes the name by which the exquisite new metre created by him is immortalised. The verses contained in it are mostly composed in that same metre, and the very first poem, which is a defence of the school of freedom-loving poets hailing from the younger generation, goes under the title of '*Mutyalasaramulu*'. The poet herein sings in his vigorous and graceful metre:

'You scorn my verse?

Well, what loose I!

Your eye that appraises but wooden dolls

Is dull to the grace of damsels!

At a time when the tyrannical classicists of Andhra were standing up against all innovations in the literary field, arming themselves with the mace of authority and traditional sanction, it was really heroic of Sri Apparao to have started his single-handed fight with this daring pronouncement upon the decadent taste of the orthodox party. The first poem which hacked the classicists with a graceful axe and defended the younger poets with a powerful shield was composed by the author about twenty years back, when any word of reform in any matter was a heresy, and any note of individual freedom, a new scandal in our province. It was then that Apparao, the seer, sung his fresh songs and wrote his fresh prose paving the path for a new literary life. He was a contemporary of the great Veeresalingam who wielded his wizard's pen in a no less heroic fashion for the cause of Social Reform. The war-conch of Veeresalingam in defence of young

widows roused the youth of Andhra; and we find the first great poet and dramatist of modern Telugu echo and re-echo the same note of the cause of widow re-marriage and of equality for the depressed classes, in his immortal drama '*Kanyasulkam*' and in his stirring poem '*Lavanaraju Kala*' or 'the dream of Lavanaraja'.

The latter poem is included in the book under review. This beautiful tale in verse narrates how King Lavana dreamed, and in his dream strayed among a segregated camp of the Panchamas (the untouchable class) who were living out of the pale of civilised society, but within the wise bounds of their own social laws and organised interests, working for the amelioration of their own fallen class; and in that dream-picture Lavanaraju, the idealist that he was, falls in love with a graceful Panchama virgin. He dreams of making her his queen, that daughter of the Panchamas, and of restoring their natural privilege of equality to her people who were put down by age-long tyranny. And slowly the noble dream passes off and the king wakes up to the realities of life.

Whatever the rest of the tale may be, this was the first instance when, in Telugu literature, a poet thought of picturing his generous and bold social ideals in his poetry in contrast to the stale treatment of erotic love of the heroes and heroines in the classics for the last two centuries. Thus was a new vista opened. The poets of our Telugu land could thenceforth sing of their ideals and aspirations, and be true poets of the Spirit, and not of mere form like the decadent Prabandha Poets. Apparao Garu, for the first time among Andhra poets, knew his noble message and gave it out to the world strongly and freely. He repeated in his themes what Shelley proclaimed that, 'Poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world'; and even vindicated it in so far as he knew it his right and duty as a poet to regenerate and rejuvenate the dead ideals of our social and individual life.

As for pure literary excellence and elegance of sentiment, we may quote his *Kanyaka*, a ballad based upon the popular tradition about the 'Kanyaka-Paramesvari', the Vysya maiden who fell a prey to the burning pyre to baffle a tyrant who wanted to outrage her chastity and is still worshipped in South India as a Goddess. From the flaming altar of Death, the Virgin addresses her fellow-citizens in exhorting tones:

"If he be the King of the city,
Doth not God be the King of Kings!
Have not you the manliness
To save a virgin from the tyrant's hands?"

and then turning to the tyrant himself she sings her last song in triumph:

"Shame for your arrogance
O King of the city!
And for your evil desire.
Is there not a God above
To chastise even kings?"

The important feature of Sri Apparao's poetry, in addition to the noble themes, is the innovation in the matter of style. He was also the first exponent of a new Telugu style, the style that appeals to and belongs to the masses, unlike the old one which was the exclusive property of literary aristocrats. In every line he has written, prose or poetry, he has shown a new genius and a new possibility. We may without controversy say that Apparao Garu is the idol, the path-finder worshipped and followed by all the younger writers of Andhra in spite of strong criticism of a reactionary type. The two short stories in prose that follow these verses are very charming with their simple and entertaining themes dressed in homely, artistic language.

We fail to see why the publisher had to write his preface in English to this book of Telugu verse! Nevertheless, Mr. G. V. Ramadas merits the compliments of all Telugu people with literary taste for bringing out this posthumous collection which has been long overdue, as well as for his promise to publish another volume compiled from the stray contributions and fragmentary writings of the author. It is a pleasure to the reviewer of this book to contemplate, through this accident, on the noble and idealistic life of the late Poet. We hope it will not be taken lightly by our literary public if we suggest that Poet Apparao gloriously merits a fitting memorial in admiration for his peerless pioneer work, say, in the form of organising an Academy in his name through which all the best productions of modern Telugu writers may be given publication in an adequate manner.

M. VISVESVARA RAO.

Current Topics

A SOUTH INDIAN PAINTER-ETCHER

Readers of this Journal might remember the fascinating study of the art of 'Mukul Dey : Painter-Etcher' by Mr. O. C. Gangoly in the May number of last year. It is now our privilege to introduce another Painter-Etcher, this time from the South of India. Young Rama Mohan Sastri, who received his early training at the Andhra Jatheeya Kalasala, has won India-wide recognition as a talented painter in water colours. Art-critics like Dr. Stella Kramrisch and Dr. James H. Cousins, and connoisseurs like H. H. The Maharani of Cooch Behar and Mr. S. V. Ramaswami Mudaliar admired his productions, sent up to various art exhibitions all over India. Three of his works have also been exhibited in America and the continent of Europe and purchased by art-lovers. Of these, 'Comrades' represents young Sakuntala hanging on to her pet deer, loath to part from it. 'An Indian Tree' is a rendering of a huge, massive tree which stands against a sunset-sky, and looks like the Mathura temple in silhouette. 'Red Wine' illustrates a passage from Omar Khayyam where the poet sings :

"An Angel Shape bids me taste of it
.....Oh, it's the wine of love"

Of late, Mr. Sastri has developed a special talent for sketch portraiture. Sir C. V. Raman, Sjt. Nandalal Bose and Dr. Radhakrishnan, besides some distinguished Europeans, have sat to him. He has also devoted time and attention to a study of etching in its different aspects, his etchings being, in the words of Dr. Kramrisch, "forceful and original". He is, in addition, a most capable designer in the strict sense of the term. His beautiful design for the seal of the Andhra University is evidence of his talent in this direction.

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This Painter-Etcher has kindly agreed to have some of his paintings and etchings reproduced in the pages of 'Triveni' and our readers may look forward to them in subsequent numbers of the Journal. We heartily commend the work of this South Indian artist, and trust that his example may serve as an inspiration to other young artists in this part of the country.

THE LATE KALAPRAPURNA

When 'Triveni' honoured itself by publishing a sketch of Sri Vedam Venkataraya Sastry Garu, we little dreamt that the end of the great Kalaprapurna was so near and that the very next number of the Journal would contain an obituary note about him. After long years of heroic struggle against adversity, the greatest of Telugu savants has passed away. His was a life literally dedicated to the cause of learning and his memory will ever be fresh in the hearts of his grateful countrymen. A suggestion has been put forward by the *Krishna Patrika* that a chair of Telugu Literature should be founded in his name by the Andhra University. This would certainly be far nobler than any memorials in bronze or marble. May the University have the wisdom—and the money—to carry out this splendid suggestion !

LABOUR AND INDIA

The Government of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald have taken the first step towards an enduring settlement with the Egyptian Nationalists by recalling that arch-bungler, Lord Lloyd. Naturally, speculation is rife as to what will or will not be done with regard to solving the problem of self-rule for India. The Free Press representative in London believes that attempts are being made to approach Gandhiji and Pandit Motilal. Mr. Shanmukham Chetty is positive that the Labour Secretary of State wishes to find a way out of the present *impasse*. If both sides are anxious for an amicable settlement, it ought not to be difficult to

arrive at one. So far as the Congress is concerned, it has never stood against any proposals of a peace with honour. The olive branch was offered at Calcutta so long ago as December of last year. Far from accepting it, the Bureaucracy has started a campaign of repression against political workers, deprived by a viceregal *fiat* the right of the electorates to pronounce a verdict on the Simon Commission, and curtailed the powers of the Legislative Assembly and its President. There is not the faintest trace of a 'change of heart'. All talk of peace under such circumstances is futile and, what is worse, likely to induce lassitude in the nation. As it so often turns out, preparedness for war—even a non-violent war like ours—is the best guarantee of an honourable peace. All efforts have therefore to be concentrated on the struggle for freedom which, in all likelihood, will be launched at Lahore on the last day of this year or the first day of the next.

"EVEN THE TALLEST"

The arrest, trial and conviction for 'sedition' of the revered Editor of *The Modern Review* reminds us of the poignant utterance of the late G. K. Gokhale that "even the tallest amongst us have to bend to the exigencies of the political situation". Fancy the premier journalist of India, ripe in age and in wisdom, being hauled up before a magistrate and sentenced like a common felon, just because he published in book-form a series of articles from a world-renowned publicist. The domination of one nation over another is an unqualified evil. It curseth the nation that rules as much as the nation that is ruled. Friends of humanity like Dr. Sunderland are concerned to point out that in the interests of world-peace and the cause of human progress, India ought to be freed from bondage. This is acclaimed as sedition. But for nearly three decades now, all sensible writers on the Indian problem, including eminent Englishmen, have pleaded for a change from other-rule to self-rule. The law of sedition is, however, so vague and so

liable to misconstruction that no honest Indian publicist is safe, no, not even avowed dissenters from the Non-co-operation creed like Ramananda Babu. Disaffection—not mere 'absence of affection'—towards the 'Government established by law' is fostered even more by the panicky prosecutions launched by Local Administrations than the writings of well-meaning friends of progress like Dr. Sunderland. But cases like those of Ramananda Babu and Annapurniah are symptomatic of a grave disease in the body-politic. No 'criminal intent' can be attributed to these patriots—representatives of the older and younger generations in Indian public life, and yet the law says they are criminals.

K. R.

GANDHIJI AND THE PRESIDENTSHIP

Gandhiji told in clear and unmistakable terms that he would not adorn the presidential *gadi* and suggested that Jawaharlal might be installed in his stead. Young as he is, the honour is long overdue to Jawaharlal. There need be no niggardly bargaining for withholding the presidency from him for one year or two years at the most. The charge of youthfulness cannot altogether vanish in a year or two. In spite of Gandhiji's definite utterances about the matter, the country wanted him and not his suggestions. And Gandhiji means what he says and does not swerve an inch from the path he chooses for himself. He repeated his refusal and also his suggestion. The matter now naturally passes into the hands of the A. I. C. C. But there seems to be a feeling in the country, founded upon a misconception of constitutional propriety, that the A. I. C. C. should support Sjt. Vallabhai Patel who, next to Gandhiji, was recommended by the largest number of Provincial Committees. But a simple logical truth should not be lost sight of in this connection. Had the committees that recommended the name of Gandhiji definitely known that he would refuse in spite of the united demand of the nation, who knows if they would not have recommended Jawaharlal himself or some one

other than either Jawaharlal or Vallabhai Patel? In passing on to the next best man, as determined by the recommendations of the P.C.C'S, we will not have consulted the wishes of a majority of the P.C.C's which nominated the Mahatma. So the question is brought back to the original stage. Our suggestion to the A.I.C.C. therefore is that they should enter into the question from the beginning and take no note of the superficial verdict of the P.C.C's in favour of Vallabhai. We do not suggest that Vallabhai should not be elected, but we only attempt to analyse the situation.

The eyes of the Government are turned against Jawaharlal who is the future hope of the country. Moreover the country is likely to adopt the creed of complete Independence on the 31st of December. In these circumstances the election of Jawaharlal to the presidential chair means that the country is deliberately moving towards a policy of complete Independence. To the Government it will prove that Jawaharlal has the whole country behind him. In electing him to the presidentship, we will have invested the undisputed leader of the youth with a peculiar prestige and dignity. We will have sounded a note of warning to Parliament that they cannot afford to postpone, much less refuse, the Indian demand for self-rule. Gandhiji will always be with us, and whosoever might happen to wear the Congress crown, Gandhiji will continue to wield the Field-Marshal's baton.

B. R. R.



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