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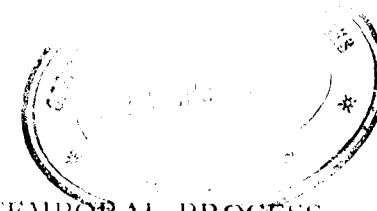
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THE CHALLENGE OF THE TEMPORAL PROCESS

PRINCIPAL MILLER LECTURES, 1933

BY

THE REV. A. G. HOGG, M.A., D.LITT., D.D.

It is only fitting that in addressing myself to the task laid upon me by the University I should begin on a personal note by expressing my sense of the honour of being invited to deliver the Principal Miller Lectures. I wish I could feel more certain that the Syndicate has been well advised in this selection of a lecturer. And it is not modesty alone that makes me doubtful. By the terms of the endowment the Principal Miller Lectures are to be on 'a subject dealing with the exposition of "The inner meaning of Human History as disclosing the one increasing purpose that runs through the ages".' Now such a definition of the aim of the lectureship suggests a conjecture which seems at least plausible. One surmises that the generous founder of the endowment not only believes, as in a broad sense I myself do, that there is one far-off Divine event to which the whole creation moves, but also cherishes the hope that objective historical study may, by laying bare the trend of human development, cast some light upon the probable nature of that grand future consummation. But if any such hope were to be realised, the task of attempting its accomplishment should obviously have been laid upon a historian and not upon one whose speciality has been the study of philosophy.

Whatever surmises may be natural, however, as to the personal anticipations of the public-spirited founder of the Lectureship, the actual terms of the endowment do not exclude the student of philosophy from making his special kind of contribution. What those terms require is only that the lectures shall be on a subject '*dealing with*' the exposition of the inner meaning of history as disclosing one dominant purpose. And one by no means unimportant way of '*dealing with*' the exposition is by examining some of its necessary presuppositions. In fact, I venture to think that, in the present temper of our age, such an investigation of presuppositions is

likely to be listened to with a more tolerant attention than would be accorded to any venture to interpret particular historical developments as the onward march of some eternal purpose. Into any interpretation of that kind there would necessarily enter a large element of conjecture. Now men will listen, with varying degrees of interest, to conjectures about things the existence of which is not in doubt. But how many can spare attention for conjectures about the nature of something, the very existence of which is itself conjectural? And just this is the attitude of many minds of to-day to the idea of a goal of universal history. Why spend time in guessing at the nature of the world-purpose when one is not sure that there is any such purpose? Not so long ago the idea of Progress constituted for very many almost a religion. In the 18th and 19th centuries European thought was dominated to a remarkable extent by an optimistic faith in the perfectability of western civilisation, and in the near and certain approach of an ideal era of enlightenment and social justice. To-day the position is very different. The idea of Progress is no longer a creed but a problem. While belief in evolution is unshaken, there has been a general abandonment of the notion that its trend is automatically upwards. It is known that many types of culture and civilisation have had their hour and have perished, and the mind of the age is not closed against the possibility that a similar fate may await the type that is now dominant. Not every one feels certain that human history has any single 'inner meaning'. And even if it has, the supposition is natural that this inner meaning must be something so very inward, and so little adumbrated in the achievements of the present, that its nature must be matter for speculative reflection rather than historical research.

It is not, then, upon any excursion into the province of the historian that I invite the company of my hearers. I have already observed that one permissible way of dealing with the exposition of the inner meaning of history as disclosing an eternal purpose is by examining the presuppositions of any such exposition. That is the way which, for a short distance, I propose to follow; and I cherish the hope that in pursuing this line I may be forwarding, in my own fashion,

one of the aims by which, as I conjecture, the founder of this Lectureship was animated. To provide for the annual delivery of lectures concerned with an inner purpose of which human history is the steadily increasing fulfilment is to strike a blow against the tendency to regard the long story of humanity as merely part of a boundless *samsara* from which every spiritually-minded man must long to escape. It is to strike a blow on the side of a very different conception of history—the conception of it as a meaningful development, in the furtherance of which all generous spirits must be eager for a share. India to-day needs men who will be, in the finest sense, makers of history. But history will be finely made only by those who regard the temporal process as possessed of reality and as instinct with a deeply spiritual challenge. Inability to look upon it in that light has in the past done much to hinder the cause of progress in this land. It has too often led the spiritual idealism of the Indian temperament to spend itself not in a crusade for social uplift and political reform but in the quest of an Absolute that cares for none of these things. To-day in India this moral and spiritual Quietism is giving place to an Activist morality. But in all such transitions there is the danger of a reaction from one extreme to the opposite. We want no shallow type of Activism. We do not want an Activism which can see nothing in religion but a superstition or an opiate, and which in its dreams of a temporal 'better' loses sight of the eternal 'good'. On the contrary, we want a deeply religious Activism. We want an Activism which is able to combine with the strenuousness of the reformer the serenity of the sage. Is such a combination possible? In regard to the destiny of humanity can we arrive at a grounded faith that will act not as an opiate but as a tonic and a stimulant? May we rightly credit human history with a kind of inner meaning that will, at one and the same time, nourish a serenity of faith and challenge us to strenuous social endeavour? That question is the topic of these lectures.

A convenient starting-point for this discussion is offered by Tennyson's poem of 'Locksley Hall'; and for a Principal Miller Lecturer this affords a natural angle of approach, since it is a well-known line from that poem that supplies the

phraseology used in defining the scope of the Lectureship. I am inviting my hearers to search with me for a reasoned foundation for an Activist morality, and at the very outset I may be met with the objection that any such quest is a waste of time. For manly effort in the service of humanity, is not hope, I may be asked, a better tonic and stimulant than any ready-made assurance of victory? Why seek to change hope into certainty? Would not certitude of success rob all social crusaders of some of their glamour of adventure? Now I have considerable sympathy with the spirit of this criticism. Over-confidence of victory is apt to induce a slackening of effort, and to have hope changed into definite foreknowledge would be, for man, a curse and not a blessing. Nevertheless an Activist morality needs to be grounded in something more than mere hope. What more is required a consideration of Tennyson's poem may help us to realise.

'Locksley Hall' sets in effective contrast the generous optimism of youth and the disillusionment that experience can bring. The stanzas that describe an outlived enthusiasm may serve to reincarnate for us the spirit of the Religion of Progress.

Here about the beach I wander'd, nourishing a youth sublime
With the fairy tales of science, and the long result of Time;
When the centuries behind me like a fruitful land reposed;
When I clung to all the present for the promise that it closed:
When I dipt into the future far as human eye could see;
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be.
Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies of magic sails,
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales;
Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there rain'd a ghastly dew
From the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue;
Far along the world-wide whisper of the south-wind rushing warm,
With the standards of the people plunging thro' the thunder-storm;
Till the war-drum throb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furl'd
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.
There the commonsense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law.

One could not desire an apter picture than this of the spirit for which the idea of Progress has become a veritable religion, nerving the soul for adventure and steeling the will to endurance. But the Religion of Progress is one in which imagination and optimism have usurped the place of faith; and for

faith these are poor substitutes. Faith is a stable poise of spirit, while optimism is but a mood. With the most abrupt of transitions the poem turns from the glowing portrayal of the visions of youthful hope to the disillusionment which experience had brought.

So I triumph'd, ere my passion sweeping thro' me left me dry,
Left me with the palsied heart, and left me with the jaundiced eye;
Eye to which all order festers, all things here are out of joint,
Science moves, but slowly slowly, creeping on from point to point:
Slowly comes a hungry people, as a lion, creeping nigher,
Glares at one that nods and winks behind a slowly-dying fire.

Here we are shown how hope deferred has made the heart sick, and the mood of optimism has given place to anxious presage of disaster. And although the creed of the Religion of Progress is still clung to, yet now that the buoyant hope of an early fruition has departed, that creed has ceased to satisfy. For while, in one breath, the disillusioned soliloquist nerves himself to declare—

Yet I doubt not thro' the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widen'd with the process of the suns.

still in the very next breath he complains—

What is that to him that reaps not harvest of his youthful joys,
Tho' the deep heart of existence beat for ever like a boy's?
Knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers and I linger on the shore,
And the individual withers, and the world is more and more.
Knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers, and he bears a laden breast,
Full of sad experience, moving toward the stillness of his rest.

More vividly than any words of my own could do it, the stanzas I have quoted exhibit the futility of any religion of mere Progress. They seem to me to carry in their bosom a double moral: first, that not mere hope but a reasoned faith is necessary if an Activist morality is to remain at once strenuous and serene; and, second, that even faith is not enough, no matter how well-grounded it may be, if that faith is nothing more than expectation of a victory that is immeasurably remote. The latter of these two morals will be developed in my second lecture. To-day I confine myself to the former. Recognising that mere optimistic hope is a precarious foundation for an Activist morality, I ask whether we can bring to the support of that hope a reasoned faith.

'Activist morality' is so clumsy a term as to be deservedly unfamiliar. Let me, therefore, express my question in a homelier fashion. I am asking what reflective justification we may offer for that which is happening in India to-day. We are watching a growing diversion of the spiritual force of Indian idealism from the pursuit of personal soul-culture to social and national service. Can this change of direction, I ask, be justified? With what right does the spiritually earnest young Indian of to-day reckon it a duty to toil for the betterment of social and national conditions when, if he had lived instead only a few generations ago, he would more probably have counted it a higher ethical obligation to maintain a collected poise of soul and to further his own spiritual development?

This is a question that presses for answer if we are to be proof against the doubts and discouragement that are so poignantly expressed in 'Locksley Hall'. It never can be right to waste our spiritual energy. That is too precious a possession to squander. And it is wasted if it is thrown away upon a cause which, in the nature of things has no chance whatever of succeeding. Now the cultivation of my own spiritual potentialities, the effort to bring my own being into tune with the Absolute—that is an undertaking the success of which may seem to lie in my own hands. It seems to be within my own competence just because it lets the world slide and concerns itself with my own character. But what shall we say of the ambitious effort to reform society and the state, and to win for humanity the ideal for which it is hungering? Is not that a mere gambler's throw—a wasteful imperilling of the precious spiritual resources of one short life in the service of a cause, the success of which at the best is infinitely remote and at the worst may be quite impossible? For science can give us no guarantee whatever that the physical universe, which holds the race of man so helplessly at its mercy, has any special tenderness for our human ideals. As a writer has pertinently observed, 'any raising or lowering of the earth's temperature, the slightest eccentric motion of a star or planet, any elevation of the ocean's surface, or any alteration of the composition of the atmosphere, would make an end of its existence; or the earth

itself may become a victim of some cosmic catastrophe, as has happened to many a heavenly body'. Why should we labour, then, at the perfecting of a social order which long before it can become perfect, may be blotted out of existence and become a forgotten incident in a cosmic process for which it never had any importance?

Very likely there are many in this audience upon whose imagination these grim possibilities produce no serious impression. They are aware, indeed, that the universe contains forces which might easily blot out the human race; but that such an event should actually happen seems to them too far-fetched a contingency to take into practical account in the shaping of daily conduct. So they will feel disposed to go on with their efforts for the perfecting of humanity, undeterred by any suggestion of the possible uselessness of these efforts, so long as this suggestion is based only upon the chance of a destruction of the earth or of its inhabitants. Now I think that the question to which this suggestion led up has too much importance to deserve to be thus easily brushed aside. Let me lead up to it, therefore, in another way. My question is of our right to expend our energies in the pursuit of an end which may perhaps be impossible, namely, the perfecting of human society. Now the chance that, long before such a goal can be reached, the earth may either be destroyed or become uninhabitable is by no means the only ground for wondering whether that goal may be incapable of attainment. We need do no more than cast a discerning eye over the course of actual human development in order to find much excuse for pessimism. In the material conditions of man's life there has certainly been extraordinary progress, but at the core of that life is there unmistakable advance? Are the men of to-day really happier than were their ancestors of a few thousand years ago? Are they more truly masters of themselves and do their lives exhibit more serenity and fulfilment? 'Society', said William James in his *Talks to Teachers*, 'has undoubtedly got to pass forward toward some newer and better equilibrium, and the distribution of wealth has doubtless slowly got to change. But to expect that such changes will make any genuine vital difference on a large scale to the lives of our descendants would be a great mistake.

The solid meaning of life is always the same eternal thing—the marriage, namely, of some unhabitual ideal, however special, with some fidelity, courage and endurance; with some man's or woman's pains'. At its core human life does not seem to alter greatly with the passage of the ages. At its core even the best of human life will always involve the reaching after an unattained ideal. And if a satisfaction resting upon completed achievement must lie permanently out of reach, ought we not to practise contentment with the incomplete rather than sacrifice our peace in futile pursuit of an ever-receding horizon? Must not the one true duty of man be self-mastery rather than social amelioration, if what can be ameliorated is never the core of human life but only its relatively superficial features? Are not those sages right who have preached not Activism but Quietism?

Arguments of the kind I have briefly indicated constitute a *prima facie* case against Activist morality which cannot be ignored. Some answer to it must be found if the idealism of the Indian temperament is to be able to throw itself into the service of the public need with a single-minded enthusiasm that is unhampered by moral misgivings.

This case against Activism could be easily brushed aside if it were permissible wholly to agree with those who deny the truth of one of its presuppositions. The argument under consideration depends upon the assumption that it can never be morally right to spend our resources, whether they be material or spiritual, upon impossible projects, and that the consequences or fruits of right conduct must therefore have something to do with its rightness. Now against this assumption it may appear easy to cite high ethical authority. One thinks at once of the Kantian doctrine that duty must be done for duty's sake alone, and of the teaching of the Bhagavadgita that detachment from all concern about the fruits of action is a condition of ideally good conduct. Such high authorities must not be lightly dismissed. If it is true without supplement or qualification that duty must be done solely for duty's sake and that we ought to set no store by the fruits of conduct, then it is enough for the social reformer to feel sure that the perfecting of society is a worthy ideal. He need not trouble himself with the question of whether

the universe may not wipe out the human race long before it reaches that ideal, or whether that ideal is even intrinsically attainable. Duty summons him to social effort, and it is not for him to pause to calculate the results of obeying that summons. The case presented against Activist morality certainly breaks down if the principle of duty for duty's sake alone expresses the whole truth about moral motive. But does it do so?

Certainly it expresses a vital part of the truth. When our human weakness makes us hesitate whether to respond to what we know to be the call of duty or to follow instead some easier course, it can never be right to make our obedience turn upon a consideration of consequences. That is morally self-evident. The imperiousness of duty is such as to brook no spirit of calculation, and it is to this imperiousness that the Kantian formula seeks to do justice. But while there can be no place for a calculation of consequences in deciding *whether* to do the right, in the very different question of *what* in particular it is right to do, such calculation is sometimes necessary, even in practice. The specific path of duty at a given time and place is by no means always self-evident, even to the sincere and morally earnest man. There may be no faltering whatever in his determination to do only the right, and yet he may sometimes feel a genuine perplexity as to what, in the circumstances, is the right way to behave. Precisely because he is in earnest about his ideals, he feels an imperative obligation to act in the manner which will most effectively promote those ideals. Therefore, utility—not selfish utility but ethical utility—is a part of the meaning of the right and good. An action can never, it is true, be right simply *because* it is useful. But at the same time no action can be right *unless* it is ethically useful—unless it promises to be more serviceable than any alternative way of acting to the ends which we have learned to count morally precious. And so consideration of circumstances and consequences cannot be ruled out of an enquiry into what in particular it is right to do, although once that enquiry is concluded, duty must be done in scorn of consequence.

If this position is conceded, then its bearing upon the question before us is clear. It seems to imply that the

principle of duty for duty's sake does not avail to nullify the case which was put forward against Activist morality. Duty always consists in behaving in the manner which, under the existing conditions, will most efficiently serve the ends which we have learned to consider truly precious. Now if one of these ends, namely, the perfecting of society, is believed to be unattainable, and therefore to be incapable of being efficiently served, it is natural to argue that duty requires us to reserve our energies for other truly precious ends that may not be unattainable. In particular it may seem obligatory to turn aside from endeavours after social uplift and political progress, and to confine ourselves to a development of our own spiritual capacities and perfecting of our inner poise of soul. Consequently the question of our right to believe in the attainableness of the goal of social endeavour has got to be faced, if there is to be any real answer to the case against Activist morality.

Indeed, Kant himself is quite able to teach us the same lesson. And not only does he recognise the need for some assurance of the attainableness of our ideals but he can also point us to the true ground of that assurance. Kant's ethical insight is far profounder than many of his critics have realised. His emphasis on the principle that duty should be done for duty's sake alone is but one part of his teaching. It belongs to his polemic against Hedonism, and not Hedonism only but any ethical system that tries to prove the rightness of the right by exhibiting it as the means to the achievement of some imagined utopia or millennium. Within the range of human experience goodness is, he insists, the only thing that is absolutely good. We human beings know the absolute good only in the form of 'the good will'. Set the moral man to make a choice between being good and achieving any utopia he can conceive, and his unbiased moral judgement will inevitably prefer the former. And therefore any ethical system that seeks to demonstrate the worth of goodness by its conduciveness to any imaginable goal of achievement whatever, is committing the fallacy of deriving the greater from the less. It is lowering the worth of goodness. Consequently duty must to the very last, retain for human intellect the form of an imperative; it must remain an authority

that does not stoop to support its commands by argument. Such is one part of Kant's teaching, and fundamentally it is sound doctrine. To say that the authority of duty does not condescend to justify itself at all may be to go too far, but it is true that it never completely justifies itself. The voice of duty always retains something of the accent of mere command. The moral man is habitually more sure of what he ought to do than of why he ought to do it; and any system of ethics which professes to deduce the specific obligations of morality from foresight of some ideal satisfaction which can be attained only by goodness falls below the level of Kant's insight into the essential nature of morality.

Yet this is only one half of his teaching. While uncompromisingly rejecting the idea that right is right *because* it is useful, he sees with equal clearness that since right *is* right, it *must* be useful. To the calculating understanding duty refuses to justify its demands, but in its accent of authority the insight of reason can detect the tone of promise. The moral consciousness can *appreciate* what the mere intellect cannot *understand*, namely, the imperiousness of duty and the supreme worth of goodness. And it cannot avoid recognising that this imperiousness would cease to be imperious, and this supreme worth of goodness would lose its worthiness, if duty were not so rooted in the nature of reality as to be invincible, and if goodness were not the phenomenon of a good absolute that is more than mere goodness. Goodness is the only form in which good absolute is knowable by man, but it does not follow that it is the only form in which good can be absolute.

Let us explore this matter a little for ourselves. Every man of social sympathies must feel the facts of life constantly challenging him to an Activist morality. Around him he sees endless examples of social injustice and heartless abuses, unequal distribution of wealth and privilege, tyranny of rank and office, practical denial of the elementary rights of manhood. These things are clearly evil. Is not their evilness justification enough for rising to fight them? Must we wait for an assurance that the battle will be victorious? Surely it is nobler to spend one's life in a losing contest with social evils than in a supine acquiescence! Surely it must be right,

and our bounden duty, to fight wrong, even if wrong be invincible!

To this attitude of moral heroism which scorns to calculate the odds it is difficult not to accord a tribute of approval and admiration. And yet there is a reflection which must give us pause. There is a question which the thoughtful mind cannot permanently escape, and which makes one wonder whether such moral heroism is truly heroic—whether, perchance, it is not impertinence rather than heroism.

Suppose, at least for argument's sake, that wrong is invincible. What then? What would its invincibility imply? What inference regarding the nature of things should we rightly be constrained to draw from its invincibility? Surely this, that what we human beings regard as wrong and evil is rooted in the nature of things and reflects the inner character of the real. And hard upon the heels of this conclusion there would tread another, namely, that those ideas of the right and good in the light of which social abuses seem so wrong and evil are merely human ideas, notions characteristic of those pygmy denizens of one particular planet whom we designate the human race. And is it, after all, so very noble and heroic of these pygmies to presume to condemn as wrong and evil the very nature of things and to range themselves in battle against the universe? Monkeys have, no less than men, preferences and dislikes which are characteristic of their simian nature. If a monkey were to take up the heroic attitude, and to resolve that, reckless of the odds, it would fight the universe in the effort to make monkey ideals prevail, we should deem its valour not heroic but ridiculous. And must we not, in mere consistency, pass the same judgement in the human case if the human case is similar? If man's ideas of right and wrong are nothing more than the preferences and dislikes characteristic of a particular terrestrial species of living beings, is it not arrogance rather than dutifulness to cry, Let these ideas be fought for though the heavens fall? That is a pertinent enquiry which there is no way of blinking. The augustness of duty depends upon a faith that duty has a cosmic significance and is no affair of merely human judgement. Doubtless the specific opinions about right and wrong that may be current in

any particular age are very human achievements of thought. They may be quite as imperfect, and quite as relative to temporary social and economic conditions, as historical research suggests. But the right and wrong itself, *about* which men have these imperfect and relative ideas, need not be therefore something purely human and adventitious. For duty could not exhibit that severe grandeur which even our dull moral vision cannot wholly fail to appreciate, if it meant merely what the individual, or his community, or even the entire human race approves of. The right could not shine with that austere glory which every true heart acknowledges, if our imperfect ideas about it were not partial apprehensions of something which has behind it the whole nature of things and which expresses the inmost being of reality. Duty must be done for duty's sake; but duty would cease to be itself if it were not so grounded in the real as to carry the sure promise of victory.

Does this, perhaps, appear a trifling conclusion to have spent so many words in reaching? It is easy to under-rate its importance. For one may contemptuously remark that it only consists in saying to the moral Activist that while we cannot afford him scientific or historical grounds for an opinion as to whether, how, or when the goal of a perfected social order will be attained, we can assure him that so long as he remains convinced of the real goodness of that goal, he is logically warranted in believing it certain of ultimate achievement. Nevertheless the contempt expressed in such a remark would be quite mistaken. Our conclusion has all the importance of changing hope into faith by linking it with what is the deepest and most inexpugnable feature of human nature—man's moral consciousness. No man can rid himself of the recognition of a moral imperative. He may be an ethical heretic. He may deny the soundness of the currently accepted moral code and flout contemporary ideas of duty as mere conventions. But when he does so, he cannot help regarding this act of denial and rejection as what he *ought* to do—what he would despise himself for not doing. Or, at the least, he cannot help regarding it as truly better to hold and utter these unorthodox convictions than to go with the throng. So, when he imagines that he is denying

the right and the good, in fact he is only expressing a different opinion as to *what* is truly right and good—*what* is truly better or worse. From recognition of *a* right and *a* good he cannot break away. And to this moral attitude, from which human nature cannot wholly withdraw even when it tries, we have shown that there is logically united a faith that what is truly right and good must have the whole universe on its side. Of a certainty that conclusion, if correct, does not lack importance.

There is another form in which the conclusion at which we have arrived may be expressed. We may express it by saying that there is at least one way in which cosmic history does disclose an inner meaning and an immanent purpose. It begins to surrender its secret when, in the course of time, it evolves the human moral consciousness. And it makes the revelation to the moral reason rather than to the scientific understanding. We have realised that it is the nature of duty to utter its demand with an imperiousness which the calculating intellect cannot justify but which the intuition of reason can appreciate. And we have recognised that this majestic imperiousness, which shines out for the eye of reason so impressively, must be a delusive appearance if duty expresses only the conscience of man and not also the immanent purpose of the real. This is why we have an intellectual right to be just as certain of the victory of the good as we are certain of its goodness. He who is fighting for what he knows to be right and good may exchange mere hope for faith. He may pass on from mere natural optimism to a morally grounded certitude. We mortals can appreciate the goodness of the good much better than we can understand it; we know that nothing can be truly good which rests upon mere human preference and is not grounded in the nature of the real; and therefore the degree of our certainty of the true goodness of what we long for gives the measure of our right to be sure that on the side of its accomplishment there are ranged the deepest forces of the universe.

With the establishment of this position there is ended the first stage of the undertaking proposed for these lectures. We have learned where to look for the foundation of that serenity which a worthy moral Activism should display. But there is

much more to be attempted. We naturally wish to delimit more precisely the nature of the confidence of victory which sustains this serenity. We require to consider how it is protected from the impatience and discouragement to which the remoteness of the anticipated achievement is apt to give rise. That is to say, we need to study the true relation between a temporal 'better' and the eternal 'good'. And we must take cognisance of that element of contingency in the temporal process which challenges us to combine with the serenity of the sage the passion of the moral crusader. Such topics, however, must be reserved for treatment, so far as opportunity serves, in the second of these lectures.

THE CHALLENGE OF THE TEMPORAL PROCESS

LECTURE II

In the first of these lectures on 'The Challenge of the Temporal Process' I followed the lead given to philosophical thought by Immanuel Kant in treating moral insight as the faculty that affords to man his most penetrating glimpse into the nature of the real. Moral insight is not, indeed,—any more than other kinds of intuition—beyond the bar of critical judgement. But the criticism has to be immanent criticism—a testing of conscience by its own light. The 'categorical imperative' of duty, Kant suggestively maintains, is at once the most astonishing, the most self-certifying, and metaphysically the most illuminating element of our common human experience. *It is astonishing.* For how can a short-sighted, impulse-ridden creature of a day like man have knowledge of, or even be able to imagine, an eternal, universal and absolute obligation? *It is self-certifying.* For when conscience is really awake, it speaks with a majestic authority, before which all doubt shrivels up, and we *know* that we are in the presence of an absolute right and good. And this astonishing, but self-certifying, categorical imperative *is metaphysically illuminating.* For by that augustness of majesty which is too self-evident for honest doubt,

duty betrays the transcendent nature of its sources. It shows that good is the concern not of many only but of the universe.

'The Good, the True, the Pure, the Just—
'Take the charm "For ever" from them, and they crumbled into dust'.

Yes, Tennyson is right so far. When the 'For ever' is denied, the goodness of the good begins to be dubious. But the good refuses to remain in doubt. It is too convincingly alive for that. And in recapturing credence, it reasserts its participation in the eternal and absolute. They who sacrifice all for duty and the good are conscious that in being loyal to what is highest in themselves, they are being loyal also to what is deepest in the eternal nature of the real. So they wage their battle for the good in the faith that reality is their ally.

Such was the position argued in the former lecture. It was formulated as the principle that the degree of our certainty of the true goodness of what we long for gives the measure of our right to be sure that the deepest forces of the universe are behind it. That is a formula, however, which obviously stands in need of clarification. There is an ominous note in the phrase, 'the degree of our certainty of the true goodness of what we long for'. The pictures of what we long for always draw upon the colours of the imagination, and imagination can, and does, paint falsely. Must not this fact gravely diminish the certainty of our belief in the goodness of what is pictured? At another point also the formula supplied by the previous lecture lacks precision. What exactly is meant by the claim that on the side of the victory of the good there are ranged the deepest forces of the universe? This may pass muster as poetic metaphor, but the intellect hankers after the sobriety of prose. It will be convenient to consider first this second question.

I will say at once that I am not intending to suggest any rigid predetermination of the historical process. Bergson has justly reminded us that fate is equally fate, whether the factor which necessitates the events of the present lies behind or in front. It has been my thesis that what the temporal process challenges us to is an adventure of faith, and were I so foolish as to support this thesis by teaching that the victory

of a definitely conceived good was certain, I should be substituting foresight for faith, and robbing the moral adventure of its venturesomeness.

Having stated what I do *not* mean to suggest, I will next indicate in a preliminary way the view I *do* intend to advocate. The simplest method, perhaps, is by recalling a Biblical incident narrated in the Gospel of St. John. In my judgement the most significant feature of the incident is the contrast between the instinctive mental reactions of Jesus and of his disciples. We are told how, in one of their wanderings, the little band of comrades fell in with a man who had never enjoyed the blessing of eyesight. The spectacle of so dread calamity as blindness from birth at once set the disciples' minds hunting for an adequate *cause* in the past. With equal instinctiveness the mind of Jesus searched instead for an adequate *Divine purpose*. The disciples suggested that the cause must be looked for in some pre-natal fault either of the man himself or of his parents. In effect the reply of Jesus was: 'There is no need to tax our brains to conjecture the cause. For, whatever the cause may have been, one thing is certain. The Heavenly Father would not have permitted the man to have been born blind unless it had been in order to challenge him and us to win from that evil some good which was worth such a cost, and which could be had in no other way'. And Jesus' practical solution of the problem was to recognise in that evil an invitation to make such an exercise of his gift of healing by the power of faith as would win for the sufferer and his friends a quickening of their spiritual insight—a new apprehension of how readily the Heavenly Father responds to the appeal of believing trust.

The moral of this story is one which I believe that we may rightly generalise. There are but few who have acquired the grace of being able to bestow healing by faith, but none is so poor as not to possess any gift which he can, by faith, apply to the task of trying to bring good out of evil. And the philosophical value of the story is that it suggests two convictions in the strength of which this task may be undertaken. The first is that interpretation by purposes goes metaphysically deeper than interpretation by causes. And the second conviction concerns the sense in which it is true that

on the side of the victory of the good there are ranged the deepest forces of the universe. They are not so ranged as to exclude the occurrence of the evil and the wicked. But good belongs so fundamentally to the essence of the real that there cannot possibly enter the temporal process any evil which is not capable, by the spirit and manner in which it can be faced and dealt with, of being converted into the purchase-price of some surpassing good.

The philosophical suggestion which I find in the incident to which I have referred is, I believe, profoundly true. It implies no crudely Deistic interpretation of the idea of 'Providence'. Neither does it involve a rigid predetermination of the course of events. While teaching that the transmutation of evil into good is always obtainable, it does not presume to predict either the particular nature of this good or the cost at which it is to be won. I am anxious that my own reasons for recognising in the temporal process an element of the indeterminate should not be misunderstood.

In popular thought the commonest ground for repudiating determinism is the belief that it is incompatible with moral effort. It is supposed that if the course of events were so timelessly determinate as to leave no room for the least flicker of contingency anywhere, then moral struggle would be useless; for, whether we struggle or make no effort, the outcome must be the same. But this is mere confusion of thought, due to mixing up together the temporal and the timeless points of view. If every step of the causal process is infallibly determined by the step before it, then the question of whether the next step is or is not to contain any energy of moral struggle must make a real difference to the subsequent steps. And if there is nevertheless, from the timeless point of view, no uncertainty about the nature of the outcome, this is only because from the timeless point of view there is also no uncertainty about the degree of moral effort characterising the steps leading to that outcome.

Clearly we need not let ethical apprehensions that are based upon so crude a confusion of thought hinder us from approaching with an unprejudiced judgement the question of the determinateness of the temporal process. I do not think it is worth while to spend much time in discussing the

idea of a merely mechanical determination—the idea that the present is completely determined by the mere past. That is a bogey which we may regard as definitely laid, and it would be wearisome to thrash out once again the old arguments with any fulness. The claim of the older Determinism was that every occurrence without exception, whether it be an external event or a human volition, must be entirely the product of its temporal antecedents. This claim we may now-a-days, I think, quietly set aside as definitely disproved—disproved not in respect of human actions alone but in a quite general reference. For, to speak of 'occurrences' is to speak in terms of time; and when a whole is spread out in time, what is needed in order to exhibit each stage of its sequence as determinate or deducible is not its past alone, but its past and its future together. When we seek to understand phenomena in space, we are not content to explain the movement of a particle by considering only the influence of the other particles to the right of it, ignoring those to the left, or the influence of those above it, ignoring those below. Why, then, should we be less exacting in our demands for the explanation of phenomena in time? Some one may reply that the reason is obvious. The particles in front of an object in space are as real as those behind, whereas in time the future is unreal. Well, the future is certainly unreal in the sense of non-existent, but that kind of unreality belongs to the past as well. And the suggestion that, in spite of its non-existence, the future may conceivably possess, as much as the past does, the kind of reality that enables it to influence the nature of the present is just the point under discussion; to take for granted a negative answer would be to beg the question. When we are thinking in terms of mechanical causality, according to which the past is regarded as just now acting upon the present, and as therefore implicitly simultaneous with the present, we are treating time as a kind of space. And so we must conform to the demands of spiritual explanation to the extent of considering the present not to be fully determinable unless by the past and the future together. Only to the degree in which any particular object of investigation may be usefully treated as so undeveloping or lifeless as to be theoretically detachable from the

time-process, can we venture to treat its present as though it were wholly explicable by its past, or to predict its future from its present.

I feel no difficulty whatever, therefore, about admitting a degree of indetermination of the present in relation to the past. Difficulty and consequent hesitancy begin, I think, only when we turn to consider the relation of present occurrence not to the temporal past or the temporal future but to a **super-temporal Whole**. For whenever we venture on the concept of the super-temporal, we are in water so deep that if we have still any touch with the solid ground of experience, it is only by the tips of the toes, as it were. Even here, however, the drift of my own thinking is not in a Determinist direction.

By the super-temporal I do not mean the time-less. The purely time-less must neither change nor last, for both change and lastingness are features of the temporal; and what neither lasts nor changes must be unreal. The scientific mind used to make much play with the time-less by substituting for the popular notion of real causes which take time to act the idea of time-less laws of change. To-day, on the other hand, science has developed the new concept of 'space-time', and with this weighty encouragement to treat time with respectful seriousness, I think I may safely brush aside the time-less as the unreal. By the super-temporal, then, I mean something of which our human time-experience is, to be sure, only a very imperfect expression but which is not expressed at all by the time-less. Certain features of our human time may, perhaps, help us dimly to divine the nature of the super-temporal, but too vaguely and conjecturally to provide any safe basis for inferences. Accordingly, if we are to consider the relation between the present occurrence and a super-temporal Whole, we must not seek to deduce conclusions from our idea of super-temporality but must fall back upon general postulates of reason.

By a postulate of reason I mean any principle that is so much a part of the very nature of thought that without employing it we cannot reason at all. Can we invoke any such postulate of reason to settle the question of the relation between the super-temporal and the events of the time-process? Does any such postulate rule out all contingency, and require

that nothing whatever shall be accepted in the end as mere fact, insusceptible of explanation? I am constrained to answer in the negative.

It is true that the orderliness and goodness of reality seems to be an ultimate postulate. When we have before us two rival theories, we instinctively adopt as the truer hypothesis that which reduces to a more coherent system all the data that we can experimentally accumulate. And this means that it is a rooted presupposition of intelligent thinking that the real must be perfectly systematic or orderly. Again, when we study the mind's way of working, we cannot but notice that what we instinctively demand an explanation for is the bad rather than the good. To cite a crude example, far more people are sceptical about the existence of Hell than of Heaven. That there should be a Heaven seems natural, but a Hell demands explanation. And it is not to our desires alone but to our thought that it seems natural. For the good has, in its own goodness, a sufficient reason for its existence, while the badness of the evil furnishes so excellent a reason why it should not exist as to render the fact of its existence a subject of perplexed enquiry. Indeed, it takes little acquaintance with the history of thought to discover how uniformly philosophy has consisted in the mind's endeavour to satisfy itself that, in spite of apparent disorder and evil, reality is essentially a realm of order and goodness.

Granted, however, that we have here identified an inevitable presupposition of all thinking, we have still to ask just how far this presupposition takes us. It lays down certain limiting conditions but it does not prescribe how these conditions must be fulfilled. Reality must be orderly or systematic. True! But different systems are conceivable, and each of them, if genuinely systematic, must be perfectly orderly. And again, reality must be good; but there may be more than one way of being good. Theoretically many systems of being are possible, equally orderly and equally good. Reality cannot be all of these at once. Why, then, is it one and not another? Is that an answerable question? Or have we here reached a point where we have to be satisfied with mere contingency, mere ultimate fact insusceptible of further explanation?

The reply seems to be that the question is not answerable, but that the reason why it is unanswerable is because it is absurd. We are talking, let us remember, of a question that is being asked about what is supposed to be an all-inclusive good order. Outside of it there is nothing, for it is co-extensive with the real. And the question commits the absurdity of going outside all that is real, and into the circumambient expanse of nothingness, in order to seek there a ground determining the real to be what it is! That no answer is forthcoming to a self-contradictory question implies no blemish in the rationality of the real. But it does imply that there is a point where explanation stops and where reason has to accept mere fact. It is true that in the supposed all-inclusive system of the real there is no single element that could be altered without marring its orderliness and goodness. But while no *single* element is alterable without that penalty, it does not follow that if, together with a change at one point, there were compensatory change at another point or other points, there would not result a system equally good and orderly but yet different. Now this possibility, which no rational postulate excludes, represents, I believe, the actual position. Reality must be eternally orderly and good, but this eternal necessity of order and goodness does not suffice to render either predictable or determinate the course which the time-process will follow. It only excludes the possibility of any development which cannot be so supplemented by other compensatory developments as to maintain the orderliness and goodness of the real.

It is now time to apply to the special problem of these lectures the conclusion to which this argument has led us regarding the degree of contingency that characterises the temporal process. In the first place, that conclusion is calculated to restore to the social crusader the spirit of adventure which he would be despoiled of by a belief that the course of history was rigidly predetermined. It serves to keep moral Activism strenuous by showing that the struggle for social causes is a real battle, the course of which is really uncertain and depends in part on the warrior's own energy and faithfulness. Indeed it may, perhaps, be suspected that the conclusion which we have adduced in the service of our purpose

goes too far for our purpose, by promoting strenuousness at the cost of serenity. It may appear to do this in two ways.

One is by failing to protect against the impatience and despondency born of hope deferred. The belief that 'through the ages one increasing purpose runs' does not prevent the soliloquist of 'Locksley Hall' from adding discontentedly, 'What is that to him that reaps not harvest of his youthful joys?' Now there is no certainty whatever that the harvest of the hopes of the social reformer will be reaped in his own life-time, or indeed in many life-times. The element of contingency in the historical process renders not only unpredictable, but actually indeterminate, the time when and the cost at which the battle will be won. And experience tends to beget a doubt whether the fulfilment of hope will ever be complete or the wearisome struggle ever be finally ended. So it may seem as if the goodness of the real which of rational necessity we must postulate were a curious kind of goodness; it may perhaps be goodness in the eyes of some superior intelligence, but for our human apprehension it seems a heartlessness that makes of man's social endeavour a pursuit of the rainbow, which recedes as fast as the pursuer advances. But if this were so, then the result would be something worse than a mood of impatient despondency. Not merely would moral Activism lose its serenity but it would be involved in contradiction with itself. For the duty of social endeavour would in that case come into conflict with the moral principle which was emphasized in the previous lecture—the principle that it can never be right to waste our spiritual resources by expending them on the pursuit of the unattainable. There was a measure of truth in the old Cyrenaic teaching that morality must consist in making the most of the present. For the future never arrives. What arrives is always a new present. So a morality of which the objective is nothing but an ever-receding horizon is a futile and therefore bad morality. A good which never is, but wholly is to be, can supply no true foundation for the imperative of duty.

There is a second way in which the contingency of the historical process may threaten to disturb the serenity of the moral Activist. For what may seem to be contingent and

uncertain is not only the time when, and the cost at which, the particular ends we strive for will be attained. Their attainment at all may seem dubious. The postulate of reason that reality must be good as well as orderly does not define its kind of goodness. It does not of itself exclude the occurrence of serious evils; it does not of itself exclude such a disaster as the frustration of some particular good cause; it only teaches that out of all evils and disasters it is possible to win a compensating good that will maintain the goodness of the real as a whole. But can an assurance of that kind satisfy the social reformer? What he is labouring for is not the good in general but some particular project of social betterment which appears to him worth the utmost sacrifices. Can we expect this moral Activism to remain always serene if it is haunted by the spectre of a possible complete frustration of the special end to which he has devoted his life?

Where the postulate of the goodness of the real fails him by leaving too much room for contingency, it may be thought that he can fall back upon that other principle which was discussed in the first of these lectures—the principle that the degree of our certainty of the true goodness of what we long for gives the measure of our right to be sure that the deepest forces of the universe are behind it. But in the statement of this principle there occurs, as has been already remarked, a disquieting phrase—‘the degree of our certainty’. Have we really any right to be certain of the true goodness of what we long for? Is it not notorious how generally the successful fulfilment of human dreams proves disappointing? What imagination had pictured as ideally satisfying turns out, upon achievement, to be sadly imperfect. Must it not, then, be regretfully admitted that our confidence in the victory of the causes we struggle for must be weak indeed if it has no right to be stronger than our belief in the correctness of our conceptions of the ideally good?

We have thus indicated two points at which the serenity which ought to characterise an ideal Activist morality is liable to be upset. It seems likely to be assailed by a mood of depression and impatience induced by the remoteness of the victory that is hoped for. And it seems in danger also of

being undermined by doubt regarding the real goodness of the ends pursued—doubt whether they are so truly good as of necessity to have behind them the deepest forces of the universe. I have set these two points together because I am persuaded that, in respect of both, the way of escape is to be looked for in one and the same direction. Both types of difficulty are surmounted in principle when it is realised that true morality has its centre of gravity not in the future but in the present.

Concern with progress and improvement is not the primary interest of the moral consciousness but a secondary or derived interest. This may seem a startling assertion but reflection will sustain it. It is true that in some cases the moral man bases his decision that a particular endeavour is right simply on a perception that what it will achieve is a little better than what would result from any other practicable course that has occurred to his mind. He says to himself that it is wrong to pursue the unattainable, and that as between the practicable alternatives he is so perplexed that all he can see is that one is a little better than the others. But such a case is typical not of the intrinsic nature of moral judgement but of the imperfection of its actual practice in certain types of cases. And even when an individual's moral decision takes this form, his distinctively moral interest in his act is in it not as a choice of the merely better but as a doing of the absolutely right; for it is absolutely right, when one has no practical choice except between the worse and what is a little better, to choose the latter. I must repeat, however, that a moral decision which reflects itself adequately in nothing more than the judgement, ‘This action is right because its object is better than that of any practicable alternative’, is an example of the failure rather than of the intrinsic nature of moral deliberation. In a really thorough and completed process of moral deliberation the judgement and the action preferred is ‘better’ than any other is simply an abstract summing up of the outcome of an appraisal which has been worked out by other intellectual methods than mere qualitative or quantitative comparison. A careful analysis of the difference between the procedure of moral judgement in customary and in reflective or self-conscious morality would show, I believe,

that what is aimed at in the latter is such an interpretation and integration of purposes as shall exhibit all accepted purposes as individuations of a concrete universal.

Primarily, then, the concern of morality is not with progress toward a 'better' but with a present right and good. Nevertheless in a derivative or secondary way morality is deeply concerned with progress and improvement. How is that? It is because the objects which call forth the present devotion of the moral man are of such a kind that he cannot be loyal to their present worth without seeking to develop them along their line of growth and promise. Why does the good man count it a duty to toil for the uplift of humanity, for the betterment of its conditions of existence and the perfecting of its institutions? It is because he is experimentally aware of a worth in humanity, as organized under its current institutions, which is worthy of being conserved, and because this worth is of such a kind that only in one way can it be conserved, namely, by an unrelenting attempt to develop it further. We can be loyal to its worthiness only by reaching out after new achievements, in the realm of thought, of conduct, and of institutions, such as will express more adequately those ideal loyalties, the present expressions of which render life in fellowship with others an experience of undeniable worth. What is primary in morality is loyalty to experienced values, and it is because, under time-conditions, these values can remain real only through constant development, that aspiration after the unattained becomes so prominent a feature of human moral activity.

It should not be difficult to see the bearing of this contention upon the two points at which, as we realised, reflection on the contingency of the temporal process is apt to impair the serenity of an Activist morality. The first consideration was that recognition of how remote is likely to be the victory that is being striven for may easily induce a mood of impatience and despondency. Now this result would be inevitable if morality were, primarily and fundamentally, devotion to nothing less than an ideal of consummated achievement. If the present were felt to have no goodness except in so far as it was an approximation to an ideal 'best', then the infinite remoteness of that 'best' would mean that the present

was no real approximation and so had no value at all. But in actual fact, as we have argued, the position is quite the contrary. We do not care for the present 'good' only because, and only in so far as, it seems a weak foretaste of a future 'best', but it is through our appreciation of present 'good' that we learn to long for a 'better' and a 'best'. Our moral effort to better the present springs out of a loyalty to its existent half-developed values, a loyalty which can learn to wait patiently for an ever better and better because the present values, despite their immaturity, are already so good. In this way the rootedness of morality in the present disposes in principle of the first of the two obstacles to serene moral activity.

It also disposes of the second. For, just as we do not *care for* the present 'good' only because it is a weak foretaste of a future 'best', so we do not *discover* what is good only by comparing present fact with our conception of an ideal 'best', but we divine the 'best' by reflection on present 'good'. Moral judgement is not typically an estimation of the actual by its power of contributing to a perfect imagined future, but is an act of thought which, out of an insight into present good, derives a conclusion as to how its known goodness demands to be further developed. Being the latter, it rests upon the bed-rock of experience, while if it had been the former, the untrustworthiness of our conceptions of the perfect would have rendered dubious all our present judgements of value. Now the fact that the case is so disposes in principle, as I have said, of the second of the two obstacles to a serenity of moral effort. We do not need to be too troubled by thought of the part which imagination plays in constructing our ideals of social reform and national uplift. The degree in which they are built up by the imagination certainly means that in form they are untrustworthy. And since we cannot be sure that, in the form under which we imagine them, these ideals are truly good, we have no right to the faith that the deepest forces of the universe must be on the side of their accomplishment in that form. But if it be true, as I have contended, that the substance which imagination works up into that form is drawn from our experience of undeniable present good, then we may be sure that our visions of social

regeneration have within them, in spite of all their superficial mistakenness, the substance of truth, and that to the achievement of that solid core of their promise the eternal nature of reality is pledged.

I have now completed, to the extent that the limits of time and ability permitted, my defence of the thesis that the temporal process challenges us to a moral Activism, at once serene and strenuous. It would have been easy to construct a more convincing case, had I felt free to deal with the temporal process not as abstractly considered but as interpreted by positive, and especially by Christian religious experience. But even without that aid, I hope I have shown man's right to a moral faith that can nerve him for social effort, and that can help him to see in all sorrows but

'the tension thrills

'Of that serene endeavour

'Which yields to God for ever and for ever

'The joy that is more ancient than the hills'.

THE PROBLEM OF RURAL INDEBTEDNESS

BY

PROFESSOR P. J. THOMAS

"At every draught more large and large they grow
A bloated mass of rank unwieldy woe."

—GOLDSMITH

Always in the front rank of India's economic problems, rural indebtedness is today one of the most pressing of them, owing chiefly to the added burden resulting from the phenomenal fall of prices since 1929. The agricultural population had long been groaning under a heavy load of debt, and today the burden is much heavier. Unless it is greatly lightened, any widespread agricultural improvement will be difficult, the standard of living will remain low, and rural backwardness is bound to persist. The agricultural classes form more than 70 per cent of the population, and unless their income increases, consumption would be meagre and the home market would remain undeveloped; and that would be a serious barrier to industrial advancement. Thus the problem is really pivotal; whether we view it from the viewpoint of immediate relief to those stricken by the trade depression, or from the viewpoint of initiating a new economic policy of planned development, rural indebtedness is the one problem staring us in the face, and there is no getting behind it. It must be tackled if any serious scheme of economic reconstruction is to be put through in this country.

Elsewhere in the world, especially in the 'new' countries of America, where agriculture is more or less capitalistic, agricultural indebtedness is rather a modern problem arising from the sudden slump in prices, but in India, it is an old problem, a chronic disease which cannot be remedied by any measure of immediate relief. It touches the fundamentals of Indian economic life, and its real causes must be analysed in order to be able to prescribe any suitable remedy for it. In this paper, the general problem will be first dealt with, and then will

follow the special problem that has arisen by the Economic Depression.

I

THE CAUSES OF INDEBTEDNESS

The peculiar feature which marks out India's agricultural indebtedness from that of other countries is that it is chiefly due to unproductive expenditure. Whilst in the United States, the great bulk of farmers' borrowings are for productive purposes, and only a small percentage for family expenses, the Indian agricultural classes borrow only very small sums for agricultural expenses; but they raise large sums for all kinds of unproductive purposes. Thus, in the United Provinces, according to the Provincial Banking Committee, 70 per cent of the existing debt was contracted for unproductive purposes, and the same is more or less true of Bengal and Bombay.¹ In Madras, where things are slightly better, the proportion of unproductive borrowings was found to be 60 per cent in several districts. Even loans raised apparently for productive purposes, like purchase of land and education of children, often turn out to be speculative and improvident, in the peculiar circumstances of India.

By unproductive loans is here meant the borrowings, not merely for marriages and other social ceremonies, but also for family maintenance and payment of taxes. No doubt the expenditure on social ceremonies has been exaggerated, but it is still the principal cause of debt in many parts of the country. Indeed extravagance varies between caste and caste; yet both high and low are more or less subject to it. If the ignorant pariah does not mind selling his labour for life for having the pleasure of seeing his kith and kin get drunk on his wedding eve—a common occurrence among the labourers in several parts—many a brahmin will encumber his whole property and exhaust even his personal credit for celebrating marriages and paying dowries. Immemorial custom demands such extravagance, local custom compels it; and any violation of it would be stoutly resisted by one's relatives. The result is that one

has to borrow, whatever his repaying capacity and however exorbitant the terms. The limit of such loans is too often the maximum that the moneylender is prepared to advance, having regard to the property and income of the borrower. If a man whose annual income is only Rs. 100 borrows Rs. 500 for a wedding, is it any wonder if he gets inextricably indebted?

It is not fair to attribute all indebtedness to extravagant social expenditure. Large sections of agriculturists spend very sparingly for social ceremonies, but they too get into debt. The root cause of debt is the insufficiency of income, resulting from the smallness of holdings, inefficient methods of production and marketing and frequent failure of crops and loss of cattle.

The agricultural population of India has been on the increase, but the area available for cultivation is limited. The proportion of agriculturists to the total population has increased from 61 per cent in 1891 to 66 per cent in 1901 and 73 per cent in 1921; and the slight fall (2 per cent) recorded in the census of 1931, is of doubtful import. The total cultivated area is 228 millions, and only 20 per cent of it is irrigated. This works out at barely an acre per head of the total agricultural population, and about $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres for every cultivating family.¹ Nor is the meagreness of area made up by the efficiency of production, as in the case of some of those thickly populated agricultural countries in Europe. India has the lowest outturn per acre in most lines of agricultural production. Is it any wonder if in such a country the agriculturist is poor and indebted? In 1928-29, before the trade depression started, the total outturn from the principal crops of British India was estimated at Rs. 1,018 crores, which works out at a *per capita* production of below Rs. 50, and according to the Banking Committee's estimates for the same year, the income per head of agriculturists came to only Rs. 42 (£3). Since then, the estimated value of the same crops has fallen to Rs. 536 crores (1931-32) owing to fall of prices and the *per capita* production must have also dwindled considerably.²

¹ U. P. Banking Enquiry Report, p. 84; Bengal Report, p. 74; Bombay Report, p. 52.

¹ If we take only owners and tenant cultivators (61 millions), each has $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres to cultivate. See Census of India (1931), Report, pp. 288-89.

² See *Review of the Trade of India, 1932-33*, p. 10; *Indian Banking Committee Report*, p. 39.

Seeing that the food allowance for prisoners in Indian jails is Rs. 90 per annum, a *per capita* production of even Rs. 42 means that a large number of people are normally below the poverty line. As much as 81 per cent of the holdings in the Deccan village surveyed by Dr. Mann were found uneconomic, and this is confirmed by other similar investigations elsewhere. The result is that the great majority of Indian ryots are born in debt, live in debt, die in debt, and bequeath debt. And the last is not the least important; for, inexorable custom ordains that the son must pay the debts of the father, no matter whether the latter had left any assets or not.

In 1853, J. Bourdillon, a Madras Collector, wrote that the ryot 'was always in poverty and generally in debt'.¹ In spite of subsequent economic development and a decided increase of wealth in the country, the ryot's position has not improved to any substantial extent, for we find another Madras Collector writing in 1928 that 'for the average ryot, there is no surplus even in the prosperous year'.² This evidently betrays some maldistribution somewhere and calls for scrutiny. The net income of the great bulk of ryots is still so insufficient that they have to begin borrowing not long after harvest, generally by pledging their future crops. The creditor, who may be a petty dealer or moneylender, would unfailingly make his appearance at the threshing floor and exact his dues in kind, and generally grain rates of interest are much higher than money rates. The balance left for his consumption would be often so small that the ryot has to borrow again soon to maintain himself and to pay his kists. Thus the following year's crops are also hypothecated, and this goes on from year to year. When a bad year turns up—and such years are frequent in unirrigated areas—he cannot pay his dues and he has to mortgage his land, and mortgages generally end in sale. He may then become a tenant or labourer, and increase the rents which are already too high, or depress the wages which are already too low. On the other hand, when prices rise, the ryot will become hopeful, but he will either squander

away the surplus by indulging in social expenditure, or he would borrow more money for purchasing new land at speculative prices and this may eventually encumber his other property also. Thus, debt is chronic among the great majority of Indian agriculturists.

Debt grows rapidly in India. If the genesis of debt is in improvident expenditure and unexpected happenings, its growth is largely due to the accumulation of interest. It is not proposed in this connection to go into the question of interest rates. Suffice it to say that interest rates vary with the nature of the security, the position of the parties and so forth. They are lowest in the ryotwari tracts, and highest in the zamindari tracts and where the ryot has not got full proprietary right in land, whilst in the Punjab and Central Areas, where there are impediments to the alienation of land, the rates vary between agriculturist and non-agriculturist lenders. Thus in Madras and parts of Bombay, 12 per cent is the common rate and the village moneylenders do not usually charge above 18 to 24 per cent even on unsecured loans, but in Behar and Orissa, Sind and Assam, the usual interest charged is between 25 and 50 per cent, and even in the United Provinces 18 to 37 per cent is the common rule. Indeed, landowners in most provinces can raise loans on first mortgage at rates between 9 and 12 per cent, but the small holders have often to pay higher rates; and as for tenants and labourers, who have no proper security to offer, the rates charged may be anything up to 150 and even 300 per cent. The rate of interest on grain loans is nowhere below 25 per cent, but in many parts of the country, it rises to 50 and 100 per cent. It is no wonder that agriculturists get into debt; for even if the interest charged is 6 per cent, it is doubtful if, except when prices are very high, the average ryot will be able to pay it without pinching from his wages. According to Sir Josiah Stamp, 'The world as a whole and over a given length of time has almost certainly been fed below cost price for the last 100 years, if one takes into account the proper elements of cost';¹ and this statement is more true of the *petite culture* of India than of the capitalistic agriculture of the 'new' countries.

¹ Srinivasaraghava Aiyangar's *Memorandum on the Forty Years Progress* (1892), Appendix.

² T. Austin, I. C. S., in his written evidence before the Madras Banking Enquiry Committee Proceedings, Vol. II, p. 60.

¹ *World Agriculture* (Institute of International Affairs 1932), p. 260.

In fact, taking into account the uncertainties of weather the frequency of cattle mortality, and the fickleness of prices, agriculture, especially cereal-growing, is not a paying business, and if the Indian ryot sticks to it, it is not because it is profitable, but because it is a mode of life with him, the only mode of life available for him. The shrewd ones therefore prefer to let out land than cultivate it themselves, and the shrewdest turn moneylenders; for a man who lends Rs. 100 even at 6 per cent interest, has a more secure income than he who invests it on land. The net return from raising food crops is appallingly low, even in normal years, and with the low prices of today it is often a minus quantity. The lot of the ryot is really pitiable; nearly all the risks of agriculture fall on him. Government has a legal first charge on his produce and the moneylender has a virtual charge, but he, the risk-taker, the entrepreneur, gets hardly a fair wage for his labour, not to speak of profits. There are plenty of people to commiserate the lot of the industrial worker, who takes little risks, and who gets his share of the product the day he begins work, and Royal Commissions tour at great expense to enquire into his wages and improve his housing conditions, but there is scant pity for the toiling peasant who takes all the risks of agriculture and gets his share of the produce last (if there is anything left); who has too often starvation for his lot and lives in a miserable hovel, doing all the dirty job necessary to raise foodstuffs and raw materials essential for the world. He is the real Cinderella of world economy. This inequity in distribution has already brought its nemesis and it would be hard to revive world prosperity unless the 70 per cent of the world's population who toil in the fields are given a larger part of the world's total income.¹

II

A HISTORICAL VIEW

Indebtedness has always been with us; at no time known to history was the Indian agriculturist free from debt. But

¹ See Thomas, 'The Trend of International Trade', *Indian Journal of Economics*, October 1933.

in former times, the solidarity of the village community was a powerful bulwark against the accumulation of debt and alienation of property, and customs like *Dandupal* curbed the exorbitant demand of moneylenders. But with the establishment of a centralized administrative system, and its re-establishment on a more systematic basis by the British, the village community decayed and all the laws and customs that kept down debt fell into desuetude. The whole trend of developments in the 19th century favoured the growth of debt. In the first place, the land-settlements of the early 19th century established private property in land in a form practically unknown in the past, and this greatly enhanced the credit of the Indian zamindars and ryots by raising the value of land; and in this enhancement even the tenants shared after the passing of the various Tenancy Acts, which gave a fixity of tenure to the lease-holding classes. Land, which was formerly an encumbrance, became thus a valuable asset and a reliable agency for raising credit. Secondly, the establishment of a hierarchy of civil courts, with a new type of procedure enabled the creditors to effectively secure claims which they never could have ventured to claim under the indigenous system. The laws administered by these courts—the Indian Contract Act and the Civil Procedure Code in particular—gave a powerful handle to creditors, not only to recover their dues but to attach the cattle and implements of the debtor and even to arrest and imprison him.¹ This new system of judicial administration has had disastrous moral and economic consequences. Thirdly, the passing of the Registration of Documents Act (1864) and the Transfer of Property Act (1882) enabled claims to be systematically recorded and led to the growth of mortgages in number and value. Fourthly, the rise of prices, which was rapid after 1854 (although curbed in cotton tracts in the sixties) created too great an optimism and gave rise to increased borrowings; for, as Darling has shown, a rise of prices is generally followed by an increase of indebtedness.²

¹ Calvert, *The Wealth and Welfare of the Punjab*, p. 123; 'The sale of land in execution of decrees was almost unknown in the Punjab as recently as 1873-74.' Also Keatinge, *Rural Economy in Bombay Deccan*, p. 84.

² *The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt*, pp. 15 and 40.

All the agencies mentioned above were intended to regulate economic dealings, and they were all essential for modernizing India's economic life, but the circumstances of India have been such that while those agencies legalised the rights and furthered the interests of the enlightened classes, they had just the contrary effect on the great majority who are improvident and illiterate. The secure right to property is a blessing, but in the hands of the average Indian ryot it is often a curse. Gide's remark about credit is apposite in this connection. 'It has often been said', writes he, 'that credit holds up the landowner as the rope holds up the hanged man'.¹ As a shrewd Englishman wrote in the last century, 'To a people in the state of civilization to which India has reached, a secure title to a fixed income only means the power of borrowing on the occasion of a marriage, a funeral or some great family festival more than the borrower can ever pay'.² Hence the dangers of facile credit to a people ignorant of the true use of credit.³

No wonder that during the last forty years, which witnessed a steady rise in commodity prices and land values, indebtedness has been also steadily on the increase. We have no accurate statistics, but enough can be inferred from a comparison of land values and commodity prices in any province with the average mortgage rate per acre and the total mortgage debt there. In the Punjab, the mortgage rate was only Rs. 19 in the quinquennium 1900-05, but it rose to Rs. 85 by 1924. Thus, while the general price level of exported articles rose by about 105 per cent between 1900 and 1924, the mortgage rate rose by 347 per cent. The annual mortgage debt also increased more than the price-level during the same period. In the Madras Presidency, the total annual value of mortgages which was only Rs. 6.67 crores in 1891-92 rose to Rs. 7.75 crores by 1900 and to Rs. 14.78 crores in 1914, and between 1919 and 1928 the average had been as high as Rs. 20 crores. Similar increases must have taken place in other provinces

¹ *Political Economy*, p. 394.

² Fergusson, *Indian Architecture* (quoted in Nicholson's Coimbatore District Manual).

³ Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, p. 425.

also. The following table will bring out the position of Madras in this respect :—

Year	Mortgages		Index Number of Prices	
	Number	Aggregate value Rs.	Indian Index numbers Ex-ported articles (1873 = 100)	Index numbers of paddy prices in Madras 1874-75 to 1883-84 = 100 ¹
1899-1900*	3,64,811	7,75,75,561	100	117.7
1900-1	4,10,746	8,25,14,728	124	96.3
1901-2	4,11,989	8,29,23,837	116	111.2
1902	3,84,057	8,11,40,299	113	94.4
1903	3,80,400	7,69,96,330	103	96.3
1904	3,66,666	8,19,78,988	104	109.4
1905	4,50,402	8,80,87,142	116	139.2
1906	4,83,218	9,88,52,441	139	145.7
1907	5,04,030	10,52,87,218	145	152.5
1908	5,19,548	11,47,90,784	151	165.3
1909	5,31,976	12,05,58,403	133	148.2
1910	5,20,831	12,33,63,327	127	135.8
1911	5,28,987	13,02,00,237	136	158.4
1912	5,69,609	14,61,92,551	145	180.5
1913	5,63,604	15,14,87,657	154	175.8
1914	5,32,331	14,78,98,968	160	162.5
1915	5,18,178	15,03,71,306	155	161.9
1916	5,39,585	15,79,31,266	163	168.1
1917	5,29,597	15,58,19,013	170	169.0
1918	5,40,163	17,07,40,138	199	246.7
1919	6,93,606	20,27,63,990	277	300.4
1920	5,93,933	20,62,08,902	281	239.2
1921	5,93,761	20,84,81,946	239	239.2
1922	5,00,301	19,66,60,355	245	237.0
1923	4,90,096	19,07,61,541	224	221.8
1924	5,06,918	19,94,18,477	222	270.0

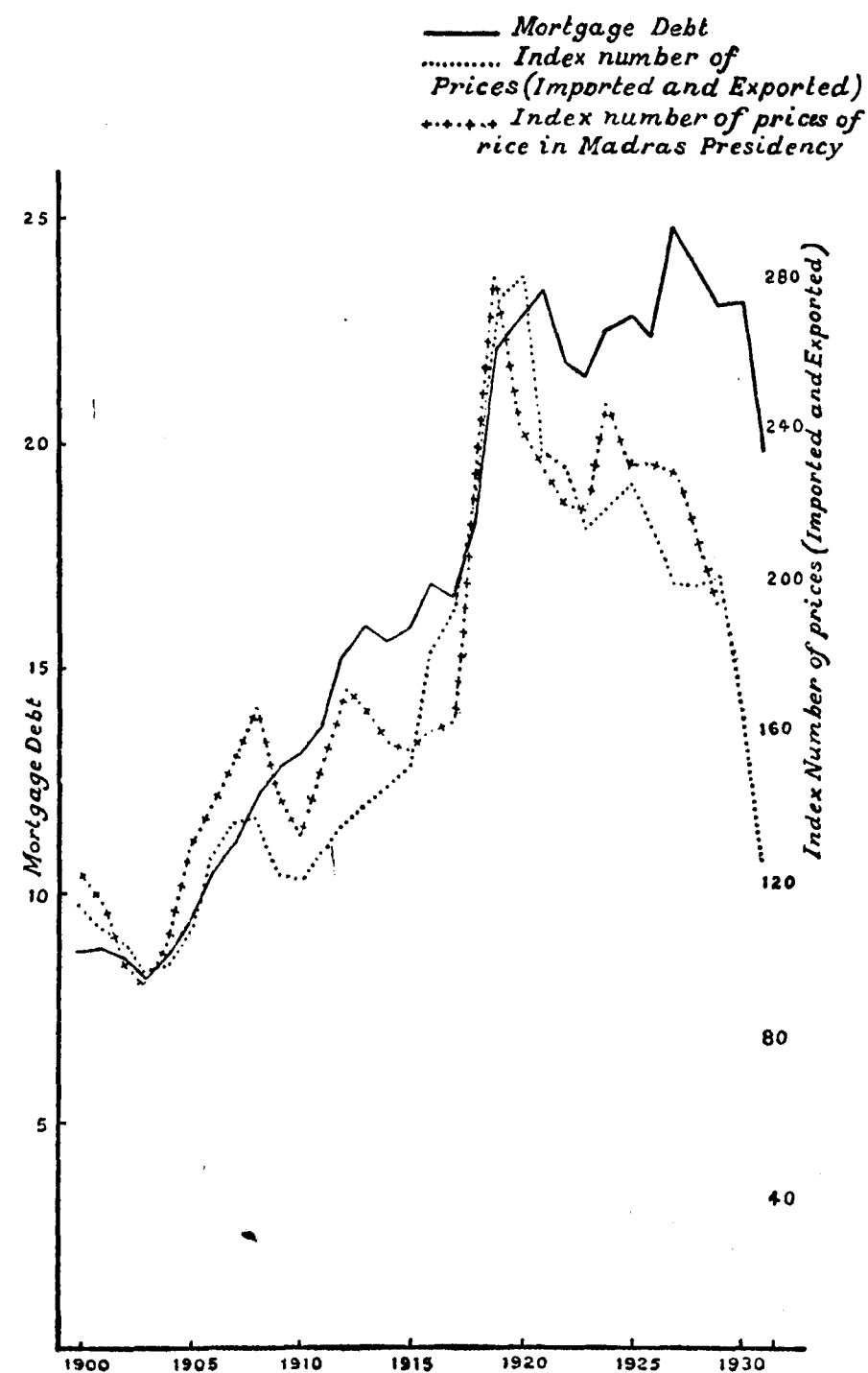
¹ See note on p. 38.

Year	Mortgages		Index Number of Prices	
	Number	Aggregate value Rs.	Indian Index numbers Ex-ported articles (1873 = 100)	Index numbers of paddy prices in Madras 1874-75 to 1883-84 = 100 ¹
1925	5,08,355	20,10,06,341	233	246.7
1926	4,94,227	19,71,02,316	225	236.7
1927	5,25,747	20,56,72,473	209	239.2
1928	5,10,974	19,87,43,259	212	227.1
1929	4,85,850	19,65,66,096	216	189.5
1930	4,44,182	18,93,94,547	177	...
1931	3,89,487	17,69,89,913	125	...
1932	4,18,235	17,68,50,031	...	...

Since 1929, when prices fell rapidly, mortgages have also recorded a fall, but not to the same extent as prices. Thus while the index number of prices of exported articles fell by 47 per cent between 1929 and 1932, the total value of mortgages fell only 10 per cent, and the number of mortgages has only slightly fallen. This is not due so much to the contraction of new mortgages as to the renewal of the old ones, rendered necessary by the fall in land values. In some parts of the Presidency most of the mortgages of the last two years are of this category. In fact credit has been greatly restricted of late, and new loans are few. This is indicated by the fall in the total value of bonds in the Presidency from nearly Rs. 4 crores in 1930 to Rs. 1 crore in 1932.

The total indebtedness of the various Provinces and States of India in 1928-29 was estimated by the Banking Enquiry Committees in 1929. Those figures are given below with the estimated values of total production of the various Provinces in 1928-29 and 1932-33, in order that some idea may be

¹ In the case of the first three years, the mortgage figures are for the financial year, and in the case of index numbers of paddy prices, the financial year is invariably used. For the rest, the figures are for the calendar year. The paddy prices are from N. K. Adyantaya's paper on 'A Statistical Study of the Prices of Food Grains in the Madras Presidency' in the *Madras University Journal*, July and December 1933. The figures for mortgages are from the Inspector-General of Registration, Madras.



formed of the *nominal* and *real* burden of the indebtedness in India today.¹

Province	Population (Millions)	Total indebted- ness (Crores)	Average in- debtedness per agricul- tural Rs.	Total production of the principal crops Value in <i>Lakhs</i>	
				1928-29	1931-32
Madras ...	46.7	150	50	1,80,78	1,01,25
Bombay ...	21.8	81	49	1,20,52	66,56
Bengal ...	50.1	100	31	2,32,59	1,06,71
United Provinces ...	48.4	124	36	1,40,52	92,21
Burma ...	14.6	50 to 60	...	63,38	29,20
Central Provinces ...	15.5	36	30	68,77	32,42
Punjab ...	23.5	135	92	76,78	37,49
Bihar and Orissa ...	37.6	155	31	1,35,17	71,05
Assam ...	8.6	22	31	...	...
Central Areas ...	...	18	...	...	...
<i>Total British India</i> ...	271.5	881	...	10,18,51	5,36,89
Hyderabad ...	14.4	...	...	...	...
Mysore ...	6.5	...	...	...	...
Travancore ...	5.0	27	54	...	...

III

THE EVILS OF DEBT

The menace of indebtedness arises from the fact that it has dire *economic*, *social* and *moral* consequences.

Debt leads directly to agricultural inefficiency. A person overburdened with debt can have little incentive for making the utmost use of his lands, nor will he be interested in introducing better crops and better methods. Hence the very poor response to the work of the Agricultural Depart-

The figures of total indebtedness given by the Banking Enquiry Committees are not based on any accurate statistics, and need not be taken at their face value. See the author's remarks in a separate note attached to the Madras Banking Committee's *Report*, pp. 270-72.

ment. Debt also prevents orderly and profitable marketing. Many of the ryots who borrow from town merchants or brokers give a lien to them on their crops. In some cases, the borrower is bound to sell at prices previously fixed, or on other terms materially profitable to the stronger party. Even if the lender forces the borrower to sell his produce on the threshing floor, the same consequences will follow. Such tying of moneylending and trading are generally detrimental to the interests of ryots, and must be avoided if they are to obtain the maximum prices for their produce. Only by the firm establishment of co-operative marketing can such a change be brought about.¹

Debts generally result in loss of property. Unless exceptional circumstances intervene—be it a windfall or a sudden rise of prices—mortgages generally end in sale. In this way land is frequently changing hands. According to some observers, all land in a village changes hands once in thirty years; at any rate in certain tracts, most land has changed hands during the last 30 or 40 years. That this is a social evil will be easily conceded, but its economic consequences are not so certain. The transfer of land from the debtor may result in greater productive efficiency if the new owner is himself a keen cultivator. But as generally happens, the land passes to professional moneylenders or non-cultivating landowners, and those classes usually let their land to tenants. Thus tenancy increases, and tenant-farming generally is not noted for efficiency. The Indian Banking Committee points out that where moneylenders are mostly landholders (chiefly in the Punjab and Madras), changes in the ownership of land are not detrimental to agricultural efficiency, but this is a highly questionable view, seeing that such transfers lead to the increase of tenants and tenant-farming, which is not desirable in many ways. The peasant proprietor is the pride of any country, and the decay of that class necessarily leads to a weakening of the moral fibre of society. As Arthur Young puts it, 'the magic of private property turns sand into gold.' He who doubts it may compare tillage in ryotwari and

¹ See *Report of Investigations into the Finance and Marketing of Cotton* (Indian Central Cotton Committee). Madras Banking Report, pp. 187-97; Bombay Report, pp. 147-152; also K. C. Ramakrishnan, 'Financing and Forced Sale of Produce', in *Indian Journal of Economics*, 1930.

zamindari tracts.¹ A comparison of the conditions in East and West Germany, or in Denmark and Ireland (till lately) will also bring this out.

There is every indication that landless agriculturists have increased in India in recent times. In 1921, for every 1,000 ordinary cultivators, there were only 291 farm servants and field labourers, but in 1931 the proportion of labourers was found to have increased to 407 for every 1,000 cultivators.² This sudden rise may be partly due to a change in classification but there is no doubt that the number of landless men is on the increase, specially in wet areas, and no agricultural improvement is possible unless the pressure on land is diminished. The growth of a landless proletariat is also a social menace and every effort must be made to reduce it; this is not possible if indebtedness continues at the present levels.

The worst social and moral result of indebtedness is that it entails servitude. In ancient Greece and Rome the debtor was the slave of the creditor. Some vestiges of that custom are still found in the arrest and imprisonment of judgment debtors, which obtained formerly in most European countries. In the last century, it was abolished in most of those countries, but was newly introduced into India. The Civil Procedure Code, wherein this provision was made, exempts from attachment the bare means of subsistence of the debtor but not his person. The anomaly in this law was pointed out by no less an authority than Sir Courtenay Ilbert in 1888, but even now the law is in the statute book.³ It is not only a source of harassment but entails great economic waste.

The Kamiauti agreements of Behar and Orissa and the Pannaiyal system of Madras remind us of such servitude. In both cases, a labourer borrows a small sum of money to celebrate a wedding or funeral, but in return he has to work for the lender, receiving a bare pittance for his

¹ See Thomas, 'The Economic Incidence of Tenurial Systems', (*Indian Journal of Economics*, 1929); also 'Peasant Proprietorship' (*Indian Journal of Economics*, 1926). Also *Agricultural Tribunal of Investigation, Final Report*, pp. 306-310.

² Census of India (1931), Vol. I, p. 288.

³ In his Statement of Objects and Reasons to the Debtors' Bill of 1888, Ilbert wrote: 'Of what use is it to reserve by law to the debtor the bare necessities of life when he can be compelled to give them up by the threat of imprisonment?'

livelihood. He can never be expected to save up the amount needed, and therefore the transaction becomes an indenture for life. In Behar such agreements are now null and void under an Act of 1920, unless those are terminable within a year and provide for equitable remuneration for labour. But the Kamia is too powerless to set the law in motion, and the law is said to have failed.¹ In Madras, there is no formal agreement; the promissory note for the loan taken is the weapon in the lender's hands. On the borrower refusing to work, a suit will be filed and eventually he will be arrested and imprisoned. That fear hangs like Damocles' sword over his uneasy head and makes him work for the lender without grumbling. In the Central Provinces too, a similar system prevails, under which the debtor or a member of his family has to render service to the creditor, with or without payment, for a fixed period. Wherever the moneylender is an influential local notable, especially if he is also the landlord, the ryot has to do free service when called upon, and when he fails to do so, civil or criminal suit may follow.

The condition of those weavers and other artisans who obtain advances from moneylenders is also similar. In all these cases, the poor borrower is subject to exploitation, and firm action is necessary to put it down.

A society steeped in debt is necessarily a social volcano. Discontent between classes is bound to arise, and smouldering discontent is always dangerous. It may not everywhere blaze out in a revolution; but recurring social unrest is worse than revolution, in that it perpetuates economic inefficiency and puts off reconstruction.

IV

REMEDIAL MEASURES IN THE PAST

Various attempts have been made for remedying indebtedness. Since the days of the Deccan riots, Government has undertaken a series of measures for meeting the credit needs of the ryot and for preventing indebtedness. Takavi advances had always been granted to ryots, and this provision was amplified by the Land Improvement Loans Act (1883) and Agriculturists Relief Act (1884). Such direct aid, meant

¹ Agricultural Commission Report, pp. 434-45.

THE PROBLEM OF RURAL INDEBTEDNESS

rather for years of crop failure, was naturally inadequate to meet the ryots' needs in ordinary times and subsequently a system of co-operation was introduced into the country by an Act of 1904; and to prevent agriculturists from losing land limits were placed on the freedom to alienate land in the Punjab and elsewhere. All these measures have done some good, but it would be a gross exaggeration to say that they have solved the problem of rural indebtedness. The co-operative principle introduced in 1904, and subsequently amplified by several Acts, is a very valuable one indeed, and has worked wonders elsewhere, but merely by providing a means for doling out credits to needy ryots, such results cannot be achieved. The crux of the problem of agricultural credit is that the loan granted must increase the efficiency of production and its repayment must emerge from an enhanced income. This requires that the co-operative society must not only grant credit, but control its utilization by prescribing and organizing profitable forms of production and marketing, so that the borrower's income may thereby increase. It must also curb the improvident social expenditure which leads the ryot to the gates of moneylenders. And so long as such functions are not undertaken in an organized manner, the co-operative society will remain a mere lending agency, and overdues are bound to mount up. Further, by not limiting itself to short-term loans, the co-operative system has sown the seeds of decay, which it is now reaping.

There is still a common impression that the problem of rural finance is supplying credit on easy terms. That facile credit is not generally a blessing to improvident agriculturists has been repeatedly demonstrated in India as well as elsewhere. As the Royal Commission on Agriculture puts it: 'In fact cheap credit is a blessing to a rural population only where the average cultivator is possessed of the knowledge and strength of character required to induce him, on the one hand, to limit his borrowings within the range of his capacity and on the other, to apply the greater part of the money to sound productive purposes. To lavish credit on those unaccustomed to its proper use is to expose borrowers to certain financial destruction. The facilities for cheap credit must at the outset bring

new temptations as well as extended opportunities. Those only can hope to profit by its opportunities who have learned to resist its temptations.¹ Unfortunately a large number of our ryots have not learned to resist such temptations, and hence the alarming growth of indebtedness in the country.

Another popular impression is that indebtedness may be cured by controlling and curbing moneylenders. This may look more reasonable, but it is equally erroneous. Indeed moneylending must be regulated like everything else that affect the public—and who is not a Hegelian in these days?—but if it is hoped that by such a measure, indebtedness can be cured, it is a hopeless delusion. You may regulate moneylending, bring it under stringent control, but that may not relieve the burden on their clients; rather their burden may increase thereby. So long as there are impecunious and improvident people, speculative moneylending will go on; and even in prosperous countries like England, there are usurious lenders who realise 300 per cent on their petty loans to penurious people.²

Attempts have also been made to control usury by keeping down rates of interest. Ancient Indian custom prescribes 12 per cent as the normal rate, and interest was not to accumulate beyond the principal (*Damdapat*). This rule is now in force in parts of Bombay Presidency and in the city of Calcutta but not in Madras. In Travancore a benevolent Maharani, ninety years ago, ordained that accumulated interest should not exceed half the principal in the case of money loans. In the East India Company's days regulations existed in all the three Presidencies prescribing rates of interest, and records of certain enquiries made in Madras about interest rates as early as 1825 are extant in the Madras Record Office.³ The Usurious Loans Act of 1918 gives wide powers to the courts to disallow exorbitant rates of interest and reopen all loan transactions, if necessary. But the Act has not been widely used, and the general impression is that it has not succeeded. The fact is that an effective regulation of interest is practically impossible in a country where improvident

¹ Report, p. 425.

² *New Statesman and Nation*, August 12, 1933; also August 19, 1933, p. 206.

³ Regulation XXXIV of 1802; and Regulation II of 1825; replies from District Collectors to a Circular letter of 1825.

borrowing and speculative lending are so widely prevalent as in India, and however stringent the law, it will be evaded in many ways. The needy client can easily be forced to sign a document for a larger sum than actually received by him. Even the Travancore law is evaded by the debtor renewing the document after five years, and he can be forced to do so under threat of court decree and arrest.

Lately, there has been a growing public opinion in favour of a simpler system of insolvency, and this view has received the support of such high authorities as the Royal Commission on Agriculture, the Civil Justice Committee, and the Indian Banking Enquiry Committee. It is true that the Insolvency Act is not now very much utilized by the agriculturist debtors owing to the complexities of the law, but then we have to remember that a simpler form of insolvency may further increase the temptation to improvident borrowing. Already the behaviour of a growing class of rural debtors is not such as to evoke sympathy for them. Some of them borrow with no intention to repay and often use every means to hoodwink their creditors. With easier avenues to insolvency, such behaviour will grow worse and this may drastically weaken the credit of agriculturists. It is always assumed that the creditor is a Shylock and the debtor an innocent victim, but that is not so in a growing number of cases. Therefore, while abating the rigour of law against the honest debtor, means must be found to detect and severely punish the knavery of dishonest debtors.

It is thought by certain politicians that indebtedness can be cured by the simple remedy of repudiation. They little understand the social and economic implications of such a revolutionary measure. A periodical cancellation of all debt, like the Jubilee year of the Jews (every 50 years), has some theoretical advantages to commend it, but its adoption is not practicable at the present time.

The fundamental weakness of all such measures is that they curtail credit. To curb usury by restricting credit cannot be a boon in a country like India, where the credit needs of agriculturists are still chiefly met by moneylenders. No other agency in the country has the resources to replace the moneylender. Whatever measures we undertake must bring

usury under control without restricting credit. If by avoiding the scylla of usury, the ryot bangs on the charybdis of curtailed credit, nothing good can come out of it. All legislation to regulate moneylending and rates of interest must take this into account. In fact such legislation has generally failed, and is bound to fail.

There are only two effective remedies for a radical cure of indebtedness. The first, which is the more important, is the increase of agricultural income by resort to more efficient methods of production and marketing; the second is the reduction of improvident expenditure and increase of thrift. These are the essential conditions of any substantial advance. It is not easy to increase the ryot's income, but under a planned agricultural development, it would be possible to raise productive efficiency and eliminate wastes all round, and thus increase the net income. The reduction of unproductive expenditure is possible by a nation-wide campaign against extravagance in social ceremonies, litigation and intemperance. But only a strong government receiving active support from the people can carry out such plans effectively. The alternative is a dictator like Mussolini, but the methods of dictators are necessarily drastic. Mussolini stamped out usury, not by passing a Usury Act, but by banishing the usurious lenders to a far-off island. Without attempting anything so drastic, we may gradually eradicate extravagance, provided the village panchayats agree about it among themselves and provided our schools inculcate thrift in all possible ways. The co-operation of social and religious organisations is important in this matter. Christian missionary efforts have been remarkably successful in this work in certain parts of India, e.g., Chota Nagpur.¹

V

THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEM

But such general remedies will take time; and as for planning in a diversified country like India, it is a complex matter. We are yet only grappling with the preliminaries to planning,

¹ For the work of the Catholic Mission at Ranchi, see the Behar and Orissa Banking Committee Report I, pp. 33; Vol. II, pp. 662-74. See also, Hatch, *Up From Poverty* (1932), dealing with Y.M.C.A. work in S. Travancore.

and are not even on its threshold. But indebtedness is pressing and calls for urgent relief. The burden of debt has increased by the heavy slump in prices, and if not helped in time, a good many of the ryots will lose their property and sink into the position of labourers and tenants, and thus depress wages and increase rural congestion.

Depression is necessarily a period of hardship for the debtor classes in the community; it leads to an unjust redistribution of wealth. While the creditor gets a premium, the debtor gets a penalty in that he has to return a much larger purchasing power than he received. Two principal depressions occurred in India during the 19th century, the first in 1820-54 and the second in the sixties. But neither of these apparently affected the country as much as the present depression; nor were they so widespread. During the first period, India was not so dependent on foreign trade as now, and the second depression affected chiefly the cotton tracts. Further, the general price-level never seems to have fallen so rapidly and drastically as between 1929 and 1932. The result is that all debts have increased in quantity as well as in burden. Since 1930, borrowings have been fewer, but the bulk of the older debt remains unpaid. According to an estimate made by the United Provinces Agricultural Debt Enquiry Committee, only 7 per cent of the long-term debt and 25 per cent of the short-term debt had been repaid annually since 1930.¹ The proportions may be more or less true of other provinces. Interest payment has slackened everywhere, and according to all accounts, hardly 20 per cent of the interest due annually must have been paid in the last three years. Calculating on this basis, the total agricultural debt of British India must have increased from Rs. 900 crores to about Rs. 1,200 crores; and that of Madras from Rs. 150 crores to Rs. 200 crores. But this is no indication of the real burden which is much higher. With nearly a 50 per cent fall in the prices of our staple products, the real burden of debt has more than doubled since 1929. The nominal burden of a debt of Rs. 100 raised in 1929 is still Rs. 100 and, if no interest has been paid, Rs. 148, but the real burden is about Rs. 150 and with interest about Rs. 222. If the total debt

¹ *The U. P. Govt. Gazette*, September 10, 1932, p. 257.

of British India in 1929 was Rs. 900 crores, and if no repayment of principal was made in the meantime, the real burden of that debt must now amount to about Rs. 1,800 crores, and if all interest is in arrears, Rs. 2,200 crores. As shown above, the total production in the chief crops has in the meantime diminished from Rs. 1,018 crores (in 1928-29) to Rs. 536 crores (in 1931-32). Thus while the income has greatly diminished the debt has vastly increased.

Such is the problem facing us. But such a problem has been facing most countries, and some of them are even worse off. Two lines of action have been pursued by them. On the one hand, they have resorted to various measures of relief and on the other, attempts have been made to raise prices. The plan of action for raising prices consisted in carrying out public works and devaluating currencies. The public works programme injected purchasing power into the community and revived demand to a great extent. By abandoning the gold standard, several countries have given a prop to export trade and thus kept up prices in the country. Australia, Japan, and Britain have resorted to all these measures, whilst on the continent of Europe, the principal line of action has been carrying out public works and regulating import trade by means of exchange restrictions and import quotas. Had these measures been undertaken on an international scale, great success would have resulted from it, but even by national action countries like Japan and Australia have given considerable relief to agriculturists.

Direct relief has taken different forms. In some countries, Government has given financial assistance to farmers in order to lighten the burden of debt; in others, firm measures have been taken for preventing the loss of indebted farms and for checking the inordinate accumulation of interest.¹ Thus, the Farm Relief Act of the U. S. A. provides for the issue of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent federal land bonds to the amount of \$2,000 million with the object of making mortgage loans to farmers at 5 per cent in order to enable them to repay existing mortgages carrying higher rates of interest. By this and other measures, a powerful effort has been made by the U. S. Government to

regulate agricultural production and to raise prices with a view to improving the farmers' income, but the recent unrest among farmers indicates that the measures have not been attended with much success. In Italy, agriculturists' debts have been converted into 25 years' mortgages with annual payment for interest and redemption which may not exceed $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum. In Germany, a law of May 1933 enables debtors to appeal for special assistance in respect of debts entered into before 1931. In Austria, encumbered agricultural property is protected from forced sale, under certain conditions. In several States of Australia, the right of selling mortgaged property has been restricted by legislation and measures have been taken to keep down interest. In these and many other countries, measures have been taken to postpone debt claims, give priority to new loans, convert short-term into long-term obligations, negotiate rent reductions and convert fixed money rents into yearly payments depending upon the value of farm produce. In Holland, courts have been set up to negotiate between agricultural debtors and creditors and compulsory interest reductions have taken place in many countries. In Denmark, country boards have been set up with power to postpone interest and amortisation payments, making provision for new loans and moratoria of old loans, granting tax relief, limiting interest rates and so forth.¹

VI

DEBT CONCILIATION IN INDIA

In India nothing spectacular has been done by way of agricultural relief. In most provinces, some part of the land revenue has been remitted or held in abeyance. In the United Provinces, a comprehensive scheme of agricultural relief is contemplated and Bengal may follow suit. The unlinking of sterling from gold in September 1931 resulted in a certain degree of devaluation of the rupee, but this has not produced any great revival of prices. There is a growing desire that a large measure of devaluation must be carried out as in

¹ See *World Economic Survey*, 1932-33, p. 159.

¹ See *World Economic Survey*, 1932-33, pp. 150-60, 311-15.

Australia, so that our export trade may obtain an advantage even over the sterling area, but recent currency experiments elsewhere make one doubt if a slight devaluation—e.g., lowering the ratio to 16d.—would provide any real stimulus to our export trade or serve to raise our internal prices to any perceptible extent. Our export trade has dwindled because of a fall in demand abroad for our goods, and if a real revival is to take place, it cannot be by mere currency manipulations. Further, as only a small proportion of our total production is exported—unlike Australia—it is very doubtful if a slight devaluation would have any tangible effect on our general price-level. A more effective means of reflation economic activity and thereby reviving prices would be to carry out a large programme of productive public works spread all over the country, so that purchasing power and consumers' demand may revive. This is likely to benefit industry as well as agriculture.

But there are no sovereign remedies for raising prices immediately, and it is useless to expect any immediate relief to indebtedness by such measures of general relief. If our aim is to give some immediate relief to the burden of indebtedness, we must do something more direct. Such direct relief has been provided in Germany, Holland, Denmark and in several American countries. The principal agency used in the settlement of debt is conciliation between debtors and creditors with the object of securing a composition of the standing debt. Nor is this anything new in India. It has been practised in various parts of this country during the last 30 years. In the Central Provinces, debt conciliation was carried out in several districts during the depression resulting from the famine years of 1897-1900. In Orissa a remarkable effort at debt redemption was made by Government between 1906 and 1912; subsequently, in the Punjab, similar attempts have been made in several districts. Since the depression began, the Government of the Central Provinces and the Durbar of Bhavnagar State have carried out legislation for debt conciliation and have launched on comprehensive programmes of debt composition.

The essential feature of the scheme is the appointment by Government of a Conciliation Board, or Commissioner, for

adjudicating between the parties. The Board is authorised to go through the whole transaction, and having regard to the nature of the loan, the position of the two parties, and the trend of the price-level since the debt was contracted, they would settle upon the amount to be repaid, and the mode of repaying it. Conciliation may be compulsory or voluntary. In exceptional circumstances, compulsory conciliation might be justifiable, but in provinces where the principal source of agricultural credit is the agriculturist himself, such a drastic remedy may not be essential. In Bhavnagar, a majority of the ryots and sowkars of the Mahal must apply jointly if a conciliation board is to be set up, and since most of the Mahals have asked for it, it is clear that the scheme is popular with the sowkars as well. In the Central Provinces, the recent Act authorises the Government to set up conciliation boards in every district; but the concurrence of the creditors to whom 40 per cent of the debts are due is necessary if the case of a debtor is to be considered by the Board. Nor is the award unconditionally binding on the parties. When settlement is obstructed by the obduracy of the debtor or the creditor, the Board may issue a certificate stating who in their opinion is the unreasonable party. The creditor may then resort to the ordinary courts, but he will not get the costs of his suit, if he is the unreasonable party, and the rate of interest from the date of the certificate will only be 6 per cent per annum.

The method of repayment is the crux of the whole problem. If ready cash can be paid, the creditor would agree to large reductions, but if the amount is to be paid in small instalments lasting over a long period, confidence is lacking and agreement becomes difficult. The chances of ready cash being paid are necessarily limited, and usually the sum is to be paid in instalments, but unless Government or a land mortgage bank undertakes to pay the instalments, settlement is generally difficult.

The redemption of the debt directly by Government is the simplest solution. This was the system tried in Ranchi District during 1906-12. Government advanced about Rs. 1½ lakhs for redeeming debt, but did not proceed with it any further; for, Government soon realised that there were serious

difficulties in recovering the amounts advanced on behalf of debtors.¹

Today, a similar scheme of debt redemption by Government is being put through in Bhavnagar. In that State, the Liquidation Committee is authorised to write off any debt which is more than three times the land revenue assessment. The compounded amount would then be advanced by Government on behalf of the ryot, and Government would recover the amount from the State's share of the produce of each ryot, the lands being held on the *bhagbatai* system. The land revenue and the takavi advances are first deducted from the State's share, and the balance would go to repay the State's advances to the sowkar. When there is a bumper crop, the ryot may repay the whole or any part of the loan in a lump sum. Such a scheme of debt redemption has already been carried out in two-thirds of the State which involved the settlement of a debt of about Rs. 60 lakhs. The usefulness of the scheme is evident from the fact that in most cases, the debt amounts have been drastically cut down by the Liquidation Committee. For instance, the total nominal debt of the first five tappas taken up was Rs. 14,19,378, but it was compounded by paying the sum of Rs. 3,67,991, thus reducing the burden of debt by full three-fourths. The annual interest charges alone had amounted to that sum and therefore by paying a year's interest charge the khedut would be totally freed from debt. At the same time, the sowkars are also benefited, in that they are able to recover in cash, and at one stroke, far more than they could if left to their own devices. The success of the experiment is clear from the fact that land revenue and customs receipts have increased in the current year. It must be remarked that all this was possible by the bold generosity of the Maharaja and the wise statesmanship of Sir Prabhasankar Pattani.

Whether the Durbar will be able to recover from the ryots the amounts advanced on their behalf remains to be seen, but the peculiar conditions of the State, especially the Bhagbatai system of sharing produce between Government and the ryot, may facilitate repayment. But what is possible in

¹ *Indian Banking Committee Report*, p. 64; *Behar and Orissa Committee Report*, pp. 57-58.

a small State like Bhavnagar, with only half a million people, may not be practicable throughout the country.

Recently a scheme of debt redemption by the State has been proposed for British India by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar and others. According to Mr. Mehta, the State must take over the ryots' debt and convert sowkar's loans into its own at a moderate rate of interest and sinking fund. 'Any sowkar who can establish a debt due from an agriculturist before a properly constituted authority within a specified period should get bonds for an amount equivalent to his loan. The bonds should have a currency of sixty years and should be issued at 4 per cent interest (plus 1 per cent for amortisation and debt service), and the State should recover this from the peasant as land revenue, so that no separate expense need be incurred for collecting it. While this loan remained unpaid, the peasant should not be permitted to alienate his land in favour of a sowkar.'¹ Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar has also made a similar suggestion, but a more restricted one. He would like the State to take over the debt of at least those ryots, who although incapable of repaying their debt, have holdings ample to maintain them if freed from encumbrance; for, he thinks that unless they are so helped, they will lose their holdings and swell the ranks of landless labourers, who are already so numerous. For obtaining the funds, 'Government may float a loan for the total amount, payable in 50 or 60 years, out of which they could settle the claims of the mahajans and later gradually repay the same out of public revenues.'²

The carrying out of such a comprehensive debt redemption throughout the country is beset with many serious difficulties and is likely to result in some social injustice. Even if money-lenders agree to the compounding of debt on receipt of sixty-year bonds—which is unlikely—it would involve a great burden on the tax-payer, both present and future. Indeed instalments can be recovered from ryots along with land revenue, but with assessments already believed to be pressing heavily on land and with a growing tendency to sub-division of holdings, a regular recovery from the ryots is extremely

¹ From report of a speech in Bombay, 29th October 1933.

² 'The Problem of Agricultural Indebtedness' (1933), p. 26.

unlikely. The result would be a premium on improvidence and a penalty on thrift. The hardworking ryot will have to pay for the folly of his improvident neighbour. As a well-known authority on Agricultural Credit puts it: 'It is contrary to elementary justice to burden the whole of the population with the debts of interested owners. Besides in many instances, an insolvent exploitation would take place; in others, again, the State would be under obligation to effect the redemption and the whole of the country would be burdened with debts contracted with the most inexcusable light-heartedness.'¹ In such a state of things, agricultural credit would contract itself to the great detriment of the whole community.

VII

THE RÔLE OF LAND MORTGAGE BANKS

The proper agency for the settlement of the compounded debt is the co-operative land mortgage bank. Its large resources, its system of equated payments and the guidance and protection it receives from the State will enable it to undertake such a function satisfactorily. The failure of early experiments at debt conciliation in India was due to the lack of such an agency. With such banks willing to undertake repayment, creditors would readily agree to make substantial reductions in their claims.² Indeed the land mortgage banks may not be able to undertake such a duty in the case of all landholders. They can only take up the debt of those who own land, which in extent and quality is ample to produce an annual net income adequate to meet their instalments, but this is not the case with a large number of agriculturists. Indeed if the creditors' demands are substantially cut down, more of the ryots can be brought within the category of those qualified to receive help from the land mortgage banks, but even after pushing up such persons, there would still remain many whose only salvation lies in insolvency. Further, in order to be so useful, the land mortgage banks must agree on equated payments spread over a long period of time, so that the annual instalments may not be found too heavy in periods of low prices. A system of

¹ Boyazoglu, *Agricultural Credit*, (1932), pp. 164-65.
² Banking Committee Report, p. 64.

graduated payments may also be advisable in view of changes in seasons and in price-level. In Europe, loans for 50 years may not be uncommon, but in the conditions of India there are various difficulties in spreading out repayment for so long a period. However a period of 20 to 30 years cannot be too long even for India, provided the security is good.¹

Further, the co-operative primary land mortgage banks cannot serve the needs of the larger landowners and zamindars. At present land mortgage banks do not lend more than Rs. 5,000 to a single person, whatever his security. The necessity has therefore arisen for the establishment of land mortgage corporations on the joint stock basis, which could command extensive funds and are able to help the larger landowners. Dawson's Bank of Burma is to-day the only joint stock bank of that kind in this country, and this is precisely the time when more of such banks should arise. We may learn much from the experiences of the *Credit Foncier* of France, the Hypothek Bank of Japan, and most of all from the English Mortgage Credit Corporation, which was established in 1928. The leading joint stock banks of England are shareholders of the Corporation, and Government, is authorised to advance an amount not exceeding £750,000 for establishing a guarantee fund, and this is to be free of interest for 60 years. As the period of repayment of loans is spread over a maximum of 60 years, this institution can render substantial aid to indebted landowners.

However thorough the work of conciliation boards and however generous the agency entrusted with debt redemption, a large number of landholders will have to give up their lands and look to some other means for maintaining themselves. Indeed there is a strong public opinion for exempting from sale the property indispensably necessary for the maintenance of the insolvent's family. The Civil Procedure makes some provision for it, and both the Royal Commission on Agriculture and the Central Banking Committee strongly recommend an enhancement of this provision. The Royal Commission, while recommending a simple Rural Insolvency Act

¹ The Central Banking Committee recommends that 'for the present the maximum period should be 20 years. We hope that with sound management the banks should be able to extend the period to 30 years, if necessary.' (p. 169).

suggests that 'just as creditors have a right to insist that all debtors' assets should be impounded and applied towards the payment of the debts, so also the debtor should have the clear right to be allowed to earn his living if he can and to be free to make a new start in life.' Indeed if the property so left is sufficient to maintain the family, it may be economically advantageous, but if it is not, as is likely, such leniency would do no real good to the debtor or the community. The best solution for the problem would be to enable such persons to migrate to new land or to industrial centres, and thus not only will they be enabled to start life afresh but the pressure on land can be lessened and the over-crowding in the countryside diminished. For this purpose, a colonisation scheme under State aegis must be carried out, wherever debt conciliation is put through. Such colonisation has been successfully carried out recently in Germany, Italy and Canada, and the burden of the scheme is shared between the State, municipalities, land mortgage banks and voluntary associations. All migration need not be within the country; rather in the present circumstances, it would be worth while sending out colonists to new lands, so that the rural congestion may be diminished.

VIII

PREVENTIVE MEASURES

To extricate agriculturists from indebtedness without guarding against a relapse into debt is a sheer waste of effort. Let all debt be wiped out by a fiat of Government to-day, and tomorrow debt will be born again and will soon grow into its former size—provided those who have money to lend have not been scared away in the meantime by the arbitrary action of Government. It is foolish to think that agricultural indebtedness can be cured by merely extinguishing the existing debt. The only effective means of controlling debt is to fortify the agriculturist against future debt. This cannot be done effectively by keeping a strict watch over moneylenders, nor by lowering rates of interest, but it can be done, to a great extent, by adopting a system of rural credit which is self-liquidating. If, for instance, the bulk of the rural debt is raised for productive purposes and if a careful distinction is

made between long-term and short-term purposes, and if short-term credit is in such amounts as can be repaid at the following harvest and if long-term credits are raised from land mortgage banks or similar institutions which allow equated or even graduated payments of convenient size, then debt can be kept under control and indebtedness can be greatly reduced. The co-operative society was expected to cure debt, but it has proved itself incapable of doing so, greatly because the co-operative society attempted to do mainly the work of lending money. If co-operation is to keep down indebtedness it must be able to fulfil a more comprehensive purpose. It must first and foremost increase the income of the ryot by better tillage and better marketing, and must curb social expenditure, and inculcate thrift. Loans must be given for productive purposes and in such form and manner as to be so used; and when the harvest is gathered, the society itself must take charge of the produce and market it in the most profitable manner and pay interest and taxes. To avoid grain loans from usurers at high rates of interest, the co-operative society must itself conduct a grain bank, on the lines of the grain golas of Chota Nagpur.¹ By such a policy, the ryot is assured of a more stable income; and the society is assured of punctual repayment. Such co-operative experiments have already been made in different parts of the country, and it is time their experiences were garnered, so that a new co-operative policy may be devised for the whole country.

The best way of fortifying the ryot against debt is to increase his income, and cure him of his improvident ways; but in some countries efforts have been made by legislation to insure property against incumbrance and consequent alienation. The system best known in India is that of non-alienability of land, and this obtains in the Punjab, Bandelkhand, the Central Areas and parts of Central Provinces. The Punjab Act of 1901, on which others are modelled, forbids the alienation of land to non-agricultural tribes. Its object was to fortify the agriculturist against alienation, but that has not been secured, seeing that the Act has stimulated the rise of a growing class of agriculturist moneylenders; it is curious to note that moneylenders have newly arisen even among

¹ B. & O. Banking Report, p. 119.

the Gonds of the Central Provinces. As land can pass only to agriculturist classes, agriculturist moneylenders are always willing to advance larger sums on land security than the non-agriculturist moneylenders, and this has only facilitated land transfers from peasants to large landowners. On the other hand, the credit of the ryot has been restricted, and unless such impediments to the free transfer of land are removed, non-agriculturist lenders are bound to demand high rates of interest and land mortgage banks will not be able to operate freely, nor raise their working capital through debentures on reasonable terms. The Indian Banking Committee has therefore recommended that Land Alienation Acts should be modified if land mortgage banking is to develop rapidly.¹

On a different footing are laws made to ensure a minimum holding to agricultural families. As is well-known, in a country which depends so little on non-agricultural occupations, an increase in the number of landless agriculturists is attended with many serious social and economic consequences, and it would certainly be desirable to prevent agricultural families from losing at least such portions of their property as are essential for their shelter and maintenance. Hence the 'Homestead' Law of the U.S.A., the 'Heimstätten' laws of Central Europe and the 'Five-Feddan' law of Egypt. In those countries, such minimum holdings are also protected by law from being subdivided.

There is no doubt that such a policy would be desirable for India also, but there are various difficulties standing in the way of its adoption. As already shown, the *per capita* holding of land among agriculturists is very small and even if we take the cultivating owners and tenants, the average holding is only $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres. Indeed it would be exceedingly difficult to define an 'economic' holding, but except in the wet tracts and where special commercial crops are grown, even a holding of 5 acres may be uneconomic, and therefore if law insists on 'economic' holdings, it would involve the rise of a landless proletariat, which must be a grave social menace in a country where trade and industry are so little developed. Nor is there much land fit for colonization in many provinces. It would also lead to much family strife and litigation and in

¹ Report, pp. 175-76.

this the example of Continental Europe is rather a warning than an encouragement. Inalienability of holdings would restrict credit and lead moneylenders to resort to worse means of exploitation. Above all, it would go against the social system of Hindus and Muhammadans, and only a powerful Government could carry out such radical reforms.¹

However, considering the evils of frequent land-alienations, something must be done to prevent family property from being alienated, and with growing opportunities for trade and industry in the country and with the increase of migrations, the possibilities for making a minimum holding inalienable may grow stronger and it may soon become necessary to carry out legislation in the matter.

Other methods have often been proposed for checking the growth of mortgage indebtedness and for preventing land from passing hands frequently. This subject raised a controversy in Europe 30 years ago, and from it arose the idea of incorporating all landed property in a district and making future borrowing dependent on the common consent of all the land-owners. Schemes were proposed for this purpose by Robertson, Barou Von Vogelsang, Lorenz Von Stein and Schaeffle. The formation of such corporations of landed proprietors may indeed help in lightening debt burdens and for preventing property from passing hands among individuals, but it could not prevent property passing to the Corporation itself. That would result in the conversion of owners into tenants and labourers, and they could never hope to rise to their former status.²

The fundamental weakness of all such measures which discourage alienation of land is that they go against the grain of human nature. The incentive to enterprise to-day comes from the possibility of hardworking small-holders becoming substantial landowners in course of time. What the lazy and improvident landlord loses, the thrifty and hardworking peasant gains, and society does not lose by such changes. Nothing is gained by keeping landed property in a few hands all the time. The law of life is change, and as things are

¹ On these same grounds, attempts at remedying the subdivision and fragmentation of holdings are likely to meet with opposition. See Royal Commission on Agriculture Report, p. 137.

² Boyazoglu, *Agricultural Credit*, pp. 158-62.

to-day, to prevent change may mean stagnation. Indeed too frequent transfers of land may be an evil, especially in a country so greatly depending on agriculture; but while remedying that state of things, we need not go to the opposite extreme of rewarding incompetence and penalising enterprise.

IX

CONCLUSION

It is clear from the foregoing that there is no panacea for the cure of indebtedness. It is a chronic disease in India and is complicated by the interaction of numerous social, economic and religious forces, which cannot be easily controlled. Indeed there are various ways of giving temporary relief, but unless it is accompanied by the establishment of an improved system of rural credit and agricultural economy, it will only mean a Sisyphean task for Government. The new system must be one of controlled credit, one which will provide adequate credit on reasonable terms without demoralizing the recipients, one capable of resisting the temptations to improvident borrowing, and above all one which would increase the repaying capacity of the borrower and inculcate thrift in him.

There is a vicious circle—perhaps there are many vicious circles—involved in the whole problem. Without removing the evil of debt, agricultural improvement on a wide scale is impossible; but without improving agriculture there is little chance of indebtedness being eradicated. Similarly, improvident social expenditure is not merely a cause of indebtedness, but it is also a result of it. In fact, poverty, low standard of living, improvident expenditure, debt and disease—all these react upon one another and they are all inextricably intertwined. This large vicious circle must be broken at various points, and a simultaneous advance in many directions must be attempted. That requires the intimate co-operation of the various agencies that work for the economic, moral, social, intellectual and sanitary amelioration of the country. Above all, in these efforts, an intimate co-operation between the Government and the people is quite necessary. Government alone can do little to curb improvident social expenditure, and to increase agricultural income; and people without the support of Government can do even less in that direction. A

powerful Government enjoying the support of the whole community can effectively root out the social and economic ills of India. Not only Government but all religious organisations must be harnessed for this purpose. The Christian missionary bodies have already shown that under religious inspiration economic amelioration can be effectively carried out, and if other religious organisations also come into line, and take their proper place in the fight against debt and disease, the economic progress of India would be greatly accelerated.

The remedial action suggested in this paper may now be summarized. In all parts of the country where indebtedness is a serious problem—and this is to be decided by local enquiry—a scheme of debt conciliation must be carried out under the immediate supervision of Government. It will be found that a certain number of agriculturists can be redeemed from debt by their giving up part of their land or by land mortgage banks taking over their debt and receiving from them convenient instalments spread over a number of years. In the case of many of those people whose property is not sufficient to redeem their debt even after it has been cut down by the conciliation board, the best solution would be for them to give up their land and migrate either to industrial centres or to new lands awaiting colonization. For this purpose, a migration scheme under Government control must be carried out, with the aid of local bodies and charitable associations. Working hand in hand with this, there must also be a plan of rural development, which would make provision for an improved system of rural credit. To all who have been redeemed from debt and to others who want to avoid debt, the co-operative society and the land mortgage bank must be the principal agencies of credit. All short-term credit must be supplied by the co-operative society, and it must be a charge on the borrower's produce. The society must market the produce, and from the sale proceeds, it must pay its own dues and the instalments of the land mortgage bank, and if possible even the land revenue. Wherever necessary, the society must conduct a grain bank for helping ryots in times of scarcity. Loans for unproductive purposes must be strictly limited and must on no account be larger than the borrower could easily repay at the following harvest. A vigorous educational propaganda on a nation-wide scale must be carried out for eradicating extravagant social expenditure, and in this the village panchayat

may serve as a powerful agency. The co-operative society will not only advance loans but will also work for agricultural improvement, and for this purpose every society must obtain advice from expert guides who may be appointed by District Boards or other local bodies. This may also be a means of regulating agricultural production with an eye to the requirements of Indian industries and export trade.

Thus the scheme of debt redemption must be an integral part of a planned rural development and must include (1) debt conciliation, (2) emigration from congested areas, (3) establishment of co-operative societies in every village, and land mortgage banks in larger territorial units, (4) a system of co-operative marketing, and (5) above all, a concerted move for agricultural improvement. The scheme must be put into operation as a whole, and it may do little good if one part is detached and given effect to. To redeem people from debt without devising means for avoiding future debt will be of no great use. Similarly to talk of agricultural improvement when the agriculturist is loaded with a heavy burden of debt is futile. The preventive as well as the curative treatment must be put through simultaneously.

However, let us not be inactive, because time is not ready for putting into operation a comprehensive scheme. As the Royal Commission on Agriculture wrote, 'the worst policy towards debt is to ignore it and do nothing'. This is particularly true of the present time. There has been an unprecedented rise in the value of money, and this has hit the debtors hard. A large number of agriculturists have been plunged into the slough of despond by the unbearable burden of their debt. Such a situation should be carefully handled. The Macmillan Committee Report says: 'A study of history, we believe, confirms the opinion that it is in the changes in the level of prices, and in the consequential alteration in the position of debtors and creditors, entrepreneurs and workers, peasants and the tax-gatherers that the main secret of social trouble is to be found'. Indeed the situation may not have become menacing in most parts of India, but when money-lenders begin to foreclose, it is possible that widespread social unrest may arise. Political unrest is bad enough, and to aggravate it by social discontent is dangerous. The following words of Lord Morley have a special meaning just now:— 'Great economic and social forces flow with tidal sweep over

communities only half conscious of that which is befalling them. Wise statesmen are those who foresee what time is thus bringing and try to shape institutions and to mould men's thought in accordance with the change that is saliently surrounding them.'

प्रज्ञालनादि पङ्क्तस्य ।

दूरादस्पर्शनि वरम् ॥

APPENDIX A

HAS THE GRAVITY OF INDEBTEDNESS BEEN EXAGGERATED?

It is sometimes pointed out that indebtedness is not so serious an evil in India as often made out to be. The principal grounds for this view seem to be:—(1) Debt is not necessarily a sign of poverty; it increases when production increases, and therefore it may be a sign of progress; (2) the profits of moneylenders are grossly exaggerated.

1. Those who take the first line of argument forget the purpose for which Indian agriculturists raise their loans. To borrow large sums of money for productive purposes is desirable, but such is not the nature of the indebtedness piled up for unproductive or seemingly productive purposes by Indian agriculturists. Had their borrowings been mainly for agricultural purposes, and had they been in such amounts as to be repaid from the results of their production, there would not have been much cause for anxiety. But admittedly, it is not so. Indeed the farmers of England and America borrow large sums of money, but they raise those sums mostly for agricultural purposes. Hence the difference between the credits raised by those and the unproductive borrowings of the Indian peasant.

Nor is there any point in the analogy sometimes drawn between the borrowings by the large industrial corporations and by agriculturists. The total borrowings of industrial firms in England or U.S.A. must be a colossal figure, but no one objects to such debt. Why then, it is asked, take such pains to estimate the total debt of Indian agriculturists? The answer to this question is, first, that the purpose for which debt is raised makes all the difference in the world, and as already shown, there is no analogy between industrial borrowings, however speculative, and the borrowings of the impecunious and improvident peasants of India and China.

Secondly, the loss that industrial ventures incur is generally borne by a large number of shareholders or partners who invest only a part of their money in such undertakings; and therefore even if the firm collapses, the loss to individuals may not be serious. The peasant, on the other hand, puts all his earnings into his one business, and borrows on the security on his land, which is his mainstay. If by incurring debt he loses his land, not only he but his family and dependants will be put to great hardship. An increase of landless men, in the present circumstances, is bound to increase social discontent. Moreover, the peasant is generally an ignorant man and is not generally able to safeguard his interests when he deals with shrewd moneylenders. He does not accurately estimate the financial results of his borrowings and is therefore likely to borrow more than he safely could, and on terms unfavourable to him. Hence the importance attached to agricultural credit in most countries and the careful scrutiny by Government of the terms of agricultural loans and the total accumulated debt from time to time. It should be unnecessary at this time of day to justify such action.

2. As for the contention that the net earnings of moneylenders are not as high as generally believed, it is beside the point. Indeed where moneylending is of a speculative nature—and lending on personal credit to landless agricultural workers must be greatly speculative—it is but natural that some of the transactions should result in loss. Speculation may result in great gains or great losses, and it must be because their gains are greater than the losses that the moneylenders venture on speculative transactions. And an enquiry into the total wealth of some of the moneylending classes will show that they are not the worse off for it. The point to be noted is that the interest charged by moneylenders for loans to agriculturists is too high, and that agriculture as an occupation, is not able to bear such high interest charges. It may be that some of these loans are never repaid, but the question is whether the honest agriculturists—and they are the majority—have to pay these high rates of interest. They have got to, and they do so, often by encroaching on their wages. So long as such high interest payments continue, agriculture in this country cannot prosper. The fault is not entirely the moneylender's: it is the fault of the entire system, and if this state of things is to improve, the risks of agriculture must be reduced, rural credit must be placed on a secure footing and the moneylending classes must be satisfied with a smaller, but surer, return.

THE CULTURE OF THE INDUS VALLEY

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THE AUTHORS OF THE CULTURE

An official account of the results of the Archæological excavations at Mohenjo Daro carried out by the Government of India between the years 1922 and 1927 has been published in three volumes under the able editorship of Sir John Marshall, late Director-General of Archæology in India (Arthur Probsthian, London, 1931). The spade of the archæologist has revealed to us the monuments of the pre-historic Indian civilisation in the region of the Indus Valley in the Chalcolithic stage of culture—a period of transition between the Stone and Metal ages. These monuments and remains have been the subject of interesting studies at the hands of scholars, Indian and European, in respect of chronology as well as the worship and culture, which have been flourishing in the Indus region for centuries and have left behind unmistakable traces in the numerous and varied finds brought to light in the course of a decade. Though there is a large difference of opinion as to the nature and character of these discoveries, and consequently the date to be assigned to the culture, the major point at issue centres round its author. Though in the nature of things it may be proper to discuss the authorship of this civilisation towards the end of this essay, yet for the sake of convenience we shall take up this first for examination, and then examine the worship and culture, and lastly the date.

Various theories on the question of the authors of the Indus civilisation hold the field. In his learned and suggestive book, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, H. R. Hall launched with caution a plausible theory of Sumerian origins in the Indus Valley, years before the recent archæological

discoveries here. He said that the ancient Sumerians bore most resemblance to the Dravidian ethnic type of India, and that they left on the way the seeds of their culture in Elam.' (pp. 173-4, fifth ed. 1929.)²

Another scholar, L. A. Waddell, who has to his credit many interesting studies on the subject of the Sumerian origins, comes to the only possible conclusion according to him, that the Sumerians were Aryans.³ The theory of Prof. G. Elliot Smith connecting the Sumerians with the brunette Mediterraneanans has not found general acceptance with scholars.⁴

Though there are two definite theories about the Sumerians as the Dravidians and as the Aryans, still we shall turn to the Indus Valley and see whether the people of that region in the Chalcolithic period and earlier were those who were immigrants to Sumer. Colonel Sewell and Dr. Guha discuss in Chapter XXX the human remains, which, according to these learned scholars, comprise four ethnic types, viz., Proto-Australoid, Mediterranean, Mongolian and the Alpine. Thus they seem to belong not to one fixed period but to different periods of time. There are on the whole 26 skeletons. Of the third and fourth types there is only one specimen while there are six examples of the Mediterranean race. The different skulls of which twelve are well preserved are put to a searching examination in respect of their measurements and cranial capacity. The authors conclude that the skulls are 'not a homogeneous series'.⁵ This points then to the heterogeneous character of the population in Mohenjo Daro and Harappa. This cosmopolitan character of the

¹ Note.—'The name "Ilam" is applied to the whole mountain massif forming part of the watershed range between the Karākar and Jaosu passes', identified with Hieun Tsang's Mount *Hilo* (pp. 100 and 102 of *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 42.)

² In favour of the Indian origin of the Sumerian culture Professor V. Rangachari invites our attention (1) to the use of cotton which was named 'sindham' or sindhu, (2) Indian beads in Mesopotamia, (3) Pottery, though Codrington believes that India was the borrower in this respect. *Pre-Muslman India*, I, pp. 189-90. See also R. Banerjee, *Modern Review*, 1924, p. 673.

³ See, for instance, his works: *The Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered* (1925), *A Sumer-Aryan Dictionary* (1927), *The Makers of Civilisation* (1929).

⁴ See *The Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 139-44; see also for different theories: *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, April 1929, and October 1932: H. R. Hall: *op. cit.* p. 174 and the foot-notes thereon. Gordon Childe: *The Aryans*, p. 35. Marshall: *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilisation*, Vol. I, pp. 109 ff; *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 43; H. G. Wells: *The Outline of History*, p. 174.

⁵ *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Culture*, Vol. II, Chap. XXX.

Indus people shows a fairly high stage of culture and baffles the students of race and anthropology from fixing any definite chronological limits.

Sir John Marshall, who has given some thought to this question, is of opinion that the Indus people of the Chalcolithic period were pre-Aryan people and therefore of the Dravidian stock.¹ The learned archæologist takes it for granted that, (1) the Aryans were not autochthones² and (2) that the composition of the Rig Veda Samhitā was about 1500 B.C.,³ and proceeds on such assumptions to compare the Indus and Vedic cultures showing thereby that they were unrelated. To give a summary account of his statements:

- (1)⁴ The Vedic Aryans are still villagers largely and they are ignorant of the amenities of city life.
- (2) The use of iron for defensive armour and offensive weapons is unknown to the Indus people.
- (3) The Indus people were fish-eaters and the Vedic Aryans who were meat-eaters did not use fish for diet.
- (4) The horse is unknown to the Indus people but it is used by the Vedic Aryans.
- (5) While the cow forms the object of worship with the Vedic Aryans, the Indus people attach importance and value to the bull.
- (6) The Indus people were iconoclasts but the Vedic religion is aniconic.
- (7) The Indus Cults of the Mother Goddess and Siva are not prominent in the Vedas, which give prominence to the fire-cult.
- (8) The phallic worship which is not recommended by the Vedic texts occupies the attention of the Indus people.

Let us proceed to examine the above categorical statements and see whether the relations between the Indus people

¹ See also R. Chanda, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 41.

² *Contra* A. C. Das: *Rig Vedic Culture* (1925), pp. 48 ff; pp. 173 ff. ³ Prof. Jacobi's estimate of the composition of the Rig Veda on the evidence of astronomical data about 4500 B.C. is modest enough and was acceptable to indologists like Prof. Zimmermann and Dr. Bühler. This nullifies the late Maxmüller's conjectural dating, since much water has flown under the bridge of Indian research.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 110-111.

and the Vedic Aryans were distinctly different as we are made to believe. As regards the non-existence of life in cities in the age of the *Rig Veda*, we can invite the attention of the reader to a significant expression *Pūr* in the *Saṁhitā*. As Pischel and Geldner held, the *Pura*, or *Puram*, incontestably refers to cities and that fortified cities. It cannot be as the authors of the Vedic Index surmise,¹ that every *grāma* or village had a fortification round it. Again, the capture of *grāmas* and their destruction by the Aryan hosts cannot be regarded as a special feat of chivalry or heroism on the part of a conquering monarch. The reference is therefore to fortified towns, and if we are to believe the tradition transmitted in the *Arthasāstra* literature only capital cities and perhaps other important ones were fortified. For in those days fortifications were the only effective source of defence against the invading enemy. But it is true that we have no details furnished as to the amenities of city life. This does not mean that the Rig Vedic Aryans had not yet emerged from the village state but it does mean that their life was simple and plain enough.

The contention of the archæologist that iron had not come into use in the age of the *Rig Veda* can be accepted and as Dr. N. N. Law has remarked 'this is rather a similarity between the Indus Valley and the Rig Vedic civilization and not a point of difference.'² The writer in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, concludes that the term *ayas* meant copper. But the term *Syama Ayas* is interpreted with some justification as black copper and it must be a reference to iron. Be it noted that this term occurs only in the *Yajur Veda* and *Atharva Veda* but unknown to the *Rig Veda*.³ This rare use of iron and the larger use of copper in the Rig Vedic period go to prove that the Indus civilization is perhaps a lineal descendant of the Vedic culture. This means that the Stone Age in N. India was succeeded by Copper Age and Iron Age respectively. On the other hand the Dravidian finds in South India show the Iron Age succeeding the Stone, without the intervening Copper.⁴ From the extravagant use of copper (even

¹ Vol. I, pp. 539 f.

² *I.H.Q.*, VIII, p. 158.

³ P. 56.

⁴ *Ibid.* Cp. Crooke: *Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (1926), p. 287.

weapons of offence like arrows and maces were made of copper) and the little or no use of iron it can be held to be established beyond doubt that the type of civilization represented by Mohenjo Daro cannot be pre-Aryan but only Aryan. If it is pre-Aryan or Dravidian as is alleged we should have abundant use of iron in evidence.

The third argument cannot be taken seriously. Once it is granted that the Vedic Aryans were meat-eaters and not vegetarians, we can include fish as an article of diet. There is certainly a reference to fish being caught. Or it may be that fish-eating was a later introduction in the Chalcolithic period. In any case this is *argumentum ex silentio*.

As regards the horse, its existence cannot be totally denied in Mohenjo Daro. Colonel Sewell and Guha compare the specimens of the horse discovered and conclude: 'It will be seen that there is a considerable degree of similarity between these various examples, and it is probable that the Anau horse, the Mohenjodaro horse and the example of *Equus Caballus* of the Zoological Survey of India, are all of the type of the Indian "countrybred", a small breed of horse, the Anau horse being slightly smaller than the others.'¹ It may be that some day we light upon an express portrayal of this animal on the seals.

The statement that the bull is held to be more sacred than the cow must be modified and it may be contended that both the bull and the cow were venerated. If the bull cult was prominent, it was because the Indus people were worshippers of Śiva whose riding animal was the bull, as is testified to by the earliest Purāṇas. If the bull is sacred to Śiva, the cow its mother evokes veneration as the mother goddess in Mohenjo Daro.² This is in keeping with the statements in the Vedic texts that the cow is *Yami* and *Sahasratami*. The latter is the *Kāmadhenu*, the mother of cattle kingdom. The bull, like the cow, served the sacrificial fee, *Dakṣiṇa* in the Vedic literature. We have again the authority of Prof. Macdonell that Indra in the *Rig Veda* is constantly designated as a bull. In one of the sacrifices of the Vedic ritual a bull represents the god Rudra.³

¹ *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 653-4.

² *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 339.

³ See *Vedic Mythology*, p. 150.

Dr. N. N. Law thinks that the inferred representation of the tiger on the seals is a reference to a hyæna (*śālāvṛka*) of the *Rig Veda*. If it is tiger the Indus Valley civilization is contemporaneous with the *Taittiriya Samhitā* and the *Atharva Veda* where the animal figures. In this respect again the Indus culture must be a successor to the Rig Vedic culture. It is again proved from the terms *vārana* and *hastin* that elephant was known to the Rig Vedic Aryans.¹

It is true to a great extent that the Vedic religion was an-iconic. The worship of icons followed the Vedic culture and in this respect the Indus culture can be said logically to follow the Vedic religion. The worship of the Gods of the Vedic pantheon gradually resulted in the evolution of cults, and a definite system of image worship came into being with the ushering in of the Vedic period. For example an image of Indra is mentioned.² Interrelated with the above are the arguments 7 and 8. Śiva came to be identified with the Vedic Rudra, and the consort of Śiva was Śakti, the Mother Goddess. In an age of the worship of icons the phallic worship came in the wake of the worship of Śiva who seems to have been the favoured deity of the Indus people. More of this later on.

If we once again traverse the foregoing few paragraphs we come to the conclusion that the monuments and remains of the Indus culture reveal an advanced state of civilisation when compared with the simple Vedic civilisation. Perhaps the age of the *Rigveda Samhitā* was over and the Chalcolithic culture was on a par with the age of the *Yajur Veda* and *Atharva Veda*. If these facts may be held to be established we can conclude that the Vedic culture in its earlier form preceded the Indus culture. This leads us on to postulate the theory that the Indus people of the Chalcolithic period were Vedic Aryans, as several scholars hold.³ But if it is the other way about as others maintain, how are we to explain the fact that city life became extinct and was substituted by the village life, and that the worship of image gave place to the worship of the elephants. In the progressive state of human history it

¹ *I.H.Q.*, VIII, pp. 160-61.

² *C.H.I.*, pp. 97, 106.

³ See also N. B. Pavgee: *The Aryavartia Home and its Arctic Colonies*; A. C. Das: *Rig Vedic India* (2nd ed.), pp. 379ff.; Sir W. Raleigh: *History of the World*; Har Bilas Sarda: *Hindu Superiority*.

will be illogical that the most edifying aspects of a glorious civilisation completely disappear, and their place is taken by the more simple rudiments of Vedic civilisation as the scholars seem to believe.

The next question then centres round the facts whether these Indus people went to Sumer, Babylonia, and other parts of the Ancient world and settled then and there. Or whether there was a sweep of immigrants from these places to the Indus region. There is a consensus of opinion among the archæologists who are authorities on the Ancient History of the Near East that the first alternative is the more probable, in the light of the comparison of the finds discovered in Elam, Mongolia, Sumer, Babylonia and Egypt. The wonderful agreement in respect of pottery, seals, writing, human remains, worship of figurines and animals must lead one to the conclusion, which H. R. Hall threw out as a mere suggestion with keen forethought and caution, that one must look for the origins in the Indus Valley of the Indian continent.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION OF THE INDUS PEOPLE

What most strikes a student of philosophy and religion in this region in the period under survey are 'two marble statuettes with head, neck and body quite erect, and half-shut eyes fixed on the tip of the nose' exactly in the posture of one engaged in practising *yoga*.¹ Other interesting finds which throw new light on the religion of that ancient epoch are figures and figurines of Śiva, Mother Goddess, ring stones in the form of *linga*, worship of trees, animals, water and a number of votive offerings. Archæologists and scholars who have examined these finds have come to the conclusion that these betray influences and ideals of pre-Vedic culture, and that the institution of *yoga* as well as *śaivism* are non-Vedic, and hence prior to the epoch of the Vedas or the Hindu Revealed Texts. The points raised are controversial in nature and the theories are framed as mere guesswork. Let me re-examine this position and see whether such theories are tenable and plausible.

¹ See R. Chanda: *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India*, 41, Part I.

To observe that the institution of *yoga* is non-Vedic is to say the least, unconvincing. According to the orthodox theories of the origin of the man and the world, the first man who is hence styled as Manu was created by the Lord, and from him sprang up other men, sages, and seers, the progenitors of men, beasts, birds, worms, and even the vegetable kingdom. These early 'men' saw around them waters and plants, and other elements. They began to study their own bodies and found them composed of *pañcabhūta*s or five elements, the ether, water, air, fire and earth. They engaged themselves in a comprehensive study of these elements in relation to their bodies and tried to find out the means to get rid of the body and attain oneness with the Supreme Being. This resulted in the six limbs of the *yoga* system: *mūlādānam*, *svātiṣṭhānam*, *mañipūraṇam*, *anāhatam*, *viśuddhi* and *ājñai*. This means that when the ancient seers put these to rigid test they found that without *ājñai* or the last limb which was the symbol of *śakti* the first five could not function and hence evolved the cult of *Śivaśakti*. This *Śiva* or *Sadāśiva*, as we could understand today by the term, was the Supreme *Puruṣa* who possessed five faces representing *Sṛṣṭi* (Creation), *Stithi* (Existence), *Samhāram* (Destruction), *Tirodānam* (Disappearance) and *Anugraham* (Sympathetic Grace). Yet something was found lacking to supplement this *Puruṣa* by giving Him effective power to function in the proper way. This was supplied by the Power God or to be more exact the goddess, *Śakti*, the Mother Goddess of Mohenjodaro. For has it not been beautifully said by Sri Śaṅkarācārya in his immortal work *Soundarya Lahari*—

'Śiva śaktyā yuktah atibhavati śakataḥ,'

meaning that *Śiva* becomes really *śakta*, the powerful, when He is with *Śakti*, the Mother of Goddess. In this way *Śivaśakti* was realised by the early sages, the *Yatis* of the *Rig Veda Samhitā*, in order to realise the *yoga*¹ and free themselves from the trammels of this world. In the *Rig Veda* VIII, 3, 9 we hear Indra, the Lord of Heaven extending succour to these *yatis* among whom figure the sages who go by the name of *Bṛghus*. These latter praise Indra in their turn. In fact these

are those who have realised the Yogic perception and hence equal to the Gods. For in the same *Samhitā*, x, 72, 7, are not these *Yatis* deified?

But this state of things can be applicable only to a limited few. In course of time men grew in numbers and society became enlarged and a settled order of things came into being. This stage of religious culture is represented by the *Taittirīya Samhitā* and the later Vedic literature. For the orderly progress of the world (the *yogakṣema* of the *Arthasāstra* literature) the *yati* life did not and would not suit. They wanted a system of elaborate forms of worship by means of rituals, ceremonies, and sacrifices. In other words the ancient people began to worship personal beings instead of the Impersonal realised in their *yoga* form. This is the scientific interpretation of the two *panthas* or ways of the *Upaniṣads*, the way of *Vidyā* (*devalokam*) and the way of *Karmā* (*pitṛloka*m).² The followers of the way of *Vidyā* are the *Yatis* of the *Rig Veda* and of Mohenjodaro who died hard in spite of the vigorous advocacy of sacrificial rites in the *Yajur Veda Samhitā*. The legend in this *Samhitā*, and the later works to the effect that the *Yatis* became the foes of Indra who had them punished by their being given away to the hyænas (*śālāvṛkas*)³ is only a reference, as the commentators show to the *yatis* fallen from their *svadharma* and not of the *yati* class in general as Mr. R. Chanda seems to explain.³ The implication is that Indra, as the Lord of Heaven, punished such refractory sages perhaps to strike terror in the minds of others to conduct themselves clean and pure in body and mind. The fact of the matter is that men who took to a life of renunciation and complete self-control, though they formed a minority, continued the old modes of worship by the contemplation and meditation of the Supreme Impersonal God and lived in forests or the outskirts of the cities and villages. Those who lived in the latter places took to the worship of personal gods whom they conceived to live in animals, trees, and other elements like water. These were propitiated by offerings, as is largely evident in the monuments of Mohenjodaro as we shall see below.

¹ *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* VI, 2, 15 and 16. Ed. by Basu (1916).

² II, 4, 9; VI, 2, 7; Alt. Br. VII, 28; *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 1, 4.

³ See in this connection J. W. Hays: *Dar Vratya* (1927).

This is the stage of culture portrayed in the Indus region of the Chalcolithic and even early period. Commenting on the statues in an attitude of *yoga*, Sir John Marshall observes: 'That it possessed a religious or quasi-religious character is suggested by the distinctive trefoil patterning of its robe—a motif which in Sumer is reserved for objects of a sacred nature. . . Siva is not only prince of Yogis: he is also lord of the beasts (Paśupati); and it is seemingly in reference to this aspect of his nature that the four animals—the elephant, tiger, rhinoceros, and buffalo—are grouped about him. . . Rudra, the Vedic God, whose cult was amalgamated and identified with that of Siva, also bore the title of Paśupati. . . An instructive parallel to this aspect of the duty is furnished by the nameless God and Goddess of Minoan Crete, who are frequently figured on the monuments in company with lions or leopards and have come to be known as the master and mistress of animals. The Anatolian Cybele, too, who is analogous to the great Mother Mahādēvi—the consort of Siva—was similarly supported by lions.'¹ We recognise in the horns crowning his head, the *īrisūla* or trident. From these we are led to conjecture that the original form of the *yoga* was simple, the *pāśupata* form which consists of a rigid practice of *prāṇāyāma* as is elaborately described in the *Vāyumahāpurāṇa* discussed elsewhere.² Suffice to say here that the description of the posture as furnished by the Purāṇa is exactly the same as we find in the marble statues of Mohenjodaro.

Apparently from the *Pāśupata* form of *Yoga*, Siva came to be known as Paśupati. The Paśupati-siva is the direct outcome of this transition from the epoch of the *Yoga* to that of the sacrificial deity, Rudra. It is remarked however that the absence of the bull (*nandi*) in the seal shows that it is pre-Aryan Siva. It may be that in a particular seal or seals, the bull may not be found. But we cannot explain it away easily or conclusively for the matter of that, since the cult of the bull is so distinct and so elaborate. We are led to conjecture that if the bull-cult attained so much importance in that age, it was due to the fact that it came to be recognised even

¹ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 54.

² See Author's *Aspects of the Vāyu Purāṇa*, 'Madrass University Journal,' 1932.

then the riding animal of Siva. Otherwise there is no meaning in the widespread cult of the bull. Added to this fact is the *linga* cult, 'the mystic phallic symbol of creation'. There has been a war of words whether phallism is represented in the Vedic texts. From the term *Sisna Devas* occurring in the *Rig Veda Samhitā*¹ it is inferred that the worship of the phallus was known to that earliest work now extant.² The term *sishnadevas* is interpreted as *abrahmacaris* and one has to look for their identification with the fallen *yatis*, the foes of Indra whom we referred to above.³ Thus the fireless cult of *yoga* gave place to the fire cult of the *Yajña*. It must be remembered in this connection that *Yoga* is also a *Karmā* and is called *Mānasi-Kriyā*. In the same strain the *Bhagavad Gītā* speaks

'*Yogak-Karmasu Kausalam.*'

As *yoga* forms a part of *Karmā*, there can be no conflict between the followers of *Yoga* school and *Karmā* school, and therefore Indra, the deity of *Karma*, cannot be inimical to *Yatis*, who practised *Yoga* which is alleged a part of that *Karmā*.

The other phallic emblem, the *Yoni*, specimens of which are reproduced in the valuable volumes edited by Sir John Marshall is a clear indication of the cult of the Mother Goddess which Indian religious literature would style *Saktism*. We do not jump to the conclusion that the cult of *saktism* as understood by the later *Āgamas* was already prevailing in the Chalcolithic period. But the seeds of the cult were sown there in a rather philosophical spirit. The six limbs of the *Yoga* referred to above are, according to the *Yogasāstra*, the six eccentric circles or *cakras*, the presiding deity of which is *sakti* or the Mother Goddess. Though in fact the *Yoga* literature came to identify every limb of the *Yoga* with *sakti*, the original form of it, the real driving force was supplied by the last, the *ājñai*, which is supposed to have its locus standi in the forehead of the human beings. These Mother Goddesses who are styled in the later Purāṇa literature as *lokamātas* represented as the *Prakṛti* which in union with *Puruṣa* served the creative principles of life. Among these

¹ VII, 29, 5; X, 99, 3—see also *Nirukta*, IV, 19.

² See A. C. Das, *op. cit.*, pp. 164ff.

³ For a contrary view see P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar's *The Stone Age in India*, p. 49, 'Madrass University,' 1926.

mātās figures the cow, the *Surabhi* or the *Kāmadhenu*, and the worship of the cow can be traced to the period so early as the Chalcolithic age, if not earlier. The idea of the Mother Goddess, as has been ably pointed out by the archæologist, gained acceptance throughout the ancient civilised world, and must therefore be traced to a common origin and common culture which once swayed the minds and activities of the ancient peoples.¹ A practical instance of this aspect is the *Bos Indicus* (*Brāhmaṇi* or humped bull) which is the peculiar variety of India, which appears in the early sculptures of Susa, Mesopotamia, Africa, and other places. To the Hindu mind the cult of the bull could not be sufficiently separated from the cult of the cow.

The next topic for consideration is whether iconic images were objects of worship. The phallic emblems and baetylic stones which were largely discovered in the Indus region are the evidence of their worship. It is natural to suppose that these were housed in special temples built for the purpose. From the excavations made the archæologists have not decided conclusively whether the remains represent temples or building sites of houses and palaces.² The elaborate forms of worship as warranted by the finds presuppose the existence of a shrine. This is further corroborated by the pillared halls, the votive offerings,³ the symbol of *svastika* the design of which is found on seals,⁴ the figures and figurines on the engravings with the standards, last but not the least, the two vessels identified with a lamp and an incense burner.⁵

While still at this topic let me refer to some other cults which were in evidence at Mohenjodaro. These are the worship of trees, of animals, and of water. Says Sir John Marshall: 'That the animistic conceptions which have distinguished the worship of trees throughout the historic period were common also to the Chalcolithic age is clear from several seals and sealings.'⁶ There was of course the tree of universal worship, the pipal tree (*ficus religiosa*), which the

¹ For the worship of Mother Goddess in her diverse manifestations in North India of modern times see Crooke: *Natives of Northern India* (1907), pp. 234 ff.

² *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 22.

³ *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 397.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 374.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 69.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

Veda describes as embodying the fire god Agni and which the philosophic *Bhagavad Gītā* describes as the 'tree of wisdom and life'.

Ūrdhvamūlamadhassākam aśvattham prāhuravyayam/
Chandāmsi yasya parṇāṇi yastamvedasa vedavit//

This conception, it may be remarked in passing, can be taken back to early Mesopotamia and Babylonia.¹ But the divine tree was *Kalpavṛkṣa*, the tree of Heaven whose representatives in the Earth are the cocoanut trees among others. It is a practice even today to see these trees first on rising in the morning and the cow with calf representing *Kāmadhenu*. Another remnant of this cult is the marriage of trees, generally a branch of the mango entwined with that of margosa. This is widely practised especially in South India by persons who are desirous of sons by legitimate wedlock. It may be, as Crooke surmises,² the intention is to bring the bride and bridegroom into close association with the productive powers of nature. The archæological evidence points to the personification of tree spirits, and trees as objects of worship. It is surmised again that the trees planted in the enclosure of the different buildings were provided with guards, a practice well-known to ancient Egypt.³ We are here reminded of the *Kāvalmaram* (guardian-trees) referred to in the Sangam literature of the Tamils. Every chieftain of the ancient Tamil land had his favourite guardian tree which was the symbol of his sovereignty. To fell that tree amounted to subduing its possessor.⁴ Again among the curiosities of ancient Tamil warfare, a number of plants and their flowers distinguished the eight kinds of operations. These are the *vetci* (*Ixora coccinia*), *Karandai* (*Verxonia arborea*), *Vañji Kāñji* (*Ulmus integrifolia*), *Nocci* (*Viten nirgundi*), *Uḷṇai* (*Ocrua lantar*), *Tumbai* (*Phlornis indica*), and *Vāhai* (*Mimosa flectuosa*).⁵ These are mentioned to show how the trees and plants were used in ancient times to sacred, social and warfare purposes. And is it not natural then that these trees became cult objects?

¹ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 64.

² *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, pp. 416-17.

³ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 165.

⁴ See Author's *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, p. 245.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 240-42.

Next with regard to animal worship. On p. 399 of Vol. II of *Mohenjodaro and Indus Civilisation* is furnished a list of the animals found on the tablets conclusively deciphered.

Examples	
Elephant	6
Antelope	5
Hare	5
Rhinoceros	4
Buffalo (?)	4
Short-horned bull	4
Human figure	3
Goat	2
Brāhmani Bull	2
Tiger	2
Two-headed animal	2
Composite animal	1
Monkey (?)	1

Of this list the composite animal 'has the hind quarters of a rhinoceros and the forequarters of a leopard or tiger.' Otherwise the list favourably compares itself to the animal symbolism attributed to Asoka and the Buddhist conception. It may be asked that the lion is conspicuous by its absence. But there is a representation of lions on the small sealing figured in Pl. XII, 12, where two lions appear as 'Genii'.¹ Though the figures are illegible, there is no doubt that they are lions, especially, in view of the fact that the cult of the Mother Goddess whose riding animal is lion, is widely prevalent. It may be noticed in passing that to build a theory of Asoka's religion on animal symbolism cannot stand.²

To turn from this parenthetical remark, one of the human figures (Pl. CXVII, 16) dressed in a costume of leaves looks very much like a hunter with his bow and arrow, just close to his quarry.³ But the interesting point here is that this hunter has horns on his head, which have been identified with the trident of Śiva. I therefore propose to identify this divine hunter with Lord Śiva. Is this not appropriate to the legend of the later tradition in the *Mahābhārata* and Bhāravi's

¹ See *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 2, note 1, pp. 52 and 70.

² See *J.O.R.*, 1930, pp. 267ff.

³ *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 399.

Kirātārjunīya where Śiva in the form of a Kirāta¹ aids Arjuna in slaying the demon Mūka in boar-form and afterwards wrestles with Arjuna himself to test his prowess and finally awards him magic weapons which Arjuna desired to have by performing austere penance? Added to this is the fact, represented by a seal, of a therianthropic deity pursuing a tiger.² This perhaps illustrates the legend of Śiva killing the monster in the shape of a tiger and again of an elephant. Hence Śiva came to be clad in the skin of the tiger and the elephant. The legends connected with Śiva as the Divine Hunter are, it is reasonable to assume, known to the Indus people, and therefore we have to conclude that the origin of Śaivism is clouded in deep mystery and is to be traced far back into the hoary past. These suggest the antiquity of tradition and folklore in India which were reduced to writing millenniums after, in the Purāṇa literature.

From an examination of the elaborate bathing arrangements in Mohenjodaro both in public places and in private houses the archaeologists think that worship of water might have been considered as sanctimonious.³ The Veda proclaims *Āpo vai devāh*, meaning that waters were regarded as celestials. If Sir John Marshall thinks that in Mohenjodaro there was the deification of waters, it was again a Vedic conception. There is at least no warrant to show that reverence was paid to waters and that the river or pool was regarded a personal deity, by the pre-Aryan people.

After examining the striking resemblances between certain figures in the Indus valley and those of Sumer and Western Asia, Sir John Marshall observes: 'Either the Indus Valley type must have been borrowed from the Mesopotamian or the Mesopotamian from the Indian, and seeing how intimately the Gilgamesh-Eabani legend is bound with Sumer, it is reasonable to conclude that the borrowing was done by India.'⁴ On the very evidence adduced we agree with the distinguished archaeologists, H. R. Hall and L. A. Waddell, that it

¹ The *Kirātas* are one among the anuloma castes of Manu (X, 44). They are apparently people of ancient Crete, whose civilisation is so similar to that of the early Hindu civilisation. Dr. S. K. Chatterjee (*Modern Review*, December, 1924), would trace even words Dravidian and Tamil to the Cretan. It may be that these Cretans claimed the hunter Śiva as their deity.

² *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 67.

³ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 75-76.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 76.

was the other way round, viz., Sumer, Mesopotamia, and even Egypt borrowed from the Indus region. Reverence to Siva, Sakti, and the practice of *Yoga* are all distinctly and prominently Indian in character. Most of them were adapted by the legends of Elam, Sumer and other ancient countries. To cite an instance, female statuettes like the figurines representing the Mother Goddess have been discovered in several places in Western Asia extending as far as the Nile. Some other resemblances are the sacred Tree of Life in Babylonia and the Sumerian God Enkidu.

Now remains a study of the funerary religion of the Indus people. Of this we know but little.¹ The evidence available at Mohenjodaro is meagre and that at Harappa is fairly abundant. But the latter is definitely later. The available evidence is discussed under the three heads: Complete burials, Fractional burials, and post-Cremation Burials. Twenty-one skeletons of the first category are found at Mohenjodaro and are said to point to the declining stage of Mohenjodaro culture. But at Harappa there are examples of orthodox burial. Of the type of fractional burials in which the body had been exposed to the beasts and birds there is evidence in Mohenjodaro and Harappa. At both these places a class of large wide-mouthed urns has been brought to light, along with a number of vessels and objects intended for the use of the departed in their after-life. It is concluded that cremation was probably the usual method in the disposal of the dead in the Indus period. It may be noted that there is a resemblance between these and those in Baluchistan as revealed by the discoveries at Nāl and Shahitump.

SOME FEATURES OF THE CULTURE

By far the most interesting study is the study of the general level of the culture of the Indus people. One cannot deal it in any way elaborately in a paper like this. Let me therefore rest content by only mentioning the chief features of that culture which is indelibly marked in the finds and ruins excavated. Here one sees the glorious contribution made by the results of archæological excavations in the reconstruction of the story of human development. For the authority of the classical historians and even inscriptions is still a thing of

¹ This para follows Chapter VI, *Disposal of the Dead*, op. cit., Vol. I.

the future. Before the excavations were made, it was thought that the Vedic period was the earliest period of civilised culture, and this period could go beyond the 2nd millennium at the most. But now the wonderful culture where Ancient India has revealed her past glory has made the scholars pause and think whether the Vedic period would have to be pushed back by a few millenniums or whether this Indus culture is pre-Vedic. The conclusions of those who uphold the latter theory cannot be made however to square with the facts. Some of these have been put to scrutiny in the foregoing pages. What the others are let me mention in passing.

The archæologists brought to light the fact that there were massive buildings terraced and with stairways leading to upper storeys.¹ There was a system, a plan and a method in the laying of these buildings.² The material was largely of burnt brick. Wells, bathrooms, and scientific drainage are in evidence. That the Municipal authorities looked to the health of the city is seen from the systems of drainage, the Great Bath in public streets, the dustbins both public and private. Trees and plants were allowed to grow in the enclosures.

There was an extensive intercourse between this region and Elam, Mesopotamia and Africa. Agriculture was the chief industry; it was the mainstay of the people. A large number of saddle-queens bear the test and they are made of basalt. Wheat was the principal article of foodstuff. There were flint implements with long flakes and cores. Though most of them were used for warfare, some were put to agricultural purposes. Stone drill resembling that in Egypt, mace-heads of different stones and types were used as weapons. The lentoid type of this discussed in the late levels of Mohenjodaro has been found in Elam and Egypt. There are again a large number of weights of which as many as seven types are distinguished. Some of these coincide with those used in Egypt and Mesopotamia. A. S. Hemmy compares these weights with the Babylonian and other systems and concludes that the Indian system was based on the rice grain.³

¹ According to the latest *Annual Report* (1928-29) a double staircase was found in a large and important building. (See p. 71).

² Perhaps there were no windows. Simple ventilation holes just beneath the ceilings of the rooms answering to the description in the Tamil classics served their purpose. (*Ibid.*, p. 69).

³ *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 594ff.

These demonstrate the fact that it was a period of flourishing trade and commerce.

Among the weapons of offence and defence are seen blade axes, spear and lance heads, arrow heads, knives and daggers, and the bow.

The personal ornaments consisted of finger rings, ear-rings, bracelets, necklaces, and nose studs, hair pins, beads and others which serve as connecting link between Sumer and Indus Valley.¹ Among the precious stones figure chiefly lapis-lazuli, agate, chalcedony, jasper, Amazon stone, heliotrope, plaspina, which are used in beads and other ornaments. Some of the ornaments were of copper and bronze. Shell bracelets were common. The large use of gold and silver for jewellery and vessels is also in evidence.² Combs, buttons and pendants were in use.

Closely connected with these is the potter's art, the antiquity of which is in evidence in Sind. It is difficult to accept the theory of Dr. Hall that Elam was the first home of the cart wheel and the Potter's hand wheel. For no chariot has been so far discovered there. The complicated chariot wheel must be attributed to the genius of the early potter.³ Coming to the actual ware excavated, we have both the plain ware and the painted ware, the material used was sand or lime mixed with clay. Vases with flat bases, jars with slips with a thick colour coating on the outside, pans with incised work, offering stands or censers, jars with pedestal bases, narrow-based bowl, goblets, basins, dishes and cups are some of the numerous and miscellaneous types.⁴ The painting was either black or red. Other colours like the green were also used. So also the use of brush. Animal designs of pottery, plant designs, hide motif, sun motif, different types of borders, and other patterns are also of much interest to the antiquarian and most of them bear marked resemblance to Baluchistan and Elam pottery works. In Mesopotamia it is said that the painted pottery died out at the commencement of the Sargonic period. The Sumerians used it in the early age of their history while there is a continuity of that art to

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 505ff.

² See *op. cit.*, Ch. XXVI.

³ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 288.

⁴ See whole of Chap. XVII, *op. cit.*, Vol. I.

the present day in India. This shows that the Sumerians took with them the Indian potter's art from Sind and gave it up because the locale of the country in which they settled did not perhaps suit the continuity of that art.¹

There are a number of other aspects of this early culture equally interesting and affording rich and reliable material for the antiquarian. Let me confine only to one more aspect of this, viz., the script on the seals which again bear a close resemblance to those of Elam and Sumer. The seals contain impressions. Five are found on jars and thirty on tablets.² The same seals and sealings were found in Mesopotamia. The signs in early scripts are invariably pictographs and the signs of Mohenjodaro are no exception to this rule. 'The impression produced by the seal, not the seal itself, gives the true order of the inscription.' From a published impression by Father Scheil in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XXII, it has been shown that 'these marks were affixed to clay labels upon bales of goods, in precisely the same way as the Babylonian seals were rolled over the clay "dockets" or the Egyptian seals impressed upon the clay stoppers of wine jars'. That such a script for a similar purpose was in use in Tamil India is borne out by the *Silappadikāram*, a *Sangam* classic. The term *Kaṇṇeluttu* which occurs twice in this book³ refers to pictograph writing of labels affixed to bales of goods. This shows that a similar practice, a remnant of the old script was known in the early centuries of the Christian era. Apparently it was due to the large volume of trade between South India and the Middle East and Africa centuries before the Christian era. It also suggests active intercourse with the Indus Valley. Be this as it may, one finds an analogy between this script and the Minoan. As regards the nature of the script, it is not an alphabet. But what it is exactly and what are the contents of the inscription, we cannot positively say anything in the present state of our knowledge. Probably the inscriptions denote names and titles. From the seals discovered at Susa and Kish and at Ur, it is inferred that the script was used in the third millennium B.C. The interesting chapter (XXII)

¹ Vol. I, pp. 318ff.

² See *op. cit.*, p. 393ff.

³ V, 112 and XXVI, 136—See also M. Rāghava Aiyangar's '*Ceran Senguttuvan*', p. 129f.

which furnishes the above information is concluded thus: 'An open mind may equally find very close and remarkable similarities between some of these signs and the marks (*Wasm*) of Arab and African tribes: Such signs have also been found at Selima in the Libyan desert. Some will certainly hold that the resemblances are accidental. They may equally be due to a traditional use of certain trading marks which has lasted until comparatively recent period.'

Prof. S. Langdon of Oxford has a noteworthy contribution on this subject.¹ He is of opinion—and perhaps he is correct—that the Indus script furnishes the original of Brāhmi script, the early Indian alphabets and the character of inscriptions of Asoka. According to him the Indus signs 'resemble the Egyptian hieroglyphs far more than they do the Sumerian linear and cuneiform system.' In a postscript to this chapter he furnishes similar or identical signs between this script and the Sumerian. He concludes his brilliant essay thus: 'In any way we may look at the problem, the Aryans in India are far more ancient than history admits. Their migration across Anatolia, where traces of them are found in the inscriptions of the Hittite capital, as early as the seventeenth century, is an hypothesis entirely contradictory to the new situation revealed by these discoveries in the Indus Valley. Far more likely is it that the Aryans in India are the oldest representatives of the Indo-Germanic race.'² In this connection K. P. Jayaswal draws our attention to an important record, the Vikram-Khole inscription as a link between Mohenjodaro and Brāhmi scripts. He is of opinion that from Brāhmi the Phœnicians and European scripts are derived.³

DATE OF THE CULTURE

Though a large number of evidence point to the antiquity, much earlier than the archæologists who have examined the finds closely, would assign, we propose to deal with only two pieces of evidence and leave the reader to judge for himself. One is the large number of the finds of the Indus seals in Mesopotamia and Elam. This incontestable epigraphical

¹ *Op. cit.*, see Ch. XXIII, which I have followed.

² *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 432.

³ See *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1920, and the *Indian Ant.* (1933), pp. 58 f.

Cf. Pran Nath, *The Script of the Indus Valley Seals—J.H.Q.* (1932) Supplement.

material is found even in the lower strata and of it as many as seven have been clearly deciphered. Though it would be difficult to assign these seals to any definite chronological limit by a study of them alone, yet the ancient history of Mesopotamia and Elam comes to our aid. The Indus seals brought to light in these countries are decisively pre-Sargonic.¹ Dr. Hall,² following Mr. L. W. King, assigns 2700 B.C. on archæological grounds for Sargon and Narām-sin. (These seem to be rather Indian names and sound like Sāgaram and Narasimhan.) Again the three Indus seals discovered at Lagash and Umma point to a similar antiquity. For Lagash and Umma disappear from history before 2000 B.C. at the latest. A comparative study of these seals found at Mesopotamia and Elam decisively proves that they were known to a period earlier than 2700 B.C. The other inference is, as Prof. Langdon observes, that the civilisation of the Indus Valley is as old as that of Sumer and Egypt.³ In other words, the Indus civilisation is contemporaneous with, if not earlier than, the Age of the Pyramid-builders of Egypt, the beginnings of which may be attributed to C. 3200 B.C.⁴

The excavations of the buildings and building sites 'have disclosed not less than seven strata of remains.' Of these seven 'the three latest are distinguished from their predecessors by increasing signs of decadence in the size and construction of the buildings, and that, in some areas, though not in all, there is also a well defined break between the remains of the third and fourth strata from the top, as if the city had been reduced to ruin at that time and remained in that condition for an appreciable period before being re-built.'⁵ Though there is evidence of more strata than the seventh, yet it is not possible to excavate such lower levels owing to the difficulty of the rise of subsoil water.

Sir John Marshall enters into a critical examination of these seven layers of buildings in an informing chapter (VIII).

¹ *Cf.* in this connection plate XXVIII (a) in the *Annual Report 1928-29 of the Archaeological Survey of India*,—an impression of a cylinder seal being the representation of the crocodile with the fish in its mouth, discovered in the upper strata of Mohenjodaro and resembling in form pre-Sargonic seal of Mesopotamia. (Pp. 73-74.)

² See *Ancient History of the Near East*, pp. 28-29.

³ *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 426.

⁴ See Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 9 & 10.

These seven are distributed as three of the Late period, three of the Intermediate and one of the Early. If the analogy of sites excavated elsewhere, such as Troy, Athens and Rome can be applied to the Indus Valley sites, then we have to allow at least a period of thousand years between the one layer and the other. This means that Mohenjodaro civilisation must take us to a date earlier than 5000 B.C. But Sir John Marshall contends that while normal conditions prevailed in other lands, it was not so in the Indus Valley. First, the city was in perpetual danger of inundation. Secondly was the uniform character of the antiquities. In these circumstances the archaeologist allows the minimum space of 500 years and adds, that in view of the full-fledged character of the culture even at the outset, 'we are bound therefore to postulate for it a long period of antecedent evolution'.¹ But what could be this long period of antecedent evolution we could not even conjecture at the present state of our knowledge. In the light of the above reasoning Sir John suggests that 'the occupation of Mohenjo Daro fell approximately between 3250 and 2750 B.C. But this date is by no means decisive or conclusive. For, it is calculated only at half of what in normal conditions would have been assigned. Though climatic conditions may vary, yet the computation worked at is a very moderate approximation, and one would like to fix it as 750 years if there is any compromise in historical investigations.

We shall conclude this essay by quoting once again the veteran archaeologist: 'One thing that stands out clear and unmistakable both at Mohenjodaro and Harappa, is that the civilisation hitherto revealed at these two places is not an incipient civilisation, but one already age old and stereotyped on Indian soil, with many millennia of human endeavour behind it. Thus India must henceforth be recognised, along with Persia, Mesopotamia, and Egypt as one of the most important areas where the civilising processes of society were imitated and developed.'²

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 102-3.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 104.

³ Preface, p. viii.

A STATISTICAL STUDY OF THE PRICES OF FOODGRAINS IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY FROM 1874 TO 1930

Part I

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Continued from page 238, Vol. V, No. 2, July 1933.)

Index numbers of prices of foodgrains on the EAST COAST (Central)
BASE: Average price for the 10 years 1874-75 upto 1883-84 = 100

Year.	Rice 2nd sort		Cholam		Cumbu		Ragi	
	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.
1874-75	2'44	77'8	1'63	77'2	1'50	78'2	1'40	73'3
1875-76	2'66	84'8	1'74	82'4	1'73	90'2	1'61	84'3
1876-77	4'21	134'2	3'34	158'1	2'97	154'8	3'04	159'2
1877-78	4'97	158'4	4'30	203'6	3'64	189'7	3'90	204'2
1878-79	3'86	123'0	2'61	123'6	2'33	121'4	2'33	122'0
1879-80	3'01	95'9	2'07	98'0	1'84	95'9	1'77	92'7
1880-81	2'55	81'3	1'56	73'9	1'50	78'2	1'40	73'3
1881-82	2'40	76'5	1'31	62'0	1'12	58'4	1'24	64'9
1882-83	2'93	93'4	1'30	61'6	1'25	59'9	1'21	63'4
1883-84	2'35	74'9	1'26	59'7	1'31	68'3	1'20	62'8
1884-85	2'75	87'6	1'66	78'6	1'67	87'0	1'44	75'4
1885-86	2'76	88'0	1'76	83'3	1'67	87'0	1'46	76'4
1886-87	2'44	77'8	1'47	69'6	1'48	77'1	1'34	70'2
1887-88	2'42	77'1	1'46	69'6	1'47	76'6	1'28	67'0
1888-89	2'59	82'5	1'63	77'2	1'62	84'4	1'35	70'7

Year	Rice 2nd sort		Cholam		Cumbu		Ragi	
	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.
1889-90	3'00	95'6	1'60	75'8	1'72	89'6	1'42	74'3
1890-91	3'38	107'7	1'91	90'4	1'91	99'5	1'66	86'9
1891-92	3'91	124'6	2'70	127'8	2'74	142'8	2'47	129'3
1892-93	3'85	122'7	2'32	109'8	2'33	121'4	2'14	112'0
1893-94	3'39	108'0	2'17	102'7	2'30	119'9	1'97	103'1
1894-95	3'16	100'7	1'90	90'0	1'82	94'8	1'64	85'9
1895-96	3'06	97'5	1'75	82'9	1'65	86'0	1'52	79'6
1896-97	3'36	107'1	2'18	103'2	1'97	102'7	1'92	100'5
1897-98	3'95	125'9	2'81	133'0	2'31	120'4	2'43	127'2
1898-99	3'33	106'1	2'26	107'0	2'06	107'3	2'06	107'9
1899-1900	3'40	108'3	2'32	109'8	2'27	118'3	2'24	117'3
1900-01	4'18	133'2	2'90	137'3	2'79	145'4	2'86	149'7
1901-02	3'52	112'2	2'47	117'0	2'21	115'2	2'29	119'9
1902-03	3'04	96'9	1'76	83'3	1'61	83'9	1'64	85'9
1903-04	2'83	90'2	1'56	73'9	1'47	76'6	1'43	74'9
1904-05	3'37	107'4	2'05	97'1	2'06	107'3	1'95	102'1
1905-06	4'15	132'2	2'78	131'6	2'76	143'8	2'67	139'8
1906-07	4'49	143'1	1'98	93'8	2'98	155'3	2'96	155'0
1907-08	4'84	154'2	3'08	145'8	3'24	168'8	3'03	158'6
1908-09	5'29	168'6	3'45	163'4	3'58	186'6	3'31	173'3
1909-10	4'54	144'7	3'23	152'9	3'14	163'6	3'04	159'2
1910-11	4'22	134'5	2'91	137'8	2'62	136'5	2'76	144'5
1911-12	4'65	148'2	3'17	150'1	3'01	156'9	2'84	148'7
1912-13	5'56	177'2	3'73	176'6	3'61	188'1	3'20	167'5
1913-14	5'42	172'7	3'43	162'4	3'56	185'5	3'23	169'1
1914-15	4'99	159'0	3'39	160'5	3'10	161'5	2'91	152'4
1915-16	4'84	154'2	3'13	148'2	2'87	149'6	2'70	141'4
1916-17	5'05	160'9	3'21	152'0	3'09	161'0	2'85	149'2
1917-18	4'83	153'9	3'49	165'2	3'10	161'5	2'86	149'7
1918-19	7'29	232'3	5'61	265'6	5'23	272'5	4'50	235'6
1919-20	8'91	283'9	6'70	317'2	6'55	341'2	6'29	329'3
1920-21	7'40	235'8	5'04	238'6	5'27	274'6	5'13	268'6
1921-22	7'31	232'9	5'15	243'8	5'20	271'0	4'83	252'0
1922-23	7'18	228'9	4'70	222'5	5'00	260'6	4'60	240'8
1923-24	6'91	220'2	5'26	249'1	5'16	268'9	4'65	243'5
1924-25	8'08	257'5	6'14	290'7	5'34	278'2	5'06	264'9
1925-26	7'37	234'9	5'39	255'2	4'86	253'2	4'59	240'2
1926-27	7'44	237'1	5'26	249'1	4'87	253'8	4'52	236'6
1927-28	7'63	243'1	5'20	246'2	4'86	253'2	4'63	242'4
1928-29	6'92	220'5	5'01	237'2	4'74	240'0	4'61	241'4
1929-30	6'11	194'7	4'43	209'8	4'17	217'3	3'85	201'6

Index numbers of prices of foodgrains in DECCAN.

BASE: Average price for the 10 years 1874-75 upto 1883-84.

Year	Rice 2nd sort		Cholam		Cumbu		Ragi	
	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.
1874-75	2'30	70'2	1'30	65'4	1'43	68'1	1'26	70'2
1875-76	2'50	76'3	1'52	76'5	1'59	75'7	1'47	81'8
1876-77	4'68	142'9	3'56	179'1	3'66	174'3	2'66	148'1
1877-78	5'45	166'4	4'04	203'2	4'15	197'6	3'90	217'1
1878-79	3'90	119'1	2'87	144'4	2'72	129'3	2'52	140'3
1879-80	2'84	86'7	1'83	92'1	2'02	96'2	1'69	94'1
1880-81	2'78	84'9	1'20	60'4	1'41	67'1	1'15	64'0
1881-82	2'82	86'1	1'21	60'9	1'39	66'2	1'12	62'4
1882-83	2'81	85'8	1'18	59'4	1'34	63'8	1'09	60'7
1883-84	2'67	81'5	1'17	58'9	1'29	61'4	1'10	61'2
1884-85	2'93	89'5	1'61	81'0	1'71	81'4	1'44	80'2
1885-86	2'98	91'0	1'53	77'0	1'59	75'7	1'37	76'3
1886-87	2'79	85'2	1'37	68'9	1'46	69'5	1'24	69'0
1887-88	2'59	79'1	1'21	60'9	1'47	70'0	1'09	60'7
1888-89	2'85	87'0	1'38	69'4	1'64	78'1	1'21	67'4
1889-90	2'99	91'3	1'35	67'9	1'60	76'2	1'20	66'8
1890-91	3'20	97'7	1'45	72'9	1'96	93'3	1'33	74'1
1891-92	4'19	127'9	2'29	115'2	2'50	115'2	2'12	119'0
1892-93	3'58	109'3	2'02	101'6	2'14	101'9	1'86	103'6
1893-94	3'27	99'8	1'81	91'0	1'99	94'8	1'64	91'3
1894-95	3'26	99'5	1'52	76'5	1'75	83'3	1'42	79'1
1895-96	3'25	99'2	1'37	68'9	1'63	77'6	1'23	68'5
1896-97	4'07	124'3	2'30	115'7	2'31	110'0	1'93	107'5
1897-98	4'54	138'6	2'61	131'3	2'77	131'9	2'37	132'0
1898-99	3'35	102'3	1'64	82'5	1'90	90'5	1'63	90'8
1899-1900	3'94	120'3	2'50	125'8	2'83	134'8	2'30	128'1
1900-01	4'42	135'0	2'94	147'9	2'92	139'0	2'79	155'3
1901-02	4'24	129'5	2'55	128'3	2'50	119'0	2'36	131'4
1902-03	3'54	108'1	1'74	87'5	1'75	83'3	1'58	88'0
1903-04	3'00	91'6	1'26	63'4	1'30	61'9	1'18	65'7
1904-05	3'30	100'8	1'75	88'0	1'86	88'6	1'65	91'9
1905-06	4'15	126'7	2'18	109'7	2'37	112'9	2'13	118'6
1906-07	4'33	132'2	2'41	121'2	2'53	120'5	2'46	137'0
1907-08	4'90	149'6	2'85	143'4	2'99	142'4	2'75	153'1
1908-09	5'52	168'5	2'95	148'4	3'21	152'9	2'93	163'1
1909-10	4'74	144'7	2'63	132'3	2'82	134'3	2'65	147'5
1910-11	4'35	132'8	2'44	122'7	2'44	116'2	2'33	129'7
1911-12	4'79	146'3	2'69	135'3	2'72	129'5	2'48	138'1

Year	Rice 2nd sort		Cholam		Cumbu		Ragi	
	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.
1912-13	5'66	172'8	2'97	149'4	3'18	151'4	2'74	152'6
1913-14	5'44	166'1	2'92	146'9	3'21	152'9	2'79	155'3
1914-15	5'18	158'2	2'57	129'3	2'87	136'7	2'57	143'1
1915-16	4'96	151'5	2'35	118'2	2'66	126'7	2'30	128'1
1916-17	5'06	154'5	2'64	132'8	2'93	139'5	2'60	144'8
1917-18	5'40	164'9	3'48	175'1	3'41	162'4	3'05	169'8
1918-19	7'77	237'3	5'63	283'2	5'47	260'5	4'74	263'9
1919-20	9'27	283'1	6'70	337'0	6'71	319'5	6'11	340'2
1920-21	8'31	253'7	5'77	290'2	5'82	277'1	5'19	289'0
1921-22	7'88	240'6	5'00	251'5	5'21	248'1	4'55	253'3
1922-23	7'32	223'5	3'99	200'7	4'44	211'4	3'88	216'0
1923-24	7'63	233'0	4'47	224'8	4'66	221'9	4'06	226'1
1924-25	8'05	245'8	3'53	228'4	4'37	208'1	4'20	233'9
1925-26	7'45	227'5	3'92	177'6	3'96	188'6	3'45	192'1
1926-27	7'66	233'9	4'54	197'2	4'23	201'4	3'71	206'6
1927-28	7'71	235'4	4'30	216'3	4'41	210'0	3'92	218'3
1928-29	7'12	217'4	3'82	192'2	4'06	193'3	3'72	207'1
1929-30	6'76	206'4	3'50	176'1	3'90	185'7	3'44	191'5

Index numbers of prices of foodgrains on the EAST COAST (North).

BASE: Average price for the 10 years 1874-75 upto 1883-84 = 100.

Year	Rice 2nd sort		Cholam		Cumbu		Ragi	
	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.
1874-75	2'20	77'7	1'43	74'9	1'40	74'0	1'19	71'9
1875-76	2'13	75'2	1'33	69'6	1'41	74'5	1'18	71'3
1876-77	3'10	109'5	2'40	125'7	2'42	127'8	2'00	120'9
1877-78	4'90	173'0	3'70	193'7	3'73	197'0	3'28	198'3
1878-79	3'93	138'8	2'77	145'0	2'42	127'8	2'51	151'8

Year	Rice 2nd sort		Cholam		Cumbu		Ragi	
	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.
879-80	2'60	91'8	1'72	90'1	1'74	91'9	1'49	90'1
880-81	2'22	78'4	1'42	74'3	1'43	75'5	1'18	71'3
881-82	2'25	79'4	1'27	66'5	1'31	69'2	1'16	70'1
882-83	2'41	85'1	1'41	73'8	1'48	78'2	1'24	75'0
883-84	2'58	91'1	1'65	86'4	1'59	84'0	1'31	79'2
884-85	2'68	94'6	1'65	86'4	1'61	85'1	1'34	81'0
885-86	2'79	98'5	1'80	94'2	1'76	93'0	1'43	86'5
886-87	2'60	91'8	1'63	85'3	1'62	85'6	1'33	80'4
887-88	2'43	85'8	1'61	84'3	1'61	85'1	1'34	81'0
888-89	2'84	100'3	1'74	91'1	1'85	97'7	1'64	99'2
889-90	2'84	100'3	1'74	91'1	1'75	92'4	1'51	91'3
890-91	2'86	101'0	1'83	95'8	1'83	96'7	1'46	88'3
891-92	3'48	122'9	2'38	124'6	2'40	126'8	2'00	120'9
892-93	3'32	117'2	2'23	116'8	2'11	111'5	1'84	111'2
893-94	3'04	107'3	2'10	109'9	2'06	108'8	1'63	98'5
894-95	2'81	99'2	1'77	92'7	1'73	91'4	1'51	91'3
895-96	2'70	95'3	1'64	85'9	1'63	86'1	1'38	83'4
896-97	3'57	126'1	2'26	118'3	2'29	121'0	2'08	125'8
897-98	4'14	146'2	3'10	162'3	3'08	162'7	2'79	168'7
898-99	3'06	108'1	1'90	99'5	1'97	104'1	1'80	108'8
899-1900	3'39	119'7	2'38	124'6	2'54	134'2	2'04	123'3
1900-01	3'92	138'4	2'70	141'4	2'49	131'5	2'46	148'7
1901-02	3'52	124'3	1'93	101'0	1'98	104'6	2'04	123'3
1902-03	3'12	110'2	1'53	80'1	1'49	78'7	1'53	92'5
1903-04	2'78	98'2	1'44	75'4	1'31	69'2	1'31	79'2
1904-05	3'06	108'1	2'03	106'3	1'94	102'5	1'76	106'4
1905-06	3'85	135'9	2'47	129'3	2'45	129'4	2'35	142'1
1906-07	4'36	154'0	2'62	137'2	2'49	131'5	2'52	152'4
1907-08	4'82	170'2	3'02	158'1	2'97	156'9	3'03	183'2
1908-09	5'23	184'7	3'33	174'3	3'04	160'6	3'06	185'0
1909-10	4'31	152'2	2'92	152'9	2'69	142'1	2'55	154'2
1910-11	4'10	144'8	2'84	148'7	2'46	130'0	2'38	143'9
1911-12	4'69	165'6	2'99	156'5	2'87	151'6	2'64	159'6
1912-13	5'19	183'3	3'27	171'2	2'43	128'4	2'84	171'7
1913-14	4'86	171'6	2'90	151'8	2'73	144'2	2'68	162'0
1914-15	4'60	162'4	2'60	136'1	2'56	135'2	2'63	159'0
1915-16	4'75	167'7	2'75	144'0	2'64	139'5	2'71	163'8
1916-17	4'80	169'5	3'11	162'8	2'81	148'4	2'71	163'8
1917-18	4'73	167'0	3'48	182'2	3'11	164'3	2'74	165'7
1918-19	6'23	220'0	4'98	260'7	3'62	191'2	3'29	198'9
1919-20	8'13	287'1	6'58	344'5	5'91	312'2	5'83	352'5

Year	Rice 2nd sort		Cholam		Cumbu		Ragi	
	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.
1920-21	8'00	282'5	5'53	289'5	5'69	300'6	5'18	313'2
1921-22	7'03	248'2	4'79	250'8	4'25	224'5	4'08	246'7
1922-23	6'20	218'9	3'90	204'2	3'69	194'9	3'43	207'4
1923-24	6'31	222'8	3'91	204'7	3'88	205'0	3'26	197'1
1924-25	7'03	248'2	4'44	232'5	4'08	215'5	3'64	220'1
1925-26	6'62	233'8	4'19	219'4	3'86	203'9	3'44	208'0
1926-27	6'73	237'6	4'49	235'1	4'48	236'7	3'95	238'8
1927-28	6'52	230'2	4'54	237'7	4'44	234'5	3'85	232'8
1928-29	5'91	208'7	3'92	205'2	3'81	201'3	3'41	206'2
1929-30	5'92	209'0	3'61	189'0	3'68	194'4	3'16	191'1

Index numbers of prices of foodgrains on the EAST COAST (South)

BASE: Average price for the 10 years 1874-75 upto 1883-84=100

Year	Rice 2nd sort		Cholam		Cumbu		Ragi	
	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.
1874-75	3'02	93'8	1'63	99'8	1'64	89'6	1'52	87'4
1875-76	2'85	88'5	1'36	83'2	1'54	84'1	1'32	75'9
1876-77	4'15	128'9	2'24	137'1	2'57	140'4	2'46	141'5
1877-78	4'92	152'8	2'71	165'9	2'99	163'3	3'06	176'0
1878-79	4'38	136'1	2'45	149'9	2'65	144'7	2'57	147'8
1879-80	3'12	96'9	1'66	101'6	1'84	100'5	1'79	102'9
1880-81	2'70	83'9	1'22	74'7	1'42	77'6	1'34	77'1
1881-82	2'48	77'0	1'09	66'7	1'26	68'8	1'16	66'7
1882-83	2'25	69'9	0'98	60'0	1'17	63'9	1'08	62'1
1883-84	2'32	72'1	1'00	61'2	1'23	67'2	1'09	62'7
1884-85	3'19	99'1	1'57	96'1	1'83	99'9	1'64	94'3
1885-86	2'86	88'8	1'46	89'4	1'77	96'7	1'55	89'1
1886-87	2'61	81'1	1'24	75'9	1'51	82'5	1'38	79'4
1887-88	2'68	83'3	1'44	88'1	1'63	89'0	1'44	82'8
1888-89	2'82	87'6	1'45	88'7	1'67	91'2	1'47	84'5

Year	Rice 2nd sort		Cholam		Cumbu		Ragi	
	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.
1889-90	3'26	101'3	1'66	101'6	1'89	103'2	1'65	94'9
1890-91	3'53	109'7	2'04	124'8	2'09	114'1	1'90	109'3
1891-92	3'67	114'0	2'31	141'4	2'40	131'1	2'26	130'0
1892-93	4'14	128'6	2'62	160'3	2'63	143'6	2'49	143'2
1893-94	3'49	108'4	2'30	140'8	2'35	128'3	2'08	119'6
1894-95	3'38	105'0	2'10	128'5	1'94	106'0	1'84	105'8
1895-96	3'10	96'3	1'93	118'1	1'71	93'4	1'59	91'4
1896-97	3'24	100'7	2'07	126'7	1'88	102'7	1'74	100'1
1897-98	4'05	125'8	2'75	168'3	2'52	137'6	2'36	135'7
1898-99	3'43	106'6	2'21	135'3	2'16	118'0	2'09	120'2
1899-1900	3'79	117'7	2'15	131'6	2'25	122'9	2'15	123'6
1900-01	3'10	96'3	2'63	161'0	2'67	145'8	2'51	144'3
1901-02	3'58	111'2	2'42	148'1	2'57	140'4	2'20	126'5
1902-03	3'04	94'4	1'77	108'3	1'95	106'5	1'67	96'0
1903-04	3'10	96'3	1'61	98'5	1'88	102'7	1'52	87'4
1904-05	3'52	109'4	2'04	124'8	2'30	125'6	1'94	111'6
1905-06	4'48	139'2	2'92	178'7	2'94	160'6	2'74	157'6
1906-07	4'69	145'7	3'00	183'6	3'15	172'0	2'88	165'6
1907-08	4'91	152'5	2'83	173'2	3'15	172'0	2'78	159'9
1908-09	5'32	165'3	2'99	183'0	3'26	178'0	2'97	170'8
1909-10	4'77	148'2	2'95	180'5	3'22	175'9	2'84	163'3
1910-11	4'37	135'8	2'91	178'1	3'18	173'7	2'70	155'3
1911-12	5'10	158'4	3'13	191'6	3'39	185'1	2'87	165'0
1912-13	5'81	180'5	3'40	208'1	3'57	195'0	3'13	180'0
1913-14	5'66	175'8	3'26	199'5	3'25	177'5	3'00	172'5
1914-15	5'23	162'5	3'18	194'6	3'23	176'4	2'84	163'3
1915-16	5'21	161'9	2'90	177'5	3'08	168'2	2'70	155'3
1916-17	5'41	168'1	3'09	189'1	3'27	178'6	2'90	166'8
1917-18	5'44	169'0	3'37	206'2	3'47	189'5	3'11	178'8
1918-19	7'94	246'7	4'80	293'8	5'19	283'5	4'58	263'4
1919-20	9'67	300'4	6'38	390'5	7'13	389'4	6'40	368'0
1920-21	7'70	239'2	4'58	280'3	5'72	312'3	4'85	278'9
1921-22	7'70	239'2	4'79	293'1	5'40	294'9	4'68	269'1
1922-23	7'63	237'0	4'61	282'1	5'42	296'0	4'80	276'0
1923-24	7'14	221'8	4'57	279'7	5'17	282'4	4'45	255'9
1924-25	8'69	270'0	4'95	302'9	6'24	340'8	5'14	295'6
1925-26	7'94	246'7	4'84	296'2	5'65	308'6	4'76	273'7
1926-27	7'62	236'7	4'65	284'6	5'54	302'6	4'59	263'9
1927-28	7'70	239'2	4'65	284'6	5'54	302'6	4'68	269'1
1928-29	7'31	227'1	4'46	272'9	4'89	267'1	4'40	253'0
1929-30	6'10	189'5	3'42	209'3	4'20	229'4	3'48	200'1

Index numbers of prices of foodgrains for the MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

Year	Rice 2nd sort		Cholam		Cumbu		Ragi	
	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.
1874-75		82.7		79.3		77.5		76.3
1875-76		83.7		77.9		81.1		80.1
1876-77		127.2		150.0		149.3		140.5
1877-78		157.7		191.6		186.9		192.8
1878-79		127.7		140.7		130.9		136.9
1879-80		94.5		95.5		96.1		96.0
1880-81		82.9		70.8		74.6		73.5
1881-82		79.8		64.0		65.7		68.1
1882-83		83.3		63.7		66.5		67.7
1883-84		80.5		66.6		70.2		68.2
1884-85		92.1		85.5		88.4		82.5
1885-86		91.2		86.0		88.1		82.0
1886-87		83.5		74.9		78.7		74.4
1887-88		81.2		75.7		80.2		71.2
1888-89		88.9		81.6		87.9		78.3
1889-90		96.8		84.1		90.4		79.7
1890-91		103.1		96.0		100.9		87.2
1891-92		120.6		127.3		129.9		120.5
1892-93		117.6		122.1		119.6		113.0
1893-94		105.9		111.1		113.0		100.1
1894-95		101.0		96.9		93.9		86.5
1895-96		97.3		89.0		85.8		78.5
1896-97		113.3		116.0		109.1		103.0
1897-98		132.5		148.7		138.2		132.6
1898-99		106.2		106.1		105.0		103.5
1899-1900		116.0		123.0		127.6		119.9
1900-01		124.5		146.9		140.4		142.9
1901-02		117.0		123.6		119.8		118.9
1902-03		102.2		89.8		88.1		87.9
1903-04		95.6		77.8		77.6		76.0
1904-05		105.8		104.1		106.0		99.0
1905-06		130.7		137.3		136.7		134.4
1906-07		141.7		134.0		144.8		145.7
1907-08		153.4		155.1		160.0		152.6
1908-09		167.7		167.3		169.5		165.6
1909-10		145.2		154.7		154.0		148.9
1910-11		133.9		146.8		139.1		135.0
1911-12		151.5		158.4		155.8		145.5
1912-13		173.6		176.3		165.7		161.2
1913-14		167.3		165.1		165.0		156.2

Year	Rice 2nd sort		Cholam		Cumbu		Ragi	
	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.	Price in Rs. per maund	Index No.
1914-15		158.0		155.1		152.5		149.1
1915-16		156.7		147.0		146.0		141.3
1916-17		161.8		159.2		156.9		148.5
1917-18		163.9		182.2		169.4		159.7
1918-19		229.3		275.8		251.9		233.4
1919-20		279.7		347.3		340.6		323.4
1920-21		243.1		274.7		291.2		262.8
1921-22		234.2		259.8		259.6		246.3
1922-23		223.2		227.4		240.7		226.3
1923-24		220.7		239.6		244.6		225.6
1924-25		249.4		263.6		260.7		250.9
1925-26		232.3		237.1		238.6		226.8
1926-27		232.5		241.5		248.6		232.1
1927-28		230.5		246.2		250.1		234.8
1928-29		214.0		226.9		227.2		222.7
1929-30		195.7		196.1		206.7		194.2

CURVES OF FOOD PRICES

A glance at these curves of food-prices will not fail to impress one with their striking similarity. This is true not for the natural divisions alone, but for the Presidency as well. The ups and downs in the curve for rice, for instance, are found to synchronise uniformly with the ups and downs in the curve for ragi. This is not a new phenomenon. Investigators in other provinces have noticed a similar tendency in the case of foodgrains. Professor Myles in his excellent survey, *Sixty Years of Punjab Food-Prices*, observes: "Speaking generally, wheat, barley, bajra, jowar and gram tend to move in price as though they were one commodity. Economists in India have long been familiar with the way in which the prices of food-stuffs rose and fell together, but it is doubtful whether the closeness of the relationship has been fully realised." The prices of all the four foodgrains are affected to the same degree by physical as well as monetary causes.

Rainfall, artificial irrigation, etc., which account for the former affect the harvests of these grains equally, while the general causes which affect the price level are not confined to any one particular crop. It is not therefore surprising that the movements of their price-level should exhibit striking similarity.

FLUCTUATIONS OF FOOD-PRICES

A closer scrutiny of the above curves would reveal that while their ups and downs are almost synchronous, the prices of rice have on the whole been more stable than those of the other foodgrains. We cannot lay this down as a feature brought out by these curves by merely looking at them and satisfying ourselves that there have on the whole been more violent fluctuations in the indices for cholam, cumbu and ragi than in those for rice without verifying the correctness of our observation statistically. The standard deviation which is the 'yardstick' commonly employed in statistics to measure variation affords a good test of the degree of fluctuations. The following tabular statement gives the S. D's of the indices of the four foodgrains for the whole of the Madras Presidency for the period 1874-1929.

Foodgrain.	S.D
Rice	54.09
Cholam	59.99
Cumbu	65.56
Ragi	61.56

From the above it is clear that the variation in the price of rice has been least, and in the price of cumbu greatest. The coefficient of variation which is a still more refined measure of variation inasmuch as it allows for the differing magnitudes of the means of the characters under variation tells the same tale as the following table will show.

Foodgrain.	Co-efficient of Variation
Rice	37.9
Cholam	40.8
Cumbu	44.5
Ragi	43.9

An explanation of this greater stability of the prices of rice is necessary and may be hazarded. The trade in rice which

the staple foodgrain in the Madras Presidency is naturally more mobile than the trade in any other foodgrain. A deficit in the supply of rice in any locality which may be brought about by famine or from other causes is soon made good by imports of rice into that locality from Burma or from regions where there is a surplus. But in the case of the other food grains, their trade is mostly local and their prices respond to the effects of the seasons to a greater degree than the case of rice. A comparison of the curves of the indices of prices of rice in the different natural divisions with those of the other food-grains will show that these curves exhibit greater stability of form from division to division than the curves for the other foodgrains. This is because the prices of rice unlike those of the other foodgrains have been determined not from local causes only, but from causes which have operated throughout the Presidency as a whole and to some degree in places outside as well.

Apart from the steadying influence on prices brought about by the greater mobility of the trade in rice we may also take note of another factor which would have contributed its share to the toning down of the fluctuations in the prices of rice as distinct from the other foodgrains. In this province, as in other provinces, 'so far as the consumption of foodgrains is concerned, the law of substitution is continually at work'. In times of high prices the poorer people who in times of low or moderately high prices alone can afford to buy rice are forced to buy cheaper foodgrains. Each of the other foodgrains finds its place as a substitute in the tracts in which it is largely grown, and the use of it as a substitute is dependent on individual tastes—prices apart. And this process of substitution is continually at work in response to changes in price. And what is the effect of this substitution? Obviously to contract the demand for rice in times of high prices, and to expand the demand for the coarser food-grains. The result is that the price of rice is lowered in times of high prices, and the prices of the cheaper foodgrains are raised. And when it is remembered that the trade in the coarser foodgrains is mostly local it is easy to see how this process of substitution can at times be very

effective in raising their prices. It is of course true that there is a certain class of population which at all times consumes rice, but the poorer classes can ill-afford to do it in times of high prices, and it would be interesting to estimate what percentage of the people resorts to the process of substitution in times of high prices.

That in periods of high prices the price of rice has on the whole tended to increase less than the prices of the other foodgrains is clearly brought out by an analysis of the figures of prices. A reference to the curves of indices of prices would show that four periods of rising prices stand out more prominently than the rest and they are 1875-1877, 1887-1891, 1903-1908, and 1915-1919. The indices of prices in the several years and their percentage increase in the various periods are given by the following statement.

1st Period: 1875-1877

Foodgrain	Index in 1875	Index in 1877	Percentage Increase
Rice	83.7	157.7	88.4
Cholam	77.9	191.6	146.0
Cumbu	81.1	186.9	130.5
Ragi	80.1	192.8	140.7

2nd Period: 1887-1891

Foodgrain	Index in 1887	Index in 1891	Percentage Increase
Rice	81.2	120.6	48.5
Cholam	75.7	127.3	68.2
Cumbu	80.2	129.9	62.0
Ragi	71.2	120.5	69.2

3rd Period: 1903-1908

Foodgrain	Index in 1903	Index in 1908	Percentage Increase
Rice	95.6	167.7	75.4
Cholam	77.8	167.3	115.0
Cumbu	77.6	169.5	118.4
Ragi	76.0	165.6	118.4

4th Period: 1915-1919

Foodgrain	Index in 1915	Index in 1919	Percentage Increase
Rice	156.7	279.7	78.5
Cholam	147.0	347.3	136.3
Cumbu	146.0	340.6	133.3
Ragi	141.3	323.4	128.9

From the above statement it is clear that the increase in the price of rice has been least in all the four periods of rising prices. The increase in the prices of the other foodgrains do not vary much from each other. This we may attribute to the fact that with poor people in times of high prices it is not a question of which foodgrain they should substitute for rice; they will be content with any so long as they can obtain it cheaply and in the mass in view of the very small differences in the prices of cholam, cumbu and ragi, the quantities of those foodgrains substituted for rice may not differ markedly from one another.

Now, what is the position in times of falling prices? Is there a tendency for poorer people to show a greater predilection for rice than for the other foodgrains and is it therefore true to surmise that the price of rice will fall less than the prices of the other foodgrains? What do the figures reveal? As before, four periods, but, in this case of falling prices are taken, i.e. (1) 1877-81, (2) 1891-95, (3) 1900-03, and (4) 1919-22. The prices of all the four foodgrains seem to have fallen abnormally in these four periods, and the following tables will compare their falls in the different periods.

1st Period: 1877-1881

Foodgrain	Index in 1877	Index in 1881	Percentage Fall
Rice	157.7	79.8	49.4
Cholam	191.6	64.0	66.6
Cumbu	186.9	65.7	64.8
Ragi	192.8	68.1	64.7

2nd Period 1891-1895

Foodgrain	Index in 1891	Index in 1895	Percentage Fall
Rice	120.6	97.3	19.3
Cholam	127.3	89.0	30.1
Cumbu	129.9	85.8	36.6
Ragi	120.5	78.5	34.9

3rd Period: 1900-1903

Foodgrain	Index in 1900	Index in 1903	Percentage Fall
Rice	124.5	95.6	23.2
Cholam	146.9	77.8	47.0
Cumbu	140.4	77.6	44.7
Ragi	142.9	76.0	46.8

4th Period: 1919-1922

Foodgrain	Index in 1919	Index in 1922	Percentage Fall
Rice	279.7	223.2	20.2
Cholam	347.3	227.4	34.5
Cumbu	323.4	240.7	29.3
Ragi	340.6	226.3	30.0

The above figures in addition to proving that the fall in the price of rice in periods of falling prices has been consistently less than the fall in the prices of the other foodgrains reveal also the remarkable fact that the fall in the prices of the other foodgrains has been more or less the same. In periods of rising prices also we noticed that there was a tendency for the prices of these foodgrains to rise by more or less the same amount. This shows that this process of substitution of the coarser foodgrains for rice in times of rising prices or of rice for the coarser food-grains in times of falling prices has not only tended to tone down the fluctuations in the price of rice but has also resulted in maintaining the equilibrium in the ratios of the quantities of the other foodgrains consumed.

LOGARITHMIC CURVES OF FOOD PRICES

There are some distinct advantages in plotting the indices of prices on a logarithmic scale. In the first place, we are

able to see whether the fluctuations in the prices of one commodity have on the whole been more or less than those of another more clearly than when the indices have been plotted in the ordinary way; in the second place, a curve plotted on a logarithmic scale enables us to compare the rise or fall of prices in two different periods of time by merely comparing two vertical distances on the logarithmic chart. If, for instance, the percentage rise in prices has been the same in two different periods of time, these two rises correspond to two equal vertical increments corresponding to the two periods. Suppose a change I_2 from I_1 in the first period of time has to be compared with a change I_4 from I_3 in the second period of time, where I_1 , I_2 , I_3 and I_4 are any four indices of prices. On the logarithmic chart, $\log I_1$, $\log I_2$, $\log I_3$ and $\log I_4$ are plotted instead of the I 's. It is known from the theory of logarithms that $\log (I_2/I_1) = \log I_2 - \log I_1$, and $\log (I_4/I_3) = \log I_4 - \log I_3$, so that if the differences $\log I_2 - \log I_1$ and $\log I_4 - \log I_3$, which correspond to the two vertical increments on the logarithmic chart are equal, the two ratios I_2/I_1 and I_4/I_3 are equal, which proves that the percentage increase in the two periods of time has been the same. And by referring to a supplementary scale which is appended to the logarithmic chart we can find out what the percentage increase or decrease of price has been in a particular period.

To elucidate this point further, I would ask the reader to confine himself to two periods of time (1) 1903 to 1908 and (2) 1914 to 1919 and refer to my two curves of indices of prices of rice for the Madras Presidency plotted in (1) the arithmetical and (2) the logarithmic scale. He would see that the indices in the four years are 96, 168, 158 and 280 respectively. Thus while the percentage increase of price in the period 1903-1908 has been very nearly the same as the increase in the period 1914-1919 as shown by the logarithmic curve, if we were to compare the ordinates given by the first curve we would see that the difference of ordinates in the latter period is more than one and a half times the difference of ordinates in the first period and this is sometimes apt to be misleading as one in comparing two periods

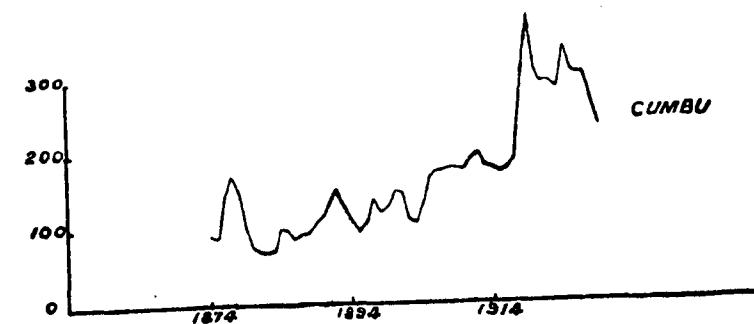
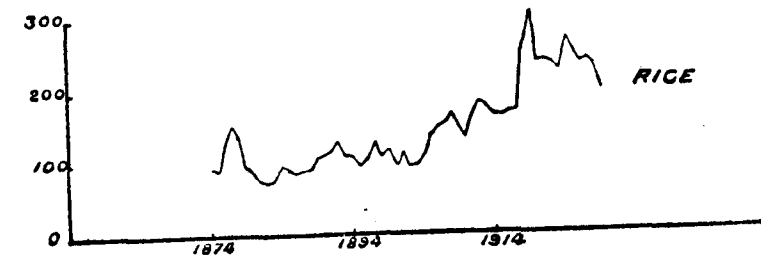
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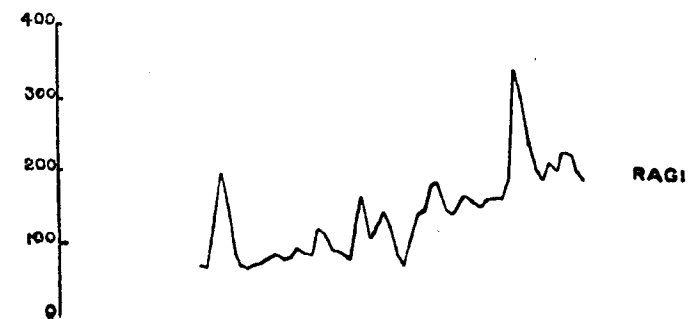
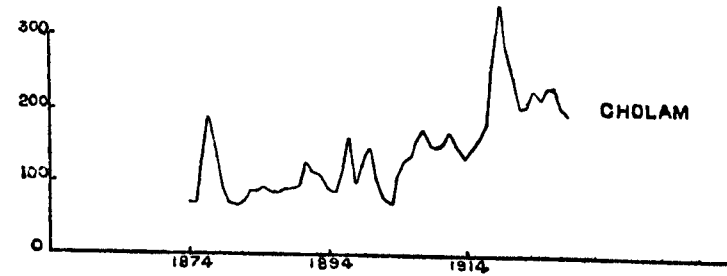
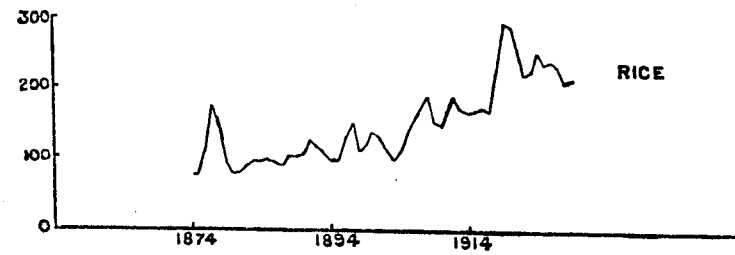
of time may associate a greater difference of ordinates in one period (the difference becomes huge when the indices are great) with a greater percentage increase when actually the percentage increase may be the same. The same length would, for instance, correspond to an increase from say 100 to 150 as to an increase from say 1000 to 1500 in the logarithmic chart, but in the arithmetical chart, the latter difference would be denoted by ten times the length of the first difference and this may mislead a superficial observer of the chart. And this is the great advantage of plotting indices on a logarithmic scale—once they are so plotted the percentage increase or decrease can be read off directly by reference to an appended scale, and without going through the sometimes irksome process of calculating these percentages.

Certain conclusions, which it is otherwise not so easy to draw can be drawn from a glance at the logarithmic curves of foodprices for the Madras Presidency. (1) The fluctuations in the prices of rice have on the whole been less than the fluctuations in the prices of the other foodgrains. (2) The increase of prices from 1888 to 1914, a period of 27 years has been more or less the same as the increase from 1916 to 1919 a period of 4 years for all the four foodgrains. (3) Prices have on the whole been more stable in the decennial period following the year 1919, the year of maximum prices than in any other decennial period.

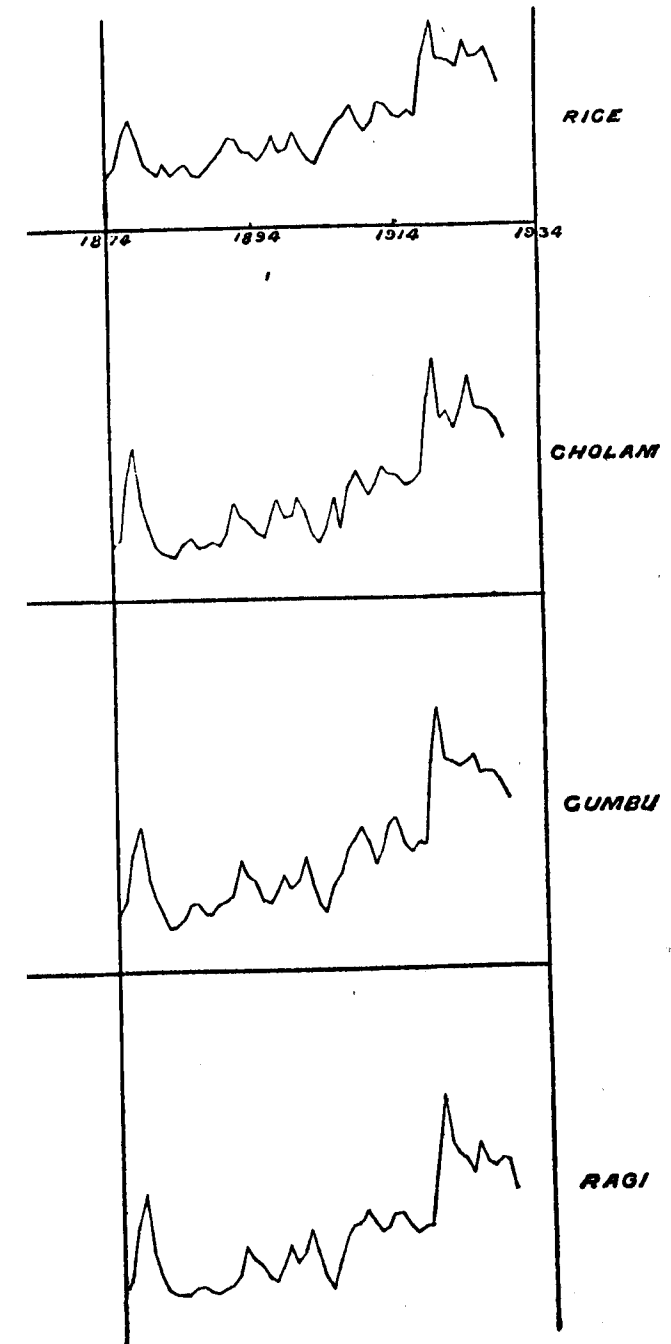
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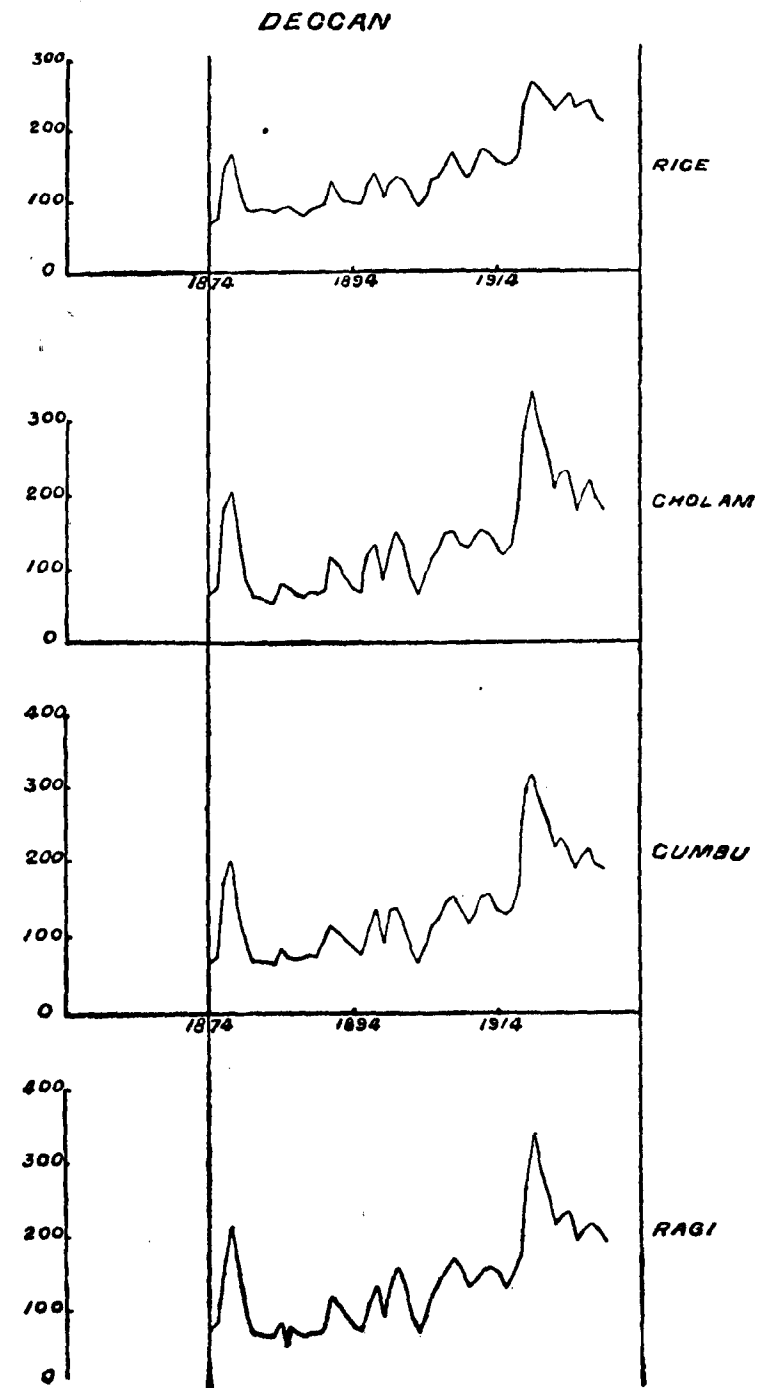
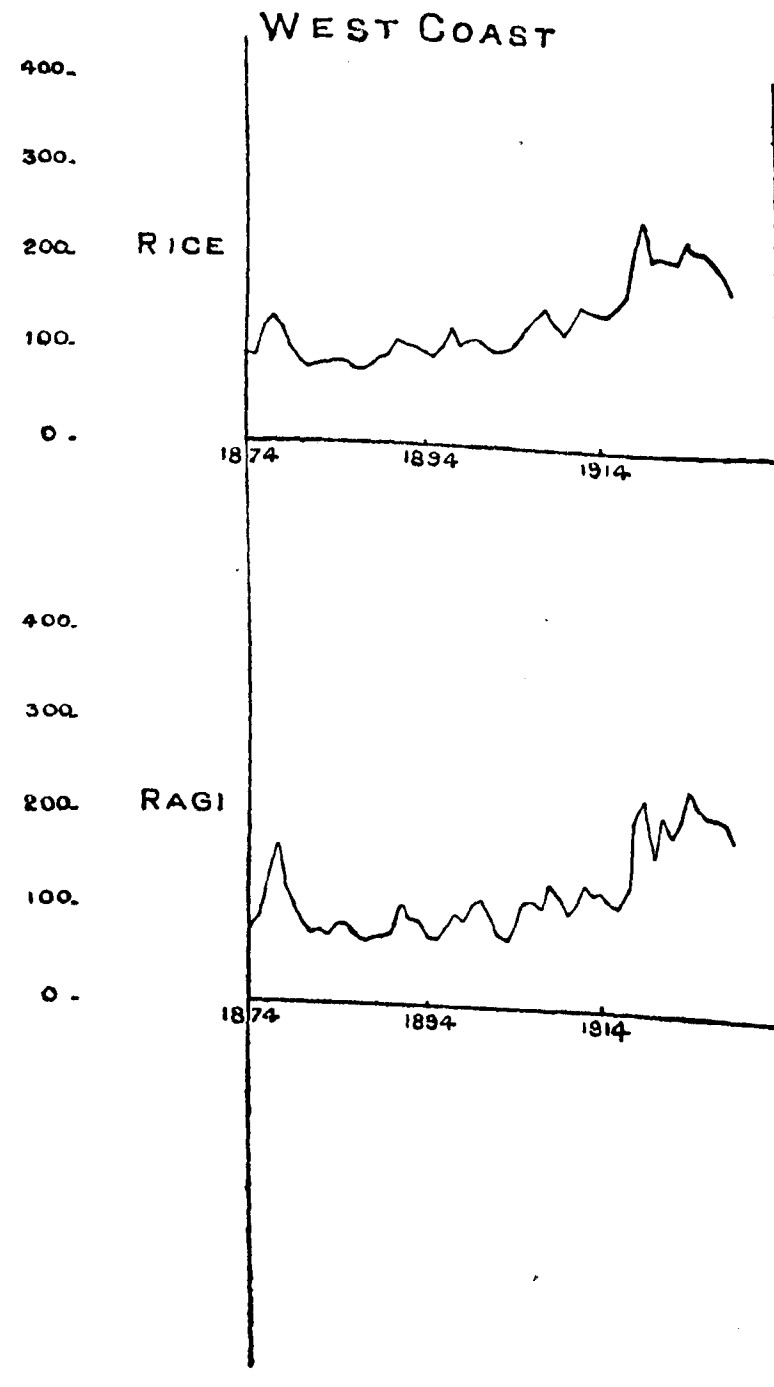


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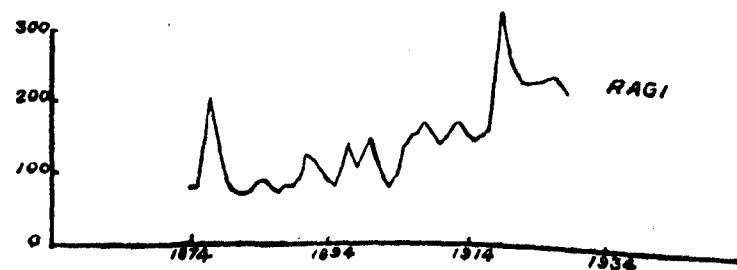
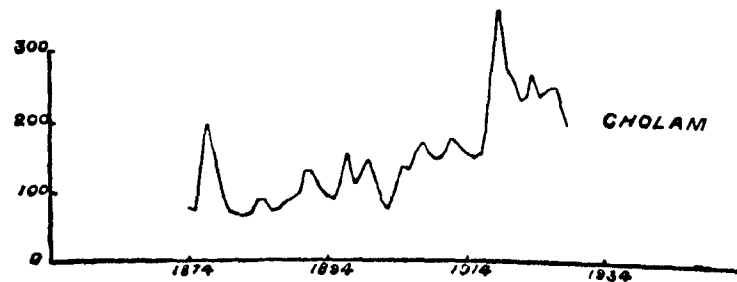
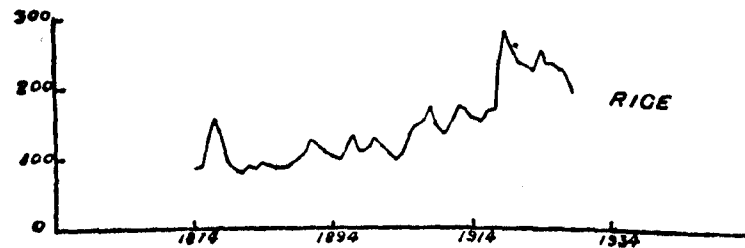


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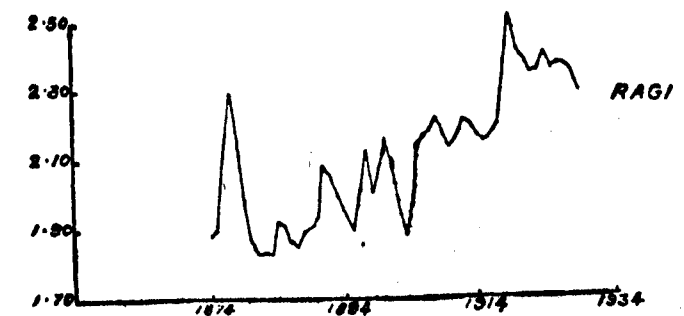
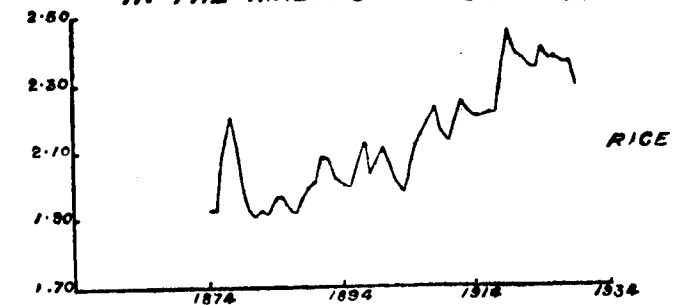




CURVES OF FOOD PRICES IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY



LOGARITHMIC CURVES OF FOOD PRICES IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY



THE HISTORY OF AUCITYA IN SANSKRIT POETICS

BY

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One of the noteworthy points in the Sanskrit systems of literary criticism is that, in an inquiry into a comprehensive philosophy of art, they do not separate poetry and drama, nor prose and verse. Bharata, the father of Sanskrit Dramaturgy and Poetics, has defined Drama as Imitation of the three worlds or representation of the actions of men of various nature : वैलोक्यानुकृतिः or धोरोदात्ताद्यवस्थानुकृतिः (N. S. I, 107, 113, 120 etc. Vide also Daśarūpaka I, 7). Consequently Bharata has perfected a system of ideas of 'Loka Dharmī', which term means 'the ways of the world' or to put it short 'Nature', and stands to denote the realistic elements in Bharata's Stage.¹ In the concept of Prakṛti, Bharata studies the various kinds of men, minds, and natures found in the worlds. In the concept of Pravṛtti he has studied the provincial, racial, and national characteristics in dressing and other activities. He has elaborately dealt with Āhārya-abhinaya, dress and make-up, which, he says, must be appropriate to the Rasa and Bhāva.

एतद्विभूषणं नायि आकेशादानखादपि ।

यथाभावरसावस्थं विज्ञायैवं प्रयोजयेत् ॥ N. S. XXIII., 42.

He has devoted separate sections to a consideration of the most proper way of correct speaking in the drama according to the emotions (xix, पाठ्यगुणाः), of the Svaras suitable for each mood and of the musical tunes, Jātyaṅgakas, appropriate to the varying Rasa and Bhāva (xxix, 1-4). These

¹ An article of mine on Loka Dharmī (Realism) and Nāṭya Dharmī (Conventions and Idealism) of Bharata's Stage will be published soon in the *Journal of Oriental Research, Madras*.

remarks apply to the artists of the stage and theatre, the actors, the conductor and others. Regarding the work of the poet-dramatist, Bharata has analysed the text of the drama and has pointed out how the verbal qualities of sweetness, harshness etc., and the flights of fancies expressed in the form of figures of speech have to be appropriate to that Bhāva or Rasa which is portrayed. (xvii, 108-123). Thus at the end of the treatment of each topic, Bharata has an important section called 'Rasa-prayoga', where he points out what suits what.

So much so that Bharata observes that, in judging drama, the ground of reference of success of art is the world. He emphasises that one has to know the infinite variety of human nature—Prakṛti and Sīla, on which is Nāṭya or drama based.

नानाशीलाः प्रकृतयः शीले नाट्यं प्रतिष्ठितम् ।

The 'Pramāṇa' of Nāṭya is finally only the world. A theorist can give a few indications and the rest can be learnt only from the world.

लोकसिद्धं भवेत् सिद्धं नाट्यं लोकस्वभावजम् ।
तस्मान्नाट्यप्रयोगे तु प्रमाणं लोक इष्यते ॥

* * * *

यानि शास्त्राणि ये धर्माः यानि शिक्षापानि याः क्रियाः ।
लोकधर्मप्रवृत्तानि तानि नाट्यं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥

न हि शक्यं हि लोकस्य स्थावरस्य चरस्य च ।
शास्त्रेण निर्णयं कर्तुं भावचेष्टाविधिं प्रति ॥

नानाशीलाः प्रकृतयः शीले नाट्यं प्रतिष्ठितम् ।

तस्माद्लोकःप्रमाणं हि कर्तव्यं नाट्ययोक्तृभिः ॥

N. S., XXVI, 113-119.

नोक्तानि च मया यानि लोकप्राधान्यानि तान्यपि । N. S., XXIV., 214.
(end of the chapter on dress and make-up). Nature or the three worlds or Prakṛti or Sīla—all these can finally be referred to by the single word Rasa which is the 'Soul' of

poetry. Drama is the representation of moods, Bhāva-anukīrtana, as Bharata puts it. Out of these moods flow everything—the actions, the character, the dress, the nature of one's speech etc. Thus to this factor, which is at the root of all these things, viz., Rasa, have these things again to be referred for finding out whether in representing them, there is propriety or appropriateness. Things cannot be estimated by themselves separately and labelled as good or bad, appealing or otherwise. That is, Guṇatva and Doṣatva do not inherently pertain to anything eternally but anything, according to the situation where it occurs, is either suitable or not; and in this suitability or otherwise lies Guṇatva or Doṣatva. What Bharata says of ornaments and decoration in the make-up of the characters is true of all other parts of the art of representation by the poet and the production of the drama on the stage by the actors. Bharata lays down that if a thing does not agree or is not proper in a certain place with reference to Rasa, it is the greatest literary flaw. Improper placing, like placing a necklace at the foot and an anklet round the neck, can only produce laughter.

अदेशजो हि वेषस्तु न शोभां जनयिष्यति ।
मेखलोरसि बन्धे च हास्यायैवोपजायते ॥

N. S., XXIII., 69.

It is a serious breach of propriety for a writer to describe a forlorn lady suffering from separation from her lord (i.e., one in Pravāsa Vipralambha) as having her body fully decked with jewels. In the realm of artistic expression the same rule holds good. A poet commits the greatest crime against Rasa if he introduces a cartload of ornaments of a verbal character in places where Rasa has to be effectively portrayed and where the absence of any figure is itself the perfection of art. The proper placing of things in such a manner as to suit Rasa and the avoiding of things not suitable form the essence of artistic expression. This is propriety, Aucitya. An anklet adds no beauty as an ornament but an anklet as an ornament for the ankle is helpful to beautify one. We can thus see how this doctrine of appropriateness, propriety and adaptation—all comprehended in the one word Aucitya, is directly

derivable from Bharata. Just put by the side of the verse of Bharata above-quoted, the verse illustrative of the theory of Aucitya quoted by Kṣemendra in his Aucitya vicāra carcā, in which text the doctrine of Aucitya had the complete elaboration into a system of criticism, and see:

अदेशजो हि वेषस्तु न शोभां जनयिष्यति ।

मेखलोरसि बन्धे च हास्यायैवोपजायते ॥

Bharata, xxiii, 69.

कण्ठे मेखलया, नितम्बफलके तारेण हारेण वा

पाणौ नूपुरबन्धनेन, चरणे केयूरपाशेन वा ।

शौर्येण प्रणते, रिपौ कण्ठया, नायान्ति के हास्यतां

ओचित्येन विना रुचिं प्रतनुते नालंकृतिर्नो गुणाः ॥

Kṣemendra's Au. V.C.

Thus the first work in the history of Sanskrit Poetics contains *implicitly* as much of this theory of Aucitya of the Sanskrit Alaṅkāra Sāstra, as of the other theory of poetry, Rasa, explicitly, even though emphasis on both these—Aucitya and Rasa—was again systematically laid only as late as the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries.

Aucitya is harmony and in one aspect it is proportion between the whole and the parts, between the chief and the subsidiary, between the Aṅgin and the Aṅgas. This perfection is all the morals and beauty in art. At the final stage of its formulation as a theory explaining the secret of poetic appeal, Aucitya is stated as the 'Jīvita', life-breath, of poetry. This Aucitya, which is proportion and harmony on one side and appropriateness and adaptation on the other, cannot be understood by itself but presupposes that to which all other things are harmonious and appropriate. Surely there has to be harmony and appropriateness in every part and between one part and another; but everything as a whole has to be pronounced proper and appropriate or otherwise by a reference to what constitutes the 'Soul'—Ātman of all art (here, of course, poetry) *viz.*, Rasa. Thus Bharata speaks of the Rasa-prayoga of Pravṛtti, Vṛtti, Guṇa, Alaṅ-

kāra, Āhāryabhinaya, Pāṭhyaguṇa, Svāra and Jātyaṅga. In later terminology, this Rasa-prayoga is Rasa-aucitya. But, Aucitya is only implicitly contained in Bharata. It was only rather late that Poetics got itself again wedded and identified with Bharata's Dramaturgy and took its stand scientifically on the two pedestals of Rasa and Aucitya, which it had forgotten for a time, as we shall now see in the following account of the history of the concept of Aucitya after Bharata.

The next glimpse we have of Aucitya is in Māgha, who, in his poem, has made some side-remarks which shoot their rays into the darkness of the early history of Poetics. In canto ii of Māgha's *Sisupālavadha* we have a verse on the policy best suited for the king, which, through comparison, drags in the topic of Guṇas in Kāvya or dramas.

तेजः क्षमा वा नैकान्तं कालञ्जस्य महोपतेः ।

नैकमोजः प्रसादो वा रसभावविदः कवेः ॥ S. V. II., 83.

The king has to achieve his purpose with an eye on expediency. Time and circumstance are the pre-eminently deciding factors of his policy. There is no inherent good in either power or forbearance and peace by themselves but all goodness of a policy consists in its effectiveness, in using that which is suited to the time. Prowess is waste and will even ruin the cause where it is needlessly flaunted. Forbearance cannot help the king when he has to succeed by putting up a thick fight. Thus, adaptation is the only policy good for the king. The case is similar to that of a poet with whom the main concern is Rasa and Bhāva and an understanding of their subtle nature. In portraying his characters and their actions and in describing them, it will not do if the poet sticks to one quality throughout, say Prasāda or Ojas. When the Vira, Adbhuta and Raudra Rasas appear, he has to adopt the Guṇa Ojas to suit the vigour, energy and blaze (Dipti) of those Rasas and when the key of emotion is lowered and quiet emotional effects have to be produced, the requisite quality for the poet is Prasāda. Thus, not Guṇas by themselves, but that Guṇa which is proper and appropriate—Ucīta—is helpful to Rasa. This is Guṇa-aucitya. Auci-

tya is here Adaptation. Māgha, as a poet, had this clear insight into Bharata's ideas of Rasa and Guṇas appropriate to each Rasa. Bhoja considers such appropriateness in expression between the emotion and the stylistic quality as a Pra-bandha-guṇa, i.e., one of the good features of good poetry. He calls it 'रसानुरूपसन्दर्भत्व'. He means the same thing as what Māgha says in the above-given verse, which also Bhoja quotes.

“रसानुरूपसन्दर्भत्वमित्यनेन रतिप्रकर्षे कोमलः, उत्साहप्रकर्षे प्रोदः, क्रोधप्रकर्षे कठोरः, शोकप्रकर्षे मृदुः, विस्मयप्रकर्षे तु स्फुटशब्दसन्दर्भो विरचनीय इति उपदिशन् 'नैकमोजः प्रसादो वा रसभावविदः कवेः'

(Māgha, S. V. II., 83).

इति ह्यापयति ।”

Sṛṅgāra Prakāśa; Madras MS. Vol. II, p. 432.

In the above-given verse of Māgha we have an early 'Siro-daya' of the doctrine of Guṇas as the Dharmas of Rasa, the Soul of Kāvya, which is one of the special contributions of Ānandavardhana. In later terminology, Māgha is here speaking of वर्णसंघटना - औचित्य, appropriateness of letters and collocation, or simply गुणोचित्य.

It is again in respect of Guṇas that we have a faint glimpse of the idea of Aucitya implied in certain parts of the treatises of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. Māgha says that Guṇas must change and be appropriate to the Rasa and the Bhāva of the situation. Ojas or Prasāda wrongly placed is a literary flaw, directly hindering Rasa. Thus the breach of Aucitya gives rise to flaws. In one way, the greatest Guṇa or excellence of poetry is only Aucitya and it comprehends all other Guṇas; and the greatest Doṣa or flaw comprehending other flaws is Anaucitya. Thus when the Rīti is not suited to the Rasa, we can say that there is Rīti-anaucitya and a Doṣa called Arītimat. But the Gaudī Rīti which may not suit Sṛṅgāra cannot be condemned altogether as eternally unsuited to all poetry. The Gaudī Rīti is the only Rīti that can effectively suggest Vīra, Adbhuta

and Raudra Rasas and in the cases of these three the Vaidarbhi so suggestive of Sṛṅgāra is perfect Anaucitya. There may be harsh sounds and heavy, long and swollen utterances in a highly worked-up emotion of the kind of Raudra; the harsh sounds which suggest the Rasa in this case must be avoided by the poet in Sṛṅgāra Rasa which is suggested by sweet assonances and delicate sound effects. Therefore it is that the Doṣas, given as such in separate sections by Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, are, to use a word which came into currency only after Ānandavardhana, Anitya. That is, in certain circumstances Doṣas cease to be so; there are no fixed Guṇas or Doṣas; what is Guṇa in one case is Doṣa in another and vice versa.

In chapter I Bhāmaha deals with certain Doṣas in the last section beginning with sl. 37. After defining and illustrating them he says that these flaws cease to be so sometimes and really give beauty to expression.

सन्निवेशविशेषात्तु दुःस्तमपि शोभते ।

नीलं पलाशमाबद्धं अन्तराले स्रजामिव ॥

किञ्चिदाश्रयसौन्दर्यात् धत्ते शोभामसाध्वपि ।

कान्ताविलोचनन्यस्तं मलीमसमिवाञ्जनम् ॥

* * *

अनयान्यदपि ह्येयं दिशा युक्तमसाध्वपि ।

* * *

यथा तद्वदसाधोयः साधोयश्च प्रयोजयेत् ॥

The principle behind these observations is Aucitya, adaptation. Again, in Chapter IV Bhāmaha speaks of such flaws in poetry as Lokavirodha. The flaw of Lokavirodha, which is going against nature, is nothing but the non-observance of the Aucitya of Prakṛti etc. Here, he also points out that redundancy, Punarukti, which is generally a flaw in expression turns out to be an effective way of expression in fear, sorrow, jealousy, joy and wonder.

मयशोकाभ्यसूयासु हर्षविस्मययोरपि ।

यथाह गच्छ गच्छेति पुनरुक्तं न तन् बिदुः ॥ IV., 14.

It is in the same section on Doṣas that the principle of Aucitya is implied in Daṇḍin's work also. Daṇḍin treats of Doṣas in the fourth chapter of his work. Each and every Doṣa is given with a qualification that in certain circumstances it ceases to be Doṣa and turns out to be a Guṇa. Thus Apārtha, the first flaw is generally a Doṣa but it is the most proper means of successfully portraying a madman's raving, a child's sweet prattle or the speech of a sick man.

समुदायार्थशून्यं यत् तदपार्थमितीष्यते ।

उन्मत्तमत्तबालानां उक्तेरन्यत्र दृश्यति ॥ IV., 5.

* * *

इदमस्वस्थचित्तानामभिधानमनिन्दितम् । IV., 7.

Speaking of the flaw of Viruddhārtha or Vyārtha, Daṇḍin says that there is such a state of mind also in which even contradictory speech is the natural mode of expression and hence, in those places the flaw becomes an excellence.

अस्ति काचिदवस्था सा सामिषङ्गस्य चेतसः ।

यस्यां भवेदभिमतता विरुद्धार्थापि भास्ते ॥ IV., 10.

Punarukta as has been pointed out by Bhāmaha also, is no flaw but is an effective way of expressing compassion or any stress of emotion which needs repetition. Samsāya or the use of doubtful or ambiguous words may generally be a flaw but when such words are wilfully used, as is often needed in the world, they are perfect Guṇas. Thus Daṇḍin shows exceptions—Vyabhicāra—to all the Doṣas. He is fully aware, that in the realm of poetry, a certain thing is not Doṣa by its very nature but that it is so because of circumstance, a change of which makes it a Guṇa. He thus finally concludes:

विरोधस्सकलोऽप्येष कदाचित्कविकोशलात् ।

उत्कम्य दोषगणनां गुणवीर्यो विगाहते ॥ IV., 5-7.

Bhoja developed the same idea by constituting under the head 'Guṇa' a peculiar class of Guṇas called the Vaiśeṣika Guṇas. These are the flaws above noticed which Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin considered as excellences sometimes. (Vide the

Sarasvatikanthābharaṇa, chapter I. S'ls. 89-156, pp. 78-119).¹ Bhoja calls them also Doṣaguṇas. As a matter of fact, all Guṇas and Doṣas are 'Vaiśeṣika'. 'It all depends', says the discerning critic in literature as one says in this complex world. The fact of Doṣas becoming Guṇas recorded by Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin means, if it means or implies anything, the doctrine of Aucitya as the only ruling principle holding good in the kingdom of poetry for ever. It is because of this that, in Poetics, Doṣas are called Anitya. It is only a clearer statement of what Daṇḍin has said in the Doṣa-section that we have in Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta, who say:

श्रुतिदृष्टादयो दोषा अनित्या ये च सूचिताः ।

ध्वन्यात्मन्येव शृङ्गारे ते हेया इत्युदीरिताः ॥ Dhva. Ā. II., 12.

“नापि गुणम्यो व्यतिरिक्तं दोषत्वं । बोभत्सहास्यरौद्रादौ त्वेषां (श्रुति-दृष्टादीनां) अस्माभिरुपगमात्, शृङ्गारादौ च वर्जनात् अनित्यत्वं समर्थितमेवेति भावः ।” Locana.

The principle by virtue of which 'harsh sounds'—*Sruti-duṣṭa*—which form a Doṣa to be avoided in *Sṛṅgāra* become themselves a Guṇa highly suggestive of *Raudra* etc., is Adaptation or Aucitya. (Vide also Dhva. Ā. III. 3-4).

In the first half of the 8th century, King Yaśovarman of Kanauj, patron of Bhavabhūti, wrote his drama *Rāmābhyudaya*, whose prologue has some interest to the student of the history of Poetics for a *Yaśovarman, author of the drama Rāmābhyudaya* verse in it on certain concepts connected with theoretical literary criticism. That veritable mine of quotations, the stupendous *Sṛṅgāraprakāśa* of King Bhoja, quotes that verse. Bhoja considers a number of *Alaṅkāras* of Prabandha, i.e., good features of a poem or a drama as a whole. One of these *Prabandhālaṅkāras* is given by him as 'excellence of build'—*सन्निवेश प्राशस्त्यं*—which means, according to him, that the minor 'descriptions' in a *Mahākāvya* must be so set in the framework of the story that they

¹ I have spoken of these at length in a paper of mine on the History of Guṇas which will be published in due course.

do not appear irrelevant or overdone. This is Aucitya in its aspect of proportion, harmony and strict artistic relevancy of all details from the point of view of Rasa. Bhoja means that this applies to drama also as his quotation from Yaśovarman shows.

“तेवैव नगराणवर्णनादीनां सन्निवेशप्राशस्त्यं अलङ्कार इति । तदुक्तं—

‘औचित्यं वचसां प्रकृत्यनुगतं, सर्वत्र पात्रोचिता

पुष्टिः स्वावसरे रसस्य च, कथामार्गे न चातिक्रमः ।

शुद्धिः प्रस्तुतसंविधानकविधौ, प्रौढिश्च शब्दार्थयोः

विद्वद्भिः परिभाष्यतामवहितैः, एतावदेवास्तु नः ॥’

Sr. Pra. Mad. MS. Vol. II., p. 411.

This is the earliest instance so far known of the occurrence of the word Aucitya. Yaśovarman here refers to a number of

¹ That this is a verse in Yaśovarman's Rāmābhyudaya is known from the Locana on the Dhva. A. III., p. 148. Ānandavardhana quotes from the second line of the above verse, the bit ‘कथामार्गे न चातिक्रमः’. Explaining the phrase

यदुक्तं which introduces this quotation, Abhinava says: ‘यदुक्तमिति ।

रामाभ्युदये यशोवर्मणा ।’ There should be a full-stop in the text here and

the words स्थितिमिति यथा शब्दां in the Locana do not form any quotation, as the N.S. edn. suggests by clubbing them together with यशोवर्मणा and by giving them with quotation marks. The correct text should be स्थितिमिति ।

कथाशब्दां । स्थितिमिति is a Pratika and refers to the word Sthiti in Ānanda's Vṛtti ‘इतिवृत्तवशायातां कथञ्चिद्रसाननुगुणां स्थितिं त्यक्त्वा etc. This word Sthiti is interpreted by Abhinava as the course of the story ‘कथाशब्दा’.

That it is a verse from the prologue can easily be known; for such verses can figure nowhere else. Mark the similarity of this verse to the verse ‘यद्वेदा-इययनं etc.’ in the prologue to the Mālatīmādhava of Bhavabhūti who wrote in Yaśovarman's court. Also note in the III line the Guṇa mentioned by Yaśovarman ‘प्रौढिश्च शब्दार्थयोः’ which Bhavabhūti also mentions.

‘यत्प्रौढत्वमुदारता च वचसां’. This seems to have developed into the Prauḍhi forming the Arthagūṇa Ojas in Vāmana, III. ii. 2.

good features which a good drama should have. First among them are Aucitya of expression, i.e., speech written according to the nature and level or rank of the characters and Aucitya of Rasa, i.e., delineation of characters in their proper moods with an eye to developing the Rasa in the proper place. These two comprise the external and internal Aucitya or Aucitya of expression and Aucitya of the content, i.e., the Rasa. On this point Yaśovarman has emphasised only what Bharata has laid down as regards Prakṛti and Sīla. The second mentioned Aucitya of Rasa, its appropriateness to the Pātra, the character and its development in the proper place (पात्रौचित्यं, पुष्टिः स्वावसरे रसस्य) are elaborated into many rules of Rasaucitya by Rudraṭa and Ānandavardhana as we shall see in a further section.

It is this all-round Aucitya called by Bhoja an Alaṅkāra and Sannivesapṛāśastyam that Lollaṭa also emphasises. Lollaṭa wants every part of the Mahākāvya to be Rasavat. All these are various ways of putting the idea of Aucitya of Rasa, the ‘Soul’ of poetry, without basing oneself on which, none can talk of Aucitya intelligibly.

In practice, as can be seen from the numerous and large Mahākāvyas which are entitled to that name not because of the innate greatness of their art but because of their bulk, all notions of propriety had become utterly unknown to poets. The several limbs overdeveloped themselves separately, like elephantiac leg, and the Kāvya as a whole was an outrage on harmony and Aucitya. This Lollaṭa severely criticised, perhaps in his commentary on the Nāṭya Sāstra. To this aspect of Aucitya viz., proportion and strict relevancy of every detail, Lollaṭa drew attention. In the gap between Daṇḍin and Rudraṭa, two or three stray verses of Lollaṭa quoted by Rājasekhara, Hemacandra and Namisādhū give us a flash in the dark and we see how stage by stage the concept of propriety or Aucitya was developing. These three verses of Lollaṭa emphasise Rasaucitya, Aucitya of parts to the chief element called Rasa i.e., the aspect called proportion. Ornaments hide beauty if they are not structural or organic; similarly ‘descriptions’ have to logically emerge out of the story and the complex

course of its Rasa as a necessity. Descriptive cantos should not stand out like outhouses and isolated places for the poet's mind to indulge at length in excess. This is true of the drama as much as of the epic poem. In a drama, the subplots, the Patākā and the Prakārī and the Sandhyaṅgas should not be considered by themselves as having any virtue but should be seen to be relevant to Rasa. This Ānandavardhana emphasises, as we shall see. As regards the Mahākāvya, Lollaṭa [Āparājiti i.e., son of Aparājita¹] says according to Rājasekhara :

“‘अस्तु नाम निस्सीमा अर्थसार्थः; किन्तु रसवत एव निबन्धो युक्तः,
न तु नोरसस्य’ इति आपराजितिः । यदाह—

‘मज्जनपुष्पावचयनसन्ध्याचन्द्रोदयादिवाक्यमिह ।

सरसमपि नातिबहुलं प्रकृतरसानन्वितं रचयेत् ॥

यस्तु सरिदद्रिसागरपुरतुरगस्थादिवर्णने यत्नः ।

कविशक्तिख्यातिफलः विततधियां नो मतस् इह ॥”

K.M. I, IX., p. 49.

The second verse in the above quotation, along with its following verse, is quoted by Hemacandra with the mention of the name Lollaṭa. The additional verse quoted by him criticises the poets for setting apart cantos to such feats as Yamaka, Cakrabandha etc., in a Mahākāvya, they being very inappropriate and utterly unhelpful to the emotional idea of the epic poem.

“तथा च लोल्लुटः

‘यस्तु सरिदद्रिसागरनगपुरादिवर्णने यत्नः ।

कविशक्तिख्यातिफलो विततधियां नो मतः प्रबन्धेषु ॥

यमकानुलोमतदितरचक्रादिभिदोऽतिरसविरोधिन्यः ।

अभिमानमात्रप्रेतत् गङ्गुरिकादिप्रवाहो वा ॥’ इति ॥”

K. A. Ch. V., p. 215.

Namisādhū, on Rudraṭa III. 59, quotes the additional verse

¹ Vide my paper on Writers quoted in the Abhinavabhāratī, *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras; Vol. VI, Part II, p. 169.

quoted by Hemacandra and emphasises with its authority the principle of Aucitya.

Thus proportion and harmony form an aspect of Aucitya which is propriety, adaptation, and minor points of appropriateness. From the point of view of the perfect agreement between the parts and the chief element of Rasa, from the point of view of this proportion and harmony, I think, Aucitya can be rendered in English into another word also viz., ‘Sympathy’, which as a word in art-criticism means ‘mutual conformity of parts’.

From Daṇḍin we had to come down to the time of Lollaṭa before we could again catch sight of Aucitya. Rudraṭa as a principle underlying many literary dicta. This means that we have to come almost to the time of Ānandavardhana whom Rudraṭa must have slightly preceded. Up to the time of Rudraṭa the concept was developing unconsciously without a name. The name Aucitya was not given to the idea by any writer of poetic theory, and one more useful word was not thus added to the critical vocabulary of the Sahṛdaya. But the word Aucitya must have slowly dawned in the circles of Sahṛdayas and we first see that word used in theoretical literature only in Rudraṭa’s Kāvyaālankāra, a work which has not yet left the primitive Alankāra-stage of criticism but has however embodied into itself a good deal of the concept of Rasa, which alone, according to it, made poetry that interesting and charming thing it is—Sarasa. The word Aucitya occurs often in Ānandavardhana’s work and Rudraṭa is only the first writer to mention it in theoretical literature. For earlier, in the first half of the eighth century, King Yaśovarman of Kanauj uses the word Aucitya with much theoretical significance, in much the same significance as the word is used with in later times, in the prologue of his lost drama, Rāmābhyudaya, as we have noticed above. Thus the three stages to be noticed in the appearance of the name Aucitya, is its mention by Yaśovarman, treatment of it to a small extent in Rudraṭa and to a large extent in Ānanda’s Dhvanyāloka. Rudraṭa just preceded Ānanda or was an early contemporary of his. He was perhaps writing in Saṅkuka’s time. Some ideas given in the Dhva. are already

seen in Rudraṭa's work. Many of the Rasa doṣas mentioned by Ānanda under Rasaucitya in Uddyota iii are found in Rudraṭa's K. A. What we must note here at present is that though Rudraṭa treats of Alaṅkāras so largely and though his work is yet one of the old period in which works are called *Kāvya-Alaṅkāra*, he has realised the importance of Rasa to suit which Alaṅkāras exist. If Alaṅkāras are otherwise they have little meaning. That is what Ānanda develops in a section on Alaṅkārasamīkṣā in Uddyota ii. The idea that Rasa and Rasaucitya control Alaṅkāra is already seen in Rudraṭa, who, as said above, is the first writer of Poetics to mention the word Aucitya. After dealing with some Sabdālaṅkāras like Yamakas which are a siren to the easily tempted poets, Rudraṭa says, by way of closing the chapter that these figures must be introduced after bestowing due thought on propriety, Aucitya, with reference to the main theme. Even the Anuprāsas have to be now cast away and now taken and must be sparsely used with much advantage. They must not be thickly overlaid upon the theme through the whole length of it.

एताः प्रयत्नादधिगम्य सम्यक्

औचित्यमालोच्य तथार्थसंस्थम् ।

मिश्राः कवीन्द्रैरघनाल्पदीर्घाः

कार्या मुहुश्चैव गृहीतमुक्ताः ॥ K. A. II., 32.

This is Aucitya of Alaṅkāra which Ānanda elaborates in Uddyota ii of his work. It is this idea in the last line of Rudraṭa's verse quoted above—'गृहीतमुक्ताः' that Ānanda has formulated into the rule—'काले च ग्रहणयोगो'—(II. 19) taking and throwing away according to the circumstances, as regards the use of figures.

The word Aucitya again occurs at the end of the next chapter in Rudraṭa's work where again Rudraṭa points out the danger of Yamaka etc. He says that they must be approached only by him who knows Aucitya. Namisādhū perfectly understands the full implication of Rudraṭa's strictures on Yamaka etc., and quotes on this subject of Aucitya

the verse of Lollāṭa which we considered in a previous section. Rudraṭa says :

इति यमकशेषं सम्यगालोचयद्भिः

सुकविभिरभियुक्तैः वस्तु च औचित्यविद्भिः K. A. III., p. 36.

“तथा च वस्तु विषयमागमालोचयद्भिः । यथा कस्मिन् रसे कर्तव्यं, क वा न कर्तव्यं । यमकशेषचित्राणि हि सरसे काव्ये क्रियमाणानि रसखण्डनां कुर्युः । विशेषतस्तु शृङ्गाररक्षणयोः । कवेः कलितानि शक्तिमात्रं पोषयन्ति, न रसवत्ता । यदुक्तं 'यमकानुलोम + गङ्गारिकादिप्रवाहो वा ॥' (Lollāṭa).

* * * औचित्यं यमकादिविधानास्थानस्थानादिकं
* * * । तदनु औचित्यविज्ञानानन्तरं विरचनीयम् ।”

Namisādhū.

Besides the mention of the word Aucitya and the presence of the idea of Alaṅkāraucitya in the two places above referred to, Rudraṭa speaks of the adaptation-aspect of Aucitya also implicitly like Daṇḍin while dealing with Doṣas, which, in certain cases become Guṇas. (Vide Chap. vi, Sl. 8). Under the Doṣa called Grāmya, Rudraṭa speaks of propriety in addressing persons of differing ranks which Bharata deals with at length as a part of Prakṛtyaucitya. Explaining another variety of the Doṣa called Grāmya, viz., the Asabhyā in VI, 21-24, Rudraṭa says that there are certain words which are inappropriate—Anucita—but which in certain special cases become very appropriate—Ucita. 'अनुचितभावं मुञ्चति तथाविधं पदं सदपि ।' He again uses the idea of 'Ucitānucita' in the next variety of Grāmya. He then points out like Daṇḍin how all Doṣas like Punarukta etc., become Guṇas elsewhere. (VI, 29-39). Finally, Rudraṭa says that almost all kinds of flaws become excellences when occasion needs the 'imitation'—Anukarṇa—of those flaws. That is, the poet and the dramatist have to depict an infinite variety of men and nature in diverse and complex circumstances. When a madman has to be represented his nonsense has to be 'imitated' and it is itself 'sense' for the artist here. This was pointed out also at the

beginning of this paper while showing how Bharata's N.S. implies the adaptation aspect of Aucitya. Says Rudraṭa:

अनुकरणभावमविकलमसमर्थादि स्वरूपतो गच्छन् ।

न भवति दुष्टमतादृक् विपरोतक्लिष्टवर्णं च ॥ VI., 47.

As an instance of all flaws becoming excellences, Nami-sādhū says that in describing a bad speaker committing mistakes of pronunciation, grammar etc., art makes Guṇas of all those mistakes. Aucitya or adaptation transforms Doṣas into Guṇas. He cites an instance of the funny description of the illiterate husband of the poetess Vikāṭanitambā who is unable to pronounce properly.

यथा विकटनितम्बायाः पतिमनुकुर्वाणा सखी प्राह—

‘काले माषं सरये मासं वदति शकाशं यश्च सकाशम् ।

उद्धे लुम्पति रं वा षं वा तस्मै दत्ता विकटनितम्बा ॥’

इत्यादि ।

Following Rudraṭa, Bhoja says in the beginning of his treatment of those Doṣas which become Guṇas:—

पदाद्याश्रितदोषाणां ये चानुकरणादिषु ।

गुणत्वापत्तये नित्यं तेऽत्र दोषगुणाः स्मृताः ॥ S. K. Ā. I., 89.

This point is realised by the American critic J. E. Spingarn who writes as follows as if explaining the principle of Aucitya, by which Doṣas become Guṇas as a result of circumstances like ‘imitation’ etc. Mr. Spingarn says, in an essay on the Seven Arts and the Seven Confusions, the very same thing, that in poetry and drama Doṣatva and Guṇatva are not absolutely fixed abstractly and that they are always relative. He remarks: ‘It is inconceivable that a modern thinker should still adhere to the *abstract tests of good expression*, when it is obvious that we can only tell whether it is good or bad when we see it in its natural context. Is any word artistically bad in itself? Is not “ain’t” an excellent expression when placed in the mouth of an illiterate character in a play or story?’ In Rudraṭa’s words, Spingarn says that a Grāmya word becomes most appropriate in a case

of Anukaraṇa—‘imitation’. Therefore in expression, in the world of thought, in the realm of action and feeling, and in the region of ideas, that which is proper in the context, that which is useful to the Rasa, and that which has mutual harmony with the other parts, is the best and most beautiful.

In chapter XI, Rudraṭa again speaks of flaws of thought and emotion, Arthadoṣas and Rasadoṣas, where under ‘Grāmya’, he mentions Anaucitya or inappropriateness in doings, in port, in dress and in speech with reference to the country, family, caste, culture, wealth, age and position. The need for the Aucitya in these is emphasised by Bharata. Rudraṭa says:

ग्राम्यत्वमनौचित्यं व्यवहाराकारवेषवचनानां ।

देशकुलजातिविद्यावित्तवयस्स्थानपात्रेषु ॥ XI., 9.

All these Doṣas are again shown to become Guṇas in S’ls. 18-23. We can illustrate this principle of Aucitya everywhere. Ordinarily Nyūnopamā or comparing to an inferior object and Adhikopamā or comparing to a superior object are flaws of Upamā or the figure of Simile but these two are the very secret of success when a poet wants to satirise a person. Nyūnopamā and Adhikopamā are freely employed in comic and satiric writings where they become very ‘Ucita’.

The idea of Aucitya and that word itself also explicitly occur often in the Dhvanyālōka, besides being implied in many places. As a matter of fact, *Anandavardhana* Kṣemendra, the systematic exponent of Aucitya as the ‘Life’ of poetry, took his inspiration only from Ānandavardhana. Ānanda has laid down that the ‘Soul’ of poetry is Rasa or Rasadhvani.

काव्यस्यात्मा स एवार्थः तथा चादिकवेः पुरा ।

क्रोश्चद्वन्द्ववियोगोत्थः शोकः श्लोकत्वमागतः ॥ I., 5.

That Dhvani is the only artistic process by which Rasa, the ‘Ātman’, is portrayed by the poet and is got at by the Sahṛdaya and that everywhere things appeal most by being deftly concealed and suggested by suppression in a fabric of symbology, are the reasons why Ānanda posits Dhvani as

the 'Ātman' of poetry. That really Rasa or Rasdhvani is the 'Ātman' he expressly admits even in the first Uddyota (vide p. 28). The most essential thing in Rasa is Aucitya. That Vastu or ideas and Alaṅkāra or the artistic expression couched in figure and style are only the outer garment of Rasa, that they are subordinate and serviceable only to Rasa and that they have meaning only as such is the way in which Ānanda speaks of the Aucitya of Vastu and Alaṅkāra to Rasa. Firstly, Alaṅkāra by itself has no virtue. It has to be relevant, helpful to develop Rasa and never an overgrowth hindering or making hideous the poem. The term Alaṅkāra itself has meaning only then.

रसभावादितार्प्यमाश्रित्य विनिवेशनं ।

अलङ्कृतीनां सर्वासामलङ्कारत्वसाधनम् ॥ III., 6.

The topic of Aucitya of Alaṅkāra giving the rules which alone secure the appropriate employing of Alaṅkāra is dealt with by Ānanda in Ud. II, S's. 15-20, pp. 85-93. He first takes up the Śabdālaṅkāras and condemns the Yamakas written at a stretch in such tender situations like Vipralambha. The rationale of Ānanda's principles is this: whatever the poet writes must be suggestive of Rasa and everything has to be tested good or bad, relevant or irrelevant, beautiful or ugly, by applying this strict logic of their capacity to suggest or hinder Rasa. The main refrain of Ānanda here is that Alaṅkāra should be structural, organically emerging as the only way of expressing an emotion and it must never be a cool, cold and deliberate effort at decoration, necessitating the forgetting of Rasa and the taking of a special effort.

रसाक्षिप्ततया यस्य बन्धः शक्यक्रियो भवेत् ।

अपृथग्यत्ननिर्वर्त्यः सोऽलङ्कारो ध्वनौ मतः ॥ II., 17.

On p. 88, in Kārikās 19-20, he gives the poet five practical ways of using Alaṅkāra to advantage. On this section is based the section on Alaṅkāraucitya in Kṣemendra's Aucityavicāracarcā.

Similarly Ānanda relates Guṇa to Rasa of which Guṇa is the 'Dharma' and points out Aucitya of Guṇa. The

quality of Mādhurya is inherent in Śṛṅgāra, Vipralambha and Karuṇa whereas Raudra is attended by the quality of Dipti, by a blazing up of the hearts. Accordingly words and collocation used in the two different cases must be such as to agree with the mood and the atmosphere of the Guṇa and its Rasa or such as to suggest the Guṇa and the Rasa. Thus sweet sound effects, the soft letters with nasal conjunct consonants suggest and promote the realisation of the tenderer and sweeter emotional moods whereas harsh combinations which jar in the above instances instil vigour and become very appropriate to or highly suggestive of the wild Rasa of Raudra. This proper use of letters is Varṇa-aucitya; Ānanda will say that there is Varṇadhvani in these instances; and a third will call it Varṇavakratā. Collocation suggestive of Rasa or appropriate to Rasa is a case of Dhvani from Saṅghaṭanā or Aucitya of Saṅghaṭanā. Both these instances of Aucitya of Varṇa and Saṅghaṭanā coming under Guṇa-aucitya are treated of by Ānanda in Ud. III.

यश्चलक्ष्यक्रमव्यङ्ग्यो ध्वनिर्वर्णपदादिषु ।

वाक्ये संघटनायां च स प्रबन्धेऽपि दोष्यते ॥ III., 2.

Wherever there is suggestiveness of Rasa in the expression, be it the element of sound and letter, separate words, collocation, portions of the theme (Prakaraṇa) or even the work as a whole, there we have the Aucitya of those elements to Rasa which is the main thing. This is the relation between Dhvani and Aucitya. This is the relation between Dhvani and Vakratā or Vakrokti, as Abhinava points out in his commentary on chap. XV of the Nāṭyaśāstra.¹

Ānanda says of Varṇas :—

शब्दो सरेफसंयोगौ ढकारश्चापि भूयसा ।

विरोधिनःस्युःशृङ्गारे तेन वर्णा रसच्युतः ॥

त एव तु निवेश्यन्ते बीभत्सादौ रसे यदा ।

तदा तं दीपयन्त्येव तेन वर्णाः रसच्युतः ॥ III., 3-4.

¹ Vide my article on the Writers quoted in the Abhinavabhāratī, *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. VI, Part III. p. 221. Abhinava reconciles here Dhvani, Vakratā and general Vaicitrya. We can reconcile Aucitya also to these.

Sounds must be appropriate—Ucīta—enough to suggest the Rasa. This is the Aucitya called Appropriateness, the test of this Aucitya being the harmony between the expressed sounds and the suggested Rasa, the power of the former, the vehicle and the means, in suggesting the latter, the end. The same sounds helpful, suggestive, or appropriate in one case need not always be so. They are inappropriate to other cases where other suggestive means of expression are required. Similarly what is useless in one case becomes useful in another and this is the Aucitya called Adaptation.

Then Ānanda speaks of another kind of Guṇaucitya called the Saṅghaṭanaucitya.

गुणानाश्रित्य तिष्ठन्तो माधुर्यादीन् व्यनक्ति सा ।

सांस्तन्निधमे हेतुः औचित्यं वक्तृवाच्ययोः ॥ III., 6

Viṣayaucitya is dealt with in III, 7 and Rasaucitya regarding Saṅghaṭanā in III, 9. This topic of Saṅghaṭanā as having its intelligibility in suggesting the qualities of Mādhurya and Ojas which in turn bring in their emotions, Vipralambha and Raudra and as being finally controlled by the Aucitya of Rasa, together with three other minor principles of Aucitya of Vaktā, (the character), Vācya (the subject) and Viṣaya, (the nature or form of artistic expression like the classification into drama, epic poem, campū, prose etc.)—is the special contribution of Ānanda for which he thus takes credit :

इति काव्यार्थविवेको योऽयं चेतश्चमत्कृतिविधायो ।

सूरिभिरनुसृतसारैस्मदुपज्ञो न विस्मर्यः ॥ III., p. 144.

Viṣayaucitya is pointed out by Bharata himself. The dramatic form as such enforces certain conditions and principles of Aucitya on the poet. Ānanda says that in a drama, the supreme concern of the poet shall be only Rasa. He shall never think of Alaṅkāra etc. In drama especially long compounds should be avoided.

‘एवं च दोषसमासा संघटना तस्यां नात्यन्त-
मभिनवेशः शोभते, विशेषतोऽभिनयेयार्थे काव्ये ।’

Dhva. Ā., p. 139.

All things impeding the quick realisation of Rasa must be avoided. According to Bharata this additional Aucitya must be observed as regards drama in particular: the words used must be simple, well-known and easy to be understood, delicate and sweet to hear. Harsh words and grammarisms like Yaṅglugantas, Cekriḍita etc., in a drama are like anchorites with Kamaṇḍalus in a courtesan's room. They are ‘Anucita’ in drama.

चेक्रोडिताद्यैः शब्दैस्तु काव्यबन्धा भवन्ति ये ।

वेश्या इव न शोभन्ते कमण्डलुधरैर्द्विजैः ॥

मृदुशब्दं सुखार्थं च कविः कुर्यात्तु नाटकम् ।

N. S. XXI., 131-2.

(Vide also XVII., 121-3.)

तस्माद्भूमिीरार्थाः शब्दा ये लोकवेदसंसिद्धाः ।

सर्वजनेन ग्राह्याः संयोज्या नाटके विधिवन् ॥

N. S. XXVII., 46

The section on Prabandhadhvani deals with the very substance of a poem or drama and here one has to see that everything observes the principles of Aucitya and justifies itself by suggesting, as best as it can, the Rasa. A story has to be built as the expression of a Rasa. If a story already available is handled changes suitable to the Rasa must be made wherever the old story is not helpful to bring out the Rasa. If there are too many incidents, only those that are most expressive of the emotion must be chosen. This is Prabandhadhvani and Prabandhaucitya as also Prakaraṇadhvani and Prakaraṇaucitya to adopt the two-fold classification of Kuntaka. Bhoja would call this appropriate change in the story as Prabandhadoṣahāna and Kuntaka as Prakaraṇavakra-tā. Appropriateness of which suggestiveness is the touchstone is meant by all of them. Says Ānanda :—

विभावभावानुभावसञ्चार्यौचित्यचारुणः ।

विधिः कथाशरीरस्य वृत्तस्योपेक्षितस्य वा ॥

इतिवृत्तवशायातां त्यक्त्वानुगुणं स्थितिं ।

उत्प्रेक्ष्योऽप्यन्तराभीष्टरसोचितकथोन्नयः ॥

सन्धिसन्ध्यङ्गघटनं रसाभिव्यक्त्यपेक्षया ।

न तु केवलशास्त्रार्थस्थितिसंपादनेच्छया ॥

उद्दीपनप्रशमने यथावसरमन्तरा ।

रसस्यारब्धविश्रान्तेरनुसन्धानमङ्गिनः ॥

अलङ्कृतीनां शक्तावध्यानुकूप्येण योजनं ।

प्रबन्धस्य रसादीनां व्यञ्जकत्वे निबन्धनम् ॥ III., 10-14.

The Aṅgas or subsidiary themes and accessory emotional interests have to be developed only up to the extent proper to them and their Aṅgin, i.e., the chief theme and its Rasa. Thus the episodes, the Patākās and Prakarīs, in a drama or the 'descriptions' in a Mahākāvya have to observe the rule of Aucitya which is proportional harmony. They must not make one forget the main thread and sidetrack him for a sojourn into grounds foreign in purpose to the main theme. That is why Lollāṭa condemns the descriptive digressions in the Mahākāvyas and emphasises thereby the same principle of the Aucitya of proportion by demanding that everything must be 'Rasavat'. When this rule is not observed faults are committed. By the transgression of the principles laid down by Ānanda in the above-given verses and in other places also, Hemacandra, who follows Ānanda and of whose system he is a clear exponent, points out that the following literary flaws are committed :

1. अङ्गस्य अप्रधानस्य अतिविस्तरेण वर्णनं—यथा हयग्रीववधे हय-
ग्रीवस्य । यथा वा विप्रलम्भशृङ्गारे नायकस्य कस्यचित् वर्णयितुमुपक्रान्ते
कवेः यमकाद्यलङ्कारविबन्धरसिकतया समुद्रादेः । K. A. III., p. 121

In Harivijaya, when the delicate sentiment of Vipralambha has to be delineated, the poet has succumbed to the temptation of an overdone description of the beach and the sea. Such irrelevancies can be characterised as so many swellings on the face of a Kāvya. Hemacandra does not spare even the

major poets while considering this aspect of Aucitya. He criticises both the prose works of Bāṇa and the Kāvyas like Śiṣupālavadha for their 'Gaḍus'.

2. अङ्गिनः प्रधानस्य अनुसन्धानम्. Hemacandra remarks that though the drama has to be varied in interest and many other emotions have to be introduced as subsidiary features, the poet must not concentrate on the subsidiary Aṅgas and lose sight of the Aṅgin which must be taken up and brought to the forefront wherever necessary. The main thread must never be lost sight of; for as Hemacandra says :

‘अनुसन्धिर्हि सर्वस्य सहृदयतायाः ।’

3. Irrelevant description or introduction of events, incidents or ideas that have nothing to do with the Rasa is a great mistake. It is ‘अनङ्गस्य रसानुपकारस्य वर्णनम् ।’. These are the principles of Aucitya which secure proportion and harmony. (Vide also Mammaṭa, K. Pra. VII., 13-14.)

The fourth Doṣa mentioned by Hemacandra is Prakṛty-
vyatyaya, breach of Prakṛtyaucitya of which Bharata has spoken at length and which we referred to in the opening section where we held that in this concept of Prakṛti, Bharata implicitly laid down the doctrine of Aucitya also. All these Doṣas are derived from Ānanda's Vṛtti on his own Kārikās on Prabandhadhvani which we have quoted above. In this section Ānanda speaks of the Aucitya of Vibhāva, Anubhāva and Sañcārīn, all of which can be included in the one idea of Bhāvaucitya which resolves into a question of Prakṛty-
aucitya. Aucitya is very often met with in this section in the III. Ud. of the Dhva. Ā. It is in this section that Ānandavardhana formulates that memorable verse which is the greatest exposition of the concept of Aucitya and its place in poetry. He says here : Nothing hinders Rasa as Anaucitya or impropriety; Aucitya is the great secret of Rasa.

अनौचित्यादृते नान्यत् रसमङ्गस्य कारणम् ।

प्रसिद्धौचित्यबन्धस्तु रसस्योपनिबन्धरा ॥

III., 15.

Bharata himself recognises how each part and incident in the drama has to refer to Rasa and how, otherwise, it has no

right to exist. It is only natural, for Bharata is the writer who lays the greatest emphasis on Rasa to which everything else is subservient. Ānanda observes that, simply because Bharata has laid down a certain number of emotional points or incidents as Sandhyaṅgas, one must not try to see that he introduces everything mentioned by Bharata. Whatever is introduced must be on the score of its suggestiveness of Rasa and not on the score of loyalty to text.

सन्धिसन्ध्यङ्गघटनं रसभिव्यक्त्यपेक्षया ।

न तु केवलशास्त्रार्थस्थितिसंग्रहनेच्छया ॥ III. 12. Dhva. Ā.

Bharata himself says so finally having given all the Sandhyaṅgas and Ānanda only restates the following of Bharata :

सर्वाङ्गाणि कदाचित्तु द्वित्रियोगेन (गो न) वा पुनः ।

ज्ञात्वा कार्यमवस्थां च योज्यान्यङ्गानि सन्धिषु ॥

N. S. XXI., 107.

Bharata emphasises discretion; 'ज्ञात्वा कार्यं अवस्थां च'; this suitability or writing according to the needs of the context is only the sense of Aucitya in a poet.

(To be continued)

MARRIAGE AMONG THE PRIMITIVE PEOPLE OF TRAVANCORE

BY

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Marriage, both in theory and practice, is in the melting pot. It has been built up on a system of human needs and conditions which have hitherto been static. 'There are everywhere three motives which lead to marriage, mutual sympathy, the desire for progeny, and the necessity for mutual aid in the struggle for existence'.¹ Primitive marriage was dictated by the inexorable population need. Travancore is one of the ideal places to study primitive marriage institutions. It is proposed to deal here with some aspects of the marriage customs among the Pre-Dravidian and Dravidian Castes and tribes after dealing with their habitat, occupation, and habitations.

Habitat.—The hilly part of Travancore is extensive and picturesque and covers an area of 2,500 square miles. It forms the abode of the hill-tribes. The Muduvan, the Mannan, the Paliyan, and Ūrālī are found in the High Ranges and Cardamom Hills over an elevation of 3,000 feet above sea level. They are healthy and are characterised by great lung capacity, massive chests, and large torsos, which are due to rarefied air in high elevation. The Malapulaya is found in the Anjanad valley below 2,000 feet. Along the base of the ghats are found scattered the Vishavan, the Malayarayan, the Ullādan, the Hill-Pandāram, the Malavēdan, and the Kānikār. The Hill-Pandārams form the only tribe least affected by civilization. The hill-tribes numbered 12,637 in 1921, indicating a fall of 3,136 from the Census of 1911. According to the latest returns, they number 2,907. Geographical conditions have condemned them to isolation in 'regions of poverty today and anxiety for the morrow'.

Occupation.—Climate dictates what kind of crops man may raise. The Mannans, the Muduvans, and the Paliyans

¹ Count Keyserling, *The Book of Marriage*, p. 54.

cultivate ragi, on an elevation of 2,000 to 5,000 feet; while the Kānikārs, the Malayarayans, the Ullādans and Vishavans cultivate paddy and tapioca in lower elevations. Where it encourages growth of forests it prolongs the hunter stage of development and retards advance to agriculture. This is true of the Hill-Pandārams who are in the hunting stage of civilization. Gregariousness among them would be a positive disadvantage. They live in families of 2 or 3 in a locality and move on to another when the food supply is exhausted. As Virgil would have it 'they knew neither how to garner their stores, nor to hoard the gathered grain'.¹ All the other hill-tribes are nomadic agriculturists.

Habitations.—The hill-tribes live in the regions of the bamboo and the reed which are used for a variety of purposes. The Hill-Pandārams live in rock shelters or break-winds, resting on junglewood posts and thatched with wild plantain leaves. The huts are larger and rectangular in shape among the Muduvans, the Mannans, the Ūrālis, and the Paliyans, but the floor is on a level with the ground. The floor is raised from the ground and the hut is of an improved pattern among the Malayarayans, the Ullādans and the Malapulayas. It is made of junglewood posts, reeds, and bamboo, and thatched with grass. Among the Ūrālis and the Malayarayans, there are tree-houses where they spend the night as they are living in high jungle. They are built high up on trees about 50 feet from the ground. Survival of pile-dwellings is seen among the Kānikārs.

Marriage.—Marriage is the joining together of a man and a woman. Before marriage the sexes are separated by sexual taboo. At marriage, they are joined together by the same ideas, worked down to their logical conclusion in reciprocity of relation. Those who were mutually taboo now break the taboo.² Speaking generally, 'marriage is the source of the family, the safeguard of private and public morals, the strength of the nation'.³

Cross cousin marriage.—Exogamy is found among all primitive peoples in the world and the division of a tribe into a number of exogamous clans is a well recognised phenomenon

¹ P. Vidal De La Blache, *The Principles of Human Geography*, p. 56.

² A. E. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, pp. 287-88.

³ *Sex in Civilization*, p. 231.

in Travancore. A man marries the daughter of his mother's brother or father's sister. The children of two brothers or two sisters will belong to the same clan and will not therefore be able to intermarry. It is worthy of mention that cross-cousin marriage is absent among the Vishavans of Idyara Valley.

Monogamy.—Monogamy has had its human origin among the poor. Chastity in women has always been esteemed as a virtue by man, and monogamy has always been a desideratum. Most of the hill-tribes are monogamous, and the family is regarded as the corner-stone of society. Weddings generally take place at dusk of night among the Malayarayans, the Malapulayas, the Hill-Pandārams, the Paliyans, the Muduvans, and the Mannans. Sight is a method of contagion in primitive science, and the idea coincides with the physiological aversion to see dangerous things, and with sexual shyness and timidity. Dr. Westermarck's view is that this custom is due to a desire to protect the bride and bridegroom against dangers from above.¹

Marriage ceremonies.—Besides the usual exchange of cloths and tying of *tāli* (marriage badge), the commonest of marriage ceremonies is eating and drinking together. The Karavazhi Pulaya bridegroom and bride sit on a mat facing east. Food is served on a leaf in front. The bridegroom gives a ball of rice to the bride. She in turn gives one to him which he eats. Among the Hill-Pandārams of Pathanapuram, the bride's father joins the right hand of the bride with the left hand of the bridegroom, and says 'I hand over my daughter to you. Take care of her'. The couple are seated on a mat when four balls of rice are brought in a leaf by the bridegroom's sister. The bride hands over two balls of rice to her husband who eats same. He then gives two balls of rice to his wife who eats same. This mutual inoculation by food is the strongest of all ties and breaks the most important of sexual taboos, that against eating together. Each gives the other part of himself and receives from the other part of him. This effects union by assimilating the one to the other, so as to produce somewhat of identity of substance. When the act is done, its sacramental character is

¹ Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, p. 296.

intensified.¹ Again, the rudimentary ceremonies like joining of hands publicly have, according to Malinowski, some inherent force and an importance as sanctions. Here mutual contact fulfils the union. It is a ceremonial pre-representation of the actual union in marriage, assisting the union by making it safe and making it previously, and, as it were objectively.² Eating together is a common marriage custom prevalent in Fiji and other parts of the world.

Among the Kānikārs of Kottur, there is a slight variation of this custom. One of the modes of mutual contact is the pressing together of the heads of the pair. The couple are seated on a mat, and rice and curry are served on a plantain leaf. Then two women take hold of the bride's head and press it seven times against her husband's shoulders. This over, the bridegroom takes a small quantity of rice and curry and puts it seven times into the mouth of his wife. The Malayarayans have another interesting custom. After the usual exchange of cloths and tying of tāli, the couple are seated on a mat facing east. The bride's brother then gives her a betel leaf which she tears into two. She then changes hand and is then asked to give one half to her lover. She then chews one half. They are then asked to spit in the same spittoon. This consummates marriage. The chewing of betel by the couple constitutes the essence of marriage among the Minihasas of Celebes and the Balans. The pair then eat off from the same leaf.

The Muduvans have another interesting custom. Marriage takes place in the evening in the bride's hut, when the parents of the girl cannot be spectators of the ceremony. The bridegroom presents among other things a comb made of golden bamboo which forms the essential part of the ceremony. It is always worn by women above the knotted hair on the back. This custom prevails among the Mannans. The wearing of combs by women has a wide geographical distribution. It is found among the Australians, the Semangs of the Malay Peninsula, the Sakais of Perak, the Oraons of Chota Nagpur, and the Kadirs of the Cochin State. It is a remarkable phenomenon that the distribution of the comb follows the distribution of the bamboo.

¹ & ² Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, pp. 348-50.

Marriage by capture.—The custom of marriage by capture lingers among the Muduvans and the Mannans. When a woman's parents do not favour her marriage with a man who seeks her hand, the latter makes away with the woman to the jungle, and lives there for a few days in a secluded part. Meanwhile, they are being searched for and taken back to the village, where they are tried by the village panchayat, and let off with a fine. The marriage is then allowed to run its course. Elopement is another recognised institution among the Mannans and arises out of parental objection.

Polygamy.—'That man is by nature polygamous and woman monogamous is biologic rot and has no more sanction than the Divine right of kings, and will eventually go into the same discard' says Dr. Dorsey. Polygamy marks the end of primitive equality and the appearance of clan distinctions. It develops in a society where private property is an institution. Polygamy is prevalent among the Muduvans, the Paliyans, the Kānikārs, the Malayarayans, the Malapulayas to a limited extent. It was widely prevalent among the Ūrālīs among whom marriage is by exchange of sisters. Formerly, an Ūrālī married as many women as he had sisters. An Ūrālī cannot now purchase a wife from her parents by giving the equivalent in some kind of property. A man who has no sister to offer in marriage has often to lead a life of single blessedness. The result is unequal distribution of women as wives between the males of the community, the old man having more than the young, who had to go without any. Now polygamy is practised by them to a limited extent. Cross-cousin marriage is also in vogue. The custom of cross-cousin marriage is considered to have arisen from exchange of women by brothers. The system of marriage by exchange of sisters is also found among the Ullādans and Malavēdāns of Travancore, the Madigas of Mysore, the Bhotiyas of United Provinces, the Garos of Assam, the Australians, and other backward races.

Polyandry.—According to Westermarck, polyandry depends a great deal on the proportion between male and female population and polygamy where women constitute the majority in countries unaffected by European civilization.

¹ G. A. Dorsey, *Why We Behave Like Human Beings*, p. 437.

There are more men than women among the Malapulayas, the Malayarayans, the Ūrālis, and the Paliyans. It is said that where food is abundant, females exceed males. Where food is scarce, males exceed females. This holds good among the above tribes, among whom there are more males than females owing to scarcity of food.

Polyandry is of two kinds, the matriarchal where the husbands are not related, and the fraternal where they are brothers or cousins on the father's side. In the case of the former, the husbands are merely recognised as lovers and lose their privileges at the pleasure of the woman. The matriarchal type is found among the Karavazhi Pulayas, the Plateau-Muduvans, and the Mannans. Fraternal polyandry merges into monogamy by the steady growth of the rights of the elder brother. It now exists in a community where mother-kin is the rule. This form of polyandry is due to poverty and the desire to avoid large families owing to paucity of females. It prevails to some extent among the Malayarayans, the Ullādans, the Paliyans and the Ūrālis among the hill-tribes, and the Kaniyāns, the Izhavas, and the Chakkāla Nayars. Rev. Mateer observes that the Ūrālis practised polyandry like the Todas. It is now becoming extinct. Polyandry may be traced to various causes. It may serve to check the increase of population in regions where the number of mouths remain adapted to the number of acres. It keeps family property intact where the husbands are brothers. Poverty and paucity of women may be a combined cause of polyandry.

Levirite and sororate.—The custom of marriage with a deceased brother's wife is called levirate. The corresponding custom of marriage with a deceased wife's sister is called sororate. The two customs are found complementary among the Ūrālis, the Ullādans, and the Mannans, while levirate is alone practised by the Malayarayans and the Kānikārs. The Malavēdāns practise neither levirate nor sororate. Dr. Frazer thinks that the two customs are traceable to a common source in a form of group marriage. Dr. Westermarck does not concur with this view.

Widow marriage.—Widow marriage is permitted among the hill-tribes of Travancore. Where widow marriage is allowed, the general rule is that the deceased husband's younger

brother takes her as his wife. This is true of the Kānikārs, the Muduvans, the Mannans and the Ullādans. Marriage with elder brother of deceased husband is found to exist among the Malapulayas and the Malayarayans.

Pre-marital communism.—It is maintained that if chastity originated with the growth of marital jealousy, it would affect only those who are married and that most of the tribes who are Dravidian or Mongolian allowed the utmost freedom prior to marriage between the sexes within the tribe. This view does not hold good with Travancore. All the aboriginal tribes prohibit pre-marital intercourse between the sexes. Among the Muduvans, the Mannans and the Kānikārs there are separate dormitories for the unmarried young men and women. There they spend the night under the surveillance of elderly persons.

Pre-puberty coition.—Pre-puberty coition is permitted among the Vishavans, the Kānikārs, and the Cheenganni-vēdāns. Early intercourse is injurious to health, and according to Carr-Saunders, it is not difficult to understand in a general way how, if this is so, the reproductive functions will be adversely affected.

Adultery.—The chastity of a woman is highly valued. Any breach of chastity used to be very severely punished. Among the Kānikārs of Kulathupuzha it used to be the custom that, if a man committed adultery, his legs were tied up to the branch of a tree. Straw was spread over the ground and it was smoked. The man's body is swung to and fro and he was given 24 lashes. The woman was given 12 lashes. The Kānikārs of Kottur tie up 101 twigs of tamarind tree into one, and the adulterer is given one lash with it. It is considered equivalent to 101 lashes.

The Malapulayas tie up both the guilty man and woman to a Mullu-Murukku tree (*Erythrina stricta*) which is called Vambumaram. The hands were tied to the tree with fibre. Both are given 12 lashes with a twig of tamarind.

If a Paliyan committed incest, the offence was heard by the village council. The culprit was formerly punished with being kept under stocks (ഓടം) for a day. This is said to be now given up. Punishment now takes the form of a fine.

The culprits among the Malavēdāns are beaten and are fined 10 fanams each. The offence is partaken by the panchyat of 16 men who restore the woman to her husband.

Speaking generally, adultery is looked upon with abhorrence. Divorce is freely had by man or woman for very trivial reasons like incompatibility of temper, sterility, and others.

Influence of civilization on sexual matters.—Contact with higher culture has proved pernicious to the morality of primitive peoples. Irregular connections between the sexes have, on the whole, exhibited a tendency to increase with the progress of civilization, for it would seem, according to Heape, highly probable that the reproductive power of man has increased with civilization. In the words of Havelock Ellis, 'a man is a man to his thumbs, and a woman is a woman down to her little toes. A masculine body implies a masculine mind, and a feminine body carries even more significant implications'. The Mannans, the Paliyans, and the Malapulayas have become demoralised with contact with the planting community on the hills, while among the higher caste Dravidian population, new problems have now arisen. The proportion of unmarried people and the marriage age are known to have risen in recent times. One important cause of the decline in the marriage is the difficulty of supporting a family in modern society. Generally speaking, the average age of marriage is more advanced among the upper classes than in the lower ones. The increasing economic independence of women has begun to make itself felt. Lastly, the tastes of men and women have become widened, their desires multiplied, and new gratifications and pleasures have been supplied to them. The domestic life does not fill so large a place in life.

Great difference of age in marriage is fatal to close sympathy since similar objects and interests are associated with similar periods of life, and these with similar intensity of sexual desire.¹ Among primitive tribes, the difference in marriageable age does not tend to be greater in Travancore, because marriage is the *sine qua non* of their existence. The modern tendency to shorten the difference in marriage age is achieved by increase in marriage age for females to approximate to the male post-

¹ Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, p. 362.

ponement of marriage. A note of warning is struck 'Between the age of 15 and 25 are ten long years. During these years, the mate hunger impulse cannot be put to sleep or locked in a closet'.¹ The earlier years are the most fecund years and postponement of marriage reduces fecundity.

As I said above, domestic life does not fill so large a place in life. 'Until recently, it was a woman-made world we lived in. The mere male had to go outside the world to work off his surplus energy. The wife-mother was the centre of the home and it was to her interest to make it a real centre. It became a hive of industry and a swarm of children. Whatever glorified it magnified her importance. Within, she was supreme. In this woman-made world, men passed half their lives, the other half was spent in bringing home the bacon. Now women have their rights. In obtaining rights, she abdicated a throne. She no longer rules by divine right. The children that bless the home are turned over to the nurse, while mother presides at bridge, over committees to cleanse the slums. Result—males no longer naively accept matrimony or implicitly trust their wives. Females turn to matrimony if they have nowhere else to turn.'² Dr. Tagore says 'It is not by coming out of the home that woman can gain her liberty. Her liberation can only be effected in a society where her true *shakti*, her *ananda*, is given the widest and highest scope for its activity.'³

C. E. M. Joad, one of the greatest philosophers, says, 'Aspire only to those virtues familiar to your sex and think it your greatest commendation not to be talked off among men for good or evil. The greatest woman, according to Pericles, is one of whom nobody has heard'. Keyserling regarded marriage as a duty and resents the thought that one should expect to get happiness outside it.⁴

¹ & ² Dorsey, *Why We Behave Like Human Beings*, p. 445.

³ Keyserling, *The Book of Marriage*; Rabindranath Tagore, *The Indian Ideal of Marriage*, p. 121.

⁴ *Sex in Civilization*, p. 231.

UNIVERSITY NOTES

REGULATIONS, COURSE OF STUDIES AND EXAMINATIONS

The B.Sc. Honours Degree Examination Regulations were revised. Minor alterations in the Regulations governing the several examinations were also made. The revision of the Regulations governing all the examinations with a view to ensure uniformity in arrangement, is under consideration.

It has been resolved to institute a Degree in Veterinary Science in the University.

The question of the recognition of the examinations of other universities has been a subject of discussion. The Syndicate after considering all correspondence on the matter has resolved that :

1. The Entrance Examination of any Indian University be accepted as equivalent to the Matriculation Examination of the Madras University; and

2. Except in the case of admission to professional courses of study (where the Syndicate may dispense with a strict compliance with the conditions) applicants from other universities must have obtained a first or second class or 45 per cent of the total marks in their examinations for admission to courses of study in this University.

CONVOCATIONS

Two Convocations were held during the half-year. The first Convocation held on the 3rd August 1933 had two sessions one in the morning, mainly for the graduates who took a second Degree and the other in the evening for the persons who took their first Degrees, and Doctorate Degrees and all those Degree holders who were recipients of prizes and medals. The other Convocation was held on the 7th December 1933. His Excellency the Chancellor presided over the afternoon session of the first Convocation held on the 3rd August, 1933, and the Vice-Chancellor presided over the other two Convocations.

The Rev. P. Carty, S.J., B.Sc., D.D. delivered the address to the Graduates of the year at the Convocation held in the afternoon of the 3rd August.

The total number of persons that took the several Degrees, Diplomas and Certificates at the Convocations was 2,448.

The following persons were declared qualified for the higher Degrees in Research noted below :

<i>Doctor of Science</i>	<i>Subject of Thesis</i>
Mr. A. Subba Rao, M.A., M.Sc. ...	'Investigations on the Spectra of Arsenic and Bromine.'
Mr. K. S. Krishnan, M.Sc., Hony. Secretary, Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, and Professor, University of Calcutta.	'Magnetic Susceptibilities of Crystals in relation to Crystal Structure.'
Mr. S. Kalyanaraman, M.A., L.T., Asst. Professor of Physics, Presidency College, Madras.	'An Acoustic Survey of some Auditoria in Madras'.
<i>Doctor of Philosophy</i>	
Mr. T. R. Chintamani, M. A., Senior Lecturer, Department of Sanskrit, University of Madras.	'A History of Purva Mimamsa Literature.'
<i>Master of Oriental Learning</i>	
Mr. A. M. Satakoparamanujachari, Vidvan, Tamil Pandit, Govt. College, Kumbakonam.	'A History of Early Cera Kings from Tamil Sangam works.'

TEACHERS AND RESEARCH DEPARTMENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY

Dr. M. O. Parthasarathi Ayyangar, Professor of Botany in the Presidency College, Madras, has been appointed Professor of Botany in the University and Director of the Botany Research Laboratory of the University in the grade of Professor. The Director's post was hitherto held honorarily by Dr. T. Ekambaram, Lecturer in Natural Science in the Teachers' College, Saidapet.

The Government asked for the loan of the services of Dr. P. J. Thomas, University Professor of Indian Economics to serve on the Expert Committee appointed to work on the Economic Survey of India and the University has lent his services.

LECTURES

The following courses of Special Lectures were delivered during the period :—

Dr. Arnold A. Bake ...	3 lectures on 'Indian Music and Western Music'.
Samasthana Vidvan R. Raghava Ayyangar ...	6 lectures on 'Tamil Culture with special reference to Tholkappiam, Kural and the Sangma Literature.'

The following lectures were delivered by the Teachers and Honorary Readers of the University :—

<i>Lecturer</i>	<i>No. of Lectures</i>	<i>Subject of Lecture</i>
Dr. P. J. Thomas, Professor of Indian Economics.	6	Planned Economy for India. (3 lectures have been delivered.)
Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Professor of Indian History and Archæology.	6	Early Hindu Javanese History and Art.
Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Lecturer in Indian History.	2	'The Matsya Purana'.
Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Reader in Sanskrit.	6	The Conception of Heaven, and Final Release and the Paths thereto in the Vedic Literature. (2 lectures delivered.)
Dr. R. Vaidyanathaswami, Reader in Mathematics.	6	The Continuum Point and the Wave-Corpuscle.
Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, Reader in Indian Philosophy.	6	Saiva Siddhanta.
Mr. R. Gopala Ayyar, Director, Zoology Research Laboratory.	6	1. Modern Zoology and Human Progress. 2. A few Marine Biological Problems. 3. Cytoplasmic Inclusions.
Dr. M. Damodaran, Director, Biochemistry Research Laboratory.	6	The Chemical Constitution of the Proteins.
<i>Honorary Readership Lectures</i>		
Mr. V. K. Ayyappan Pillai, M.A., Professor of English, Presidency College, Madras.	4	Some Aspects of Old English Religious Poetry.
Mr. J. P. Manikkam, M.A., Professor of Physics, Madras Christian College, Madras.	4	Studies in Statistical Theories.
Mr. P. Sambamurti, B.A., B.L., Lecturer in Indian Music, Queen Mary's College, Madras.	4	South Indian Music of the Post-Tyagaraja Period.
Mr. George Kuriyan, B.A., B.L., B.Sc. (Lond.), Lecturer in Geography, University of Madras.	4	Advanced Map Projections.

Mr. K. M. Panikker, B.A. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law, who was appointed Lecturer under the Sundaram Ayyar-Krishnaswami Ayyar

Endowment Lectures, delivered a course of six lectures on 'Inter-Statal Law—the Law affecting the relations of the Indian States with the British Crown'.

Mr. V. Rangacharya, M.A., Professor of Indian History in the Presidency College, Madras, who was appointed Lecturer under the Sir S. Subrahmanya Ayyar Endowment Lectures, delivered a course of two lectures early in December, on 'The Economic Life, Ideas and Reconstructions in Vedic Times'.

PUBLICATIONS

The following works were published during the half year :

Indian History Department

1. Some Aspects of Vayu Purana, by Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Lecturer in Indian History.
2. Modi Manuscripts of Tanjore, by Mr. R. S. Shelvanker, Research Student, Department of Indian History.

Department of Tamil.

1. The Chronology of the Early Tamils, by Mr. K. N. Sivaraja Pillai, Senior Lecturer in Tamil.
2. Paranar, by Mr. Venkatarajulu Reddiyar, Junior Lecturer in Tamil.

Kanarese Department

1. Abhidana Vastukosha } edited by Messrs. A. Venkata
2. Pushpadanta Purana } Rao and H. Sesha Ayyangar.

Malayalam Department

Subhadraharanam (Pana), edited by Mr. C. Achyuta Menon, Senior Lecturer in Malayalam.

Sanskrit Department

Unadi Sutras, Parts I and II by Mr. T. R. Chintamani, Senior Lecturer in Sanskrit.

Diwan Bahadur A. Ramaswami Mudaliar's Lectures on 'Indian Federation' delivered under the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri Endowment Lectures, were also published by the University.

It has been resolved to issue a separate number of the University journal containing articles in the Indian Vernaculars.

ENDOWMENTS

The following Endowments were accepted by the Syndicate during the year :

1. The Hemingway Memorial Scholarship from the Secretary of the Hemingway Memorial Committee, Madras, for the

award of a scholarship in the name of Mr. F. R. Hemingway, I.C.S., formerly Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Madras, to a candidate who pursues the B. A. Degree course taking Group IV-B, Economics.

2. The Bardswell Law Scholarship,—from the Secretary of the Bardswell Law Scholarship Fund, Madura, for the award of a scholarship in the name of Mr. H. R. Bardswell, who was the District and Sessions Judge, Madura, to a Graduate who is a native of Madura or Ramnad District pursuing the Law course for the B.L. in a college.

3. Dr. A. C. Asirvada Nadar Memorial Prize,—from the Secretary, Dr. A. C. Asirvada Nadar Memorial Committee for the award of a Prize in Memory of Dr. A. C. Asirvada Nadar, to the student who qualifies in the Final M.B., B.S. Degree at the first appearance for the whole examination (Part II) and gets the highest number of marks in Gynaecology and Obstetrics.

4. Mr. G. A. Natesan Prize,—from the subscribers to the G. A. Natesan Sashtiabdaputi Fund, to found a prize to be awarded for proficiency in Music either in B.A., or in the Diploma in Music.

The Ramarayaningar Prize for encouragement of Telugu Publication was awarded to Mr. D. Lakshminarasimhan, M.A., L.T., for his essay in Telugu on 'Rural Economics of India with special reference to South India'.

The Sir William Wedderburn Prize for research in Chemistry was awarded to Mr. S. V. Ganapati, B.A., M.Sc.

The Gokhale Prize for original research in Economics was awarded to Mr. G. Gopal Rao, M.A.

CONFERENCES AND CONGRESSES

The Syndicate has appointed the following persons to represent the University as delegates for the several Conferences and Congresses.

Diwan Bahadur Sir K. Ramunni Menon, Kt.	The Third Quinquennial Indian Universities Conference to be held at Delhi.
Mr. W. Erlam Smith	
Rao Bahadur Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar.	
Dr. C. Kunhan Raja.	All-India Oriental Conference to be held at Baroda.
Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.	
Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri.	
Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri	All-India Philosophical Congress.
...	

Dr. P. J. Thomas	...	{	All-India Economic Conference,
			to be held at Annamalainagar.
Mr. S. R. Ranganathan	...	{	All-India Library Conference
			held at Calcutta.
Mr. S. Anavaratavinayakam	...	{	
Pillai			
Mr. K. N. Sivaraj Pillai.	...	{	The Tamil-Lovers' Conference.
Mr. V. Venkatarajulu Reddiyar.			
Mr. C. Achyuta Menon	...	{	Kerala Sahitya Parishat held at
			Calicut.
Mr. A. Venkata Rao.	...	{	
Mr. H. Sesha Ayyangar.			The Karnataka Sahitya Parishat.

REVIEWS

It is regretted that an error crept in the name of a well-known author whose book was reviewed in the last number of the Journal. Dr. M. N. Saha (not M. N. Shah) is the author of the book 'Six Lectures on Atomic Physics' (Patna University Lectures) reviewed by Mr. P. E. Subramaniam.

THE MAIN CURRENTS OF MARATHA HISTORY (Patna University Readership Lectures, 1926). By G. S. SARDESAI, B.A., published by the Patna University (1926): pp. viii and 190.

This series of lectures by Mr. Sardesai who has recently brought out a series of *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, under the auspices of the Government of Bombay, was intended to be a rapid survey over the whole course of Maratha history bringing out those salient points which have been established on evidence gathered in the last two decades and more, in Maharashtra by the labours of scholars like Ranade, Parasnis, Khare and the enthusiasts connected with the Bharat Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandal, Poona. According to the evidence accumulated, the Shivaji period has undergone an almost complete reconstruction; and in the early Peshwa period and the post-Panipat epoch, many conclusions hitherto accepted as final, have been recast; and more are being modified. With an enthusiasm that is justifiable in the circumstances, Mr. Sardesai, himself a prominent member of this group of workers, sees a harmonious blending of the genius of the Yadava and the Vijayanagar cultures in Shivaji; and also--what can be regarded as a matter on which there can be more than one opinion--that the great ideals of Shivaji continued to surge in Maratha minds right up to the close of the eighteenth century. He admits, of course, that the Maratha ideal had some evil effects and notes that it brought an inertness to bear on Shahu's policy for nearly 40 years and an egoism that could not long sustain itself and had to be propped up on artificial bases.

Mr. Sardesai devotes the second lecture to a survey of recent historical research in Maharashtra and urges, in this connection, a more effective utilisation of Persian accounts and the records of the British and other European powers that would serve as a corrective and supplement. He then elaborates the main features of Shivaji's conception of a Hindu empire and explains how it was catching and fired the hearts of the Sikhs, the Jats and

the Rajputs. The ideal later on became warped from its original shape, when the Peishwas looked to the north and other directions for expansion. The author sees in this expansion an interchange of ideas between Hindustan and the Deccan. It is obviously a pardonable overestimate on his part to compare Shahu with Queen Victoria and to see in him virtues which were but the reflection of the greatness of his Peishwas and generals. The third Peishwa is known to have been lacking in sagacity and length of vision when he allowed himself to be led by lieutenants into the climax of Panipat. The lecture on Mahadji Scindia and Nana Farnavis is the model of a comparative estimate of the qualities and achievements of two great contemporary figures. In his last lecture Mr. Sardesai goes into an analysis of the causes that brought about the downfall of the Marathas, in which an woeful lack of organisation and equipment in the army naturally occupies a very prominent place. The book affords some stimulating ideas and interpretations and should be a welcome addition to the literature in English on Maratha polity and history.

C. S. S.

HISTORY OF INDIA A.D. 150 to A.D. 350. By MR. K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A. Published by MOTILAL BANARSI DAS, Lahore, 1933, pp. 282. Price Rs. 10.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's researches on Ancient Indian Polity have contributed very largely to the elucidation of many problems of constitutional and administrative importance in Hindu India. Now he has come out with a History of India A.D. 150-350, generally known as the dark period of Indian History, and has thus supplied one of the missing links in the chain. The sources of information have been handled with caution and the evidences cited have a basis in fact. Hence the paramount importance of the book cannot be contested.

According to the author the ancient Nāgas continued to rule from A.D. 150 to 284 under the name of Bhāraśivas who drove out the Kuṣāns from Magadha and established what may be called a Democratic Empire. The Vākātakas, the Vindhyaikas of the Purāṇas, established their kingdom by A.D. 284, which expanded into an empire and flourished until A.D. 348 when Samudragupta conquered them. Though their imperial position was shaken, yet they continued to reign as the feudatories of the Guptas.

The history of Magadha is traced from the fall of the Kaṇvas in 31 B.C., when the Sātavāhanas occupy Pāṭaliputra. During their preoccupation with Kadphises and Wema Kadphises, the

Lichchavis take possession of Magadha. About A.D. 200 the dynasty of the Kotas comes to power and continues until A.D. 275 when the first Gupta ruler appears as a feudatory. In the same way the history of South India pertaining to the relevant period is traced concisely but perspicuously. The never-ending controversy of the Pallava origin is set at rest by making them a junior branch of the Vākātakas. Incidentally the relations of South India with Farther India are examined. After summarising the achievements of Samudragupta, the author justly concludes that he did not overdo militarism, but gained his object through diplomacy and peace. One of the effects of the Gupta imperialism was the creation of an elevated national outlook from many points of view—political, social and cultural. Samudragupta was able to achieve all this because the spade-work had already been done by the Bhāraśivas and the Vākātakas. The book is an original thesis throwing definite light on an important period of Indian History.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

THE REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE UNIVERSITIES BUREAU OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE, for the year 1932-33, (London, 1933).

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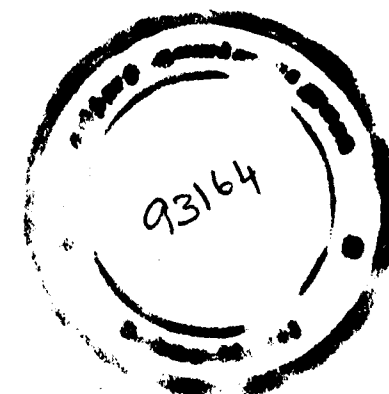
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