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AN APPRAISAL OF THE INDIAN PLAN

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by

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In terms of the fundamentals of planning, the Indian plan may be appraised to see to what extent it conforms to the generally accepted notions of a planned economy. If there are departures from orthodox principles, their justification has to be examined from the standpoint of the special circumstances that govern the Indian economy. Such an approach would help us to determine the general character of the Indian Plan, which is perhaps more important than getting lost in its details.

At the outset one has to know clearly what differentiates a planned from an unplanned economy. In a planned economy there would be a general supercession of individual enterprise as the source of all economic decisions. There would also be an enlargement of the field surveyed when any economic decision is taken. This is perhaps the most fundamental feature of any form of economic planning. An economy may also be said to be under the influence of planning when the State exercises a substantial degree of determination of how the national economy shall operate and applies controls for the purpose. Thus the State would create conditions favourable for the proper utilization of national resources. Further, a planned economy would not be exclusively shaped by the calculus of profit. The maintenance of national security and the achievement of Social Justice would loom large among the objectives of the State.

In a planned economy the State would take over an important function of the market, namely the co-ordination of individual activities. It has to determine how the activities of the various units should fit together in order to secure a full and balanced use of the resources. Thus under planning there is an underlying idea of regulating the economy by deliberate policy instead of relying on impersonal economic forces. Finally, a planned economy is characterised by quantitative programmes formulated with a view to attain the main objectives of economic policy.

In the implementation of a planned economy certain difficulties are encountered. The elimination of the pricing system deprives the economy of the automatic guide to productive activity. There would be a lack of incentive to efficient management owing to the weakening of the profit motive. A planned economy may also be unable to make adequate provision for the future, as the rate of capital formation by the people may be reduced. There would certainly be a growth of bureaucracy. Further, the direct controls that are necessary to guide the economy are inherently contagious. They would require supporting or protective controls in the neighbouring sectors. Market forces may also neutralise certain controls and thus necessitate a constant extension of the area under control. Another difficulty in a planned economy consists in finding a definable and enforceable criterion of good performance. Finally, a planned economy is invariably hostile to international trade and has a tendency towards autarky.

But as against the foregoing defects a few positive gains may accrue from planning. The existing limitations of vision and calculation would no longer continue under planning. There would be an extension of the field of cognition over the breadth of industry and also an increase in the length of foresight over time. The future exhaustion of materials and manpower would be duly considered under conscious planning. A planned economy would also override private interests for the sake of general harmony and a stable advance towards a just society. Even the problem of incentive is not one that can be disposed of as being incompatible with central control and direction. After all profit accrues in the present industrial structure to those who do not work. Hence it cannot be the motivating force for efficiency in work. Its connection with incentive has long disappeared. But there are other incentives, such as payment by results, which could continue even under planning, because the State envisages a gradual abolition of the unearned element in personal income to establish greater economic and social equality. With greater economic equality the financial motive for personal efficiency will be stronger.

Consumers' sovereignty need not altogether disappear from a planned economy. Freedom of choice can be compatible with planning. The logic of pricing and costing could apply to a planned economy also if the outputs are such as to bring the two into equality. Even with regard to ends, planning can serve any set of chosen ends and can have any pattern of production and consumption. It would be more efficient than an unplanned economy, because reason is superior to instinct and knowledge to ignorance. In the sphere of foreign trade planning need not necessarily mean autarky. The general national plan can be initially reconciled with international trade. Such a reconciliation is of particular importance for under-developed countries, as they would obviously depend on imports for development.

Economic planning has also a political significance. It would remove the existing contradiction between a democratic form of Government and an aristocratic economic constitution. Economic security is of fundamental importance for the success of Democracy. Thus through planning it is possible to harmonize social security with economic progress and to preserve political freedom. From a social standpoint planning is helpful, as it lays emphasis on minimum standards for its people and not merely on maximum productive capacity. The State would plan the use of all resources in order to ensure full and productive employment. The waste that arises in a capitalistic economy between private and social interest in an economic act may be avoided.

II

Though benefits of planning are numerous, certain conditions have to be satisfied before planning could be successful. The primary object of planning is to diminish scarcity by increasing wealth. It implies therefore that the Nation should make the best use of its resources, which, in other words, is the problem of economic calculus. The initial condition of successful planning is the formulation of a scale of values on the basis of which the alternative uses of resources may be evaluated. It would help an optimum allocation of resources in an economy. Such a scale of values represents the ends of action. Generally the scale of values depends on consumers' preferences. Hence the consumers' sovereignty is not completely erased in the planned economy. The conception of welfare would receive special consideration under planning. Welfare, according to Marshall and Pigou, is interpreted as the sum of the utilities in the individual households of a community. An optimum allocation of resources would maximise welfare in this sense. As Pareto and Barone have pointed out, it must be impossible for any reallocation of resources to enhance the welfare of one household without reducing that of another, as at the optimum allocation such opportunities would have been exploited. The factors of production must be combined in a technologically optimum manner. The conditions of such optimum are that the ratio of marginal utilities for each pair of goods should be the same for all and that the marginal value productivity of each factor has to be the same in every industry. There should be no increase in value by the shifting of a worker from one occupation to another. A planning scheme ought to approximate towards such an optimum allocation. The total cost of the optimum output must be at a minimum and the price must equal marginal cost. The average cost may not always be equal to it, because the scale of operations may yield increasing returns. Still price must equal marginal cost of the long run.

The administrative problem in planning is intricate and not easy of solution. It is difficult for the planning authority to decide successively on all the alternatives and even if that is possible it is difficult to control the execution of its directives. So a planning scheme has to be devised to approximate to the optimum allocation in practice. Taylor, Dickinson and Lange believe in a competitive solution of this problem. According to it all transfer of goods among production units are to be recorded in terms of an accounting unit. All goods would be valued at established prices and all services at established wages. There would be freedom of choice of occupations and goods. Each production unit would minimise average cost and fix output at a point where established price would equal marginal cost. Capital would be made freely available at established rate of interest. The planning authority would adjust prices and wages from time to time in order to bring the demand and supply of goods into line. Thus the planning authority would supplant the market place for integrating decisions. An alternative to the competitive solution is a centralist scheme where operations may be integrated directly by the planning authority. In this scheme the process of trial and error would take place on paper rather than in the market place. In this scheme technological factors would determine the optimum allocation of resources. The planned requirements of different commodities and services would be checked against planned supplies. But here the administrative burden on the planning authority would be heavy.

III

Planning has a few pitfalls and they have to be circumvented. Some Economists are of opinion that the pitfalls are so serious that they cannot be avoided and hence planning can never be successful. Others feel that there are methods of avoiding them and thus implementing a planned economy. Mises thinks that where there is no free market there can be no pricing mechanism and where there is no pricing mechanism there can be no economic calculation. Mises pointed out that an economic use of the available resources was only possible if the pricing was applied not only to the final product but also to all the intermediate products and factors of production. So Mises and others of his opinion believed in the impossibility of rational calculation in a centrally directed economy from which prices are necessarily absent. But Pareto and Barone thought otherwise. They are of opinion that once tastes and techniques are given, the values of the means of production can be determined by imputation without the intervention of the market process. So the planning authority can allocate resources to assure optimum welfare. But Hayek thinks that though imputation may be theoretically possible it cannot be accomplished in practice. This statement is refuted by Lange. He says that trial and error, as in a competitive market, can determine the accounting price of capital goods and of productive resources. Hayek has also raised other objections. He is of opinion that free choice of the consumer and planning from the centre are incompatible aims. According to him, in a society which is to preserve freedom of choice of the consumer and free choice of occupations, central direction of all economic activity presents a task which cannot be rationally solved under the complex conditions of modern life. Thus there are several threats about the pitfalls of planning, but still it has to be attempted with the hope of circumventing them.

Finally, planning should not be at the cost of culture. Culture embodies education, arts, recreation and religion. All of them should be conserved and improved through planning. So the emphasis should be shifted from means and methods to ends and values. Education should become a true cultural pursuit. It should not engage itself merely in collecting known techniques. There should be no sacrifice of arts. Planners who do not recognize the interplay between the necessary and the beautiful might easily defeat creativeness. Too much of regimentation might kill the spirit of creativeness. The function of recreation is to renew the personality. It is for teaching the body to engage itself in a wider range of activities and for the mind to flow in channels of larger perspective. So recreation embraces the quality of adventure and there should be scope for it in a planned economy. Religious institutions should adapt themselves to a new situation which calls for belief in present prospects for a good life. When such adaptation takes place, they become useful allies for achieving the new social order. Otherwise they decay and may have to face the probability of extinction. Thus economic planning has also to be done in a cultural setting.

IV

The Indian Plan may now be appraised in terms of the foregoing fundamentals. The first point to be considered is the change in the complexion of the economy that is envisaged by the Plan. It expects only a partial supercession of individual economic decisions, since it recommends the creation of public and private sectors with the ultimate object of establishing a mixed economy. But the field to be surveyed hereafter will be relatively larger. Consequently there will be scope for a more effective utilization of the resources of the country. The purpose of the Indian Plan is to raise the standard of living of the people. To achieve it the Plan attempts to remould the social and economic framework of the country. Capital formation is an indispensable condition of economic progress and so a diversion of resources from current consumption is recommended. At present the rate of saving in the country is 5 per cent of the national income which is estimated at Rs. 9,000 crores. By 1955-56 the national income is expected to reach Rs. 10,000 crores and if 20 per cent of the increase is reinvested the rate of saving would rise to 6·75 per cent of the national income. In an under-developed country like India the ratio of output in relation to investment would be high at the initial stages and hence a diversion from current consumption would be worthwhile.

In the Indian Plan the calculus of profit does not seem to be the sole criterion for development in the public sector. Higher objectives, such as social justice and the establishment of a Welfare State, seem to govern policy. These ideals are sought to be realised through a peaceful social change by means of a gradual reduction in the inequalities of income. But the Plan also wishes to guard against a fall in private savings and hence in productive activities. The State is enjoined to bring about a realignment of productive forces and class relationships. But the Plan does not recommend complete nationalization and the elimination of private enterprise. On the other hand, there is provision for a progressive widening of the public sector and for direction and control of the private sector. A reduction in inequalities is to be brought about either by exhortation of private sector wherever successful or by mild coercion through controls wherever necessary.

In the Indian Plan the State does not propose to take over fully the function of the market, namely, the co-ordination of individual activities. But the Plan alters the mechanism of the market by the creation of the public sector. Its operation under the altered circumstances is expected to be such that the ultimate objectives of the plan would be realised in the fullness of time. The Plan lays down certain quantitative programmes, but its execution is to be shared by the State and private enterprise. Priorities are also determined in the Plan, but subject to the condition that they may change as the initial ones prepare the ground for the others. Agriculture, Irrigation and Power have received the topmost priority. Then come transportation and key industries in sequence. The expenditure on social services is limited in relation to the aggregate outlay. A novel feature of the Plan is the establishment of the community projects for pressing into service the under-utilized reserves of manpower in the country.

The mechanism and methods of implementation of the Indian Plan vary, to some extent, from those that are generally accepted under full-fledged planning. In some directions there is a compromise and in others the intervention is more direct. Under the Indian scheme the free market and the price system would continue as heretofore except that the prices of the factors of production would be affected to some extent by the influence of the public sector according to the targets which it has set for itself. With regard to capital formation the State would render aid by means of fiscal measures, but the State would also place much reliance on private saving. Private savings would be directed to desired channels by the State through incentives and deterrants. Direct methods, such as control of capital issues and licensing of plants may also be employed for the purpose. Of course, opinion is divided about the efficacy of such direct methods. Bernstein is of opinion that monetary policy transcends in effectiveness any direct controls, since it is pervasive and acts on the whole economy. On the other hand, he feels, controls should be stricter than the need for the restrictions they impose, because excess demand restrained at one point flows over and breaks through at innumerable other points. The Planning Commission has however not ignored this point and has recommended the maintenance of a structure of prices favourable to an allocation of resources to suit their priorities and targets, as the prevailing prices would influence the investment of savings in particular directions.

Therefore, while the market mechanism is allowed to function in the planned economy, its operation is regulated indirectly. The operation of the economy is to be directed by the State through a properly integrated system of controls. There are three categories of controls that the Plan would incorporate in its mechanism. Credit control is one among them. The object of it is not only to regulate the overall supply of credit in the country but also to determine the particular fields of enterprise and the special sections of the community to which it must be directed. Price control is another; the purpose of it being to check the ravages of inflation resulting from increased public expenditure. Inflation may generate a tendency towards the application of excessive resources to the production of consumption goods. Since the underlying policy is to reduce consumption during the initial stages, price control and physical controls are essential. The third category of controls is to be exercised through State trading. If State trading is done in selected commodities at the wholesale level, it may be possible to control the economy at strategic points. Thus prices and cost of living could be brought under control and even allocation of resources for particular purposes may be feasible. The Plan also encourages the devèlopment of the co-operative idea in order to curb the acquisitive instinct. There is provision in the Plan for project evaluations in the public sector. The State has also to observe performance in the private sector and to take cognisance of any lapses by means of the Regulation and Development of Industries Act.

V

Taking the overall picture of the Indian Plan, it must be admitted that certain benefits are likely to accrue from it. The field of cognition will be comprehensive and the Plan is for the entire economy. Of course, the execution of the Plan is not concentrated and hence the achievement may fall short of the envisaged ideal. The total outlay on the Plan is as much as Rs. 2,069 crores. The major items of expenditure are on agriculture and transport. The multi-purpose projects take a sizable amount of the outlay and they are to be part of a long-range scheme of development. Industry has received a relatively small share, but it is to be supplemented by private investment. The primary purpose of this large outlay is to initiate a process of development which should serve as the basis of future progress. It is also meant for assessing the available resources and for establishing their relation to future development. The Plan incorporates for completion,

schemes already initiated in different parts of the country. Finally, it attempts to correct the existing maladjustments in the economy.

For financing the Plan some reliance is placed on deficit financing. It is proposed to have deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 290 crores. The technique of deficit financing consists in the Government borrowing from Central Bank, which meets the requirement by the expansion of currency. This technique has long existed in the business world, but there is a fundamental difference in results when employed by a Government. The business loans are small in amount, short in duration and automatic in liquidation. None of these conditions are satisfied when a State indulges in deficit financing and consequently the effects vary in nature. Such financing may also be done by running down accumulated balances, as it is proposed to be done in India against releases from sterling balances.

Deficit financing would result in inflation unless it is done carefully. One of the methods of preventing it is to see that the new purchasing power does not create greater demand for goods than what it would be possible for the economy to meet. Unless the internal productive system is flexible and capable of expansion, inflationary tendencies would manifest themselves with deficit financing. Mr. Bernstein is against such inflation. He says that though monetary policy cannot by itself solve problems like the loss of export markets or import sources which would require changes in the structure of world economy and the pattern of world trade, still to acheive it there should exist an environment free of inflation. He is also of opinion that it is a mistake to assume that full employment and economic development must be based on inflation. He believes that economic development with stability is better than the creation of unlimited credit bolstered up by controls. In other words, there should be broader work opportunities and more efficient production than inflationary financing of investment. In the Indian Plan an amount equal to Rs. 365 crores is left uncovered to be closed by borrowing and taxation. If these expectations fail, the degree of deficit will increase. There appears to be an over-estimate of the savings from railways and there has already been a short fall of State taxes and savings. Therefore there is a liklihood of the extent of deficit financing being greater than what has been estimated, warranting stricter controls. However, some amount of deficit financing seems to be inevitable under the existing circumstances.

M. 2

The problem of incentive is not likely to loom large in the planned economy of India, as incentive is left undisturbed owing to the retention of the free market. Of course, enterprise may be slightly damped on account of the intervention of the State for guiding the economy towards certain predetermined ends. Still ample opportunity is provided in the Plan for the display of private individual initiative and enterprise. Consumers' sovereignty would also remain unimpaired, as planning in India is to be attempted without disturbing the market mechanism. So far as foreign trade is concerned, there are no indications of its being scientifically reconciled with the general plan. The idea seems to be to control it from time to time according to circumstances. This policy does not seem to be altogether wrong, as it has the support of an authority like Jacob Viner. He says that as long as Nations plan their economies along lines which involve rigidities in price structures, it will not be feasible or practicable to formulate precise codes to govern international economic relations. Hence, he says, there could only be day to day negotiations, compromise, piecemeal adjustments and improvisations. So far as internal conditions are concerned, the Plan emphasises minimum standards for the people, but it is difficult to ensure it in the absence of centralised control.

VI

The planning technique to be employed in the Indian Plan is not on all fours with that of those plans which are full-fledged in character. For instance, with regard to scale of values there is no provision for the formulation of it by the State. The idea seems to be to take the consumers' preference as given, except for certain targets of output fixed under the Plan. To achieve these targets there will be investment by the State as a supplement to private saving. The concept of Welfare has received full recognition in the Plan and it is to be attained by means of the fiscal method and through expenditure on social services. There is no special emphasis in the Plan on technologically optimum combination of factors of production and there is no provision to work it out in practice. Probably the idea is implied in the programmes of development in the public sector. Another important planning technique that is not mentioned in the Plan is about the usual condition that price should be equal to marginal cost of the long run. From the trend of the arguments in the Plan it may be inferred that it is also not likely to be followed. From the standpoint of the administration of the planned economy, it is implicit that the only method thought of seems to be the competitive solution, keeping the market mechanism intact. So the Planning Commission does not propose to supplement the market place for integrating economic decisions. But they are conscious of the fact that they would be influencing individual decisions indirectly.

With such a planning technique the usual pitfalls of planning would naturally be avoided. Since there would be only partial plannning and no strict regimentation, there is no fear of technical pitfalls of the Mises-Hayek variety. There will also be no danger of cultural degradation, since there will be ample scope for free thinking and free enterprise. But the difficulties of planning in India are due to other reasons. The first among them is political. Being a democratic country with a federal constitution, it would be difficult to impose authority from the Centre and to enforce the Plan with rigidity. Besides in India ideas on economic matters have not yet fully crystallized and hence people may not easily submit themselves to regimentation. However, since the Indian Plan avoids all emphasis on regimentation, there should not be much difficutly for its acceptance.

Before this narrative is closed a reference may have to be made to some of the criticisms that are levelled against the Five Year Plan. The first criticism is that it makes only a limited effort and it does not go far enough or fast enough. Secondly, that the undue emphasis that it places on agriculture rather than on industry is mistaken and misguided. Lastly, it is said that it is not a people's plan, but it is authoritarian in character and imposed from above. Hence there is no manifestation of popular will and popular enthusiasm. These criticisms are not altogther well founded. In a country where the rate of capital formation is low, the pace of development cannot be quicker than what is envisaged in the Plan. The experience of other countries has not been different in this respect. So far as emphasis on agriculture is concerned, it would be refreshing for the critics to note that even Japan improved its agriculture first, while she attempted to revolutionize her economy. Finally, it is a People's Plan in every sense, as it offers more to the poor than to the others.

INDIA AND THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND AND THE INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

by

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The International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development were both set up as organs of international co-operation on the basis of the agreements reached at the Bretton Woods Conference held in July 1944. Forty-four countries were represented at the Conference, and India was one of them. The Indian Delegation led by Sir Jeremy Raisman participated actively in all the discussions at the Conference and in the Committees and Commissions set up for drawing up the details of the articles of agreement. This participation as well as the entry of the country as member of both the Fund and the Bank when they were finally established, unmistakably symbolized the Indian attitude of complete readiness to co-operate with other nations in international economic activity and submit herself to such restraints on her freedom of action as are demanded by such co-operation. The country was undivided at that time and the British Government was at the helm of affairs, nonetheless the decision to join was not one imposed on the country by a foreign government but one which received, as subsequent development has shown, the approval of her nationals. In fact when the Fund and the Bank started operations in March 1947, the National Government was in existence in India.

At the Conference itself the Indian Delegation, supported by certain other delegations from under-developed countries, attempted to so modify the objectives of the Fund as to make it an active instrument in engineering development in under-developed areas, but succeeded only in getting the word 'promote international trade' added to the draft article of agreement on objectives. Promotion and not merely regulation of international multilateral trade thereafter became one of the declared objectives of the Fund. The Indian argument was that the ordered growth of multilateral trade depended on under-developed countries being developed as quickly

as possible and that equal participation in the benefits and advantages of such trade by all countries clearly necessitated such development. Though the argument was conceded by other delegations to be unexceptionable, the constitution of the Fund as well as the resources available to it were held by them to militate against the Fund embarking on the provision of finance needed for long-term investment of any kind. Still as a concession to the point of view of the under-developed countries the addition of the word 'promote' was accepted.

Though this did not mean much and could not, even in course of time, be utilized to deflect the Fund from its main purpose, the making of the concession was symptomatic of the spirit of accommodation which marked the Conference and the readiness of the richer and advanced countries to do everything practicable to help advancement of the backward countries. The concurrent inauguration of the Bank charged with the specific objective of helping development also evinced the same concern.

The other amendment moved by the Indian delegation had a more direct bearing on India's position in the Fund and sought to increase the quota allotted to her, to secure a permanent place for her on the Executive Directorate and to get the question of Sterling Balances included within the purposes of the Fund. These were however negatived by the general body of delegates, and India had to accept the articles of agreement relating to these as originally drafted by the experts. Though the statutes as formulated and subsequently ratified by the Governments concerned, denied India a permanent place on the Fund's Directorate, she was fortunate in securing a permanent place as a result of U.S.S.R. not joining the Fund or the Bank. On the Board of Governors of both the Fund and the Bank every member was given a seat, and India was fortunate to have been elected as Vice-Chairman of both Boards in the year 1949. India was given a representative on the Advisory Council of the Bank also.

India's quota in the Fund was fixed at $400 million and an equal amount was fixed as the contribution to the Bank. In the case of most countries the contribution to the Bank was made equal to the quota in the Fund, the exceptions being U.S.A., Canada and the Latin American countries. U. S. A's and Canada's contributions were fixed at a higher and those of the Latin American countries at a lower level than their respective Fund quotas. The general equation of contributions to the Bank with the Fund quotas was based on the view that the quota in the Fund, determined on the basis of a scientifically drawn up formula, fairly accurately reflected the economic significance of a country and the contribution of a country to the Bank should be based on that economic significance.

And it was precisely on this ground that the Indian Delegation tried to get their country's quota revised. In the formula drawn up by the experts for the determination of the quotas neither the strength of the population nor the economic potential of a country found a place. The Indian amendment was directed to the inclusion of these too as being important factors in the determination of the economic significance of a country. Though a plausible case can be made out for the inclusion of the magnitude of the population, the economic potential was too vague and intangible a factor to serve as an element in a scientifically determined formula. The Indian amendment was, however, negatived, and she had to be content with a quota determined according to the accepted formula.

The request for a higher quota for the country was obviously not based on a realistic consideration of the economic situation. For neither during the pre-war period nor during the war period was her balance of trade unfavourable except negligibly in 1932-33 and 1937-38. No data relating to the balance of payments are available for the war period, but it has to be presumed that the payments position too was in balance, since no great difficulty was experienced in maintaining the exchange rate of the rupee. The Bretton Woods Conference met in 1944 when the war was still on, and it could not have been contemplated then that the developments in the post-war period would be such as they actually happened to be. Doubtless a quick development of the country after the war was actually visualized, but it could not have been foreseen that such a process would adversely affect the payments position. The great accumulation of sterling balances was there and the tacit assumption was made by the Government of India as well as by her nationals that they would be sufficient to finance all the capital goods imported for purposes of development. Most of the non-official plans formulated then set much store by the accumulated sterling balances. Nor were our food difficulties so acute then as to lead to the inference that the post-war period would witness large importation of food, nor could it have been thought then that our Grow More Food Campaign would be so barren of results.

However the post-war developments revealed that the Indian quota was really insufficient for the purpose for which it was designed, and had it not been for a fortuitous combination of circumstances, the country would have been faced with a payments problem never before witnessed. Doubtless there is provision in the Articles of Agreement of the Fund to ask for and obtain a revision of the quota, and some countries have actually done so, but this country was not constrained to the necessity of asking for it because of the existence of those favourable factors. Our balance of trade turned adverse with the cessation of hostilities, but our large reserves of foreign exchange, built up during the war, and the releases from the sterling balances enabled us to meet the situation. The partition of the country accentuated the situation, and though by that time the Fund had started operations, recourse was not had to the accommodation made available by it till the year 1948.

From the year 1948 balance of payments figures are available for the Indian Union, as computed by the Reserve Bank of India, and they show that, except in the year 1950, that balance till the year 1952 was characterized by deficits exceeding the accommodation available with the Fund. In the year 1950 there was a surplus and in the year 1952 the deficit was within the permissible accommodation. The balance of payments figures on current account for the years 1948-1952 are given below:—

Year		Surplus (+) or Deficit (—) (in crores of Rs.)	In terms of U.S. Dollars (Millions)
1948	..	— 99·8	— 302
1949	..	— 146·6	— 443
1950	..	+ 57·5	+ 120
1951	..	— 93·5	— 196
1952	..	— 37·3	— 78

(Dollar equivalent has been calculated for the first two years at Rs. 3·31 to the Dollar and for the other years at Rs. 4·76 to the Dollar)

If India had to reply entirely on the accommodation available with the I.M.F. to meet her payments deficits, it would not have been possible to do so, except in the last year of the period, 1952. Under the Articles of Agreement for a twelve-month period the purchases of other currencies from the Fund against local currency cannot exceed 25% of the quota.

Fortunately for this country as well as for many others, the inauguration of the Fund synchronized with a period of a high degree of international co-operation and of preparedness on the part of U.S.A., the richest country in the world, to play a worthy and helpful part in world affairs. The resources made available otherwise than through the Fund enabled many countries, and India too, to meet their difficulties. The American and the Canadian loans to Britain, followed by Marshall Aid, enabled that country to make larger releases of India's sterling balances on the one hand and larger releases from the dollar resources of the Sterling Area on the other. India could thus keep away from the Fund till 1948 when the payments deficit reached the high level of $302 million. In that year and the next, however, she was compelled to approach the Fund on eight different occasions for accommodation and fully exhausted the permissible credit of $100 million. The dates and the amounts of currency purchased are given below:

		$ Million
29th March 1948	..	28·00
21st May 1948	..	8·06
29th June 1948	..	8·06
26th November 1948	..	8·06
30th December 1948	..	16·12
1st February 1949	..	12·09
7th February 1949	..	12·09
29th March 1949	..	7·52
	Total	$ 100·00 Million

Prior to 1948, as well as subsequent to that year, payments deficits were met either by running down the foreign exchange assets of the banks and official institutions (such as, the Indian Supply Mission, Washington, and the Office of the High Commissioner for India in London) or by increasing the foreign liabilities of the commercial banks or by utilizing the Sterling Balances or the special loans and grants given by foreign countries to India. Upto 1950 the Sterling Balances, the reduction in the Central Bank's foreign exchange assets and the increase in the foreign liabilities of commercial banks figured prominently, but in 1951 and 1952, along with the releases from Sterling Balances, the U.S.A. Wheat Loan, aid under the Indo-American Technical Co-operation Agreement, grants from the Ford Foundation, aid from Commonwealth countries under the Colombo Plan and the loans from the I.B.R.D. were available as additional sources of foreign exchange. In 1951 and 1952, these other funds, exclusive of the I.B.R.D. loans, amounted to $287 million or Rs. 137 crores. These aids were of an abnormal kind and did not really come in the category of those foreign exchange resources of a country which are normally expected to be used for meeting foreign payment.

It is clear, therefore, that the Fund quota, unaided, would not have brought this country out of her difficulties. Does it then mean that the quota should have been fixed at a higher level? The conclusion is not so easy or so obvious for the simple reason that there are many other considerations also to be taken account of in arriving at a decision. A higher quota is not an unmixed blessing for a country. While it means larger accommodation for it with the Fund, it also involves a larger initial contribution in gold. Even the larger accommodation with the Fund may not be always beneficial to the country, since it imposes a certain degree of deflation of currency within the country. The local currency with which the foreign currency is purchased from the Fund will be the currency paid in by importers and to the extent that that currency is not sent back into circulation, there would be internal deflation. In addition, purchase of foreign currency from the Fund will sooner or later involve repurchase, to effectuate which a surplus in the balance of payments will have to be built up through such domestic measures as will be favourable to it. It is possible within limits to make the balance of payments behave as desired by shifting the strain, through stringent domestic policies, to other parts or aspects of the economy, but those other policies may be as unwelcome as a payments problem.

In India's case a higher quota would not have meant a larger contribution in gold, as 10% of her gold holding is less than 25% of her quota. But the problem of repurchase would have had to be faced. In view of the difficulty now experienced in repurchasing the currencies bought under the existing quota, in spite of the lapse of about five years, it would appear doubtful whether a larger quota would have been really helpful to the country. Considering the magnitude of the deficits, even double the quota would have proved insufficient, and it would not have been possible in

1944, when the quotas were fixed, to foresee the abnormal phenomena whch would supervene in the post-war period. Quotas were actually determined on the basis of a formula which made allowance for variations in the balance of payments, but no special provision was made for abnormal phenomena. Even if an attempt had been made to do so, all that would have been possible then was to have provided against the expected deviation from the normal, without visualizing the later partition of the country or the other developments in the economy. It was fairly confidently expected that the transitional period would be over in three years and international relations would settle down to normality on a pattern not far removed from the pre-war pattern. In fact the special international institutions inaugurated were expected to help in the process.

The Fund was designed to be a normal institution, to function in the settlement of current international transactions under normal conditions, and under its constitution was ill-suited to cope with long continued abnormal situations. It cannot, therefore be held that subsequent proof of the inadequacy of the quota under the conditions obtaining is also sufficient evidence that India's quota had been fixed too low.

The currencies purchased by the country from the Fund in 1948 and 1949, of the total amount of $100 million, remain outstanding up-to-date. Repurchase has not been possible with the current earnings of foreign exchange, nor could any of the special loans or aids be diverted for the purpose. The Articles governing the purchase and repurchase of currencies, effective at the time they were purchased, contemplated a maximum period of ten years during which they may be kept outstanding, but in order to induce earlier liquidation, rising rates of interest were made chargeable as the outstanding period got elongated. The rates chargeable varied from 3% in the first year to 5% in the tenth year, with ½% rise each year. It was also laid down by the same set of Articles that if in the 8th year the debt was still outstanding the borrower had to consult with the Fund as to repurchase and take such measures as emerge from such consultation. Under these Articles India has to pay annually now 2½% by way of interest and ¾% by way of service charge on the debt outstanding, in all an amount of $3·25 million.

These Articles were revised in 1952 with a view to shortening the period of the accommodation, and, as they stand now, repurchase

is expected to be made within a period of 3 to 5 years; the ½% rise of interest takes place every 6 months; and in the third year the borrower is asked to consult with the Fund as to repurchase. These new conditions may not apply to the accommodation already granted to India. Still pressure is likely to be exerted for a speedy repurchase of her currency sold to the Fund in the near future, and therefore she will have to find sufficient gold or foreign exchange for this purpose. With deficits continuing on current account this would really be a problem. Both the Colombo Plan and the Five Year Plan have postulated deficits in our balance of payments continuing throughout the period of the Plans.

The Statutes of the Fund provide for the formulation and execution of drastic measures for the correction of fundamental disequilibria, but nowhere in the Statutes has there been attempted a definition of fundamental disequilibrium. In the nature of the case it was not possible to do so, as the factors occasioning such disequilibria and the variation in form in which they present themselves are too numerous to be brought within the ring fence of any definition. Persistent payments deficit, growth of unemployment within the country, rising inflationary or deflationary pressure, diminishing volume of trade, difficulty experienced in maintaining the rate of exchange, emergence of black market rates different from the official rate, these are some of the usual manifestations of such disequilibria, and to these must be added the persistent inability of a country to repurchase the currencies it has purchased from the Fund. These facts of disequilibria can be recognized and can also be differentiated from any transient difficulty, and the Fund in consultation with the country concerned is expected to do it in the course of its operations. The ostensible remedy indicated for such a fundamental disequilibrium is, apart from appropriate domestic economic policies to be decided upon by the country concerned on the advice of the Fund, alteration in the rate of exchange. Though one of the declared purposes of the Fund is to maintain stability in the exchange rates, alterations for sufficient reason are permitted and will be concurred in by the Fund when considered to be imperative.

The Articles which deal with the determination of par values and alterations in the rates form a crucial set of Articles and may be said to occupy the central position among the Statutes of the Fund. They are crucial also to each individual country, in so far as it is these which make encroachments upon the sovereignty of each member and make it incumbent on it to abide by decisions internationally arrived at. These Articles require a member to declare the par value of its currency in gold or U.S. Dollars on entry into the Fund and maintain it stable, subject only to such minor fluctuations as are inevitable and innocuous in the day to day purchase and sale of foreign currencies. The original members of the Fund, of which India was one, were required to declare the rates which actually prevailed on the sixtieth day preceding the initiation of the Fund as the par values of their currencies, the option to accept other rates being denied to them. The underlying idea was that the existing rate should be the declared rate of exchange. For a normal period there will doubtless be sufficient justification for such a procedure, but during a transitional stage, such as was witnessed in the immediate post-war period, the existing rate in many countries is likely to be the most suitable rate only from the immediate and short-run point of view, and the fact that that is allowed to remain is no proof that that has any tendency to become the normal rate.

This was doubtless the case with the Indian rate. This rate in terms of the Sterling to which it was statutorily linked, remained unchanged throughout the war period, and the delinking was effected, without however any change in the rate, on the country entering the I.M.F. Through a considerable part of the war period and in the post-war period till 1949 the Rupee remained overvalued on the exchange. From the immediate point of view this was considered to be in the country's interest, for it enabled the importation of much needed capital and consumption goods at lower rupee prices and helped in some measure to contain the post-war inflationary pressure. In the immediate post-war period no decision to alter the rate in order to bring into harmony with the domestic cost price structure could be taken, as that cost price structure itself was in a state of flux and no one could say what the prognosis of the economy was. The view was widely held in business circles, in the Government and by many economists that a deflation was definitely in the offing and the cost price structure would sooner or later move towards the exchange rate. In fact Governmental policy was being deliberately directed to meeting the supposedly oncoming deflation.

For these reasons the over-valued rate was kept in being, and on entry into the Fund that rate had to be officially notified as the par value of the rupee. In terms of gold it was Re. 1=0·268601 grams of gold or in terms of U.S. Dollars Re. 1=30·225 cents or Rs. 3·31=$1. To accept this rate and agree to maintain it stable for an indefinite period was however a risky step, for the country was virtually giving up its right to take independent action in its own interest. Under the Articles of Agreement a unilateral change in the rate without consultation with the Fund or its concurrence could be only by 10%, a larger change requiring the concurrence of the Fund. In the event of the Fund not concurring, the country would be left with the option of abiding by the decision of the Fund, patently against its own interests, or withdrawing from the Fund. Theoretically it was a risky step to take, especially in the circumstances attending the notification, but it was perhaps done in the full hope that the Fund's action would always be guided by reason and that the special difficulties experienced by any country would be fully taken into consideration in arriving at its decisions. This confidence, as the sequel showed, was well placed, and the Fund's subsequent action has only tended to strengthen it.

That the notified rate was a wrong rate, as far as the dollar was concerned, is evidenced by the devaluation which the country had to effect in September 1949, simultaneously with the pound and most other currencies of the Sterling Area, as well as by her deteriorating position in the balance of payments with the dollar area prior to it. In fact as soon as the sellers' market which had prevailed in the world since the cessation of hostilities, gave place to a buyers' market, the disastrous effects of the over-valued rate began to be felt, not only in her relations with the dollar area, but also with the sterling area. In both half years of 1948 she had payments deficits with the hard currency area, which continued into the first three quarters of 1949 too. With the sterling area, as well as with other areas too, she had deficits in the second half of 1948 and the first three quarters of 1949. (The Sterling Area figures for 1948 and 1949 do not include Pakistan, and if that too is included it will perhaps show a larger deficit than is recorded).

The indication clearly was that the notified rate was a wrong rate and a devaluation of the rupee was needed in terms of the dollar as well as of the sterling to correct the adverse balance of payments. But the British devaluation of the pound came too suddenly, without previous warning, and, as the Finance Minister openly stated in the Indian Parliament, he had to take a decision with regard to the rupee without giving the scrutiny that the question demanded. As it was, the rupee was devalued, with the concurrence of the Fund, in the same degree as the pound, thus maintaining the *status quo* with that currency, but altering the rate of exchange with the dollar. The new par value of the rupee in terms of gold came to be Re. 1=0·186621 grams and in terms of U.S. dollars, Re. 1=21 cents or Rs. 4·76=$1.

The question whether the rupee should be devalued in terms of the pound too did not receive much attention at the hands of businessmen, economist or the Government. The devaluation effected with the dollar was considered to be of a high degree, and a higher degree of it was thought to be disadvantageous to the country, as it would mean higher rupee prices for essential imports and an increase of the domestic inflationary pressure.

Such a devaluation as was actually effected, could not have been expected under normal conditions to correct our balance of payments with the sterling area, which was deteriorating prior to it, but a fortutuous combination of events, such as, the Korean affair, rearmament and stock piling and an expansion of trade throughout the sterling area as a direct consequence of the general devaluation tilted the balance in India's favour and reversed the previous trend. India's competitive strength in the sterling area as against the dollar countries also increased. In 1950 we registered a surplus of Rs. 61·3 crores in current account with the sterling area, exclusive of Pakistan, and a trade balance of + Rs. 23·4 crores. The improvement continued in 1951 too. The surplus on our payments position with that area in that year was Rs. 112·5 crores and on our trade balance, Rs. 61·5 crores. In 1952, however, the general disinflation all over the world, the decline of prices and the greater fall in Indian export prices (26% as against 4% in import prices) reversed the trend in our trade balance, and at the close of the year there was a deficit of Rs. 6·2 crores in our trade position. In the first quarter of 1953 too the deficit was Rs. 3·5 crores against a deficit of Rs. 0·4 crores in the previous quarter. In the second quarter of 1953 the deficit increased to Rs. 28·1 crores. Our total payments position with the Sterling area also deteriorated in 1952 and 1953, the surplus on current account falling from Rs. 112·5 crores in 1951 to Rs. 62·8 crores in 1952 and the surplus in the first quarter of 1953 falling to Rs. 11·8 crores from Rs. 15·6 crores of the previous quarter. In the second quarter of 1953 there was a deficit of Rs. 15·5 crores.

While this was our relationship with the Sterling Area, our payments position with the world as a whole had started deteriorating earlier, and we recorded a deficit of Rs. 93·5 crores in 1951 against a surplus of Rs. 57·5 crores in 1950. On goods and services our deficit was Rs. 107·8 crores. The trend was again reversed in

1952, our deficit for the whole year being reduced to Rs. 37·3 crores. But on trade account our deficit rose to Rs. 133·9 crores. In the last two quarters of that year there were surpluses on current account. In the first quarter of 1953 the trend was again reversed and the surplus in that quarter was only Rs. 20·4 crores against the surplus of Rs. 32 crores of the previous quarter. In the second quarter of 1953 the surplus was turned into a deficit of Rs. 2·6 crores. Fall in the receipts from exports through a price fall of 10% and a reduced demand for our exports was the main cause operating, and on trade account in this quarter there was a deficit of Rs. 5·5 crores. In the second quarter of 1953 the deficit was increased to Rs. 34·4 crores.

Our overall deficit in 1951 was mainly accounted for by our food imports from U.S.A. and Canada to the value of nearly Rs. 200 crores, a third of which was financed with the U.S. Food Loan. In 1952 too there was an importation of food of the value of Rs. 72·2 crores from the non-sterling area, concentrated in the first quarter of that year, and the receipts under the U.S. Food Loan amounted to only Rs. 52·5 crores during the year. These were imports which could not have been avoided, and if the U.S. Food Loan had not been made, we would have had to find other resources to meet the payments on these. So also some of the imports of capital goods and technical skill financed with IBRD loans and foreign aid were essential for rehabilitation or the completion of those investment activities already started. Those loans and aids would not have been forthcoming except for these purposes. Other goods imported were partly consumers' goods for which there was a demand in the country. The severe import controls of 1950 had resulted in a depletion of inventories, and so in 1951 imports had to be liberalized. But in 1952 this policy was reversed and restrictions were again imposed. But to honour the trade agreements into which the country had entered with a number of other countries and to make available to the people essential goods, some importation of consumers' goods had to be permitted.

From this brief review it is seen that food is the great consumer of foreign exchange, and if it is possible to avoid or to reduce food imports our payments position would be in balance. Our more comfortable position with the sterling area too is, to a certain extent, attributable to the stoppage of food purchases from that area from 1951. This year, according to the statements of the Central Food Minister, there would be no further need to import food, as production within the country has been better than expectations, and so there is the likelihood of a comfortable surplus arising in our balance of payments. Our sterling balances released for the year, viz. £35 million, remain so far unutilized. (*Eastern Economist*, September, 1953).

There is no case at present, therefore, for a further devaluation of the rupee in terms of the dollar or of the pound. Doubtless our exports have not expanded to the extent desired, but that was partly due to the export duties and the quotas and destinational controls made effective in 1950 and 1951. From the middle of 1951 onwards these restrictions were being progressively reduced. Still, owing to the superimposition of other factors, our export trade has not responded adequately. But if we alter the value of currency as an export promotion measure, the rupee prices of our imports also will rise and make the execution of our plan, for which capital goods have to be imported, progressively difficult. Nevertheless for maintaining stability in the rate and keeping our payments position in balance, internal poduction must rise to the occasion and obviate the necessity to import large quantities of food or cotton or jute.

So far the country has succeeded in maintaining the devalued rate stable, as required under the Fund agreement, without putting any undue strain on other parts of the economy. Deflation of currency of any appreciable degree has been avoided by the inauguration and partial execution of the Five Year Plan, and all the foreign exchange needed for making payments abroad has been made available from various sources. But both import control and exchange control had to be operated with a view to keeping down foreign liabilities. So also many trade agreements had to be concluded or renewed in order to secure sheltered markets for our exportable commodities. Some of these were bilateral and barter agreements, as for instance, with Argentina, Egypt and China concluded in 1950-51 and with Pakistan in 1952-53. These restrictions on multilateral trade have gone against one of the declared objectives of the Fund, but they were found necessary to fulfill the obligations under the maintenance of the par value of the rupee. Actuated by a sense of realism, the Fund has not yet chosen to enforce those provisions relating to restrictions on trade. When and to what extent they may be enforced is a matter under consultation between the Fund and its members.

From what has been done so far it would appear that the Fund considers the maintenance of stable rates of exchange as more significant for the development of international trade than the abolition of direct restrictions on trade. This is borne out also by its insistence on the elimination of multiple rates of exchange and the penal action it is prepared to take, as for instance, its action in the case of France, in the event of non-observance of this provision. So bilateral agreements and direct quota restrictions and destinational controls have not only been permitted, but have almost been the order of the day outside the U.S.A. during the six years of the Fund's operation. To what extent they have offset the improvement in the volume of trade effected by stable exchange rates is a matter for investigation.

The principal objective of the Fund is the expansion and unrestricted conduct of multilateral trade, and the criterion which each country should apply in gauging the benefits derived by it through membership of the Fund is the extent to which its foreign trade has expanded. Applying this test to India, it may be said that she has doubtless benefitted. There has been a steady increase in the value of her total trade (exports and imports together) from 1948 to 1951. From Rs. 920·4 crores in 1948 it rose to Rs. 1611·9 crores in 1951. In 1952, however, it declined to Rs. 1359·5 crores. This fall is partly accounted for by the fall in export and import prices.

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. India's relation with the Bank has been based on a simpler footing and has not entailed any sacrifice of autonomy or any submission to onerous conditions. This has stemmed directly from the purpose for which the Bank was established and the way it has been constituted. As its very name signifies, its purpose is to help the reconstruction of war-devastated countries and the development of under-developed countries. The proposal to start such a bank came as an off-shoot of the discussions which preceded the formation of the Fund, and was designed to satisfy the demand of some countries that the objectives of the Fund should be widened so as to include these purposes. India was one of those countries, and so was directly interested in the initiation of the Bank from the very start.

As the Bank is constituted, the economically weaker and backward members stand to gain more than they may be called upon to give, their excess gain being really the contribution that the advanced countries make towards the reconstruction and development of world economy as a whole. The contribution that a member has to make towards the capital of the Bank is equal to its quota in the Fund, with a few exceptions. Twenty per cent of this alone may be called up, the remaining 80% being reserved for meeting the Bank's liabilities, if such should arise through default by borrowers. Of this 20%, 2% has to be paid in gold and the remaining 18% in national currency, which may be utilized for making direct loans only with the consent of the member concerned. The called-up capital, together with the uncalled portion, is to be primarily used not for making direct loans, but to serve as a guarantee fund to secure other financial resources for the Bank and to induce private financiers to lend on the Bank's guarantee.

The direct loans which the Bank may make are limited to its called-up capital and the proceeds of the sale of its securities in the investment markets of the world, but its guaranteed loans were expected, at the time of its initiation, to overshadow its direct loans. The over-all limit for its direct loans and its guarantee business is fixed at 100% of the unimpaired subscribed capital, reserves and surplus. As on March 1953 these amounted to $9142 million. Gold and dollar resources with the Bank in the same month amounted to $720 million, the value of bonds sold and outstanding to $556 million and the value of obligations given to it by borrowers and placed by it with private investors to $66 million. U.S.A. has given its consent to utilize its full dollar subscription, and 23 other countries have similarly permitted the use of the whole or part of their subscription. India has given permission to utilize $17 million of its rupee subscription.

As against the contribution, the privilege that a member has is that it can take loans from the Bank, not as a matter of course, but if the purpose for which the loan is required is approved and the investment is considered sound by the Bank. Under the Articles of Agreement and the subsidiary principles enunciated by the Board of Governors, loans will be given for reconstruction and development equally, but only for such projects as will increase the productiveness of the country, special emphasis being placed on the increased capacity to earn foreign exchange. Increased production is expected to provide an export surplus or cover a domestic need which will obviate the necessity to import. Other criteria laid down are that the project must be of sufficient general importance to the economy as to warrant a foreign exchange liability and that the needed funds cannot be obtained otherwise.

Ordinarily loans are given for specific projects only, after an investigation regarding their soundness, but under special circumstances, loans for general purposes or even for general

development may be given. The earliest four loans given to France, Netherlands, Denmark and Luxenbourg were for general purposes and the recent loan given to Australia was for general development. The applicant for a loan should be either the Government of a member State or a private party which has secured the guarantee of the Government or the Central Bank or like institution. Loans to existing medium-sized or small units, however, are not permissible, but this prohibition may be circumvented if the application is made by a financing institution which utilizes the funds for the purpose of making loans to such units. Such institutions in Netherlands, Ethiopia, Turkey and Mexico have succeeded in getting loans from the Bank, and the recent loan sanctioned to the Industrial Finance Corporation in India also falls into the same category. As a rule, only the foreign exchange required by the project is provided by the Bank and the local currency needed has to be raised locally, but in special circumstances, even part of the local currency needed, as for instance in the recent loan to Italy, may be provided, if domestically it is not possible to raise it. The Bank sees to it that the local funds needed can be raised locally. The foreign exchange supplied will be on the basis of the borrower's choice, and no conditions are imposed by the Bank as to where the expenditure should be incurred.

The proposition for a loan has to be developed from the 'concept stage' to the 'bankable stage' before the application is made, so that the Bank may have a fairly detailed view of the prospects of the project. The engineering survey which should precede the application should include a financial survey relating to costs, markets, profits, effect on national economy, etc., a physical survey as regards the availability of raw materials, other materials, equipment, water, etc., and a planning survey for the discovery of construction costs. This engineering survey should be carried out by the party applying for the loan and should unequivocally indicate the profitability and productiveness of the venture.

The Bank's programme on the receipt of the application consists of a preliminary study of the engineering report, the issue of a detailed questionnaire regarding the economic conditions of the applicant country, a close study of the reply received, the despatch of a mission to make a first-hand study of the suggested project and the general environment in the country, negotiations with the country concerned as to the terms of the loan, if the mission's report is satisfactory, the sanctioning of the loan and end-use supervision as to how the proceeds of the loan are utilized and how the project is developing. The Mission despatched to a country will comprise the Bank's officials as well as expert consultants selected from any country, and it is charged with the duty of making not only a thorough study of the project and its full financial and economic bearing on the economy of the country, but also the general political and economic situation in order to fully safeguard the punctual repayment of the loan.

The terms of the loan relate to the period, the rate of interest charged, the rate of commission levied and when amortization payments should start. From the loans already sanctioned by the Bank it is seen that the period of the loans extends from 7 years to 25 years, the rate of interest varies from 2½% to 4% and the commission rate ranges from ¾% to 1½%. On the earlier loans the commission rate charged ranged from 1% to 1½%, but in 1950 it was reduced to ¾%. The date for the start of amortization payments is fixed according to the nature of the project, and varies from the very next year to five years hence.

On these terms loans have been given to many countries to the total amount in March 1953 of $1445 million. Of this amount $1041 million had been disbursed by that date, and the remainder of $404 million remained undisbursed. India's participation in this total amounted to $101·8 million. Subsequent to March 1953 another loan of $8 million also has been sanctioned, which brings the total amount lent to this country to $109·8 million.

The Indian application for loans was made by the Government of India for a number of projects in September 1948. The Bank's Mission, the largest so far sent to any country, came to the country in January 1949 and the first loan, the first of its kind to an Asian country, was announced in August 1949. The last of the loans then applied for was sanctioned only in December 1952. The long period which has intervened between the application and the sanctioning, though not completely normal, still gives some idea of the inevitable period of incubation of a loan application. In India's case a longer period than usual was necessitated by the thorough study which had to be made. Once it is done, subsequent loans can be more expeditiously sanctioned. The Mission sent to this country consisted of the Assistant Loan Director, two members of the Loan Department, two members of the Economic Department and an English consultant engineer. They toured the country jointly and severally, visited all the project areas and investigated many other questions relevant to their enquiry.

The application made in 1948 related to eight projects, viz. (1) railway rehabilitation, (2) reclamation of kans-infested land in U.P. and Central India, (3) reclamation of jungle land at the foot of the Himalayas in U.P., (4) import of fertilizers, (5) a tube-well scheme in U.P., (6) an irrigation scheme in East Punjab, (7) dam construction and the installation of electrical equipment in the Damodar Valley Project and (8) the expansion of the Indian Iron and Steel Company's plant. Items 3, 4, 5 and 6 were rejected by the Bank as not deserving of a loan, while loans were sanctioned for the other four. Item 3 was considered an experiment which had yet to prove its prospects, item 4 was a scheme of recurring expenditure for which a Bank loan was not considered really suitable and items 5 and 6 had not been developed into the bankable stage.

Subsequent to these applications, another was made for a loan of $8 million for the Industrial Finance Corporation, and the Bank announced its willingness to grant the loan in August 1953.

The loans sanctioned with the terms attached to each are given on page 30.

In the case of the first loan the unspent amount of about $1·2 million was cancelled at India's request and in the case of the second loan assistance was stopped when difficulties were experienced in carrying out the scheme. The amount actually disbursed out of the second loan was only $7·5 million. Out of the other loans $10 million were received in 1951 and $6 million in 1952. Amortization payments have already started in the case of the first two loans and interest payments, including commission, in respect of these as well as the third loan. Amounts thus paid were in 1951 about $6 million and in 1952 about $7·9 million. Annual payments in respect of interest and commission will from 1953 onward amount to roughly $4·5 million and amortization payments in respect of items 1, 2, 3 and 5 in 1953 to $3·2 million, in 1955 to $3·9 million and in 1956 to $4·6 million. The terms of the other two loans have not been published, but if we presume that in their case too amortization payments will start in 1956 or so, the amount from 1956 onwards will be raised to about $6·6 million. The total debt charges from 1956 onwards for about 15 to 20 years annually will be about $11 to 12 million. In 1953 the amounts due to the Bank and the Fund together will be of the order of $11 million.

To find the rupee finance needed to service these debts will not be a great problem, for the amount involved in terms of rupees

Date of the loan	Amount (Million dollars)	Party	Purpose and Terms
1. 18th August 1949	.. 34	Government of India	Railway Rehabilitation. Purchase of 653 locomotives, 62 boilers and spare parts from U.S. and Canada. Period—15 year; 3% interest plus 1% commission. Amortization to begin on 15th August 1950.
2. 29th September 1949	.. 10	Do.	Reclamation of kans-infested land. Purchase of 375 tractors with equipment. Period—7 years; 2½% interest plus 1% commission. Amortization to begin on 1st June 1952.
3. 18th April 1950	.. 18·5	Damodar Valley Corporation	Purchase of equipment for Bokara thermal station and the Konar Dam from U.S. and Canada. Period—20 years; 3% interest plus 1% commission. Amortization to begin on 15th April 1955.
4. December 1952	.. 31.5	Indian Iron and Steel Co., Ltd.	Terms not published.
5. 25th January 1953	.. 19·5	Damodar Valley Corporation	Purchase of equipment for the Maithan and Panchat Hill Dams. Period—25 years; 4⅞% interest including commission. Amortization to begin on 15th July 1956.
6. August 1953	.. 8	Industrial Finance Corporation	To replenish its funds. Terms not announced.

will not exceed Rs. 5 to 6 crores. This can be found out of the increased production the projects will ensure. Railway rehabilitation has progressed to a certain extent, bestowing higher earnings to the railways and incalculable benefits to the agriculture and industry of the land. Land reclamation for which the loan was secured, has been calculated to increase foodgrains production by 4 million tons. The Konar Dam of the Damodar Valley Project has been completed and the Bokara thermal station has been opened. The whole project when completed is estimated to bring under irrigation one million acres of land, increase food supply by 370,000 tons and generate 300,000 K.W. of electricity, and will besides provide navigation and control floods and benefit the area in other ways. The expansion of the steel plant will increase steel production and obviate the necessity to import steel, and the industrial concerns which are aided by the Industrial Finance Corporation will doubtless contribute to an increase of production and national income.

But the transfer problem is the intractable problem to be faced in the context of persistent payments deficits, and the solution of our balance of payments problem is the only way in which this difficulty may be overcome. The increased production resulting from the completion of these projects will doubtless improve our import situation, in foodgrains and iron and steel and other commodities, and will directly make a contribution to the balancing of our payments. But the major problem involved there can be solved only through other domestic policies.

MUSICAL MNEMONICS

by

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The subject of Musical mnemonics is one of absorbing interest. It shows how the intelligence of man has worked in the direction of evolving short cuts and aids to remember musical compositions and facts, laws and phenomena relating to the science of music. In poetry and the sāhityas of musical compositions, the recurrence of the Yati and Prāsa not only add a lilt and beauty to them, but also serve as aids to memory.

Musical mnemonics started as a necessity. At a time, when the art of printing was not known and copies could not be multiplied in thousands, facts relating to the science of music had to be remembered through a system of intelligent mnemonics. These mnemonics grew with the advancement of the art and science of music.

Musical mnemonics may be classified into:—

1. Those that are used exclusively in music.

For example, the vowel changes in the name of a note to represent its śuddha-vikṛta varieties: *ra, ri, ru* of South Indian music and *Der, D* and *Dis of western music.*

2. Those that are used in music and other branches of knowledge like Gaṇita (mathematics) and jyōtisha (astrology). The Kaṭapayādi sankhya and the Bhūta sankhya *are examples.*

Musical mnemonics may also be classified *into:*

1. Those pertaining to rāga, rāga nomenclature and śruti nomenclature.
2. Those pertaining to tāḷa.
3. Miscellaneous.

Vowel change in the solfa names of svaras

To remember the names of the twenty-two *srutis,* Tivra, Kumudvati, etc. may be a difficult thing, but when they are referred to as *sa, si, su, se,* the frequencies of the notes straightaway suggest themselves to us. In the Kuḍimiyamalai music Inscription

(7th century A.D.) *this device is used. In the rāgānga rāga lakshaṇa gītas also, this device is resorted to.* In the *rāgānga rāga* lakshaṇa gīta relating to the Śankarābharaṇa rāga, the initial syllables of the first six āvartas give the letters: *ri, gu, ma, pa, dhi, nu*

*ri*pu-bala khaṇḍanurē
*gu*ru guṇākarurē
*mā*yāpara taru rē
*pa*ripālita bhuvanurē
dhī jana rakshanurē
*nu*ta charitarurē

The use of the Kaṭapayādi formula has been requisitioned in building up the nomenclature for the 72 melakartas. On account of the arrangement of the melas after a particular scheme, when the serial number of a mela is known, it becomes easy to give the svaras taken by it. An analysis of the names of the 72 melas will reveal the fact, that the key-syllables answering to the Kaṭapayādi formula are in some cases naturally interwoven into the mēla name as in Mānavati (5), Rūpavati (12), Sarasāngi (27) and Pāvani (41). In other words, names wherein the initial two syllables give the required number have been chosen. *There are cases wherein separate Kaṭapayādi syllables have been prefixed to mela names in order to get at the required serial number.* Examples are *Hanumatōḍi* (8), *Māyāmāḷavagauḷa* (15), *Dhīra Śankarābharaṇa* (29), and *Mechakalyāṇi* (65). In the scheme of 5184 suddha-miśra melas, the Kaṭapāyadi prefixes are used to denote the serial number of the mēlas. Thus the number of the Kōkila-Hari mela i.e., the 28th mela in the Kokila Chakra will be 748.

The letters *Pa, Śrī,* Gō, *Bhū, Mā, Shā,* respectively denote the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th melas in a Chakra.

In the Telugu work, *Sangita Sāra Sangrahamu* of Tiruvengadakavi, the 24 śrutis in an octave are given names answering to the Kaṭapayādi formula; yina (1), rana (2), līna (3), ghana (4), mana (5), tanu (6), sēna (7), dana (8), dhana (9), naya (10), paya (11), ṭhāya (12), lōka (13), vaya (14), śuka (15), tōya (16), chhāyā (17), jaya (18), dhāya (19), nara (20), kara (21), khara (22), giri (23), *and vīra* (24).

The earliest use of the Katapayadi formula is seen in the *introductory* sloka of the *Mahābhārata:*

Nārāyaṇam namskṛtya naram caiva narottamam |
Devīm Sarasvatīm caiva tato jayamuderayet ||

Herein the word *jaya* which by the application of the Kaṭapayādi formula gives the number 18 significantly stands for the 18 Parvas of the *Mahābhārata,* 18 days of the Great battle, 18 akshauhinis that participated in it and the 18 chapters of the *Bhagavad Gīta.*

The Bhūta sankhya is used in chronograms, Ghaṇita śāstra and in music. It denotes numbers through words or names suggestive of those numbers. The synonyms of these words are also used. Thus *Muni* is used for *Rishi* and *Isa* for *Rudra* and so on. More than one word suggestive of the same number are also used. Thus *rutu* and *rasa* are used to denote the number 6; (shaḍrutu- 6 seasons and shaḍ rasa 6 varieties of taste). Likewise *Brahma* and *Nidhi* are used to denote the number 9; (nine prajāpatis and the *nava nidhi*).

Indu (moon) is used to denote number one, because there is only one moon and netra is used to denote number 2, because all living beings have two eyes. The Bhuta sankhya is used to denote the names of the dvādaśa chakras in the scheme of 72 melas—Indu, netra, agni, veda, bāṇa, rutu, rishi, vasu, Brahma, diśi, Rudra and Āditya. The 15th and 29th melas are respectively termed Agni-go and Bāna-mā. Thus, in the mnemonic nomenclature for the 72 melas, both the Kaṭapayādi and Bhūta sankyas have been used. Such phrases occur in lakshaṇa gītas. In the *Sangīta Ratnakara,* names like Muni, Vasu, Rudra and Āditya suggestive of numbers 7, 8, 11 and 12 respectively have been given to those flutes wherein the distances between the mukharandhra and tararandhra were 7, 8, 11 and 12 angulas respectively.

The names for the 12 svarasthānas in an octave are given in Bhūtasankhya in the work *Svarārṇavam*—Soma (1), Drink (2), Anala (3), Veda (4), Bāṇa (5), Rasa (6), Marut (7), Vasu (8), Ankam (9), Dik (10), Rudra (11), Āditya (12). In the mnemonic nomenclature for the 35 talas, both the Kaṭapayādi and the Bhūtasankhya have been requisitioned. Thus we have names like Pika and Vaṭi which by the application of the Kaṭapayādi formula give the numbers 11 and 14 respectively; and names like Nidhi and Ravi which stand for numbers 9 and 12 respectively.

The solfa names of the svaras, Shaḍja, Rishabha, Gāndhāra, Madhyama, Panchama, Dhaivata and Nishāda are found in the Brhaddēśi (C. 5th century A.D.) These names are found in the *Syāmalā Navaratna mālika stotram.* The Indian solfa system is the earliest in the history of world music. The European solfa system dates only from the time of Guido d' Arezzo (10th century).

It is possible that the Westerners got the idea of the staff notation from the Sāma hasta, the finger-device used by reciters of Sāma veda to remember the music. The fingers in this technique stretched horizontally, suggest the five lines of the staff. In earlier times, the staff had 4 lines, suggested by the 4 long fingers, exclusive of the thumb. In the sāma hasta, the thumb in contact with the fore-finger and the thumb raised, stand for 2 different notes. This might have suggested the idea of putting dots on the line and space between the lines in the Staff, to represent different notes.

In the tāla system, the angas: drutam, laghu, guru and plutam are referred to by their initial consonants da, la, ga and pa. This is on a parallel with the solfa names of the seven svaras. The lakshanas of the 108 talas are given in slokas involving the use of these mnemonics and gaṇas; magana 888; bhagana 811; jagana 181; sagana 118; nagana 111; yagana 188; ragana 818; tagana 881. The ślōkas giving the lakshaṇas of Simhavikrīḍita and Vināyaka tālas are good examples:

> *Simhavikrīḍite lau po ragaṇah palapāstathā* | |
> *Gagagālalapaścaiva galalāpasamanvitam* |
> *Sarvavighnopaśāntyartham bhavet tālavināyakam* | |

The slokas not only give the sequence of the component angas but also the value of the tala in mātras in an unerring manner.

In the sphere of tala, the serial numbers of the phrase patterns, resulting from the prastāra of an anga are represented by resorting to the Kaṭapayādi sankhya. Thus *Dēvanāri* is the name of the 2048th prastara.

Sūtras

The ragas resulting by the application of the process of modal shift of tonic to known ragas are given in the form of small melodic sūtras. These are called *sūtra gītas.* The *sūtra gīta* is set in the first raga or the basic raga figuring in the Sāhitya. The Mōhana and Sankarābharaṇa sūtra gitas are good examples.

The composition *Murchhanākāraka mēla rāgamālikā* is of interests from the mnemonical point of view. It is a lakshaṇa prabandha and is on a par with the lakshaṇa gīta. It gives serially the melas that are derived from each one of the 72 melakartas by the process of modal shift of tonic. The composition is divided into six sections and the music of each section is set in a janya rāga derived from one of the 12 melas comprised in the section.

The Rādhāmangala bhāshā is a mnemonical language evolved by a few musicians in South India. The basic sloka of this language, its use and the purpose served by it are interesting.

The śloka is as follows:

Ako kaḥ o ḍa ghaścaiva
Caṭo jñāṇo tapo namaḥ
Yaśo raṣo lasaścaiva
Vaha kṣaḷa iti kramāt | |

The śloka is divided into pairs of syllables as shown. In each pair, the letters are interchanged and repeated, with the vowel endings of the original letter. Thus *ako* will be *kao* and *caṭo* will be *ṭaco* and so on. The letter *cha* stands for *chha*, *ja* and *jha*. Likewise, the letter *ṭa* stands for *ṭha ḍa* and *ḍha*. The equivalent for a word like பாடு (sing) will be *tācu*. Although the number of consonants is thus limited, still one can infer the correct word that was intended by the speaker from the context.

This language was fluently spoken by Mahā Vaidyanātha Ayyar and his coterie. They will be vigorously conversing in this language, without the onlookers getting even an iota of what they were conversing about. It was this language that helped Mahā Vaidyanātha Ayyar on a critical occasion to win in a musical contest in the eighties of the last century.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF TRIPURĀNTAKA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SAINT SUNDARAR

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The story of the burning down of the three castles of the air has captivated the imagination of the Tamilians. The conception of flying in the air has been dreamt of by generations of men. The Tamilians spoke of an ancient Cōḻa king of theirs, adorned with beautiful armlets of heroism, conquering the three castles hanging in the air and flying through it—'Tūṅkeyil eṟinta toṭittōḷ Cempiyaṉ.' The epic Maṇimēkhalai refers to the story of the more ancient Cōḻa, burying down the castles at the instance of Agastya. Puṟanāṉuṟu 33 refers to these hanging castles terrifying the enemies. Puṟam 55 refers this story to Śiva as harassing the three castles with a single arrow and bow of the towering mountain fitted up with the bow-string of a serpent. Cilappatikāram in its Vāḻttukkātai gives the number of these castles as three. Paḻamoḻi (49) explains that these were hanging in air.

Though the Saṁhitās of the Vēdas do not speak of the Cōḻa, they are aware of these three castles, which, as explained in the commentary on the Vājasanēyi Saṁhitā of the Kṛṣṇa Yajur Vēda (VI, 2: iii), the asuras built, as a result of their severe austerities to counteract the defeat the gods had inflicted on them, but unfortunately, only to be destroyed by Agni. The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa speaks of the asuras, the brothers of the gods through their common father Prajāpati, building the three castles for destroying which the jealous Indra, the leader of the Dēvas, prepared a thunderbolt with Agni as shaft, Sōma as iron, and Viṣṇu as the point. This is still further amplified by the Taittirīya Saṁhitā, where the three castles are said to be in three different rising strata of iron, silver and gold and where it is further stated that Rudra was chosen to wield the thunderbolt of an arrow and that he destroyed the castles and drove away the asuras. The

Note: The numbers given without any reference within brackets refer to Sundarar Tevaram hymns and verses.

purāṇas still further elaborate the story by trying to explain the name Mahēśvara.

The Mahabhārata tells us, the three sons of Tārakā, who was killed by Kārtikēya as mentioned in Kumārasambhava, the three viz., Tārakākṣa, Kamalākṣa and Vidyunmālī, were blessed by Brahma for their penances, with the power to occupy three castles which would be moving at their whim and fancy and becoming one, after a thousand years to be destructible thereafter only by one single arrow. Probably the asuras thought they could escape any error by their flight. Maya built the castles, one of gold in heaven, the other of silver in air and the third of iron on earth. Indra's vajra had no effect on them. Brahma said that the single arrow which would destroy the castles could be wielded by Mahādēva only. Mahādēva obtained one half of their strength from all the gods, thereby becoming Mahēśvara and Mahādēva. Viṣṇu became his arrow, Agni its barb, Yama its feather, Vēdas his bow, Sāvitri his bow-string and Brahma his charioteer. The castles were destroyed.

In the Mahābhārata, it was Prajāpati, who advised the Dēvas to go to Mahēśvara, explaining that the latter alone could destroy the Tripura, because, by Him the Universe is pervaded, Who through particular austerities knows the yōga and the sāṁkya of the ātman (Muir. IV, p. 224). Mahādēva is stronger than others by these austerities, this yōga and sāṁkya and in addition He has got half the strength of every dēva, the power they get from sacrifice. This explains one stage in the development of Śaivism and wherever the word Mahādēva or Perumāṉ is mentioned, it may be taken as a reference to this conception of God of gods.

This Tripurāntaka, the destroyer of the three castles, His form became popular in the islands of the Eastern seas. A Sanskrit inscription of Champa speaks of Praṇava being the bow of Śiva Sāvitri his bow-string, Viṣṇu the arrow, Sōma the feather, Agni its barb, Gods his chariot, Vēdas its horses and Ida and Vriñca its charioteers.

The Tamil Country which even now cherishes the memory of the story of Tūṅkeyil eṟinta Toṭittōl Cempiyan has been speaking of Vīrattānams at least from the times of Tirumūlar and Tēvāram. The Tamilians have been believing that the eight great heroic acts of God Śiva including that of the Tripura Dahanam were performed within the sacred precincts of Tamil land. This burning of the castles took place, according to Tamilian tradition, at Tiruvatikai near the railway station Paṇṇuruṭṭi (Bāna Rāṣtra).

Names of some villages nearby are explained in relation to this feat of Śiva. We are told that because Vināyaka was not worshipped, the axle of the chariot broke down and the place is Acciṟupākkam now known as Accarapākkam. Pēraṇi is the place where the army of the Dēvas stood arranged.

More particulars are given in the tradition as obtaining in the Tamil Country and as embodied in the local stalapurāṇas. The world becomes the chariot, the Vēdas the horses, the Mount Mēru the bow and Ādisēṣa the bow-string. It is this tradition that Sundarar has in mind in singing of the feats of Śiva. As the chariot breaks down proving the impotence of the whole world and the Dēvas, Lord Śiva laughs and the radiance of that smile reduces the castles to ashes.

The great epic Cilappatikāram enumerates the ancient eleven dances of Tamil land. Two of them relate to the burning of the castles—Koṭukoṭṭi and Pāṇṭaraṅkam:

> *"Bārati yāṭiya Bārati araṅkattu-t*
> *Tiripuram eriya-t tēvar vēṇṭa*
> *Erimuka-p pērampu ēval kēṭpa*
> *Umaiyavaḷ orutiṟaṉ āka ōṅkiya*
> *Imaiyavaṉ āṭiya koṭukoṭṭi āṭalum*
> *Tērmuṉ niṉṟa Ticaimukaṉ kāṇa-p*
> *Pāraṭi āṭiya viyaṉpāṉ ṭaraṅkamum"* (*Cilap.* 6: 39-45).

The Dēvas were desirous that the three castles should be burnt. The big arrow with the marine fire at its point obeyed His command (and burnt them). The demons were burnt to ashes. It was now a heap of ashes—the very burning ghat where the Bhairavī or Kāḷī went to dance. On the stage of Bhairavī with Umā sharing one part and keeping time with her hands, the God of gods in the joy of victory clapped His hands and danced the terrible clapping dance. In that chariot, a form assumed by the Devas, were yoked, the four swift galloping horses of Vēdas and there sat Brahma covering his back and tying up the long cloth into a turban and holding the whip. Lord Śiva danced in the form of Bhairavī or Śarasvatī, besmearing Himself with ashes. This is the explanation that the commentator Aṭiyārkkunallār gives. We have discussed this explanation in the place referring to the Kapāla dance in another article.

In another place in Cilappatikāram, the Cākkaiyaṉ (dancer) dances 'Koṭṭiccētam'—the dance of 'Koṭukoṭṭi' above mentioned, before the Cēra king Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṉ on his victorious return from his northern tour.

"Tirunilai-c cēvaṭi cilampuvāy pulampavum
Paritaru cēṅkaiyiṟ paṭuparai ārppavum
Ceṅkaṇ āyiram tirukkuṟippu aruḷavum
Ceñcaṭai ceṉṟu ticaimukam alampavum
Pāṭakam pataiyātu cūṭakam tuḷaṅkātu
Mēkalai oliyātu meṉmulai acaiyātu
Vārkuḻai āṭātu maṇikkuḻal avilātu
Umaiyavaḷ orutiṟa nāka ōṅkiya
Imaiyavaṉ āṭiya Koṭṭi-c cētam" (Cilap. 28: 67-75).

"In His feet where wealth takes for a root, the anklets began to resound; the thousand ruddy eyes expressed the feeling of His heart; His fiery matted hair stretched far and wide, brushed the eight faces of the compass. But there was no anxious haste in Her (Umā's) anklet, no fear and motion in Her armlet, no sound in Her girdle, no movement in Her soft bosom, no swing in the long pendents of Her ears, no unloosening in Her dark tresses of hair. Thus the out-stretched God of gods danced a 'Koṭukoṭṭi' dance with the (calm) . . . . Umā on one side. This 'Koṭukoṭṭi' dance (Koṭṭi-c cētam), the Cākkaiyaṉ dancer of Paṟaiyūr performed whilst the king was looking at it from his balcony".

Kalittokai, one of the Caṅkam anthologies, mentions this Śiva's feat of burning the castles both in its invocatory verse and in the first verse. The first verse has not much to say. "The desert", it says, "which the hero has to cross, is burning and hot because of the spreading forest fire of bamboos, spreading all around, like the fire spreading all round the three castles at which Śiva sent His arrow":

"Toṭaṅkaṟkaṇ tōṉṟiya mutiyavaṉ mutalāka
Aṭaṅkātār miṭalcāya amararvantu irattaliṉ
Maṭaṅkalpōl ciṉai māyamcey avuṇarai-k
Kaṭaṇṭaṭu muṉpoṭu mukkaṇāṉ mūveyilum
Uṭaṉṟakkāl mukamēpōl ōṅkatir terutaliṉ
Ciṟaruṅ kaṉicciyōṉ ciṉavaliṉ avveyil
Ēruper ṟutirvaṉapōl varaipiḷan tiyaṅkunar" (*Kali. first verse*).

The invocatory verse is much more important; it describes the dance mentioned above:

"You have recited many rare Mantras to the saints, great in six lores. You have hidden the clear water within your matted hair and you have burnt the wandering castles. Around you stand your terrible servants who never know any defeat. You pass beyond words and thoughts. Thou of the sapphire throat and the eight arms! Pray, listen to me now! That resounding drum in your hand makes many a musical instrument to resonate. The numerous visible forms, you make them all disappear and involve in yourself and you dance the dance of cruel clapping. Will She of the wide hip of the raised sides and creeper-like waist (Pārvatī) give the closing phase of the 'tāḷa' correctly? You have won many offensive wars. In the joy of that strength, you besmear yourself beautifully with their ashes and you dance the white dance of Pāṇṭaraṅkam. Will that lady of the tresses where hum the bees, and of tender shoulders soft like the pillow and beautifully formed like the bamboo, give you that growing medial duration of the tāḷa?—So exclaims one, at the thought of your dance. The lady of the jewels of exquisite art keeps the three phases of the tāḷa for your dance of destruction. Out of love for us, the wretched things without love, you have taken a form for saving us—you the dancing of these dances of destruction."

"Āṟaṟi antaṇarkku arumaṟai palapakarntu
Tēṟunīr caṭaikkarantu tiripuram tīmaṭuttu-k
Kūṟāmal kuṟittataṉmēl cellum kaṭuṅkūḷi
Māṟāppōr maṇimiṭaṟṟu eṇkaiyāy kēḷini;
Paṭuparai palaviyampa-p palluruvam peyarttunī
Koṭukoṭṭi āṭuṅkāl kōṭuyar akalalkul
Koṭipurai nucuppināḷ koṇṭacīr taruvāḷō !
Maṇṭamar palakaṭantu matukaiyāl nīṟaṇintu
Paṇṭaraṅkam āṭuṅkāṟ paṇaiyeḻil aṇaimeṉṟōḷ
Vaṇṭararṟum kūntalāḷ vaṇtūkku-t taruvāḷo !
(*Kolaiyuḻuvai-t tōlacaii-k koṉrait-tār cuvalpuraḷa-t*
Talaiyaṅkai-k koṇṭunī kāpālam āṭuṅkāl
Mulaiyaṉinta muṟuvalāḷ muṟpāṇi taruvāḷo!)
Eṉavāṅku,
Pāṇiyum tūkkum cīrum eṉṟivai
Māṇilai aṟivai kāppa
Āṇamil poruḷemak kamarntaṉai āṭi." (*Kali. Invocatory verse*).

Naccinarkkiniyar quotes the following verses in explanation of the dance mentioned here:

"Koṭṭi yāṭal tōṟṟam oṭṭiya
Umaiyavaḷ orupā lāka orupāl
Imaiyā nāttat tiṟaiva nāki
Amaiyā vuṭkum viyappum viḻaivum
Polivum . . . porunta nōkkiya
Tokka avuṉar innuyir iḻappa
Akkaḷam poliya āṭiṉaṉ eṉpa
Maṟṟataṉ,
Viruttam kāttaṟ poruḷoṭu kūṭi-p
Porutta varūum poruntiya pāṭal
Tiṟuttaku marapiṉ teyvat tutippē".

"The Koṭṭiyāṭal appears thus: Umā is on one side. The Lord of the never opened eye is on another side. It appears as though that His looks express frightfulness, wonder, love and beauty. The titans lose their sweet lives and that field becomes beautiful whilst Lord dances there. The song appropriate for this dance is in praise of God, bringing out the import of protection".

"Eṟamar kaṭavuḷ mūveyil eivuḻi-k
Kūṟukūṟāka-k koṭiyoṭum paṭaiyoṭum
Vēṟuvē ṟuruviṉ viṉmicai-p parantaṉar
Avvaḻi oḻiyoṭum uruvoṭum tōṉṟi-t
Tērmuṉ niṉṟu ticaitalai paṉippa-c
Cuvaiyum kuṟippum oḻivila tōṉṟi
Avaiyavai avvaḻi āṭiṉaṉ āṭa
Maintarum makaḷirum tantanilai aḻiya
Meyppaṭu cuvaiyoṭu kaippaṭai maṟappa-k
Kaṭiya kāla-k kāṟṟeṉa ēṟṟavaṉ
Paṭinilai tiriyā-p pāṇṭaraṅ kammē."

"The Lord seated on the bull aims his arrow at the three castles. At that time, with flags and weapons, they spread out, above the skies, in various forms, in many groups. At that time, the Lord appears in a frightful form of brightness. He stands on the front part of the chariot. Interminable sentiments and ideas are inspired then and there, whilst He dances. At the sight of this dance, the men and women cease to be themselves. They are moved by the sentiments expressed by the dance and forget their weapons. He dances like the whirlwind of the day of destruction. He remains unmoved, this Lord of the Bull, when He dances this white dance of Pāṇṭaraṅkam!"

It will appear therefore, according to Naccinārkkiṉiyar, that 'Koṭukoṭṭi' is the dance of final destruction whilst Pāṇṭaraṅkam is the Tripura dance. This interpretation must be in accordance with the tradition prevailing in Naccinarkkiṉiyar's time but there is a much more ancient tradition preserved in Cilappatikāram as already pointed out, where Koṭukoṭṭi was looked upon as the first part of Tripura dance, a dance performed on the chariot before the castles were destroyed whilst Pāṇṭaraṅkam is the final part of the Tripura dance, the dance on the ashes of castles and titans.

In view of the variety of forms of the image which the story must have produced, the Aṁśumadbhēda Āgama prescribes, rather describes, eight forms. In the first form, the left leg of Śiva is bent a little backwards, whilst the right is moving slightly forward. One right hand is in siṁhakaraṇa pose at about the height of the navel holding the bow string in which the arrow is set. The bow is held in the left hand, with three bends or with crescent form. Another right hand grasps the taṅka; the left holds the deer; other hands are held in kartari-hasta pose. Śiva has jaṭāmakuṭa. On the left is the Dēvī. The bow tapers at the ends and the arrow is as thick as Śiva's little finger. Uttara kāmika Āgama mentions that there will be makara kuṇḍala on the right ear and that Śiva may have four or two hands and that Śiva should be in samabhaṅga pose.

In the second form Śiva's left foot is kept on the Apasmāra. In the third, Śiva, with His left leg straight, stands, whilst the right leg is slightly bent. In the fourth variety perhaps the right foot is placed on the Apasmāra. In the fifth variety the palm of the front left hand faces up and that of the right hand remains turned downwards, grasping the point and tail of the arrow respectively. The back right and left hands hold taṅka and deer or bow respectively. The legs remain a little bent with no Apasmāra.

In the sixth, as opposed to the four arms of the five varieties, there are eight arms holding the arrow, paraśu, khadga, vajra on the right, and vismaya and kaṭaka poses, the bow and the shield on the left hands. Śiva is graceful and beautiful in His atibhāṅga pose with Dēvī to His left.

In the seventh, His arms are ten, carrying bāṇa, chakra, śūla, ṭaṅka, vajra in the right hands, dhanus, śaṅkha, khēṭaka, vismaya pose and sūchī pose in the left hands.

In the eighth form, Śiva is driving in a chariot with the right leg slightly raised resting on a part of the chariot and the left leg being planted in its middle. There is a mukuḷa, the koṭiñci of Tamil literature, the prop in the form of lotus bud. It is tied up with a rope. Brahma, the driver, is seated in the middle of the lotus with a bamboo stick in the one right hand and a kamaṇḍalu in the other, whilst padma pāśa and kuṇḍika are held in His left hands. Below the mukuḷa, the white bull is standing, which is no other than Viṣṇu getting down from the arrow to restore equilibrium to the chariot now giving way under the feet of Śiva. The chariot is shown as sailing in the air.

The plate XXXIII (6) of Rea, gives a representation of this. It is the left leg that is kept in front. Śiva has the right leg bent forwards. The left arms are kept in vismaya and kaṭaka poses. The right hands hold a torch, a sūchī pose and possibly a parasu. The driver is Brahmā. There are two horses visible. There is a sitting bull on a resting pole. This does not tally with any one of the eight forms, if the details are taken up as authoritative, though it is clear it corresponds roughly to the eighth variety.

Probably plate LV (1) also represents the Tripura fight with the three asuras on the lower panel and Pārvatī by His side. The bow is visible. There is an imperial umbrella. Pārvatī is there on the left. This may be compared with the Tripurāntaka form of Chidambaram given as Fig. 90, in South Indian Gods and Goddesses, where also the asuras are represented in the lower panel, from which alone we conclude, it is Tripurāntaka form though in addition, the arrow shows fire at its tip.

Plate No. LIII of Rea is described thus: "The shrine at the North-west corner of the vimāna, has, in the back interior panel, an eight-armed Śiva, seated on a chariot, drawn by two horses; the heads of the horses and front of the vehicle are shown towards the front, with a wheel on each side" (p. 41). This evidently represents that part of the story, where, when the whole mechanism of the Dēvas broke down, Śiva laughed and the castles were reduced to ashes. In the face of the Śiva image, the smile is very expressive. The upper row of teeth is visible. He is holding the post of the chariot with His back right arm. There is something like a cinmudra in his front left hand, sūchī and vismaya poses in the right hands whilst one arm is hanging down. He is sitting with the front right leg bent up vertically, whilst the left is bent horizontally. Tripurāntaka has become so popular that a temple was built in Conjīvaram in the Rajasimha style and pictures of this temple are found in Rea's work (plate XX) and (plates CIX to CXIV).

The Tripura dance has thus become famous and popular from the Caṅkam age—from the age of Kalittokai to the age of Cilappatikāram. The Āgamas describe Tripura Tāṇḍava: "The dance of Śiva with sixteen arms and as many symbols having Gaurī and Skanda on the left and right sides respectively, receives the name Tripura Tāṇḍava" (South Indian Gods and Goddesses, P. 84). In a note it is added: "The Silparatna says that Skanda stands, on the same side as Gaurī, holding her by the hand and shows fear, love and wonder in his face"—sentiments which are mentioned in the verse quoted by Naccinārkkiṉiyar, though the commentator does not refer to Skanda. A more detailed description is given following the Āgama by Gopinatha Rao. He calls it the sixth variety which is however connected with the fifth. In the fifth form of the dance, the right leg is to be lifted straight up to the crown of the head and the left leg, somewhat bent, rests upon the Apasmāra puruṣa. Śiva in this aspect has eight arms; in three out of the four right hands are to be seen the sūla, pāśa and damaru, while the last one should be kept in the abhaya pose; one of the left hands is to be held cross-wise, from left to right in the gaja-hasta pose and the three other hands are to carry the kapāla, the vessel of fire and a bell. This is Kāḷika Tāṇḍava to a certain extent, according to Krishna Sastri (See his figure 53 from Nallūr and Plate LXVII in the Hindu Iconography). If the lifted leg is to be seen, we must go to the 'Lalitātilaka' mode of dance of Śiva represented in the Kailāsanātha temple. Passing on to the next variety, what corresponds to the Tripura dance, Gopinatha Rao writes, "In the sixth variety of dance, the legs of the figure of Śiva should be as in the case of the fifth variety described above; but Śiva is to be represented here as having sixteen arms; one of the right hands is required to be held in the abhāya pose and the remaining right ones to carry the ḍamaru, vajra, sūla, pāśa, taṅka, daṇḍa (daṇḍa-hasta?) and a snake; or, abhaya, sūla, pāśa, kaḍga, ḍamaru, dhvaja (or patāka-hasta?), vētāḷa and the sūchī pose. One of the left arms should be held in the gaja-hasta pose, being held across the body from left to right, while the remaining ones carrying either Agni, mithuna (a double headed instrument like the vajra ?), valaya (quoit), banner (patāka hasta), ghaṇṭa, khēṭaka and kapāla; or agni, gajahasta, khēṭaka, the vismaya pose, ghaṇṭa, kapāla, khaḍga and the sūchī pose. To the left of the dancing Śiva, should be standing, His consort, carrying in her left arm Skanda and keeping her hands in the añjali pose while the child Skanda should, out of fear at the sight of the ecstatic dance of his father, be catching hold of the breast and abdomen of his mother, the Dēvī. On the face of the Dēvī the emotions of fear and wonder and yet a friendly feeling should be brought out by skilful artist". Gopinatha Rao refers to an image from Teṉkāsi as illustrating the mode (Plate LX). In view of the variety of ways in which the poses of the hands and the weapons are arranged, emphasis should not be laid on this arrangement. Kalittokai clearly mentions only eight arms; that must be an earlier tradition. The Catura dance of Nallūr which gives the nearest approach to the Kāḷika dance does not give the 'lalitātilaka' pose or raising up the leg. Under these circumstances, one may have to look out for some other distinguishing mark. In these dances the person or persons accompanying the dance seem to be very important. In the Tripura Tāṇḍava, both Gaurī and Skanda are to be represented either standing on the left and right respectively or both standing on the left.

If we search for such a representation of a dance of Śiva in the sculptures of the Tēvāram age, the only store house of such images as these, is the great Kailasanātha Temple; for, the other old temples which might have contained the representation of divine forms, in stucco, having been constructed of wood or brick, should have decayed and disappeared to be replaced by the stone temples built in their places by the Cōḻas and other subsequent rulers of this country. That is the reason for our referring to the Kailasanātha temple of Conjīvaram in almost all cases.

Our search is successful this time. Plate XLIX represents a window in the East end of the Ardhamaṇḍapam of this temple. Here is Śiva dancing in the kuñcita pose. What is important is that Gaurī is on the left and Skanda is on the right turning away in fright as required in the descriptions. On the panel 19 from the East end of the west side of the court is another representation given as fig. 2, in plate XL. This has ten arms, the right hands holding a serpent, a drum, a valaya, sūcyasta pose with the palm turned upwards and a gajahasta pose; of the left hands one is stretched straight up to the crown; the other is holding something which is not there; the third is holding the parasu; the fourth palm is held up open and the fifth is in the khaṭakamukha pose with the palm turned upwards. There is a garland, armlets, wristlets and anklets. This representation is found in the four cells forming part of garbagraha, two on the northern wall and two on the southern wall and two more on the same walls in the same line with the mūlavigraha on either side, all of them facing East.

Plate LI gives the one in the panel first to right of the back central shrine. Gopinatha Rao in writing about this says, "This is of a kind of dance, which it is not easy to identify with any one of the hundred and eight standard modes of dance enumerated in the Nāṭyaśāstra. In this sculpture Śiva is seen assuming in the middle of his dance, a posture similar to the 'ālīḍhāsana' (p. 269).

Dr. Minakshi identifies this with the kuñcita mode of dance described in the Nāṭyasāstra (Ch. IV. Verse 113: Tāṇḍava Lakṣaṇa by Dr. B. V. Narayanaswamy Naidu, P. 34,. P. 130 and P. 98). She explains (P. 285, *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*): "In adopting this mode—the right leg and the right arm should be bent and the left leg and the left arm should be raised aloft" (perhaps this is the meaning to be given to the raising of the leg on the Tripura dance as well). She continues to describe its popularity in the age of Rājasimha and his son Mahēndra by referring to the sculptures already noticed by us: One of the many sculptures depicting this pose is found behind the garbagraha of Rājasimhēsvara graham. This is in perfect agreement with the description of kuñcita pose just observed.

"In this illustration, Śiva has eight hands. In the uppermost right hand He holds the tail of a snake, in the next the damaru. The third hand is bent and the palm is characterised by an abhaya hasta which is not quite easy to identify. The last is held in the añcita pose. The uppermost left hand carries a burning faggot, the second is in the patākahasta, the third in tripatāka pose and the last is lifted up straight, the palm touching the top of the jaṭāmakuṭa. The trisula and the parasu are depicted separately as distinguishing emblems. The entire sculpture is set up on a padmapīṭha. Below Śiva, three gaṇas are seen dancing gleefully. In the niche left to Śiva, Pārvatī is gracefully seated. Below, in the second niche is the couchant bull. On the right of Śiva, there is a dancing figure, while below it, there are two gaṇas playing on the lute and the flute." This agrees with the reading of the sculpture by Gopinatha Rao as above given. We have connected this with Tripura dahanam. The number three of the figures in the lower panel (LI-Rea) said to be gaṇas is important. May we not identify them with the three asuras of the Tripura? The verse quoted by Naccinārkkiṉiyar as describing this dance states that the Lord dances so quickly taking different poses signifying different rasas of the dance, forgetting the war and their weapons and resonating as it were, with the dance of the Lord. No wonder God when He came to bless them made two of them dvarapalas, always attending

His dance and His music, whilst the third became one of the inner conclave of the dance party, a drummer. On the left is Gaurī and on the right, one wonders whether the dancing figure is Śubrahmaṇya turning away his face from the Lord's dance.

Mahēndravarmēśvaragṛham contains a magnificent sculpture of this on the southern wall of its antarāḷa. Here is a misrepresentation of this by Rea (p. 27)—"In the interior of the porch on the right side is a row of the hamsas or the sacred geese; over these, is a large kneeling figure with eight hands; the symbols on the right side are a chaurie, noose and others broken and covered with plaster; in two of the left hands are two balls probably representing lime fruits". Dr. Minakṣi describes it correctly. All the features characterising this particular mode (kuñcita) have been brought out with marked precision. Additional factors which contribute towards rendering the sculpture more attractive and graceful are ornaments and flowing loin cloth which have been worked out neatly. There is a garland, armlets and wristlets, cilampu round the ankles and other ornaments. The hands are held in proper poses, one holding the pāśa, another the faggot (torch, which Rea has taken for a chaurie) and a third the tail of a three headed serpent. Śiva is depicted in the act of catching two balls which have been thrown up. In a note, she suggests, these may be 'ammāṉais' and adds, 'It is a popular display of skill by dancers to throw up plates, dishes, pots, ammāṉais and then catch' them after accomplishing subsidiary tests". We have noticed a valaya (Fig. 2 of plate XL of Rea, probably intended to be thrown up and caught). "He seems to have first thrown up the balls and then assumed the necessary pose. One of his hands is held in the patāka pose preparatory to catching the falling ball between the thumb and the fore-finger held close to the other fingers. The other ball is meant to be caught by his palm which is held in the requisite pose".

The description suggests that it is one of the many states of the dance, at least to the extent of catching the balls. Gopinatha Rao speaks of Śiva suddenly assuming in the middle of a dance this posture. The verse quoted by Naccinārkkiṉiyar makes this quite clear; it is a dance of varying moods and postures inspiring varying rasas in the minds of the enemies including the wives and children of the asuras. Sundarar also refers to the wives and sons of these asuras in his poem (57:5). To captivate the minds of them He danced—if so the vaḷaya or ammānai or the balls or kaḻanku thrown up and caught may be easily understood.

There are 74 references to this story in the poems of Sundarar. The demons became great by blessings from Brahmā and the poet refers to them as 'Varaṅkaḷ peṟṟuḷal vāḷarakkar' (61: 9); They were three in number (55:8; 66:5; 70:3). Their castles are described in varied terms. In almost all the places, their number is given as three: that seems to be an important description. They go together as helping each other—'Tuṇai cey mummatil' (75:5). They form a fortress—'Araṇ' (62:5), with fortified walls, 'Matil' (7:5; 22:6; 64:2), all built of stone, 'Cilaiyār matil' (22:6), the strong fortification rises very high, 'Uyarum vallaraṇam' (62:5). They are full of deceit, 'Vañca matil' (7:5); they are the very embodiment of deceit, 'Eyilār pokkam' (86:6); they are perfect and complete, 'Muṟṟal ār Tiripuram' (62:1); they are in the sky, 'Vāṉa matiḷ' (97:9), hanging in the mid air, 'Antarattu eyil' (14:5); they wander and come 'Tirivaṉa mummatil' (22: 8); they are flying castles 'Mītōṭum tiripuram' (69:6); they are shining and resplendent, 'Poli' (47:9), clean and pure, 'Vāliya' (61:9), colourful, 'Er ār' (24:10) and beautiful, 'Sundara' (22: 4)—(Cf. Ēr eḻil translated as ṛupa lāvaṇya).

Sundarar's short and pithy descriptions of the demons are very suggestive. They do not think of god, 'Eṇṇār' (52: 6; 53: 2), or ponder over, 'Karutalar' (56:1). They are wicked libertines, 'Tūrttar' (76:3). They are 'Vañcar' (64:2), the most deceitful, full of strategy revelling in war, 'Pōrār' (93:11), splitting themselves away from the good, from the Dēvas or Śiva, 'Viṇṭavar' (20:2) and destroying and creating havoc, 'Ceṟṟavar' (14:3), who will never come near the good people, associate or be in communion with them, 'Kuṟukār' (63:5), 'Kuṟukātavar' (19:1), 'Maruvār' (25:5), 'Viravār' (41:5), 'Mēvalar' (17:1). It is true these terms will mean merely enemies but in the poetry of our saint, one must give these words their full significance. In their arrogance, the titans slight and speak ill of all others, 'Ikaḻuntakaiyōr' (93: 3). They are so overbearing that they submit to none, 'Aṭaṅkalār' (6:1). They never consider that they should embrace God's feet at the opportune moment, worship Him and become great, 'Pulliyiṭam toḻutuytum eṉṉātavar' (10:8). They are violent and obstinate, 'Mūrkkar' (77:6), who will never get reformed, 'Tiruntāta vāḷ avuṇar' (38:9). They were revelling in their hatred and enmity, 'Tiḷaikkum tevvar' (57:5). Being slaves of passion, they have no fore-thought, 'Muṉ niṉaiyār' (11:6). The basis of all this evil is that they do not know the truth, 'Uṇarār' (97:2).

These demons, united together, are flying in their castles, destroying people and Dēvas, 'Ceṟṟu mītōṭum tiripuram' (69:6), 'Tirivaṉa mummatil' (22:8), 'Tiriyum muppuram' (67:9), 'Tiriyum puram' (79:8). Life becomes impossible for the Dēvas in this Universe and Viṣṇu and Brahma, their leaders, with all their followers go and beg of Śiva to remove their danger, 'Niṟpāṉum kamalattil iruppāṉum mutalā Niraintu amarar kuṟaintiṟappa' (16:5). The Dēvas come to do all the menial service, 'Kuṟṟēval ceyya' (17:1). Śiva takes this to heart, 'Kuṟaintirappa niṉaintaruḷi' (16:5), and thinks of removing the sufferings of the Dēvas, 'Imaiyōrkaḷ iṭar kaṭiyum karuttār' (23:7). All the Dēvas take part in the war that follows, by becoming the bow and the charioteer etc., and this probably is what the poet means when he says, 'Kuṟṟēval ceyya (17:1).

The great Mēru becomes the bow, the great serpent 'Vācuki' becomes the bow-string, (9:4; 92:5; 99:8) and the fire becomes the 'Ampu' -arrow (16:5). In another hymn (51:6), he adds 'Agni' becomes 'Kaṇai', Viṣṇu becomes the 'Pakaḻi'. In another poem, he makes use of the chiasmus figure and sings, 'Māl varai ari ampāk koṟṟavil' (62:1) thus making Viṣṇu the 'Ampu', and mountain the bow. In another hymn (75:5), 'Kaṇai' is 'Agni', the serpent is the bow-string and the stone (mountain) the bow.

'Kaṇai' is the arrow-head (Cintāmaṇi-90) and 'Pakaḻi' is the foot of an arrow (Piṅkalantai).

The Vēdas become the horses (88:5) 'Vēda-p puravi-t tēr'. Mahāviṣṇu, as already been referred to, becomes the bull to re-establish the equilibrium of the chariot (77:7).

Sundarar also makes mention of this bull in connection with the burning of the castles (42:6). In 61:3 and 77:7, he makes it clear that this bull is the ruddy eyed Mahāviṣṇu. This last reference combines this feat along with the presence of Pārvatī. It has already been noted that in Śiva's dance at the time of 'Tripura Dahanam', Pārvatī also takes part as one keeping the time for the dance. Hymn No. 74, verse 10 makes this clear.

After all this elaborate preparation, the actual destruction is effected in the twinkling of an eye. The Tamilians, from the time of Tolkāppiyar (Tol. 7), have been denoting an instant of time as a snap of the fingers or as the twinkling of an eye. Sundarar makes use of both the ideas, 'Noṭi' (4:9; 44:1) and 'Imai' (9:4) in describing the instantaneous destruction of the three castles. All the three castles are burnt together before this final destruction comes.

The poet describes graphically the various stages of the war through his suggestive words. The three castles came opposing him, 'Varu muppuraṅkaḷ' (9:1). Then they acted in unison, helping each other, 'Tuṇai cei mummatil' (75:5). It looks as though defeat was imminent and the poet describes God making them run away or fly away (42:6). The castles came down with a crash, 'Iṭi paṭa' (9:4). They were burnt; they were made a feast to fire (99:8); and the great fire made great feast of the three castles, 'Eriyuṇṇa' (1:6). The castles, the demons, their wives and children were burnt (57:5). Finally they were reduced to mere ashes, 'Poṭi' (10:8; 27:3; 52:3). It is on this heap of white ashes Śiva danced and it is because of this His dance came to be known as 'White dance' or 'Pāṇṭaraṅkam'.

It has already been noted that the boon the demons received was that their castles should be aimed at only once by one single arrow and the poet in his hymn 38, verse 9 refers to this fulfilment of the boon by emphasising the point that only one arrow was released.

There are two versions of this destruction: one, that it was brought about by the arrow sent by Śiva; the other, that all the mechanisms of the Dēvas failing at the last moment, Śiva smiled at their incompetence and the very ray of the radiant smile burnt the castles to ashes. It would appear as though our poet in almost all the places is referring to the first version. But they may be all taken as auxiliary to the final destruction by Śiva's smile, which our poet describes in two important places. He does it in the opening hymn itself (1:6) immediately after his first vision of God. In the Tiruvaiyāṟu hymn again, he refers to this destructive smile of Śiva (77:6).

It is this great feat which has established the title of Mahadēva and Mahēśvara to Śiva, and Sundarar rhetorically interrogates, "Umakkāretir Emperumāṉ"—"Who is your equal?" (9:4) in describing this feat.

Sundarar is not so much interested in describing the destructive activity. What the other Purāṇas describe as 'Samhāra-mūrti' are to Sundarar the various forms of Śiva blessing the sinners and the down-trodden, after reforming them all. In hymn 6, verse 1, he says, "You burnt the castles; you were ferocious with them; but that day you showered your grace on the demons (See 70:3 also).

In the famous 'Tiruvāvaṭuturai hymn' (66), where he confesses that the purāṇic stories inspired him to seek God, he states: "You burnt the three castles altogether and the three pondered over your greatness and took refuge in you and you made them rule the world of gold or svarga. Having learnt this fame of yours, I have come to you" (66: 5). He refers to this showering of His grace at the same time when the castles were burnt in hymn No. 70, verse 3. He describes this grace of Śiva in a more detailed manner in another verse (55: 8) "Of the three demons saved by the Saviour, our God, at the time of the burning of the castles and after their taking refuge in Him, two became the guards at the palace door or temple door of Śiva (55: 8)". The Dvārapālaka of the Pallava age as given in Pallava Architecture by Rea and Longhurst clearly bring out the cruel aspect of these demons. The third demon was given the duty of playing upon the drum whenever the Lord dances at the burning ghat in the company of Pārvatī perhaps he was a soul more culturally evolved and interested in dance and music.

The mythology is a special vehicle for mystic thoughts. Tirumūlar's explanation (Tirumantiram 343) has become a classic and it is his poem that has once for all settled the problem of mythology in Hindu Religion and Philosophy. The direct meaning of these stories is for folks and children who also in time learn and realise the truth.

"Appaṉi ceñcaṭai āti purātaṉaṉ
Muppuram ceṟṟaṉaṉ eṉparkaḷ mūṭarkal
Muppuram āvatu mummala kāriyam
Appuram eitamai yār aṟivārē !"

"Fools say, 'The very old ancient Man of ruddy braided hair adorned with water, destroyed the three castles!' The three castles are the combined effect of the three 'malas' (Egotism, Karma and Māya). Who knows the destruction of these castles?." Sundarar also feels that these stories have an esoteric meaning. He asks, "What is this setting fire to the castles?" (99: 8).

SHAKESPEARE AND LUCRETIUS

by

P. R. KRISHNASWAMI

There is perhaps no second instance of a poetic tribute proving such a correct estimate of a great author as Matthew Arnold's sonnet on Shakespeare. Other writers, according to Matthew Arnold, await the verdict of critics, but Shakespeare is above question, and his genius has an infinite quality. He was self-schooled and nobody knew the depths of his understanding, and that is why he affords scope to be written about perpetually. He becomes the oldest and youngest subject to write upon for critics. Ben Jonson put on record that Shakespeare had small Latin and less Greek and Milton apostrophised him as warbling his native woodnotes wild. The result has been that for two centuries Shakespearean critics have gone about clumsily in the way they praised the art of the greatest dramatist. They would praise the art but not willingly credit it to conscious achievement by Shakespeare. In recent years Professor Dover Wilson has distinguished himself by his courage in attributing subtle and even minute touches to Shakespeare's deliberate purpose. This should mean a distinct encouragement to all students of Shakespeare who are inclined to discover ever increasing proofs of the profound classical scholarship and its resulting culture which may be seen in Shakespeare.

The De Rerum Natura by the Latin poet Lucretius is among the greatest treasures of classical poetry. The poem has been admired in modern times because of its suggestion of a scientific basis of the universe, that this universe may be resolved ultimately into atoms. If any one should wonder how a scientific exposition could make good poetry, the answer is to point to the analogy of Milton's Paradise Lost which has for its theme the earliest episode of the human race and yet draws on the richest facts and events of human history. Wonderful descriptions and metaphors fill the Latin work. The exact expression of the intricate theories and abstruse arguments also constitutes, according to some, a striking poetic quality. For drawing on the philosophy of the Greek Epicurus for the material of his poem, Lucretius stands in reflected glory. But he is one of the great examples in literature of an expositor or translator excelling his original. It was natural for a Greek thinker to regard physical, mental and moral sciences as one indivisible whole. The basis of all knowledge was, to the Greek philosopher, the physical sense. This presumption is bound to lead to what must be regarded as crude formulations to the modern man. Epicurus meant to free the Greeks from superstitious beliefs and fears. In the first place, the gods, though superior creatures, did not control or interfere in, human affairs. Secondly, the soul did not survive the death of the body. It is only the presumption of the survival that fills the human being with all kinds of doubts and fears. Human happenings are capable of being interpreted on a cause and effect hypothesis.

A few prominent and significant ideas of the Latin poem may be mentioned here. Lucretius makes two postulates in the First Book. First is the existence of the First Bodies, atoms, which are solid, eternal and indivisible particles. Secondly, void or empty space is to be conceded. In atoms nature keeps safe the seeds of things and suffers not anything to be torn away, or ever to be removed. The quality of atoms is necessarily mysterious, because it allows an endless variety of new creation. The relation of atoms to new bodies is represented by the analogy of letters and words. Common letters occur in the words used by the poet, but the words and verses produce a variety of sense and effect.

At the beginning of the Second Book, the poet states the cardinal principle of Epicurus, that pleasure is the aim of life. "Nature cries aloud for nothing else but that pain may be kept sundered from the body, and that, withdrawn from care and fear, the mind may enjoy the sense of pleasure." Atoms may vary in density from those which make the rocks to those which make air light. Atoms are for ever engaged in mutual war and struggle and this is best illustrated in the motion of dust particles in a bright ray of the sun penetrating a dark chamber. The endless variety of creation indicates that "the first beginnings of things are made by nature and not fashioned by hand to the fixed form of one pattern." The fruitful nature of the earth rightly entitles her to be called the Mother. "She brings forth goodly crops and the glad trees and the race of men; she brings forth too all the tribes of the wild beasts." The races of living things did not come down by a golden rope but were conceived and nourished by the earth. That is why

the earth has already a sense of exhaustion in creating and nourishing new species.

The praise of Epicurus which occurs frequently in the poem opens the Third Book. The fear of death is known to be the source of the evils of human life, and Epicurus helps to remove that fear. The poet formulates and describes the relation of the mind and the soul to the body. The mind or understanding or reason is firmly seated in the middle region of the breast. The mind is composed of very small bodies and smooth and round. "The soul which extends all over the body, is made of very tiny seeds, and is linked on throughout veins, flesh, sinews." "The understanding is begotten along with the body, and grows together with it, and along with it comes to old age." If the soul were immortal and if it passes into human bodies, why does the soul become "foolish after being wise, why no child has reason, why the mare's foal is not as well framed as the bold strength of a horse." Again why should the soul desert an aged body? "Does it fear to remain shut up in a decaying body, lest its home, worn out with the long spell of years, fall on it? But an immortal thing knows no dangers." Death should be welcome to all, because it is a sleep for all time to come, released from pain and sorrow. Death gives rise perpetually to new life. 'Life is granted to none for freehold, to all on lease.' The past ages have therefore been as naught to us. "These then nature holds up to us as a mirror of the time that is to come, when we are dead and gone." The Third Book concludes with a fine satire which looks quite modern, on men who do not know the true cause of their unhappiness but try vainly to escape from themselves. The man who is tired of staying at home, often goes out abroad from his great mansion, and of a sudden returns again, for indeed he feels no better. He races to his country home, furiously driving his ponies, as though he were hurrying to bring help to a burning house; he yawns at once, when he has set foot on the threshold of the villa, or sinks into a heavy sleep and seeks forgetfulness, or even in hot haste makes for town, eager to be back."

The Fourth Book deals with 'idols' or illusions of the senses. The poet discourses at some length on sleep and dreams. The Fifth Book mentions the mortal nature of all objects and proceeds to offer an astronomical account of the universe. The beginnings and growth of human life and civilisation on earth are next traced. The Sixth Book is occupied with celestial and terrestrial phenomena ending with pestilences and the plague at Athens.

The first remarkable coincidence between Shakespeare and Lucretius is in the words of Laertes in his warning Ophelia against Hamlet's love:

> For nature crescent does not grow alone
> In thews and bulks: but as this temple waxes,
> The inward service of the mind and soul
> Grows wide withal.

Here is a clear formulation that mind and soul grow with the body. This coincidence has been already noticed by critics in the past, but the idea that Shakespeare bears definite marks of having been influenced by Lucretius has not been elaborated so far. That Shakespeare could not have known Lucretius in the original but knew him only through Montaigne was the first postulate of his critics. Montaigne has of course innumerable quotations from Lucretius but it is almost ridiculous to suggest that Shakespeare should have pieced together the numerous bits of quotations in Montaigne to have attained the assimilation of the Lucretian ideas, either accepting them or challenging them. Numerous Latin poems are known to have been actually drawn upon in several of Shakespeare's passages, so that his direct knowledge of the De Rerum Natura should seem the only reasonable hypothesis on which we may explain the implication of the knowledge of Lucretian ideas in his works.

That Shakespeare does not betray in his plays a marked allegiance to Christianity is well known. It is significant that to illustrate his text, 'so may the outward shows be least themselves,' Shakespeare cites among others, the instance of religion:

> In religion
> What damned error, but some sober brow
> Will bless it and approve it with a text.

The fond critics who endeavour to label him under one or other of the Christian sects have been totally foundered in a sea of contrary facts. Disbelief or scepticism has marked the most thoughtful passages in his plays. This is natural, for, if he had really identified himself with any particular faith he should have long ago ceased to be regarded as a world poet. The imperishable quality of Shakespeare lies in what may be called the thoroughly scientific presentation of the facts of human life. Yet the process never turns dry or uninteresting. On the other hand his creative power enables him to speak for each separate character so perfectly that no warmth of human emotion is ever sacrificed. Professor Dover Wilson's exposition of Shakespeare's treatment of the ghost in "Hamlet" illustrates Shakespeare's scientific method sufficiently. In Shakespeare's hands the crude bones of the Danish story are invested with a rare charm which is born of the profundity of his creative imagination. There were three different views on the subject of ghosts current in Shakespeare's time. These did not perplex Shakespeare but only helped to enrich the fabric of his dramatic weaving. Similarly every school of philosophic thought has found reflection in Shakespeare, only to add to the general splendour of his work.

Let us consider the simple idea that body and mind and soul develop simultaneously, and look for its many implications. The mind is the organ of perception and understanding, but the soul is a comprehensive agent credited with moral and spiritual responsibility. The words in the passage quoted above are not quite comprehensible if we have not previously acquainted ourselves with the Lucretian idea. With the growth of the body the understanding deepens, and also the realisation of moral duties. We read in the Third Book of the De Rerum Natura: "Again we perceive that the mind is begotten with the body and grows up together and becomes old along with it. For even as children go about with a tottering and weakly body, so slender sagacity of mind follows along with it; then when their life has reached the maturity of confirmed strength, the judgment too is greater and the power of the mind more developed. Afterwards when the body has been shattered by the mastering might of time, and the frame has dropped with its forces dulled, then the intellect halts, the tongue dotes, the mind gives away, all faculties fail and are found wanting at the same time. In the essay, 'Of Age' Montaigne quotes from Lucretius. Montaigne believes that man arrives at the height of his powers at thirty years of his age. The decline begins then. He continues: 'As for my particular, I am verily persuaded, that since that age, both my spirit and my body, have more decreased than increased, more reconciled than advanced. It may be, that knowledge and experience shall increase in them, together with life, that bestow their time well: but vivacity, promptitude, constancy and other parts much more our own, more important and more essential, they drop, they languish, and they faint." Montaigne quotes here from the Third Book of Lucretius:

> When once, the body of shrewd strength of years
> Is shak't, and limbs drawn down from strength that wears,
> With halts, both tongue and mind
> Do daily dote, we find.

A stage of the highest perfection in the harmonious growth of the mind and body is indicated in the compliment paid to Cesario by the Lady Olivia:

> When wit and youth is come to harvest,
> Your wife is like to reap a proper man.

Dr Bellario's commendation of Portia disguised as Balthazar when he says, "I never knew so young a body with so old a head," implies the Lucretian hypothesis that mind and body grow together. Bodily infirmity should bring about mental decay. Malvolio remarks maliciously about the clown: "Infirmity that decays the wise, doth ever make the better fool." Again a lurid description of old age, identified with a passage in the Tenth Satire of Juvenal occurs in Hamlet's speech to Polonius: "Slanders, sir, for the satirical rogue says here that old men have grey beards, that their faces are wrinkled, their purging thick amber and plumtree gum, and that they have plentiful lack of wit together with the most weak hams....."

In "Much Ado About Nothing", Dogberry mentions it as a popular saying: "When the age is in the wit is out." In 'King Lear' where the action may be said to start from the senility of the old king, it is natural that several passages should connect foolishness with old age. Regan says:

> O, sir! you are old;
> Nature in you stands on the verge
> Of her confine: you should be ruled and led
> By some discretion that discerns your state
> Better than you yourself.

Lear himself will excuse remissness in others on the score of illness:

> Infirmity doth still neglect all office
> Whereto our health is bound; we are not ourselves
> When nature, being oppressed, commands the mind
> To suffer with the body.

Again in the same play,

> Old fools are babes again and must be used
> With checks as flatteries, when they are seen abused.

This reminds us of the words about old age in As You Like It:

> Last scene of all,
> That ends this strange eventful history,
> In second childishness and mere oblivion,
> Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything.

In 'The Tempest' Prospero asks Ferdinand to bear with his infirmity:

> Bear with my weakness; my old brain is troubled,
> Be not disturbed with my infirmity.

He finds his efforts to civilise Caliban wasted:

> Humanely taken, are all lost, quite lost,
> And as with age his body uglier grows,
> So his mind cankers.

All formulations of the characteristic qualities of youth and old age imply the Lucretian idea. Polonius states

> It is as proper to our age
> To cast beyond ourselves in our opinions
> As it is common for the younger sort
> To lack discretion.

Addressing his mother Prince Hamlet says:

> for at your age
> The hey-day in the blood is tame, it's humble,
> And waits upon the judgment:

In the same play Laertes exclaims at Ophelia's loss of reason in chosen words:

> O heavens! is 't possible a young maid's wits
> Should be as mortal as an old man's life?

Is Shakespeare gently mocking at the Lucretian hypothesis? In the scene in which he instigates Laertes to challenge Hamlet to a duel, King Claudius says:

> for youth no less becomes
> The light and careless livery that it wears
> Than settled age his sables and his weeds,
> Importing health and graveness.

We pass from the predication of qualities varying with age, to the poet's ideas on conduct and free will, though these are not precisely indicated. The emphasis on the inexorable law of nature is unmistakable. It is akin to what Hamlet meant by his words:

> There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
> Rough-hew them how we will.

Hamlet says in the same scene, "we defy augury: there's a special providence in the fall of a sparrow. If it is now, 'tis not to come; if it be not to come it will be now; if it be not now, yet it will come: the readiness is all: since no man has aught of what he leaves, what is't to leave betimes."

Man is not responsible for the natural endowments with which he is born. Hamlet says:

> So oft it chances in particular men
> That for some vicious mole of nature in them,
> As, in their birth,—wherein they are not guilty,
> Since nature cannot choose his origin,—
> By the overgrowth of some complexion,
> Oft breaking down the pales and forts of reason,
> Or by some habit that too much overleavens
> The form of plausive manners;

The Lucretian idea implies a logically perfect moral system. The lucidity of moral understanding in Claudius is obvious. He feels his prayer for forgiveness futile unless he yields up what he has unlawfully gained:

> May one be pardon'd and retain the offence ?

Macbeth feels the law of Karma operates even within this life:

> We still have judgment here; that we but teach
> Bloody instructions, which being taught, return
> To plague the inventor; this even-handed justice
> Commends the ingredients of our poisoned chalice
> To our own lips.

Hamlet tells us:

> For 'tis the sport to have the engineer
> Hoist with his own petar; and it shall go hard
> But I will delve one yard below the mines,
> And blow them at the moon.

We now come to the subject of death. Seeing his father's ghost Hamlet feels it natural that man should afflict himself with all kinds of imaginary fears:

> and we fools of nature
> So horridly to shake our disposition
> With thoughts beyond the reaches of our souls!

If the ghost of his dead father is a reality which he sees before him his own soul being immortal must be a certainty. So when he is warned not to go too near the ghost, Hamlet replies he sets no value on his life:

> And for my soul, what can it do to that,
> Being a thing immortal as itself?

It is as if Hamlet and Horatio have only recently studied the Greek systems of philosophy with their irresistible scientific appeal and the sight of the ghost calls forth the exclamation:

> There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
> Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.

Again the famous soliloquy of Hamlet in which he debates the ethics of suicide, states how excellent it would prove if only death should mean the absolute end of existence:

> To die: to sleep;
> No more; and, by a sleep to say we end
> The heart-ache and the thousand natural shocks
> That flesh is heir to, 'tis a consummation
> Devoutly to be wished.

The likening of death to sleep is just the figure which recurs again and again in Lucretius, and Shakespeare has bestowed an immortal phrase on the Lucretian conception, by calling it a consummation devoutly to be wished. But the fear of what may happen after death reconciles us to life:

> the dread of something after death
> The undiscovered country from whose bourn
> No traveller returns, puzzles the will,
> And makes us rather bear those ills we have.

As George Siebel points out in his excellent little book, 'The Religion of Shakespeare," we find a great deal of mockery against heaven and hell scattered in the plays. In The Twelfth Night Feste suggests to Olivia that her brother's soul is in hell, and she indignantly replies, 'I know his soul is in heaven, fool,' and the fool replies, 'The more fool, madonna, to mourn for your brother's soul, being in Heaven.' Bardolp's red nose suggests hell to Falstaff who harps on the subject frequently. Asked where Polonius was, Hamlet who has just killed him replies, 'In Heaven, send thither to see; if your messenger find him not there, ask him in th' other place yourself.' The porter in 'Macbeth' makes fun of the 'everlasting bonfire' and complains the courtyard is 'too cold for hell.'

When about to murder Duncan, Macbeth says he could risk the existence after death if his deeds during life have no further consequences. Shakespeare made the significant change in the dying words of Prince Hamlet. In the First Quarto of 1603 the conventional expression occurs: "Heaven receive my soul!" This is changed in the Second Quarto of 1604 to "The rest is silence." Did the appearance of Florio's Montaigne in 1603 bring about a change of attitude in Shakespeare? Shakespeare seems to be giving up the idea of the survival of the soul after death. According to North's Plutarch, when parting from Cassius, Brutus declares that he 'shall live in another glorious world.' Shakespeare alters this quite, and Brutus says:

> But whether we shall meet again, I know not;
> Therefore our everlasting farewell take.

And again his only reaction to the news of Portia's death is the remark, "We must die." Shakespeare regards death as an eternal sleep. When Lear says that Cordelia will 'come no more,' he affirms it with five cumulative 'Never's'. Macbeth envies Duncan whom he has murdered:

> After life's fitful fever he sleeps well;

Prospero points out to us that our little life is rounded with a sleep. The rogue Autolycus says, for the life to come, "I sleep out the thought of it." Some critics have said that Shakespeare meant "Hamlet" to serve as a refutation of the opinion expressed in Montaigne. Even Cassius in 'Julius Caesar' is obliged to say:

> You know that I held Epicurus strong,
> And his opinion; now I change my mind,
> And partly credit things that do presage.

Gloucester refers to this topic of portents in 'King Lear': These late eclipses in the sun and moon portend no good to us: though

the wisdom of nature can reason it thus and thus, yet nature finds itself scourged by the sequent effects.' Milton accepts tacitly that eclipses perplex monarchs with fear of change. Shakespeare leaves it to Edmund to mock at the belief in astrology: "This is the excellent foppery of the world, that, when we are sick in fortune,—often the surfeit of our own behaviour,—we make guilty of our disasters the sun, the moon, and the stars; as if we were villains by necessity, fools by heavenly compulsion, knaves, thieves, and treachers by spherical predominance, drunkards, liars, adulterers by an enforced obedience of planetary influence; and all that we are evil in, by a divine thrusting on."

Brandes points out that in 'Hamlet' and elsewhere in Shakespeare, we come across traces of a sort of atomistic materialistic philosophy. The atoms unite and divide according to law or sometimes according to accident. The praise of Brutus by Antony,

> the elements
> So mix'd in him that Nature might stand up
> And say to all the world, 'This was a man!'

was meant for a concrete phenomenon, of atoms representing the different humours being blended together. Hamlet states: 'A man may fish with the worm that hath eat of a king? and eat of the fish that hath fed of that worm.' Again he says that a king may go a progress through the guts of a beggar. He also tells us

> Imperious Caesar, dead and turn'd to clay,
> Might stop a hole to keep the wind away.

Equally significant are the words

> Lay her i'the earth
> And from her fair unpolluted flesh
> May violets spring

Ariel's song in the 'Tempest' conveys the idea that matter is never destroyed but only transformed:

> Full fathom five thy father lies;
> Of his bones are coral made;
> Those are pearls that were his eyes:
> Nothing of him that doth fade
> But doth suffer a sea change
> Into something rich and strange.

A couplet uttered by Friar Lawrence in 'Romeo and Juliet' echoes *exactly* the words in the Fifth Book of Lucretius:

> The earth that's nature's mother is her tomb,
> What is her burying grave that is her womb.

We read in Lucretius: " . . without doubt the parent of all is seen herself to be the universal tomb of things, therefore you may see that the earth is eaten away, and again increases and grows." Tennyson is also attracted by this passage and in his poem on Lucretius refers to Great Nature as 'the womb and tomb of all'. The well-known words uttered by Lear

> we came crying hither;
> Thou know'st the first time that we smell the air
> We waul and cry,

echo what we read in the Fifth Book of Lucretius: "Then again, the child, like a sailor tossed ashore by cruel waves, lies naked on the ground, dumb, lacking all help for life. When first nature has cast him forth by travail from his mother's womb into the coasts of light, and he fills the place with woful wailing, as is but right for one for whom it remains in life to pass through so much trouble." The words of Belarius in 'Cymbeline' on noble lineage,

> O worthiness of nature! breed of greatness!
> Cowards father cowards, and base things sire base:
> Nature hath meal and bran, contempt and grace;

have been traced to the Third Book of Lucretius: "Again, why does fiery passion go along with the grim blood of lions and cunning with foxes; why is the habit of flight handed on to deer from their sires, so that their father's fear spurs their limbs and temper from the first moment of life, if it be not because a power of mind determined by its own seed and breed grows along with the body of each animal?" Again in the Third Book of the De Rerum Natura we have the words: " . . life is granted to none for freehold, to all on lease." When Macbeth mentions that Banquo and Fleance live to plague him, Lady Macbeth replies: "But in them nature's copy's not eterne."

Lucretius is an individualist and he warns his readers against falling in love. Lovers waste their strength and are worn away with effort, and their life is passed beneath another's sway. Othello assures us:

> But that I love the gentle Desdemona,
> I would not my unhoused free condition
> Put into circumscription and confine
> For the sea's worth.

Some of the imagery conjured up by Iago in commenting on the sexual appetite reflects what is suggested in Lucretius.

This is not an exhaustive survey of the influence of Lucretius on Shakespeare. It behoves all students of Shakespeare to make an adequate acquaintance with Lucretius, so as to comprehend fully the significance of various passages in Shakespeare.

Shakespeare's use of the word 'nature' is so varied and significant that it will repay careful study and it will also serve to point to the common conception of Shakespeare and Lucretius. In the first place, nature, in Shakespeare, represents the creative power in the universe. In Gonzalo's commonwealth

> All things in common nature should produce
> Without sweat or endeavour.

Again,

> nature should bring forth
> Of its own kind, all foison, all abundance,
> To feed my innocent people.

Towards the end of 'Midsummer-Night's Dream,' commenting on the cruelty of a lion in destroying his beloved Thisbe, Pyramus exclaims

> O! wherefore, Nature, didst thou lions frame?

Salarino in 'The Merchant of Venice' swears by Janus that

> Nature hath framed strange fellows in her time.

Viola's account of Olivia's beauty implies how great and cunning an artist nature is:

> 'Tis beauty truly blent, whose red and white
> Nature's own sweet and cunning hand laid on.

As artist nature has a perfect sense of balance. So Prince Hamlet instructs the players, "overstep not the modesty of nature; for anything so overdone is from the purpose of playing, whose end, both as the first and now, was and is, to hold, as "it were, the mirror up to nature." Prince Hamlet points out in the same speech how absurdly unreal some actors are, so that he would have thought some of nature's journeymen had made men, and not made them well, they imitated humanity so abominably." Nature's perfect sense of blending is implied in Antony's tribute to Brutus in 'Julius Caesar,'

> the elements
> So mix'd in him that Nature might stand up,
> And say to all the world, 'This was a man!'

Nature is secondly the principle of growth whether in living beings or in plants. The passage beginning with

> Nature crescent does not grow alone

has been quoted before. Macbeth refers to the escape of Fleance from the murderers in these words

> the worm that's fled
> Hath nature that in time will venom breed,
> No teeth for the present.

Nature signifies also the peculiar endowment with which an individual is born, and this endowment comes by chance, the individual having no choice. Nature is reason and it is also inpulse and instinct. It is a body of laws and principles and it also signifies the right sense of duties in the circumstances in which a man is placed. In the commonest sense nature is the quality or character of a man or thing. To Shakespeare, as to Lucretius, Nature is the whole explanation for the Universe, the world, and human beings.

Lucretius is not a poet to be laughed at or lightly dismissed. A summary of the brilliant dramatic monologue on the subject by Tennyson will serve as a personal account of the poet. Lucilia the wife of Lucretius is filled with jealousy at the apparent cooling down of the ardour of her husband's love, which is really due to his philosophic and poetic pre-occupation. She administers a philtre which enfeebles his mind and destroys him. In lucid intervals he exclaims on his favourite notions, of the void in nature, of the clashing of atom-streams, and the perpetual creation of new objects. A vision of importunate dancing girls and a sword unwilling to slay the beautiful Helen and slipping down, disturbs his vision. Yet Lucretius has invoked Venus for the inspiration of his poem,

and though he warns the human race against love, he has imparted immortality to Venus because Venus is the symbol of

> The All-generating powers and genial heat
> Of Nature.

The poet's idea of gods is not very deliberate either. He follows only the fashion of Epicurus in calling on gods as part of his poetic expression, though according to the atomic theory gods should be liable to be dissolved like any other objects of the universe:

> From childly wont and ancient use I call.

The gods neither know nor control anything of human life. Why does not man prefer to die, seeing the trouble he has to endure for the removal of which the gods do not exert at all? That is because various illusions or idols hold his mind. Nature should teach him to throw off these illusions. Let nature recompose the atoms of his body into some new form in time to come, and till then his poem which dispels the fear of after-life will last. The poet then kills himself, leaving the wife full of remorse. He does not think she has failed in her duty, for is she not but the instrument of cosmic law?

That Lucretius respresents an abiding school of thought is evidenced by what Aldous Huxley has written in his novel, 'Those Barren Leaves' published more than twenty years ago now. He formulates the Lucretian concept without referring to the Latin poet:

"The tragedy of bodily suffering and extinction has no catharsis. Punctually it runs its dull, degrading course, act by act to the conclusion. It ennobles neither the sufferer nor the contemplator. Only the tragedy of the spirit can liberate and uplift. But the greatest tragedy of the spirit is that sooner or later every soul is stifled by the sick body; sooner or later there are no more thoughts but only pain and vomiting and stupor.

". . the spirit itself is only an accidental exuberance, the product of spare vital energy, like the feathers on the head of a hoopoo or the innumerable population of useless and foredoomed spermatozon."

II

THE TREATMENT OF LOVE IN SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS

As in my last lecture I attempted to trace the influence of Lucretius on Shakespeare, I may be excused for starting this lecture with an account of the ideas on the subject expressed by Lucretius. As usual the theme is developed in a scientific manner. At the state of maturity man is susceptible to love. The darts of Venus wound him. The sweetness of unspoken desire trickles into the heart and is succeeded by care. It is foolish to love any one object too seriously. It is better to turn the passion on other objects. One serious attachment may be replaced by another or be changed to other interests. Sensual love does not secure painless pleasure. A lover passes his life under another's sway, and all his wealth and all his strength are wasted. Misunderstandings arise, or jealousy, or the lover thinks himself despised. Crossed love is fraught with even greater miseries. It is better to avoid, than escape love. One can escape the toils of love only by preserving a clear unclouded sense which resists infatuation.

The same scientific outlook which did not let Shakespeare succumb to any particular school of philosophy or religion preserved him from betraying eccentric views on the subject of love. When the passionate Romeo speaks of the oppression in his heart caused by love, Benvolio calmly advises him to forget to think of his lady, Rosaline, and when asked how it may be done he answers briefly:

> By giving liberty unto thine eyes;
> Examine other beauties.

Later Romeo's heart has been conquered by Juliet and hers equally by Romeo:

> I have been feasting with mine enemy,
> Where on a sudden one hath wounded me,
> That's by me wounded.

So far the story is in proper Lucretian language. But Shakespeare as artist can tell a tragic story in a sublime manner and

> A pair of star-crossed lovers take their life;

Yet the same dramatist has illustrated by the interlude of "Pyramus and Thisbe" introduced in "A Midsummer Night's Dream" how practically the same situation may, as by a slight tilt, be turned

to the melodramatic. Nor should we forget that the same situation is repeated in "Antony and Cleopatra", where Antony kills himself at a false report of Cleopatra's death.

Without betraying whether he was himself an ardent worshipper at the shrine of Venus, Shakespeare knew how natural it was for man to fall in love. We know the familiar story how Berowne in "Love's Labour Lost", the first of Shakespeare's plays, protests against the King of Navarre and his lords proposing to live away, abjuring the company of women. In the comedies Shakespeare proceeds quickly to mock at those who considered their happiness dependent entirely on getting the one object of their choice. The eternal triangle of love developed in modern writers like Hardy is anticipated in Shakespeare. The Midsummer Night's Dream and the Two Gentlemen of Verona are both utilised to prick the bubble that each man may be happy only with one woman of his choice. The magical juice administered by Puck is a sufficient answer to all sentimentalists in love. In the *Merchant of Venice* Shakespeare considers the proposition that marriage is a lottery. Yet in portraying Bassanio and Portia the dramatist still attempts to make their marriage appear like being the result of true mutual love.

In the very first scene of their play Bassanio informs his friend

> sometimes from her eyes
> I did receive fair speechless messages.

On her side Portia acknowledges that Bassanio is worthy of Nerissa's praise that he was the best deserving a fair lady. On the eve of his departure for Belmont, Antonio charges him not to be worried over the bond:

> Be merry, and employ your chiefest thought
> To courtship and such fair ostents of love
> As shall conveniently become you there.

The great struggle in Portia's heart between devotion to her father's memory and an irrepressible attachment to Bassanio reaches its climax in the central scene of the drama, just before Bassanio makes his choice of the caskets:

> I could teach you
> How to choose right, but then I am forsworn;
> So will I never be.

She exclaims later over the naughty times which put bars between their owners and their rights.

Yet the great moral intended by the "Merchant of Venice" is, as Bassanio in the central scene implies, that outside appearances are deceptive. The song of the scroll inside the golden casket conveys the warning, "All that glitters is not gold". Again the song introduced in the central scene, regarded by some as intended by Portia to convey the hint to Bassanio about the right casket, emphasises the worthlessness of choosing by the eye. To the question where fancy is bred, begot and nourished, the answer is that

> It is engendered in the eyes,
> With gazing fed; and fancy dies
> In the cradle where it lies.

What Shakespeare conveys is tantamount to the home truths preached by later novelists like Goldsmith who said that a wife should be chosen not for a glossy surface but for qualities that wear well, and Meredith who pointed out that kissing does not last, but cooking does, in the marriage bond.

A third prominent idea indicated in "The Merchant of Venice" is that a complete self-surrender is essential in marriage. The inscription on the leaden casket formulates: 'Who chooseth me must give and hazard all he hath.' The demand for self-sacrifice is not on one side only. Portia on her part surrenders herself wholly when Bassanio succeeds in making the right choice of the caskets:

> but now I was the lord
> Of this fair mansion; master of my servants
> Queen o'er myself; and even now, but now,
> This house, these servants, and this same myself
> Are yours, my lord:

It may be worth pointing out that in the original Italian story the concern is to test the woman to marry, her preparedness for self-sacrifice whereas in Shakespeare's play the test is for the man who will marry.

Self-abnegation has been pointed out as the keynote of Viola's character which earned her success in getting her Duke Orsino for husband. Even though she had set her heart on marrying him from the beginning, she serves him wholeheartedly to woo Lady Olivia for him.

To go back to sentiment in love, we have the type of lover who pours forth the richest images on the subject of love like Duke Orsino. Orsino's words help to remind us how Shakespeare considers love as substituting the affections of earlier life. Juliet's parents (in 'Romeo and Juliet') laboured under a terrible misapprehension when they attribute her depression in spirits to the death of her kinsman Tybalt, while in fact it was caused by the pining for Romeo. Lady Olivia is reported to have abjured the company of men for seven years, because of the death of her brother, and Orsino comments on it thus:

> O she that hath a heart of that fine frame
> To pay this debt of love but to a brother,
> How will she love, when the rich golden shaft
> Hath killed the flock of all affections else
> That live in her.

Modern writers have sometimes based their work on the phenomenon of a girl's childhood affections lingering even after marriage. In his "Newly-married Couple" the Norwegian Bjornsen develops a story in which the indifferent wife is roused to love her husband at the point of jealousy. Rabindranath Tagore has a delicate story, "Mashi" in which the young husband is put into a delusion by his kindly aunt that his indifferent child-wife has wept at the very idea of leaving her husband to go to her father's home.

This stage of love substituting earlier affections is noted in Shakespeare. In "The Tempest" Miranda has just grown to womanhood when she sees Ferdinand and falls in love with him. The love conflicts sharply with the duty she owes to her father. That Ferdinand may be spared the carrying of logs, she wishes the lightning burnt them up:

> I would the lightning had
> Burnt up those logs that you are enjoined to pile.

She breaks the behest of her father in favour of the man she loves. She tells Ferdinand her name against the father's wish. If she weeps it is

> At mine unworthiness, that dare not offer
> What I desire to give; and much less take
> What I shall die to want.

When charged to speak in the presence of the Duke if she willingly chose Othello for her husband, Desdemona states:

My noble father,
I do perceive a divided duty;
To you I am bound for life and education;

and later on

but here's my husband;
And so much duty as my mother show'd
To you, preferring you before her father,
So much I challenge that I may profess
Due to the Moor my lord.

This unfortunate sense of a divided duty is responsible for the tragic explosion in "King Lear," by the old king. Cordelia fancied foolishly that the love she would owe to her husband must diminish what she cherished for her father:

Haply, when I shall wed,
That lord whose hand must take my plight shall carry
Half my love with him, half my care and duty:
Sure I shall never marry like my sisters
To love my father all.

It is significant that Rosalind, meeting her banished father in the Forest of Arden, can still spare him little attention: "But what talk we of father, when there is such a man as Orlando? "

Shakespeare's sense of detachment in love is obvious from the satirical sketches of the typical lover, found in the plays. Valentine's servant, Speed, in "The Two Gentlemen of Verona" enumerates the marks of a man in love, when he tells his master: "first you have learned, like Sir Proteus, to wreathe your arms like a mal-content; to relish a love song, like a robin redbreast; to walk alone, like one that had the pestilence; to sigh like a schoolboy that had lost his ABC; to weep, like a young wench that had buried her grandam; to fast, like one that takes diet; to watch, like one that fears robbing; to speak puling, like a beggar at Hallowmas." The soundest sense on the subject of love is uttered by Rosalind in "As You Like It" when she says: "Love is merely a madness, and I tell you, deserves as well as a dark house and a whip as madmen do; and the reason why they are not so punished and cured is, that the lunacy is so ordinary that the whippers are in love too."

Shakespeare has also presented a lively picture of the sincere and spirited lover who will assail the object of his devotion till he wins her. Viola lets Olivia know what she will do if she herself were the lover, in the eloquent passage beginning with

Make me a willow cabin at the gate,

and concluding with

you should not rest
Between the elements of air and earth,
But you should pity me!

The doings of Orlando in 'As You Like It' need hardly be mentioned. We know how thoroughly he carries out his intention:

O Rosalind! these trees shall be my books
And in their barks my thoughts I'll character;
That every eye which in this forest looks
Shall see thy virtue witness'd everywhere.

In 'Midsummer-Night's Dream' after stating that

The lunatic, the lover, and the poet,
Are of imagination all compact;

Duke Theseus points out

the lover, all as frantic,
Sees Helen's beauty in a brow of Egypt.

Rosalind chides Silvius for flattering the unworthy Phebe:

T'is not her glass, but you, that flatters her;
And out of you she sees herself more proper
Than any of her lineaments can show her.

This common weakness of lovers is referred to in Lucretius: "For, for the most part men are blinded by passion, and assign to women excellencies which are not truly theirs." The poet states by way of illustration: "A black love is called honey-dark, the foul and filthy 'unadorned,' the green-eyed "Athena's image," the wiry and wooden a gazelle, and so on.

The traditional appearance of a love-sick person is recognised in that of Prince Hamlet as he surprises Ophelia by his entrance in her chamber:

Lord Hamlet, with his doublet all unbraced;
No hat upon his head; his stockings fouled,
Ungartered, and down-gyved to his ankle;
Pale as his shirt; his knees knocking each other;

This picture of the love-sick man has been suggested already in "As You Like It": "Your hose should be ungartered, your bonnet unbanded, your sleeve unbuttoned, your shirt untied, and everything about you demonstrating a careless desolation."

That falling in love is incompatible with serious natures and with serious responsibilities has also been suggested in Shakespeare. When asked if his sadness is due to his falling in love, Antonio dismisses the idea contemptuously, "Fie, fie!". When Desdemona expresses herself in favour of accompanying Othello on his campaign, Othello assures the Duke that he will not scant his duties because Desdemona is with him:

No, when night-wing'd toys
Of feathered Cupid steel with wanton dulness
My speculative and officed instruments,
That my disports corrupt and taint my business,
Let housewives make a skillet of my helm,
And all indign and base adversaries
Make head against my estimation.

The opening lines in "Antony and Cleopatra" make clear the havoc wrought on Antony's soldierly qualities by his passion for Cleopatra.

His captain's heart
is become the bellows and the fan
To cool a gipsy's lust.

Shakespeare implies also that it is normal for man to fall in love, and if he does not, his natural energies should turn to something wicked or hideous. The secret of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III, turning to political ambition and crime lay exactly in his realization that it was not possible for him to play the role of a lover. He tells us about himself.

But I, that am not shaped for sportive tricks,
Nor made to court an amorous-looking glass;
I, that am rudely stamped, and want love's majesty
To strut before a wanton ambling nymph;

Since therefore he cannot prove a lover, he is determined to prove a villain.

Here we have a clue also to interpret aright the apparently dogmatic statement made by Lorenzo in 'The Merchant of Venice':

The man who hath no music in himself
Nor is not moved with concord of sweet sounds,
Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils;

Music and love are inter-related; as Orsino formulated, music is the food of love. Whoever eschews the food of love eschews love and whoever is not capable of love must be a monster. At the other extreme nobody need pretend that disappointment in love has killed men. Rosalind states: "Men have died from time to time and worms have eaten them, but not for love."

It is natural that only the most passionate women should figure in Shakespeare, to be worthy of being regarded as heroines in the plays. But it is possible to discover a difference of types among them signifying different degrees of passion or aggressiveness. Portia, Rosalind, and Beatrice are obviously of different metal from Viola, Celia and Hero. Olivia is of a still different quality. Retiring by disposition, once her emotion has been roused, she knows no rest till she gains the object of her desire. Phebe in "As You Like It" is a small edition of Olivia and indites a passionate letter to Rosalind personating as Ganymede. Desdemona confessed to having been half the wooer in the marriage with Othello, yet there is no more diffident creature than Desdemona in the entire world of Shakespeare's creation. The passionate Juliet has the same depth of passion without the tumult, as Desdemona. Miranda remains the model of unsophisticated innocence. The intense emotion inhibited by the simple Ophelia, from obedience to her father and brother, not to speak of Hamlet's own strange behaviour, may be measured by the violent reaction in the loss of her wits which came over her. The brilliant conversation of Beatrice in "Much Ado About Nothing" seems to anticipate the types of modern women like those in Meredith.

It is of interest to study the different types of married couples presented in Shakespeare. Calphurnia is the obedient and dutiful wife who regards her husband with respectful worship. On account of her dreams she begs Caesar not to go to the Senate, and he agrees; but later, when Decius offers an ingeniously flattering explanation, of the result of the sacrifice offered by augures, Caesar chides Calphurnia summarily:

How foolish do your fears seem now, Calphurnia!
I am ashamed I did yield to them.
Give me my robe, for I will go.

As a contrasting picture we have Portia approaching Brutus to charge him with having kept her away from his counsels, and she assumes definitely a challenging attitude:

Dwell I but in the suburbs
Of your good pleasure? If I be no more,
Portia is Brutus' harlot, not his wife.

At this stage Brutus is constrained to make a solemn assurance:

> You are my true and honourable wife
> As dear to me as are the ruddy drops
> That visit my sad heart.

Another striking couple is presented in the First Part of Henry IV. Lady Percy complains to her husband in somewhat similar terms to those of Portia about being kept out of his counsels, in reference to the war he is then entering:

> O! what portents are these?
> Some heavy business hath my lord in hand,
> And I must know it, else he loves me not.

She questions him later about the war he is hastening to, and getting no satisfactory reply bursts out

> Out you mad-headed ape!
> A weasel hath not such a deal of spleen
> As you are tossed with.

At the end of "The Taming of the Shrew" Katherina preaches the whole duty of a wife:

> Thy husband is thy lord, thy life, thy keeper,
> Thy head, thy sovereign; one that cares for thee,
> And for thy maintenance commits his body
> To painful labour both by sea and land,
> Whilst thou liest warm at home, secure and safe;
> And craves no other tribute at thy hands
> But love, fair looks, and true obedience;
> To little payment for so great a debt.
> Such duty as the subject owes the prince,
> Even such a woman oweth to her husband;
>
> .. ..
>
> I am asham'd that women are so simple
> To offer war where they should kneel for peace,
> Or seek for rule, supremacy, and sway,
> When they are bound to serve, love, and obey.

What Katherine says leads analogically to Milton's words, 'he for God only and she for God in him' and to Browning's in a later century that a wife is less concerned with the absolute laws of right and wrong than with what pleases the husband.

Lady Macbeth towers higher than others in the daring attitude assumed by her to support her ambitious husband, though the sleep-walking shows that her woman's nature collapses after the tremendous effort involved in Duncan's murder. But the supreme creation of the passionate woman in Shakespeare is only Cleopatra. She is not a mere courtesan, though she is endowed with the qualities of one. She reveals in the power which she wields over men, but her deep attachment to Antony lifts her to immortal height. She has indeed surrendered herself to other lovers in her youthful days, to the great Julius Caesar himself. That was in her salad days, when she was green in judgment, and who can tell the force of her present consuming passion for Antony in the full maturity of her years? She knows by now a trick or two by which to hold man's affection. It is not by uniform compliance that it is held but even by opposition. The restless love of Cleopatra attains a keener point by a touch of jealousy. She asks Antony, when she thinks he has had a message from his wife, "What says the married woman?" She learns that Fulvia is dead, and yet Antony shows no outburst of feeling. Cleopatra twits him with the words:

> O most false love!
> Where be the sacred vials thou shouldst fill
> With sorrowful water? Now I see, I see,
> In Fulvia's death, how mine received shall be.

When Antony leaves for Italy the separation is unbearable for Cleopatra. A messenger from Antony serves to send her into ecstasies in praise of him. Her maid's praise of Caesar irritates her:

> By Isis, I will give thee bloody teeth,
> If thou with Caesar paragon again
> My man of men.

When on the next occasion a messenger arrives to announce Antony's marriage with Octavia, Cleopatra subjects him to monstrous cruelty born of her anger. But Octavia is not a dish to hold Antony long and he goes back to Cleopatra. Her baneful influence helps to make him lose the battle of Actium. He turns to moroseness and vents his wrath on Cleopatra. He owns to his infatuation which clouds his judgment entirely, and accuses her of being a lecherous woman:

> I found you as a morsel cold upon
> Dead Caesar's trencher; nay, you were a fragment
> Of Cneius Pompey's; besides what hotter hours,

Unregistered in vulgar fame, you have
Luxuriously picked out: for, I am sure
Though you can guess what temperance should be,
You know not what it is.

Cleopatra however soothes him and he is even buoyed up with hope of military success against Octavious Caesar. But the defeat on the next occasion is unmistakable and Antony once again turns against Cleopatra:

Triple-turn'd whore! 'tis thou
Hast sold me to this novice, and my heart
Makes only wars on thee.

This time Cleopatra offers no explanation but retires to the monument, sending word to Antony that she has slain herself. Antony decides to kill himself at this report. Once again Cleopatra receives the dying Antony:

die where thou hast lived;
Quicken with kissing; had my lips that power,
Thus would I wear them out.

She herself follows Antony in committing suicide after no great interval. She dies triumphantly and Antony is on her lips:

Methinks I hear
Antony call: I see him rouse himself
To praise my noble act.

When all has been said, "Antony and Cleopatra" is the greatest love story told by Shakespeare. That the persons involved are past the prime of life, that the married Antony enters into an illicit relation with Cleopatra, and that many of the passages suggest physical rather than spiritual love, cannot take away from the absorbing quality of the story.

In commenting on Shakespeare's treatment of love I may not lose sight of two maxims referred to in the plays. That the course of true love never did run smooth should not stop us long, as that is the basis of all artistic construction of a human story. It must present us characters who rouse our interest and sympathy by the misfortune or suffering they undergo. The other maxim is the one borrowed of Marlowe: Who ever loved that loved not at first sight? This again is a suitable and necessary maxim on which to base and

develop Shakespeare's comedies of love. Love is blind and yet a plausible explanation has to be offered for the most intense emotion growing up between two people, so as to sustain the dramatic presentation. From the love at first sight hypothesis Olivia may go into restless passion for Cesario, and Viola for Orsino, was it love at first hearing in the latter case? and Orlando may dote on Rosalind. Celia's falling in love with Oliver serves for a convenient pairing off in the play. Olivia's passionate words are worth quoting:

Methinks I feel this youth's perfections
With an invisible and subtle stealth
To creep in at mine eyes.

If Shakespeare could glorify so splendidly the wild love between the two middle-aged lovers, Antony and Cleopatra, he was certainly not unaware of the wicked elements which disturb happy love before and after marriage. Wickedness seems certainly to go with bastardy in Shakespeare and Edmund represents the worst example. His villainy is first directed against the legitimate son of his father and later against the father himself. He grew in daring with the success of his ambitions and he planned to get both the sisters Goneril and Regan into his power. Finally however he discovers a touch of nobility in confessing to his villainies on the eve of his death. Don John is perhaps more relevant to our theme, because out of pure malice he contrived a plot to ruin the happiness of Hero and Claudius as they were about to marry. In "Cymbeline" Iachimo turns villain purely for sport and Imogen's happiness is ruined for a time. From Iachimo we pass to the cynic Iago who values so little the ties of conjugal life that he blasts entirely the lives of Othello and Desdemona. To Leontes in "The Winter's Tale" the disturbing element is not external but in himself. Jealousy was latent in him and it broke out on a particular occasion, causing disaster, though retrieved long after by lucky circumstances. The jealous husband had been the stock character of classical comedy and was copied in the English drama also. But Shakespeare individualised his Leontes. Shakespeare was also the one dramatist who transformed what might otherwise appear as a sordid story of baseless jealousy, into the noble tragedy of 'Othello.' It was certainly not personal revenge which prompted the Moor to strangle Desdemona to death:

O! Iago, the pity of it, Iago.

From all the distressing stories of jealously we turn in relief to the formulation of perfect love by the King of France in his challenge to Burgundy, in "King Lear":

> Love is not love
> When it is mingled with regards that stand
> Aloof from the entire point. Will you have her?
> She is herself a dowry.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Bombay Money Market, by H. T. Parekh, Oxford University Press, pp. 226, price Rs. 10/-.

This is an up-to-date account of the structure of the Bombay Money Market and an analysis of how it works. Analysis of operations is interspersed with description and the reader gets a comprehensive view of the Market in work. In the 25 chapters into which the book is divided, the author deals with all the significant aspects of the market, and though in the main, the study is confined to the Bombay Market, its scope has been sufficiently enlarged as to comprehend the Indian Money Market in general. Much of what he has said, for instance about the Bombay Market, is equally applicable, in a wide sense, to the Indian Money Market as a whole.

Beginning with an analysis of the operations of the joint stock banks, the author passes on to a study of the Reserve Bank; then onward to the Stock Exchange, the Gilt-edged Market, the Capital Market, the Bullion Market and the Foreign Exchange Market. All these are in turn thoroughly analysed and the reader is given the full benefit of the author's intimate acquaintance with the working of each organ. Special chapters are devoted to Call Money, the Hundi business, Treasury bills and Small Savings, Interest Rates and Money Supply. Uniformly throughout the work the author has maintained a high standard of clarity in explanation, and while it is difficult to single out any one chapter for special commendation, one cannot help feeling that the chapter on the Gilt-edged market is of outstanding merit and is more penetrating and revealing than any previous account of it.

But, unfortunately, the chapter on the Reserve Bank of India is too short and inadequate to convey the vital role its operations play in the money market of the country. Being the apex institution in the market one would have expected a fuller treatment of its operations than the twelve pages devoted to it would permit. Such a treatment would have brought out in clearer light the more passive role that the Issue Department plays and the more 'operative' role, to use the author's own phrase, of the Banking Department. As it is, one is apt to get the misleading idea that the Issue Department *actively* decides on expansion or contraction of currency.

For the rest, the book gives a well-balanced, though succinct, account of the part played by the different organs of the money market, and the author has to be congratulated in bringing out a study which is at once illuminating and interesting. In small compass we have in this book a very readable exposition of the working of the Money Market. It should appeal to the student, the business man, the financier and the lay reader.

C. W. B. Z.

Some Characteristics of the Indian Constitution, by Sir Ivor Jennings, Q. C. (Madras: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1953, pp. 86, Rs. 4).

The very responsive and appreciative audience that listened to Sir Ivor Jennings in Madras last year besides many other students of Indian affairs would welcome this small booklet which contains the three lectures delivered under the Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyer Endowment at the University of Madras. The chief points made by Sir Ivor in these lectures were that our constitution-makers who were mostly lawyer-politicians neglected 'the golden rule'—"never to put in anything that can safely be left out"—, that therefore the constitution was excessively complex and rigid, that while time and circumstance may be cited to justify the inclusion of Directive Principles of State Policy or Fundamental Rights in our constitution these may soon prove irrelevant or inconvenient and can meanwhile only increase litigation and enrich the lawyer, that the federalism of our constitution as seen in the division of legislative powers and fiscal resources does not go far enough and need not have been attempted at all, that Part XIII of our constitution (Articles 301-307) demonstrates most clearly the reluctance of the Constituent Assembly to trust either the Legislatures or the Judges resulting in a kind of draftsman's jugglery which must harass governments and courts. A few other observations such as those on the powers of the President and the Governor, and on the unwisdom of incorporating in the fundamental law usages and conventions that are in essence continually adaptable and constantly changing also enforce the main conclusion, though Sir Ivor does not rudely rub it in, that the constitution of India has not been as well made as it ought to have been. The defenders of our constitution, the late Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyer was the stoutest of them all, could only urge a sympathetic understanding of 'time and circumstance' as the dominant and inescapable determinants of the provisions of our constitution. But was there any attempt on the part of any one concerned to look behind current time and immediate circumstance to the past or beyond these to the future? Sir Ivor Jennings looking at our constitution from the near distance of Ceylon saw with the detachment of a most competent spectator the essentials of a Greek tragedy in the Indian constitutional scene. He has brought to this survey of our fundamental law the insight of a scholar, the skill of a lawyer and much wit and great charm of manner. His verdict is that our constitution is "far too large and therefore far too rigid". He regrets the mischievous effect of the Government of India Act of 1935 on our constitution-makers. This reviewer believes that the Constituent Assembly, which means the men who dominated it, failed to realize the significance of the Independence Act of 1947, ignored the situation created by it, and held on to its initial aims and objects, firm in an unrealism which had to be masked by copious and not too helpful legal phraseology. This, in turn, has besides keeping our courts busy turned our commentators to voluminous textual exegesis and case-law. In this context Sir Ivor's little book should prove a valuable and stimulating study provoking discussion and argument on the bases of our Constitution. It is good to make people argue for, as he says, by argument they reach understanding. Though we may for a time revere what we cannot understand, no one can say that we do not need to understand the Constitution which is the soul of the body politic.

R. BHASKARAN

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REFORMS ON LAND-HOLDINGS IN INDIA

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PART I

LAND REFORMS: NECESSITY

I

India with a predominantly agricultural population of about 70 per cent and a vast arable land through which flow many long and wide rivers is entirely dependent on foreign import of food grains to feed her growing population. India's total population of 360 millions is the second highest in the world, China leading with a population of 460 millions. India's population constitutes, 15 percent of the total world population as against China's 19 percent.

The food deficit in the country has become chronic since the thirties of this century. The separation of Burma reduced the internal supplies of food grains by 1·3 million tons and the partition by a further reduction of ·77 million tons. It is estimated that the per capita consumption of food in India is less than 2,000 calories per day while the minimum requirement for an adult for maintaining a normal standard of health is about 2,500 calories. Hence the country is faced with a deficit of about 4 million tons of food grains.

No doubt part of this deficit is being met by imports but they constitute a heavy drain on our foreign exchange resources and hence such heavy imports will have to be stopped if the country is to achieve economic stability. Besides the food crops the country will have to increase the production of commercial crops as cotton, jute, oil seeds, tobacco, tea, coffee and rubber, etc., in order to meet the increasing demand for industries and to earn foreign exchange resources needed for importing plants and machineries either for starting new industries or for expanding the existing ones, fertilisers for increasing the agricultural yield and other essential goods.

Therefore the need for the day is to get the maximum output of both food as well as commercial crops from the land. For this reforms on land holdings are very urgent.

Of the many pressing problems engaging the attention of the Government of India and the Governments of the various States in India is the reform of land holdings. In carrying out any reform on the land holdings the Governments have to adopt a very cautious policy in view of the Article 39 under the Directive Principles of State policy and the Article 31-A under Fundamental Rights of the Constitution of India.

Article 39: The State shall in particular direct its policy towards securing :

(b) that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good;

(c) that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common development.

Article 31-A (1) No person shall be deprived of his property save by authority of law.

(2) No property, movable or immovable, including any interest in, or any company owning any commercial or industrial undertaking, shall be taken possession of or acquired for public purposes under any law authorising the taking of such possession or such acquisition unless the law provides for compensation for the property taken possession of or acquired and either fixes the amount of compensation or specifies the principles on which, and the manner in which, the compensation is to be determined and given.

For carrying out any reform on land holdings a knowledge of the systems of land tenure in various countries is necessary as such a knowledge would throw a flood of light as to how the various systems of land tenures have arisen and how the respective Governments tackled this problem now and then.

II

The Evolution of Landed Property

"The process by which property in land has been created, and the rules and customs by which its disposition and enjoyment have been regulated at different times in different countries among the different nations exhibit very remarkable diversities. The causes of these diversities are to be sought in the varieties and peculiarities of race, climate, character, circumstance, mental and physical

development which have operated in unequal combination with unequal force." The social significance of land tenure in any society depends upon the economic uses of land in that society and upon its legal and institutional structure.

The evolution of landed property could be traced to the latter half of the Neolithic Stage in man's civilization. Broadly stated the stages of man's civilization could be divided into the following three main stages :—

1. Palaeolithic Age. This is the first stage in man's civilization and during this stage it is believed that man lived by hunting and taking shelter under rocks or trees or in caves and huts. The use of metals was unknown and stone was used for implements.

2. Neolithic Age. Neolithic is a Greek word meaning stone. During this stage men were for a long time ignorant of metals except gold. The use of stone continued during this period also. Domestic animals were kept and agriculture was carried on. Towards the latter part of the Neolithic Age agricultural occupation necessitated settled life. Men attained a stage of civilization far above that of the Palaeolithic Age.

3. The Metalic Age. This is the modern age. Metals are widely used. This could also be said to be the Machine Age as machineries are used for productive purposes both agricultural and industrial.

Thus in the early part of the Neolithic Age man led a nomadic pastoral life and moved with their flocks and herds from place to place in search for fresh pastures of land. In the latter part of the Neolithic Age the nomadic life ceased to exist. As population increased and men became associated for mutual advantage and protection the nomadic life became less convenient, and so little communities of men selecting desirable localities settled down in fixed habitations. Each member of the community took by mutual agreement a site for his house and a plot for cultivation, while the flocks and herds constituted the greater portion of the wealth of the community and agriculture was of secondary importance. Each individual cultivated merely enough of land to supply his own wants. Trade and commerce did not arise. The settlements were of the village types. The village community as a whole cultivated such portions of land as was needed for their purpose without any member thereof having any individual interest in any part of the land or produce. With the increase in population more and more suitable lands were brought under cultivation until the whole of the arable waste was allotted to the members of the settlement. The village community even at this stage did not claim proprietorship of any part of the land cultivated. This proprietory right at first resided in the community. The communities soon began to associate themselves willingly for purposes of protection and mutual benefit. The governing or paramount authority when it came to be defined or delimited does not appear to have recognised or troubled itself about the lands possessed by the village communities and was satisfied with the community paying what was called a King's share which was mainly in kinds as to so many herds of cattle or a certain proportion of the produce of the earth for the maintenance of peace and good government with the necessary military and civil establishments.

The above is the characteristic features of the early society in all countries and India is no exception to this. In India this contribution is known as "Rajabogam" and out of this "Rajabogam" the village officers who formed part of the civil and military establishment of the King who were entrusted with the collection appear to have deducted their part of the share for the emoluments. This Rajabogam which is a tribute to the governing or conquering power may be said to be more of a kind of income-tax in the modern sense rather than a tax or rent on land as the Rajabhogam depended on a certain percentage of the actual produce. "No income now, no income tax; no cultivation then, no Rajabhogam". The village community enjoyed the rest of the produce—every member of it—children and old people—who did not labour along with the ablebodied men.

Thus in the earliest times there was no question of the ownership of the soil being vested in any body, individual or group nor the state recognising or demanding a tax by virtue of the ownership of the land in any one. There was no land tax but only income tax.

With the increase in population in these village communities and the consequent pressure of population on land there arose a competition for the right to cultivate the land and this competition paved the way for certain individuals in getting a controlling power over the land. Herein lies the origin of ownership of the land. The above state of affairs regarding the origin of tax and ownership of land could be illustrated by facts taken from the actual

history of land tenure in various countries in the ancient and mediaeval ages.

Certain writers seem to favour the idea that only by virtue of natural law of occupancy ownership came into being. But this theory of occupancy on the basis of natural law has been strongly criticised by Sir Henry Maine who observes that the said theory pre-supposes that man in a state of nature was actuated by the same motives as a man of to-day living in an advanced state of civilization to respect another man's property whereas on the contrary his right to possession depended upon his power to keep it. Thus it seems to be correct to suppose that in primitive times the theory of force held the field and ownership rested upon physical possession and capacity to retain it. There seems to be no doubt that in the primitive times men lived in small groups and perhaps in the midst of dangerous surroundings and not infrequently exposed to hostile and warlike tribes. Hence there arose a supreme necessity for the existence of tribal chiefs by whatever names they may have been called under whose protection and leadership the entire clan or tribe lived and rendered homage to him. Such an arrangement forms the basis of the Social Contract Theory. The theory of force and that of the social contract are some of the theories postulated by the political writers to explain the origin of the government. Governments in ancient days were mainly concerned with the preservation of law and order.

Thus the evolution of the landed property coincides with the evolution of the States.

Land Tenure in India—Early Stages

The tenure of land in India is generally considered to be a subject of considerable difficulty and is earnestly discussed by persons holding different and sometimes contrary opinions each of whom adducing probable arguments in support of his views. "Much of this difference of opinion and much of the difficulty which has surrounded the whole question may perhaps be traced to the fact that sufficient account has not been taken of the diverse circumstances of the different parts of the country." The subject of land tenure is beset with many technicalities and complications that very often problems will arise which are too difficult for solution.

With its variety of physical features and agricultural conditions its long chequered history of conquest and assimilation of various races and peoples, India presents a great complexity of land tenure. The problem of ownership of land in the Hindu period is still unsettled. According to B. H. Baden Powell ownership was vested in the king while the peasants were merely rent paying tenants. W. H. Moreland is of opinion that ownership in the modern sense did not exist at all but the peasants enjoyed the rights of occupancy subject to the king's pleasure. Others hold that the cultivators were the proprietors and that the king's right was limited to taxation. But whatever be the differences of opinion it cannot be denied that the landholders certainly had some vested interest in the soil they cultivated and a share of the produce. "The student who approaches the subject of Indian land tenures and of the systems under which the State levies a revenue from the land has probably a vague idea that he is aboard to enter on a *terra incognita* or to plunge into some mysterious and unintelligible darkness."

History tells us that among the Vedic Aryans in India agriculture was an important part of their economy. "Bulls were used to draw the plough . . . . The art of irrigation was known at this time . . . . The people were in the main agriculturists and cattle and pasture fields constituted their chief wealth. They knew how to work metals."

The political organization of the Aryans during this period was modelled on tribal basis. The family was the unit and a number of these formed the sub-clan or Gothra. The accounts left by foreign writers as Magasthenes and Fahien throw a flood of light on the system of land tenure in ancient India. From Magasthenes' account we learn that all agricultural land was regarded as crown property and the right of the Government to levy rent amounting to a considerable part of either the gross produce or its cash value was well established. The normal share of the produce taken was one-fourth. Periodical assessments were made and certain other unspecified dues were also levied. Irrigation was always looked upon as a matter of prime importance. Chandragupta maintained a special irrigation department charged with the duty of measuring land and regulating sluices without partiality. Chanakya's Arthasasthra makes mention of the fact that the normal share of the produce taken by the State was generally one fourth but the rate of assessment varied according to the methods of irrigation used. From Fahien's writings we learn that the principal source of revenue was the land revenue amounting in theory to one-sixth of the produce. But generally several

cesses were levied in addition. The lands were measured, carefully surveyed and holdings registered. Royalty were either in kind or gold or in both. In season of drought or floods remissions of revenue were made.

According to the picture of the Hindu society presented by the Code of Manu compiled probably in the 9th century B.C. the Government was vested in an absolute monarch. His revenue consisted of a share of all agricultural produce which was sometimes in times of prosperity one-fourth, in times of distress one-eighth or one-sixth or in great public adversity even one-twelfth. But the code does not distinctly lay down to whom the absolute property in the soil belonged. But as the king's share was limited to one-sixth or at the most one-fourth there must have been another proprietor for the remaining five-sixths or three-fourths. Field is of opinion that the ownership vested with the community as according to him the idea of the sovereign being the greatest land-owner may have been subsequently introduced by the Muslims. As to the queston whether the land belonged to the individual cultivators or by the communities Sir George Campbell in his essay on "The Tenure of Lands in India" makes the following observations:—

"The long disputed question whether private property in land existed in India before the British Rule is one which can never be satisfactorily settled, because it is like many disputed matters principally a question of the meaning to be applied to words. Those who deny the existence of this property mean property in one sense those who affirm its existence mean property in another sense. We are apt to forget that property in land as a transferable mercantile commodity absolutely owned and passed from hand to hand like any chattel is not an ancient institution, but a modern development reached only in a few advanced countries. In the greater part of the world the right of cultivating particular portions of the earth is rather a privilege than a property; a privilege first of a whole people than of a particular tribe or a particular village community, and finally of particular individuals of the community. In this last stage the land is partitioned off to these individuals as a matter of mutual convenience, but not in unconditional property, it long remains subject to certain conditions and to reversionary interests of the community which prevents its uncontrolled alienation, and attach to it certain common rights and common burdens . . . . In the sense, then of the right of holding the land subject to the payment of customary rents, I think that private property in land has existed in many parts of India from time immemorial." Again he observes "The feudal system I believe to be no invention of the middle ages, but the almost necessary result of the hereditary character of Indo-Germanic institutions when the tribes take the position of dominant conquerors. They form, in fact a hereditary army with that gradation of fealty from the commander-in-chief to the private soldier which is essential to military operations. Accordingly we find that among all the tribes of Indo-Germanic blood which have conquered and ruled Indian provinces the tendency is to establish a feudal system extremely similar to that which prevailed in Europe."

III

The Village Community

In ancient India though monarchy was the normal form of Government the Republics also flourished during certain periods from about fourth century B.C. to the rise of the Gupta Empire in about 4th century A.D. In both the republican and monarchical states a regular army was maintained and in times of war its members were increased by fresh recruits. Very often there was no distinction made between the military and civil officials in the administration and functions of both types were combined in one officer. Land was the chief source of revenue whether in the monarchial or republican states. And decentralization is the keynote of the administration in ancient India as, for the purpose of the general administration of the country, it was divided into provinces and districts with more designations which varied according to time and place. The administrative machinery of these divisions was as far as possible modelled on that of the centre and we often hear of councils of elders summoned for consultation on important matters. Almost all the functions of Government other than defence and foreign relations were decentralized and left to the care of autonomous local bodies functioning under the general supervision of the Central Government. The nature and intensity of that supervision varied with the ability and integrity of the officials of Government which in turn depended very much on the personal capacity and character of the ruling monarch.

Thus in ancient India whether there was the Republican or monarchical form of Government or whether in the north or south the unit cell of ancient polity was the autonomous and nearly self sufficient village which retained most of its traditional features till

they were destroyed by the centralization that came in with the British Rule in the 19th century. Elphinstone observes "The communities contain in miniature all the materials of a state within themselves and are almost sufficient to protect their members if all other Governments were withdrawn. In the stability and continuity of Indian village life and organization is to be sought the search for the good things achieved by India in the past in spite of an apparent incapacity to develop political institutions of an advanced character." Campbell observes that the descriptions of the village life given by Elphinstone and other English writers pertain to the decayed form of a village in the Deccan and hence we must look for the strongest and most perfect village form in the more complete and more democratic communities such as we find in the Punjab territory which exhibit the strongest form of peasant property. He cites the example of a Jat village community which consists of a body of freemen of one caste, and who traditionally derive from a common ancestor-clansmen in fact. A village may be divided into two or three parts, held by different castes or tribes. Every man has his share which in Punjab is generally expressed in plough lands. A plough land is not a uniform quantity of land but a share in the particular village. The community is managed by a council of elders who rule it so long as they retain the confidence of the people and who conduct all negotiations with the Government. In such a village the body of cultivators consider themselves to be proprietors. They are united, and very strong, they certainly exercise rights of property, and no one would dream of attempting to disturb them.

The village is the area of the land occupied by a community. The village was the unit of all revenue arrangements. Sir George Campbell observes "Nothing can be a greater mistake than to attribute to the Indian village system any features of communism. It is true that in early times before communities have settled down to fixed cultivation the land is held to a great degree in common for growing purposes, private property being in cattle, not in land, and even after it has been distributed for the purposes of cultivation the custom of periodically adjusting inequalities by redistribution has not infrequently subsisted to a much later time. But even in this latter case in India the land was not equally distributed, but was only re-parted according to the recognised ancestral shares, casual inequalities and usurpations being redressed."

Again the well-known author observes "The bond which keeps together a village community is then, rather municipal than a community of property. The cultivated land is held by individuals, and the common interest in common property is scarcely greater than that which exists among the commoners of an English manor. The waste land and grazing ground is held in common, certain common receipts are brought to a common fund, certain common charges are charged against the same fund and distributed to the individuals according to their holdings. There is a system of municipal management, and the community claims to exercise a certain limited control over its members and to have a reversionary right to the land of members who cease to cultivate or fail to pay; but beyond this share there is complete freedom."

The village community possessed an inherent vitality in itself which preserved it amid revolutions of power and the changes of dynasties. This community was a little republic having its own territory and its own municipal government under a headman elected in the case of republican states and appointed by the King in the case of monarchical states. The functions of the headman were partly those of a government officer, and partly those of the head of a quasi-municipality. The office of the headman in the case of the monarchical states was semi-heriditary that is the fittest member of the late official's family succeeds with the sanction of the ruling power. And the headman generally settled with the Government the revenues to be paid for the year and this amount was apportioned amongst the villagers. The headman was held personally responsible for the payment of revenue to the state.

The Law of Primogeniture

The ancient society in India was patriarchal and the inheritance of land was based on the law of Primogeniture. The Law of Primogeniture was in force not only in India but in other countries as well. The luminous researches of Sir Henry Maine into ancient law (Village Communities in the East and West) tend strongly to support the opinion of jurists like Blackstone and other authorities that the observance of the law of primogeniture could be traced to the feudal society not in the earlier but in the later stage of its development. He observes "Primogeniture did not belong to the customs which the barbarians practised on their first establishment within the Roman Empire." It was indeed directly at variance with the principles of equality which appear to have regulated all the primitive communities. The male children were recognised both in German and Hindu jurisprudence as "Co-proprietors with their father, and the endowment of the family could not be parted with, except by the consent of all its members." Sir Henry Maine observes "an absolutely equal division of assets among the male children at death is the practice most usual with the society at the period when family dependency is in the first stages of disintegration." This conclusion mainly founded on the legal history of Germany and India is further confirmed by the great customary of Ireland known as the Brehen Code. The law of primogeniture was also followed by the Anglo-Saxons. "The Athenian Law of succession under the Solonian constitution was the same in all essential respects with the Anglo-Saxon. All the sons inherited equally upon the death of their father and the only privilege reserved to the eldest was that of exercising the first choice in the division. The right of Primogeniture, as Blackstone observes, seems to have been maintained by the Jews alone among the oldest races whose laws are known to us; and even the Mosaic law assigned no more than a double portion to the eldest son, while the birth right of pre-Mosaic times as appears from the case of Reuben might be set aside by the father." It is equally certain that Primogeniture is not derived from the Roman Law—the real fountain head of so many institutions and ideas once supposed to be indigenous. According to the Roman Law all the children of the deceased took an equal share of the property though males had at sometimes some advantages over females. Sir Henry Maine has given cogent reasons for believing that Roman Wills far from being made for the purpose of accumulating property upon one representation of the family were usually made for the contrary purpose of dividing the inheritance more equitably among all children.

Therefore we have to assume that primogeniture is essentially a feudal institution. It cannot be traced back to an age preceding feudalism; it has been abandoned, for the most part, by those countries which have undergone a complete de-feudalising process. Therefore the ancient system of land tenure in India was feudal in character and feudalism was not peculiar to India alone but a common feature in all the countries in the ancient and medieval ages.

To understand the feudal system of land tenure it is very important to study the conditions of land tenure in some of the leading countries of the world.

IV

Land Tenure in other Countries

Land Tenure in Western Europe

During the period of the expansion of the Roman Empire vast areas of land became the common property of the Roman people. Those lands which were not assigned to colonists or others were allowed to be cultivated by private individuals who paid to the Government a part of the yearly produce-namely a tenth of the produce of the arable land, and a fifth of the produce of the olive yards and vine yards. In some conquered countries lands which were not appropriated by the conquerors were allowed to be retained by their owners on condition of paying a similar tribute. The collection of this revenue was let or farmed to certain persons who contracted for payment to the State usually in money though occasionally in grain. We here find the conquering nation using its power to exact a tax or tribute from the occupants of the land, rent in various forms being the result of a later development of the Roman society. The access of wealth and luxury soon produced its usual effects and Roman citizens became too proud to undergo manual labour of agriculture. The possession of innumerable slaves offered a ready substitute; but the task of superintending and controlling their labours soon became distasteful to men occupied with schemes of military or political ambitions or disinclined by luxury to the cares of a management. Thus many wealthy Romans let their lands to tenants who paid a rent either in money or by delivering a fixed portion of the produce. In certain cases the Roman owners of land without abandoning their proprietory right gave to others a real right to the land in consideration of a certain annual return in money or produce. The grantee was entitled to the possession of the land and to the produce thereof. He could make changes in the substance by reclaiming waste, by building, planting and other operations, provided he did not deteriorate the property. His right was heritable and transferable but in the case of alienation to the stranger his landlord had the right of pre-emption and could also object to such a transfer. A fee was payable to the landlord on every alienation. The contract was sometimes for a term but generally in perpetuity.

Germany

When the Teutonic tribes as Vandals, Visigoths, Burgundians and Franks invaded the Roman Empire they imitated the example

of the Romans and in accordance with the then well recognized law of nations confiscated portions of the territory which they conquered and permanently occupied such lands. Among the Teutonic tribes the private right of property in land was correlative to the public duty of military service and participation in the judicial and other political acts of the community.

The earliest form of Teutonic agricultural settlement in Germany was still dependent upon the raising of live stock, and the primary concern of the German settler was to obtain good pasturage for his cattle. Accordingly the early German farmers did not settle permanently in the newly conquered areas but changed their habitation after the meadows have been thoroughly grazed over and when the small plots of land sown with grain no longer yielded an adequate crop. These migratory clans did not however remove to outside settlement and pastures but remained within the confines of the area claimed by their tribes after conquest. After each tribe had conquered a region and taken possession of it, each clan occupied an area in proportion to its size. The clans comprised of a number of units, each unit consisting of thousand families and each such unit took in turn over a smaller district within the area. New lands were brought under cultivation by clearing common forest and pasture lands which were either assigned to the peasants or distributed among them by lot. Separated peasant farms were very rare in ancient Germany and existed primarily in the mountainous regions which were practically non-agricultural and in which cattle raising was the chief means of subsistence.

The area which was occupied by a family clan was called a mark and this consists of three distinct parts, first, the Common Mark (the folkland of the Anglo-Saxons) owned by the community, secondly, the Arable Mark (Feldmark) cut out from the Common Mark and apportioned in equal lots to the members of the community (the Anglo-Saxon Boc land) and lastly, the mark of the township also divided into equal lots, and individually apportioned.

The individual marksman, therefore, stands in a threefold relation to the land occupied by the community (Gemeinde). He is a joint proprietor of the common land, he is an allottee in the Arable Mark, and he is a householder in the township. His rights are strictly controlled by those of his co-marksmen. His cattle grazes on the common pasture, under the charge of the common herdsman, he hews wood in the forest under the control of a common officer. In the Arable Mark he has a distinct inheritance, but he must cultivate his plot in concert with his associates and the community at large determines on the mode of its cultivation. In the common mark and in the Arable mark the individual is controlled by the minute customs and usages of the community. But in his dwelling house he is absolute lord and master. In these two distinct aspects of the early Teutonic freeman as a "lord" and a "commoner" united in the same person—the one within the pale of his homestead and the other when standing outside that pale in the economy of the Mark—are reflected the salient characteristic features of the social and economic life of the early Teutonic community. These salient features are that there are two distinct communities—an agricultural community and a political community—inseparably identified with each other, the rights conferred by the one being correlative to the duties imposed by the other. We may describe it as the period of land-ownership and equal possession.

During the first few centuries of the Christian era the Germans concentrated primarily upon increasing their herds of cattle and agriculture made slow progress. The Teutonic settlements were originally more or less of military confederations which became an association for the purpose of the Government. Personal powers or force of character gave prominence to individual leaders. Thus kingship arose and the power of the kings also increased. Such changing economic conditions are shown in the law of the Franks who conquered northern Gaul and then penetrated to the middle of the Rhineland and beyond as far as Thuringania.

With further conquests an ever increasing proportion of the land owned by the kings and tribal chieftains and large estates spread all over the Gaul and throughout the country east of the Rhine. In order to obtain faithful vassals and to win the favour of the catholic clergy the kings granted a large part of the land conquered by them, the crownlands, as fiefs to their followers and to the chuch. The Merovingian kings were particularly lavish with land grants.

In order to utilize the land the clergy and the nobles followed the example of the Roman land-owners dividing their property into small plots they turned it over to landless young peasants for the settlements under fixed conditions which varied according to the size of the plots, their location and the nature of the soil. Very often the peasants had first to clear the land and bring them under cultivation. Where the land had already been cleared and perhaps even cultivated or where the landlord aided the tenant in the

improvement of his farm, the peasant had to assume in addition to the lease held all sorts of tasks, as cultivation, cutting wood in the forest and watching and feeding cattle. Thus there arose in the countries of western Europe a manorial type of economy and a new system of land holding; the theory of feudal tenures was that the ownership of all land vested in the king while all other holders in the feudal hierarchy were either tenants or sub-tenants. The fief holders held their lands upon special conditions frequently involving military service.

The land tenure system of the northern Teutons who remained in their old habitat was also developed on a feudal basis. The Norwegian kings began to crowd one another out of their districts in the eighth century and finally from 865 to 875 A.D. Harald Haafagar subdued all of Norway's petty kings. He followed the custom of the conquerors and seized not only the lands which the kings had held as their own property but many other lands as well, and from this confiscated domain made grants of land to his followers. The grantee received not absolute ownership but the right to the income of the property in return for collecting the revenue, furnishing armed forces and performing other services. Most of the land in Norway continued to be held as family ownership. Harald levied a tax upon such holdings. But a real feudal system did not develop.

Italy.

The changes in land distribution and cultivation in the new kingdoms founded by the Teutons in the Roman cultural world are best shown by the evolution of the agrarian systems of Italy and Spain during the early Middle Ages. When in 568 the Lombards after protracted wanderings invaded northern Italy, later called Lombardy, most of their old economic institutions and their common law had already given way to foreign customs as a result of contact with the Romanized tribes. They lacked their former inner unity; the army disintegrated and the leaders of the several detachments established small independant duchies whose sovereignty was continually threatened by outside tribes. Like the other Teutonic tribes the Lombards had migrated because of a lack of land and the dukes had accordingly to assign most of the conquered lands to their followers as fiefs. The former state lands they usually took for themselves and their associates while the property of those Roman landowners who had fled or been slain was distributed among the Lombard nobles and freeman. Moreover since these estates proved insufficient for this distribution the Lombards were given tenure rights in the lands of these Roman proprietors who had remained in the country. The land of the latter was divided into three parts of which two were returned to their owners while the third was assigned to the Lombards. The change in ownership did not result in any improvement in cultivation. For lack of implements, buildings, livestock and money the landlord was often unable to farm his third of the land and accordingly turned over his allotment to the former owner for farming, contenting himself with a share of his crop. There was little change in land cultivation in Italy during the period of Frankish domination which followed the Lombard regime and during the subsequent struggle between the Papacy and the German Emperors. Agriculture grew in extent as the kings and dukes granted considerable portions of the conquered estates to the nobility and the church and a new class of large landowners arose. The landlords formed only a relatively small proportion of the newly acquired land. Most of it was subdivided into small plots as in the Roman Colonate and was allotted to tenant farming usually to small tenants who farmed the land on shares frequently half of the produce.

Spain.

The Visigoths underwent the same experience in Aquitania. In their newly conquered kingdom which included most of Gaul between the sea coast, the Rhone and the Loire as well as the greater part of Spain, the arable land was divided into three parts of which the Visigoths took two thirds, while the forest, pasture and waste lands were shared. At the time of the conquest of Spain the Visigoths retained many of their old Tuetonic laws; the farm yards as well as tilled and truck farming land had already become private property, but forest and pasture land continued in many places to be considered the common property of the villages.

As the Visigoths were converted to Roman Catholicism the influence of the clergy increased and large estates and special privileges were granted to abbeys, monasteries and churches in order to ensure their support. The dignitaries of the Visigoth kingdom followed the example of their kings and the catholic church became the largest land owner in Spain. The clerical and secular landowners generally did not farm their estates; the land was divided into small plots and leased to tenant farmers. For a time the Arabs put an end to the secular power of the clergy. They introduced new crops, such as rice, fruit trees and sugar which needed intensive cultivation and which accordingly resulted in the division of land into relatively small holdings.

Thus in western Europe three distinct periods could be discerned in the histoy of land tenure:

The first period could be described as the period of land ownership and equal possession. Its characteristic features are that there are two distinct communities—an agricultural community and a political community inseparably identified with each other, the rights conferred by the one being correlative to the duties imposed by the other.

The second period can be described as the period of land tenure and of unequal possession. The transition from the first stage to the second stage is necessarily influenced by a great variety of circumstances in the different communities but there are certain features connected with this transition common to all communities. The following are such features:—

Inter-tribal wars and the consequent subjugation of other communities, the appropriation of the land in the common marks of these communities, the unequal division of the lands so appropriated according to the amount of fighting work done by the associates—are among the earliest and most effective causes which break up the original equality of property and lead to the accumulation of wealth in a few hands. The cessation of the political independence of the individual community without, however, as yet a cessation of the political functions of the community—this process takes place in two ways, first, by the gradual colonisation of the Common Mark by communities sent forth from the original townships, in which case each new township receives an Arable Mark cut out from the Common Mark, but the Common Mark itself continues to be owned by all the townships; secondly by the agglomeration of a number of marks into a loose kind of confederacy, which, by degrees, assumes a greater consistency and becomes in time a national unity.

In both the above cases the several communities retain in their own hands the management of the affairs of their own township, but the national affairs are transacted in general assemblies. In both cases, however, a sort of embryo suzerainty or over-lordship is claimed.

The third feature is the establishment of permanent executive organs and the gradual hereditariness of the executive office. Hitherto the assembly of the community has been all in all. In the case of war it elected a chief, a king or Herzog whose attributes were purely military, and ceased when peace was concluded. When the assembly sat as a court to try civil or criminal cases, it likewise elected its president. From the earliest times, however, in both cases the choice appears to have been limited to a certain number of families and little by little, though the forms of election continued, the office of the president became practically hereditary. How this rule obtained in the case of Anglo-Saxon and Frankish kings is well known but it is necessary to note that this tendency is universal throughout the Teutonic race and applies to all institutions. Thus the king is "de-jure" elective and "de-facto" hereditary. This is a matter of extreme importance as it is to the hereditariness of this office and its identification with one particular manor in each township so that whosoever owns the manor exercises the office and whoever exercises the office owns the manor, that we apparently owe the origin of the manorial rights which afterwards became the key stone of the entire land system in feudal times and to this day affect in an important manner the agrarian relations of many important countries in Europe, England included. "The foregoing indications clearly point out the pre-disposing causes in the pure Teutonic Society which led when the society came to conquer the Roman World to the establishment of feudal system, a system made up of Teutonic and Roman elements viz., on the one hand of the Teutonic idea of the correlation between the possession of land and military service, of the Teutonic tendency to change public office into private right and to transmit such right by inheritance; lastly of the Teutonic peculiarity of regarding unfree service rendered personally to the sovereign as in its nature honourable though involving political disabilities and on the other hand of the ideas of the Roman law regarding beneficial uses the difference between possession and "dominium" as well as the Roman practice connected with the agricultural colonisation of the provinces." The application of the feudal system in Germany was necessarily a much slower process than in the Roman provinces, when it was, as it were, called into life by the exigencies of conquest. In Western Europe it was an economical necessity rather than a political convulsion which brought about the change. As population increased more and more townships were settled on the common lands, the proportion between pastoral as compared with agricultural wealth decreased and the ordinary freeman was gradually to a little more than what his lot in the arable mark brought him in. Simultaneously with this diminution of his means rose the cost of his equipment for the field; and the strain put

upon his resources by having to maintain himself during the long summer and winter campaigns which were now the rule. Soldiering under Charlemagne against the Saracens in Spain or the Huns on the Danube was different work from an autumn raid across the Rhine after the harvest was got in. Hence partly by his poverty and partly by the pressure often amounting to force brought to bear upon him by the lords who wished to increase their demesne lands the free owner was little by little reduced to the condition of an unfree holder. By commending himself to a superior lord the freeman lost his personal rights, but obtained in return protection against the State, i.e., against the public claims that could be made upon him by virtue of his being a full member of the political community. According to the nature of his tenure, he had to render military service to his superior and in return was maintained by his lord when in the field, or, if his tenure was a purely agricultural one he was exempt from military service, and only rendered agricultural service.

In this way, as generation followed upon generation, the small free allodial owners disappeared and were replaced by unfree holders. The above are some of the characteristic features of land tenure in Western Europe in the ancient and medieval ages.

England.

In England the economic organisation of the Celts had not been modified to any extent by the four centuries of Roman Rule which has preceded the Anglo-Saxon incursions; and the Anglo-Saxons did not come into contact as had the Teutonic tribes on the continent with a culturally superior population. Thus the history of land tenure in England differs from that of the kingdoms founded by the Teutons on the Roman territory. The Celts who fought against the invaders were made prisoners and treated as slaves. Where the natives were submitted to Anglo-Saxon Rule they were usually allowed to remain on their farm steads, but they were forced to pay taxes and tribute and often to render services to the Anglo-Saxon chieftains as well.

As true peasant people, the Anglo-Saxons did not settle in urban localities nor did they occupy the Celtic villages. As in Germany each clan occupied a separate district. Their method of settlement and their system of tenure corresponded entirely with those of the Teutons in Western Germany. Throughout the country common village ownership was the rule. Pronounced differentiation in property holdings developed especially through the crown lands given from the eighth century as fiefs by the Anglo-Saxon kings to the church, army commanders, knights, administrative officials and favourites. The new proprietors divided their lands into small plots upon which they settled landless peasants who had to make payments in money and produce and often had to perform service as well. The unsettled conditions of the country as well as the Danegeld and other taxes tended to depress the peasantry and thus also to influence the growth of manors.

During the Anglo-Saxon period the kings made grants to the public domains of the Folkland only with the consent of the Witan. The theory that the sovereign is the paramount proprietor of all land was utterly alien to Saxon institutions. The land owning class consisted of the Eorls or larger owners of lands and the Ceols, a much more numerous but independent class. According to Hallam "They are the root of a noble plant; the free socage tenants, or English Yoemanry whose independence stamped with peculiar features both our constitution and national character."

Several features of the Saxon land laws, the relation of lord and vassal, the obligation of military service and the reverting of some lands to the State on the failure of male heirs have led to the belief that an inchoate form of feudalism existed in England before the Norman invasion. The native land laws were swept away and entirely abolished by the Norman conquest.

After the Norman conquest huge tracts of land were granted to William's retinue and to the leaders of the troops so that by the twelfth century most of Britain's soil had been divided into estates upon which a large part of the total population were dependents. The theory of feudal tenure in England as well as on the continent was that ownership was vested in the king. During the Middle Ages rural England was characterised by the manorial system. The usual manor consisted of a peasant village; at times two or three villages were included, while occasionally a single village was divided between two manors. The peasants usually called villeins were in bondage to the manorial lord. Their holdings usually comprised only one half to three quarters of the arable land of the manor. The remainder was known as the lord's demense and was farmed directly by him. The extent of the plot of land allotted to the peasant and the imposts and services required of him in return varied widely throughout England. The average holding of the villeins was 30 acres. Whereas many peasants were taxed only in money and produce others had to labour for a certain number of days upon the manorial fields. In return the lord

had to furnish his villeins with plots of land and dwellings, cattle and a certain quantity of fodder as well as farming implements. These regulations applied only to the farms of the villeins who were legally only tenants at will. As a result of custom and because of the lord's need of cultivators, however, dispossession was rare. In addition to these holdings there were free tenures, the holders of which usually paid a money rent and sometimes a small amount of labour. Their rights were protected by the royal courts.

With the increase in money economy the more prosperous villeins frequently had their services commuted in return for a suitable annual or lump money payment. The villein's tenures were converted into copy holds under which the tenants retained their occupational rights as long as they conformed with the conditions of their tenure. The trend towards commutation of service tenures into money tenures was accentuated by the famine which England suffered in 1315-16 and by the Black Death of 1348-49 which claimed a toll of from one third to one half of the total population of the country. Peasant farms were deserted. Although the lords tried to repopulate them, the surviving peasants were unwilling to return to serfdom, and their lands had to be disposed of either for a money or produce rental. The rise in the cost of agricultural labour and a growth of money economy led the manorial lords to rent out the demesne lands also. The immediate result of the leasehold system was the growth of a prosperous class of tenant farmers. Holdings became differentiated in size than they had been on the manor.

In the course of the 15th century many tenants were forced from their farms by the sheep enclosures. The development of the English wool export trade and of the textile industry made sheep raising a profitable business, many large landowners turned their cultivated land into pastures, while wealthy urban merchants brought up large tracts of farm lands for this purpose. The Government intervened to put an end to the depopulation of the rural districts; in 1489 an Act prohibited the destruction of peasant farms containing 20 or more acres of land and Henry VIII decreed that a landowner might not keep more than 2000 sheep. These decrees were, ineffectual; the number of peasant evictions continued uninterruptedly and vagrancy became a serious social problem. It declined towards the end of the 16th century because the rapid growth of urban industry offered work to a part of the unemployed while the prices of agricultural products rose considerably. Farming became more profitable and sheep ranges were again converted into farm land. The old landed nobility had lost many of its members and estates in the Wars of the Roses.

The 18th century was marked by another enclosure movement and by a serious decline in the number of small farms. Land ownership became concentrated in comparatively few hands and from these estates fairly large holdings were rented out to capitalist farmers. The conditions of tenancy usually included the supply of capital equipment by the land lord. In the 19th century the usual lease was for seven, fourteen or twenty-one years. At present it is principally an annual agreement. Since the early part the 20th century agricultural lease holds have taken on their attributes of limited ownership through the assurance of fixity of tenure and freedom of cultivation. The last vestiges of feudal tenure were swept away by the Law of Property Acts of 1922 and 1925 which provided only two forms of tenure; free hold and leases for years.

The predominance of lease hold tenure continued without signal change until after the World War when the high prices of agricultural products led many tenants to leave their lands. Between 1919 and 1924 over three million acres were transferred from land lords to occupants. Nevertheless, at the latter date about 76 per cent of the land in England and Wales was still occupied by tenants; in 1927 the percentage had dropped to 64 percent.

In 1924 one third of the total number of holdings were above 50 acres. Allotments and small holdings had increased at that date because of legislation intended to promote the sale or rental of areas of less than ·5 acres so that the labourers might obtain a holding for cultivation as a supplement to his means of subsistence. At the end of 1924 there were about one million of such allotments, covering an area of 168,500 acres; of these many were in urban areas.

U. S. S. R.

At the dawn of recorded Russian History we note that the Russian village or Commune (Mir) formed the constitutional unit of the Russian nation. The Russian Mir affords one of the most remarkable instances of that common property in land. The land belonged to the commune, and the individuals as a member of the commune had merely the right to the temporary enjoyment of a share. The village community of Mir was the unit of administration and the land was the common property of the Mir. The governing power was the Czar. The Russian Mir was only an association of freemen and the Czar was their ruler, their father, and master.

Besides the freemen there were slaves also. Many of these slaves belonged to the Czar. The chief and captains who surrounded him and aided him in his military enterprises naturally received their share of the captives. Unoccupied land was abundant; and all that was not included in the limits of the Mirs became the property of the Czar. He had to maintain the then nobility, the chiefs and the captains who formed his train of followers, and as the simplest way of doing this he made them grants of the Crown lands and the slaves were employed on these lands. As the number of these whom it was necessary to reward for serving the Czar increased while the unassigned and vacant crown lands diminished in area a new form of grant came into use whereby the grantee received an assignment of the taxes payable to the Czar by one or more villages or Mirs. It was a grant merely of the right to collect and appropriate the Government revenue. Such grants resemble the Jagirs conferred by the Muslim Emperors of India. Thus a very great number of villages having been formerly free communities merely paying taxes to the State had been turned into estates of the Czar and the nobility on which the peasantry had to pay rent. The amount payable remaining unaltered and the person to whom it was to be paid remaining the same peasantry, perhaps, did not even become aware of the change. The distinction between the slavish settlements and the free Mirs gradually became effected and the powers of the nobles over the peasantry became increased due to the following causes:

I. In 1592 the Czar attached the whole of the peasantry to the soil. This was with a view to put an end to the migratory habits of the peasants which deprived the nobles of the increased rents which they might have obtained from an increased population.

II. Peter, the Great, converted the old house-tax into a poll tax.

After the national war of 1812 the question of emancipating the serfs began to occupy the serious attention of Russian statesmen; and when the Emperor Nicholas came to the throne steps were taken for effecting a project of reform which included amongst other proposals the abolition of the serfage by endowing the peasantry with personal liberty, at the same time respecting the proprietory rights of the nobility and gentry in the land. The Emperor issued a Rescript enjoining the landed proprietors to treat their serfs "with legality and as Christians" and this was followed by another Act in 1828 by which the estates of the proprietors who behaved harshly to their serfs were directed to be placed under the administration of trustees. In 1847 the serfs were granted the privilege of purchasing their freedom and the lands occupied by them whenever the latter were put up for sale by public auction. In the following year in 1848 the serfs were allowed to purchase in their own names lands not populated with the consent of their lords. This law of 1848 never became well known to the peasantry, and few serfs were able to avail themselves of its provisions.

The year 1861 is an important date in the history of land tenure in Russia for it was in this year the Emancipation Acts were passed The peasantry in Russia in 1861 were thus classified as:

1. Twenty two million serfs attached to the lands of the aristocracy and gentry.

2. Twenty three millions constituting the crown peasantry.

3. Three millions of peasants belonging to the private estates of the Royal family. The Emancipation Act pertains to the Class-I as the condition of classes-II and III were somewhat different from that of the serfs. They paid a money rent which was lower and less variable than that paid by serfs of private proprietors.

The Emancipation Act of 1861 was to eradicate serfdom completely and the following are the leading provisions of this Act:

1. The cession to the serf of the perpetual usufruct of his homestead and of a certain allotment of land on terms settled by mutual agreement, or, failing such terms, on conditions fixed by law.

2. The right of a serf to purchase his homestead on terms fixed by mutual agreement, or, failing such terms on conditions fixed by law, subject however to the lord's right of refusal to sell the homestead without a statute land-allotment.

3. State assistance to the serf for the purchase of his homestead and a land allotment.

4. The conversion of all service into a money rent on terms fixed by law.

5. Communal and cantonal self-government. By this Act the a new basis. The Communal system was thus converted into an commune, the ancient Mir was rehabilitated and re-constituted on administrative and judicial institution.

The Emancipation Act though not successful for what it was intended brought about one result scarcely foreseen by the advocates of the Mir. The old joint families became rapidly broken up and the majority of the male peasants became the heads of separate households. "Each for himself" became the general rule.

During the period between Emancipation and the first Russian Revolution (1905-06) legislation in general encouraged communal land tenure, although in 1893 the rights of rural land communities in regard to real allotments were curtailed and redistribution was thereafter allowed to take place not more often than once in the twelve years.

The evolution of Russian land distribution and tenure between 1861 and 1917 was determined by factors which proved stronger than any of the artificial measures taken to preserve large holdings and during the reign of Alexander III (1881-94). In parts of the country where agricultural production for the market did not prove profitable the landed estates left to the gentry by the Act of 1861 passed with increasing rapidity into the hands of the peasants. Wherever such production did pay, the gentry retained the land and availed themselves of the growing competition of the peasants by systematically increasing the rent of lease holds. They were leased by individual peasants, by groups of peasants or by whole villages in which case the rent was often paid in agricultural labour. The normal trend in the distribution of land was interrupted by the Revolution of 1905-06 which was preceded by the agrarian unrest and which occurring during a period of relatively rising prices of grain marked the beginning of the Government liquidation of large and medium sized estates belonging chiefly to the gentry and their division into peasant holdings. This occurred precisely in those regions where large estates were still economically profitable. A second interruption was carried by the World War during which period the prices of agricultural produces rose. The decrease in the supply of agricultural labour due to conscription favoured the development of holdings whose owners were independant of hired labour, and peasants farming thus came to play a dominant role in the agricultural sector of the country's economy. After 1861 the Acts in general favoured the land commune; after 1906, however, there was a change in policy. In that year Stolypin as the head of the Government enacted an emergency ordinance on land reform which became the law in 1910 and was supplemented by the Land Settlement Act of 1911. Stolypin reforms which marked the first step towards the systematic promotion of peasant ownership in Russia and the inculcation in the peasantry of the spirit of ownership consisted essentially in facilitating the transition from communal to hereditary tenure by individual households and in furthering every way the development of consolidated peasant farms. Between 1907 and 1913 about thirteen percent of all land in the communal tenure was converted into individual holdings. The break up of private and state lands for sale and lease to the peasants and the settlement of Siberia were also furthered extensively by the new land acts. During the World War the process of land settlement and enclosure was necessarily slackened. Nevertheless the land legislation together with the operation of economic influences had made Russia before the revolution of 1917 a country in which peasant and small proprietorship predominated.

The great result of the reform were swept away by the Revolution of 1917. This was not confined to the extra-legal and forceful expropriation of the owners of large and medium sized holdings for the benefit of the peasants or to the parcelling of the agricultural capital, live stock and implements that had been accumulated on the large estates but implied also the levelling of conditions with the peasantry itself. The land was declared as national property by the Bolshevik Government. The owners of large and medium sized holdings were expropriated for the benefit of peasants and agricultural capital, live stock and implements that had been accumulated on the large estates were parcelled out among the peasants. Thus at one stroke the individual peasant proprietorship created by Stolypin was abolished at one stroke. In all the Five Year Plans beginning from 1928 onwards for the development of the natural resources of the country so as to make the country self-sufficient, special emphasis is placed on agriculture and collectivisation of land is an essential feature of the state controlled economy which characterises Soviet Russia. Through collectivisation the State controls the entire agricultural production of the country.

Eastern Europe and Near East

In the ancient and medieval ages there were many diverse land systems but at present uniform conditions of tenure prevail though it is divided into a number of States. Such homogenuity in tenure is the result not out of economic and social evolution but rather of political upheavals. The various influences—Roman, Byzantine, Slav and Turkish-which have affected eastern Europe have left different traces in various parts.

Roumania:

Roumania presents many features similar to Russia. The village lands consisted of undivided meadows, grazing land and woodland owned and used by the whole village and of arable land divided into equal holdings, each household being entitled to one. Arable and homesteads were family property, hereditary but indivisible. The holding was thus a joint one but not a common property; the system knew neither the absolute individual property of Roman Byzantine law nor the absolute communal property of the slav. Besides the free peasants most Roumanian villages in the Middle Ages contained in group of settlers who were probably originally prisoners of war. Before the latter half of the 19th century each of the settlers was bound to give a certain number of days labour for the cultivation of the proprietors' land, while he received a house, garden, and a certain quantity of land to cultivate for his own use. By the Rural law of 1864 the proprietor was obliged to give to each peasant a house and a garden and to the quantity of land to which he was entitled according to the class in which he was placed at the time of the passing of the law.

Turkey:

The Ottoman land system was based on Islamic law that all the conquered land belonged to the king who held it as a trust from God. In the domain of the Ottoman Empire the subjection of the peasantry had begun during the decline of the Byzantine Empire. The local nobles entrusted with the collection of taxes used their positions to encroach upon the land of the free peasants. The tendency was quickened by the feudal ideas brought in through the crusades and especially by the flight of the peasants which caused various regions to be settled with slavic serfs. Thus on the eve of the Turkish invasion the greater part of the land especially in the plain belonged to the sovereign, to the nobles and to the church, particularly to its monasteries. All conquered land according to Islamic law which was in force in the Ottoman Empire belonged to the Sultan who held it as a trust from God which he was bound to administer in accordance with natural justice recognising all rights established by law or custom. After conquest a portion of the lands was appropriated by the Government, a portion was dedicated for the purpose of religion and a portion was divided amongst the conquerors according to the rank and military service.

Soon after the Ottoman conquest the land is found to have been classified under the following five heads: (1) Meere (2) Mulk (3) Wakf (4) Metrookah and (5) Mubah.

1. Meere: This is the state or crown property and this included all land retained by the Government and the profits of which went direct into the Imperial Treasury.

2. Mulk: This is personal or freehold property and this was obtained (a) by imperial grant (b) by purchase from Government or (c) by purchase from individuals who had obtained it. After conquest a portion of the land was divided amongst the soldiers according to their rank and military service. The rest was left in the possession of the former owners subject to tax or tribute. Some of the soldiers received grants of land for life and some hereditary and some of these grantees were expected either to perform military services or pay money to the Sultan while others held these fiefs free. These fiefs could be conferred by the Sultan alone. These fiefs were indivisible and when hereditary descended to the eldest male.

3. Wakf: This is the land granted by the State for the maintenance of mosques, schools, hospitals and the like. Such grants could be modified and revoked by the State at pleasure whereas endowments by private individuals were irrevocable and inalienable.

4. Metrookah: This included all land whether pasture or forest conceded by Government in accordance with immemorial usage to the common use of one or more villages in the vicinity. Such land could not be bought or sold enclosed or cultivated or become the subject of contract public or private without the unanimous consent of the village or villages for the use of which it had been assigned. This class of land is still an extensive one in Asiatic Turkey.

5. Mubah: This includes all lands whether forest, pasture, mountain or swamp to which no proprietory claim has yet been made either by Government by commune or by private individual and which is consequently open to the first occupant free of all conditions. This covers a very considerable area in Eastern Turkey.

With a view to improve the condition of the peasants certain land reforms were carried out towards the middle of the 19th century. During the reign of Sultan Muhamud II and his successors the fiefs with all the feudal rights were abolished. The fiefs and

serfdom disappeared not only in Turkey but in most countries of Eastern Europe. The peasants became an asset to the State. In 1858 a law was passed for reforming the land holdings. This sought to regulate land property on the basis of Western principles with an added obligation to cultivate the land. This law also provided for direct relations between the Government and the peasants. The reform became effective only with the success of the young Turk Movement. As a result of this reform population increased, agriculture flourished, considerable land improvements were made in many parts of the country and the area under tillage was increased. After the World War I the Wakf property was placed under the supervision of a general directorate which is now under the control of the Ministry of Finance and the Government claims the bulk of the revenue for educational and social purposes.

Egypt.

In Egypt the characteristic holding in the Medieval age was the large private estate. Under the Arabs the landed proprietors were displaced by Muslim soldiers. Although theoretically all land belonged to the State some of the confiscated territory was granted to the Arab chiefs. This system of military fiefs which had become widespread under Saladin was adopted by Mameluke rulers. Thus the privileges assumed by the ruling class through the centuries deprived the peasantry of most of their rights and this process was completed by Mehemet Ali who began in 1808 the confiscation of most of the land assuming himself as ruler the ownership of almost all the soil of Egypt. In 1858 under Said Pasha a new law gave to the peasants almost freehold rights in the soil. About one fifth of the arable land, however, still formed the domain of the rulers. It was only under Ismail that these large estates were ceded to the State and divided into individual holdings, each adult peasant receiving from three to five acres of land in ownership. At the time of the first International Commission of Inquiry into Egyptian finance in 1878 it was estimated that in 1877 about three million acres of land were classified as "Kharadji" (tribute paying land) while 1·3 million acres were classed as "Ushuri" (owned by native upper class). The difference between these two classes of lands (Kharadji and Ushuri) has now practically disappeared. Both are held in full proprietorship. Today small holdings predominate; in 1928 out of 2 million land owners. 1·9 million land owners held less than five feddans (a feddan is equivalent to 1038 acres); one and a half lakhs of land owners held lands between 5 and 50 feddans; and about a lakh of land owners held lands more than 50 feddans. The owners of large estates usually cultivate them directly with the aid of tenants who receive a small money wage and usually also a feddan of ground each to cultivate for their own use. The medium sized holdings are generally farmed by peasants on share tenancies. The smallest holders frequently rent land from large rent holders in addition to cultivating their own plots. Small proprietorship has been furthered by the sale of government lands to small holders on easy terms. Now under the military regime of General Neguib the size of the holding has been restricted to less than 200 acres.

The political readjustment following the World War I caused profound changes in the rural structure of Eastern Europe. In annexed territories the owners of large estates were often of a different nationality; the peasant soldiers have been promised land. To these factors must be added the general revision of ideas concerning property and above all the impact of Russian Revolution. Expropriation and resettlement were carried through in almost all countries of Eastern Europe on a revolutionary scale and with a wide disregard for traditional conditions. Two main traits are common to these measures; they swept away all remnants of feudal servitudes completing the work begun in the west by the French Revolution; and they aimed to give some land and thus economic independence to most peasants and to as many as possible a sufficient family holding. The latter aim has been reinforced by an effort to prevent the revival of large estates by limiting the amount of land which may be owned by one man. The exceptions are Hungary where the landed classes regained its former Russian territories. These measures were all inspired by the same social and political reasons dictated by the need of the moment paying little attention to customs. These reforms were sudden and simultaneous. The number of holdings has been enormously increased and they have been freed of all feudal and other servitudes. The holdings are uniform in size as fixed by law, based not upon economic or geographical conditions but upon the relation between the available area and the number of claimants; and the remnants of the large estates have also been equalised according to a legally fixed scale. Moreover the land is to belong to those who till it. For this reason "mortmain" is generally prohibited and in Greece, Roumania and Bulgaria absentees are expropriated, a minimum being left to large owners who used to let their lands for farming. This principle is followed in a large number of new statutes passed in most of the countries of the Middle East.

Thus in general ownership now coincides with exploitation. Tenancy has now become insignificant; the area available for it is in any case small and the remnants of the large estates can be farmed profitably only by direct intensive cultivation. The essential nature of land tenure is now so uniform throughout the region that differences between countries or provinces relate merely to the size of the holding.

Thus in Eastern Europe and the Middle East in the Medieval Age two rural systems were superimposed; the Germanic feudal system in the Baltic countries and in the provinces of the Hapsburg empire and the Ottomon system originally theoratic in form but later very similar to western feudalism in most of the Balkan peninsula.

The Far East: China.

The oldest source of information concerning land tenure in China is the "Yakung" the tax register which dates from the reign of Emperor Yu who founded the Hsia dynasty about 2200 B.C. It appears that during the Hsia period all land belonged to the State. At the age of 20 every man was given a plot which he retained till his death or 60th year which ever is earlier when it reverted to the State. The tax rate was one tenth of the total yield of land. The cultivators near their capital paid their tribute directly to the emperor. In the outlying provinces the feudal princes acted as intermediaries presumably sharing the taxes with the ruler. Such an uncertain system of state revenues proved impracticable when as a result of the increasing intercourse of the Chinese with the peoples of the south and west a more complicated system of government replaced the old tribal court and with each change in dynasty a new system was introduced. The Hsia dynasty gave way to Shang dynasty by about 1500 B.C. which in turn gave way to the Chous dynasty by about 1000 B.C. The Chous carried out improvements in agriculture and reforms on land tenure. Land was distributed to the peasants and commercial and artisan classes but the peasants received five times as much land as an artisan or merchant. No one enjoyed private property in the land and the farmer was practically a tenant with a vested interest. The king's share and other taxes were collected through the fedual lords.

Under the rule of the Manchus the land system was further complicated by the military and semi-military tenures.

At present because of the subdivision caused by the pressure of overpopulation and by the law of inheritance the majority of the holdings are uneconomic. *According to the recent surveys the* most common holding in the north is of four acres. About 65 percent of the holdings are between ·5 and 4½ acres. In the wet rice lands of the south the existence of the smaller farms is the general feature.

The conditions of tenancy vary. One system employed is that of share cropping in which the land lord supplies the capital and shares with the tenant usually on a fifty-fifty percent basis. Share renting is also common. The tenant supplies capital and labour and pays as rent usually from half to two thirds of the produce.

Leases of government lands are perpetual and the rent averages about one-tenth of the produce. In order to ease the land situation the Kuomantang has formulated a programme calling for the equalisation of land holdings. And for the reclamation of the large uncultivated tracts of land several plans for taxing unearned increments have been formulated but as yet only minor reforms in land taxation have been instituted.

Japan.

Authentic Japanese history is said to begin from about 660 B.C. Agricultural occupation consisted primarily in the cultivation of rice. The settlement was in tribes. When the soil became exhausted each tribe moved on to new lands. In the early stages the tribes were consanguinous groups of which the patriarch was the chief. He led in the observance of religious ceremonies, was responsible for order in the community and it was through him that orders were received from the Gods. As the tribes grew in size and as the factor of blood relationship became less *significant*, the chiefs came to be regarded as the proprietor of community lands.

As the tribes settled down to cultivate their territories permanently the area of arable land became too small for the increasing population. It became apparent that new lands must be reclaimed and in order to accomplish this task the elders brought pressure to bear upon the tribe. Because of the growing complexity of the community penal regulations were drawn up and enforced by the chief. Criminals and prisoners of war were pressed into slavery and set to work at reclamation while the reclaimed land became the property of the chief. The position of the patriarch became further differentiated from that of the tribesmen and he gradually became a lord over his kinsmen who became his retainers or

tenants. In course of time the lords were subdued and their possessions annexed by the emperor.

About 600 A.D. the Emperor despatched scholars to China to study the laws and institutions of the T'ang regime. These scholars were particularly impressed by the limitations on the sizes of agricultural holdings *as compared* with the unlimited size of agricultural holdings in their native country and upon their return the law of Taikwa which was promulgated in 645 A.D. and this law is one of the outstanding land statutes in Japanese history. This law virtually adopted the land system of the T'ang Dynasty. The princes of the royal family and lords of the provinces were prohibited from owning large tracts of land and from subjecting the people to slavish labour. All land was nationalised. A limit was set to land holdings and those who engaged in cultivation had to pay a land tax directly to the King's treasury but not to the provincial lords. This law was intended to ensure an income for the Government and its officials and also to curtail the authority of the local provincial lords. It was originally put into effect only in the districts under the direct jurisdiction of the imperial court.

In 656 A.D. a revised and perfected law known as the Taiho statutes were issued and these statutes realized fully the principles enunciated in the Taikwa reform. The Taiho statutes prescribed in detail the regulation of land tenure. All land was declared as the property of the imperial court and was divided into public and private lands. The public lands consisted of the imperial lands some of which were cultivated by compulsory labour while others were let to the peasants for cultivation subject to the payment of rents. In addition there were grants to the temples to aid in their upkeep. Schools, women oracles, orphans and the aged were given lands to afford them maintenance. The private lands were distributed to the people. The courtiers received land known as rank land, government officials in service obtained service land and those who rendered unusual service to the court were granted merit land. These four kinds of private land were granted subject to the payment of taxes to the Emperor, the last three being more or less hereditary possessions. In the matter of distribution of lands every male was entitled to half an acre of rice fields and every female one-third of an acre. The Taiho statutes provided that land which had accrued to the State be redistributed every six years so as to provide for the people who had not shared in the previous division. This rule was strictly observed for about 20 years after which it was allowed to lapse. In certain districts the redistribution was made after thirty years, in others no redistribution was made at all, and after approximately eighty years the Taikwa and Taiho statutes became dead letters. This laxity permitted increased trading in land and because taxation was so oppressive many sold their holdings thus giving rise once more to the prevalence of unwieldy estates.

The Taikwa and Taiho reforms had made generous provision for shrines and temples. Such lands were exempted from taxation and the priests and monks who controlled them levied only a nominal land tax upon their peasants who were thus free from labour taxes. Many people granted their lands to temples in order to make them tax free and receive them back in fief. The shrines and temples were not subjected to interference by the Governors, and the courtiers who accumulated vast tracts of land sought to make them independent in the same way. The imperial court was petitioned for charters which were easily obtainable in most cases because of the corruption in the Government. Those who were unsuccessful set up their possessions as *de facto* manors refusing to pay taxes either to the court or local officials. This made it possible for the manorial lords to offer lands to the peasants on better conditions than those of the State. The peasants or the manors were subject only to a moderate land tax and accordingly the farmers flocked to them deserting their own lands. Another factor in the rise of the manor was the voluntary amalgamation of the lands of the local farmers. The public lands under the jurisdiction of the Government were decreased and eventually deserted and state revenues consequently fell off markedly. The manors vied with each other to increase their territories until finally they absorbed all the land. Certain lords managed to extend their sway over a great number of manors and thus feudal system began to develop. The manor became an economic as well as an agricultural unit and slavery disappeared.

The lot of farmers under the feudal system was not a happy one although they were better off than under the Taikwa and Taiho statutes. Their land was taxed by the lords and were reduced to serf statutes. They had the right to cultivate the soil but could not buy or sell it although towards the end of the feudal period this right was sold.

With the restoration in 1868 feudalism was abolished and the farmers obtained absolute ownership of their holdings thus maintaining pre-existing inequalities in holdings. The right to trade freely in land led to period of speculation which coupled with the growth of industrialisation led many small land owners to dispose of their lands and gave rise to some larger holdings. In 1924 about ½ a million land owners owned more than 7½ and less than 125 acres; about 2½millions about more than an acre; about a million from about 2½ to less than 7½acres; and about 4000 land owners owned holdings more than 125 acres. The great increase in population in addition to other factors led to a spread of tenancy so much so in 1929 forty-six percent of the land was cultivated under lease. In recent years there is a marked tendency for small cultivators to rent land in addition to their own holdings because of the difficulty of earning a livelihood. The Government tried several schemes for converting tenants into proprietors but they have not as yet been successful. Ninty nine percent of the tenants have less than 12 acres of holdings each and the usual allotment is from 2 to 5 acres. About fifty percent of the crop is collected as rent which is usually fixed before the crops are gathered. This high rate has been necessitated by the rapid industrialization of Japan the cost of which has fallen on the land. The tenant farmers still influenced by feudal tradition believe that they have a vested right in their land and frequently sell that right. Recently, however, any interest of the tenant beyond his contractual right has been denied by the courts. The low rate of return from land both for land owners and tenants has led to a popular movement for land nationalisation.

Latin America.

There are two major types of land tenure in Latin America, the individual and the collective. The two represent different degrees of cultural advancement, different economic principles, different theories of government and social tendencies and many different racial groups. Many of the social, economic and political problems of Spanish and Portuguese America from the days of the conquest have centred around the lack of harmony between the two types. There are two types of holdings:—(i) the large holdings and (ii) the small individual holdings.

The large holdings:

The most characteristic form is the large rural estate for which the general term "hacienda" is used although it is variously styled "estancia" in Argentina, "fazenda" in Brazil, "Finca" in Bolivia and Peru and "Fundo" in Chile. These large estates are not cultivated by the owners themselves who are generally absentees but by the labourers attached to the farm by long term written contracts and by mutual understanding and firmly established customs which may have even greater force.

The system of large individual holdings reflects the organization of the society in Spain and Portugal at the time when their institutions were transplanted to America. Large estates with serfs or peasants attached constituted the principal form in which land was held, a system which fitted well into the scheme by which the Spaniards and Portuguese established their hold in the New World. The Tropics where the White man is not usually inclined to engage in manual labour have not favoured the introduction of a system of small proprietors working on their own land and the growing demand for tropical product in the world's markets has aided the development of large plantations.

The small individual holding:

A second type of individual holding is the small rural property. Such holdings are very numerous. These also originated in grants of land in early colonial times bestowed on the lower orders of the conquering armies or upon civilians of humble rank. Some are more recently created homesteads conferred upon or sold to colonists who settled in frontier regions or are derived from squatter's holdings on public lands. Still others are parcels of large properties which have been frequently subdivided through the centuries, a process aided to some degree by measures of agrarian reform. The small property has frequently been subjected to the encroachments of the more powerful hacienda. These small holdings are generally found in the interior parts far removed from the principal means of communications as roads and railways.

Before the advent of the Europeans collective farming was the rule among the natives. Even the most highly civilised tribes as the Incas held their land in collective fashion and such community lands are still common in Mexico and also in the Andean Republics.

As it survives in a number of the countries today the system of community holdings represents a conspicuous contribution of the Indians to social organization, but the European invaders also contributed in some degree to the maintenance of the system. Collective land holding had existed in the Iberian peninsula before the Roman times. And numerous towns with such holdings were created in the New World particularly in areas where the white population has merged with the aborigines.

At present in these areas the collective farming has tended to disappear due to the growing individualism in the modern world and the encroachment on the neighbouring large farms. In most of the countries notably in Mexico, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Chile legislation has been enacted to abolish it and to divide the holdings among the individuals who had the rights in the communities.

U.S.A.:

The fundamental principle of English law derived from the feudal system—that the king was the original proprietor or lord paramount of all the land in the kingdom and only source of title —was applied to the territories in America discovered and taken possession of by the English and the sovereign from time to time made grants of land to companies and individuals who undertook to colonise and settle them. The theory on which the crown gave lands to American companies and to individuals was that ultimate ownership remained with the king and in order to signify the relationship between the latter and the grantee a quit rent was stipulated. Although the quit rent was sometimes nominal and never constituted a serious burden it was resented by the colonists and frequently left unpaid. After the American War of Independence they were abolished in most of the states and became dead letters in the others so that now all land ownership in the United States is *alodial*.

While village settlement was attempted especially in New England it yielded every where to separate farm-steads. The medium sized farm was the rule in the northern and central colonies except in New York where the Dutch manorial holding in the Hudson Valley was confirmed by the English Governors. The Dutch estates comprised from 50,000 to I million acres but for cultivation they were broken up into smaller units. In the south there were a number of large plantations which after the civil war and the emancipation of slave labour were broken into small farms usually rented on a crop sharing basis.

After the War of Independence large areas of public lands became available for settlement and later more were acquired by purchase and treaty. Its distribution was effected at first by sales which led to the accumulation of large holdings by individuals and later by pre-emption. It was only after 1880 when most of the good land has been occupied that tenancy which existed in colonial times became an important factor. The agricultural depression following the era of land speculation after the World War with its accompanying inflation of land values and mortagages has accelerated the trend towards tenancy. Tenants hold their lands generally on payment of a cash rental or of a fixed amount of the crop or especially in the south on a crop sharing arrangement in which the land owners provide the capital and direct the cultivation. The usual lease is for a year.

Today the holdings are predominantly of small and medium size. The larger holdings are more prevalent in the West where capitalistic farming is common.

Canada:

When the British conquered Canada they assumed sovereignty over the French settlements which had been established on the basis of the feudal system of land tenure prevalent in France during the period of colonisation. On the manors of New France, however, there was usually no absentee proprietorship and the obligation of the peasants which included rent reliefs were not onerous. Rents were paid in money and produce and were fixed by agreement or the custom of the community. For political reasons the British perpetuated the existing feudal system and even contemplated extending it. It had, however, begun to lose its vitality even before the conquest, and in the following century its abolition was demanded partly on the ground that it interfered with the free transfer and partly because of the British who had become seigniors were generally more exacting than the French with their tenants. In 1854 feudalism was abolished but the French laws in regard to alienation and inheritance were retained. In English speaking Canada free hold grants were made subject to quit rent and the obligations of partial cultivation. Nevertheless great blocks of lands were accumulated by speculators. The Central administration attempted to check this abuse which was leading to economic stagnation and political unrest and to foster small family tenures. After they had attained self government the provinces continued this work by disposing of lands through sales on easy terms and through home-stead laws.

The heavily wooded areas of eastern Canada prevented the development of large farms due to the types of land utilisation as dairying and fruit culture which developed in this region. In Quebec French laws of inheritance favoured subdivision and the great majority of farms in eastern Canada are of less than 200 acres perhaps too small for remunerative cultivation. In the grain growing prairie provinces of the west dominant types of holdings introduced was the free home-steads of about 160 acres. At various times pre-emption of additional land was permitted. The average farm which is much larger than that prevailing in the east was of 335·4 acres in 1916 and 358·4 in 1926. The character of the land and its product, the increasing use of machinery and a certain amount of land speculation have contributed to this growth in size. As in the United States the exhaustion of good home-stead land was followed by the development of tenant farming which is more important in the western than in eastern Canada. Nevertheless Canada remains a country of small farms cultivated by their owners.

Australia:

The first British settlement in Australia was made towards the close of the last century at Botany Bay by captain Arthur Philip who landed near the spot where Sydney now stands for the purpose of founding a penal settlement. This settlement became the colony of New South Wales which originally included Tasmania, Victoria and Queensland. But these were subsequently separated and constituted distinct colonies. The aboriginal inhabitants of Australia lived by hunting, had no settled homes and did not practise agriculture of which they had no knowledge. There was no difficulty about the occupation of the land and the whole territory of Australia was practically treated by the British Government as unoccupied. According to the law of England unoccupied territory of which possession has been taken by the crown or its subjects vests in the sovereign and private titles must thereafter be created by Royal Grant. By virtue of this principle the vast area of Australia vested in the sovereign of Great Britain from whom private individuals have obtained grants through the Governors of the colonies. The Governors of each colony held a commission which authorised him in the name and on behalf of the sovereign to convey the waste lands to those who obtain grants under the rule for the time being in force. Except by a grant under the public seal of the colony issued in pursuance of such a commission no private person can establish a valid title to land. The conditions under which such grants are now made are embodied in regulations drawn up for each colony; but in the early part of the present century large tracts of land were occupied in an irregular manner and under the earlier land rules individuals acquired title to very large tracts of land which have in a comparatively short space of time became properties of enormous value. Many persons consider that a grave error was committed in allowing individuals to become owners of large areas of land which should have been reserved for partition amongst the people in allotments proportioned to the moderate requirements of single families of cultivators; and more than one attempt has been made to undo what has been done in this respect.

Australia like Canada was subjected to the free grant system and its abuses. This came to an end in 1831 when as a result of Wakefield's influence land was sold by auction at a minimum price successfully raised from Shillings five to £ one an acre. Since much of the best land had been alienated, Australia became "the dearest land market in the world" and settlement ceased even in South Australia, where Wakefield's ideas received special application but the results were rather poor. More important in its influence upon land tenure was the rise of the wool growing industry. In 1827 in New South Wales the extensive runs of pastoralists who had soon established themselves as squatters on the public domain were placed under annual licences and fees. In 1836 licences were granted for areas beyond these countries but the holders had no security of tenure nor property in improvements. But in 1847 the land was ordered to be divided into three categories based upon the degree of settlement and was leased to the grazers for periods ranging from one to fourteen years; during the term of the fourteen year lease the lessee had exclusive rights to purchase the freehold. In other colonies the squatters although powerful were not as firmly entrenched in their privileges and the law was not enforced.

The gold rush beginning in 1851 brought settlers who eventually turned to agriculture; and soon afterwards the agricultural interests introduced the system of free selection before survey which in many respects resembled the American home-steads although the land was purchased in instalments. But the squatters retained control of the land by various means and converted their leaseholds into extensive freehold estates. The small family holding gained significance when technical advance was made possible by the development of grain raising and dairying and when foreign markets were provided. It was furthered by legislation to assist small holders financially and otherwise and to break up large estates suited to cultivation by voluntary or involuntary sale to the State and possibly also by the tax on land. The pastoralist is now given land beyond settlement limits on leases for terms as long as twenty or forty years, sometimes with the periodic revision of rentals. The small settler generally acquires land on "conditional purchase" which includes residence and improvement conditions with twenty years or more to pay.

The dominant form of land tenure on the Australian farm is freehold. A certain amount of tenancy has also grown up on private lands for wheat raising, dairying and other agricultural pursuits. Share farming was developed in the New South Wales since the latter half of the 19th century. Absenteeism has been considerably reduced and the number of very large holdings has steadily diminished; the latter process has been aided by the high prices for land which have characterised boom periods. Although small holdings have been increasing in number many are added to neighbouring large holdings.

New Zealand:

The characteristic form of rural property in New Zealand is the small dairy farms held in freehold. Share tenancy has also developed especially upon dairy farms.

South Africa:

In South Africa the Dutch East India Company has introduced freehold tenures for small agricultural holdings in order to ensure the necessary agricultural supplies. It had also encouraged stock raising and for this purpose leased or loaned extensive tracts of land over 6000 acres for a year at a time at a uniform fixed fee. As the market for agricultural produce was limited and as capital and labour were scarce the pastoral industry naturally developed. The Dutch East India Company favoured it as a source of revenue. The scantiness of pastures and lack of water in the interior which kept the stockman constantly moving or trekking made a system of land. The system of loan tenure favoured the trekking habit and to correct this evil new forms of holdings were introduced, but they were less attractive and remained comparatively unimportant. The disadvantage of this loan tenure to the tenant with respect to sale, inheritance and insecurity seems to have been more potential than real but in 1813 the British noting the economic defects of the system allowed the conversion of the loan leases into perpetual quit rent tenure, which was also the form in which subsequent grants were to be made. Conversion of the loan tenure was very gradual. Some holdings of a different character were converted into absolute freeholds. Although since 1860 it has been possible to transform quit rent tenures into freeholds both forms have continued to exist down to the present.

The securing of revenue seems to have been the determining factor in land tenure in Cape Colony and Natal throughout most of the 19th century. The stricter land policy of the British contributed to the trekking which resulted in the founding of the Boer Republic where land was given out in freehold or quit rent tenures in the extensive plots that had characterised the colonial period.

The extensive areas of the holdings and the great risks of South African Farming facilitated the growth of share farming by natives who often remained as squatters upon the land when it was divided among the white settlers. The exhaustion of the supply of fresh land, the agricultural revolution which resulted in the ruin of many farmers who clung to the highly inefficient methods to which they were accustomed and a system of inheritance favouring extreme subdivision have led to a landless class of "poor whites" who have also supplied recruits for the ranks of tenant farmers. The tenancy agreements are oral and informal. Changing conditions and the competition for land have tended to break down the customary system under which the white tenants were relatively well off, and to depress them to the status of mere agricultural labourers receiving wages for the cultivation of their plots. The conditions of the natives are even worse for their opportunities of holding land are in most of the provinces restricted by law; in the Orange Free State native share agreements have been outlawed entirely. A considerable amount of cash tenancy has been developed, however, with tenants drawn from the better class of white share farmers. Among the white tenant farmers cash tenants are more numerous than share tenants and while tenant holdings constitute more than one third of the total number of white man's holdings they cover less than one fourth of the area occupied by the whites.

Very little has been done to check the growth of large holdings nor has public attention in general been centred on the reform of the land systems. Although measures to facilitate land settlement were taken by the provinces before union and since then by both the provinces and central government they have not gone to the root of the problem. These measures include financial aid, subdivision schemes and alienation of public lands on lease usually with purchase rights; the purchase of pastoral area has also been made possible.

Hitherto we have considered briefly the system of land tenure in the leading countries of the world not only in the Ancient but Medieval and Modern periods. From this brief sketch it is clear that the system of land tenure in the ancient and medieval ages was based on feudalism in all these countries. We have also seen that in ancient and medieval India both in the monarchical and republican states land tenure was based on feudalism. Therefore it could be stated without any fear of contradiction that feudalism was not peculiar to India alone but it was the prevalent form of institution in all the countries in the early days in Europe or in the Far East as China or Japan or in Latin America.

V

Feudalism—Its Influence

Feudalism has played a notable part in influencing the making of the State and in the organization of society in the early stages. But a word of caution is necessary. Feudalism in its most flourishing age was anything but systematic. It is said that it was confusion roughly organised. Great diversity prevailed everywhere and we should not be surprised to find some different forms. Anglo Norman feudalism attained a logical completeness and a uniformity of practice which in the feudal age proper can hardly be found elsewhere. But underlying all the apparent confusion of fact and practice were certain fundamental principles and relationships which were alike everywhere and which really gave shape to everything that was feudal, no matter what its form might be. The foundation of the feudal relationship was the fief which was usually the land.

The origin of feudalism was due to the conquest of a large country by a few people and their inability to rule themselves. It was found that the land could be better ruled if it were divided up into parcels and each parcel handed to the Government. Henry Maine has shown that feudalism has played a dominant role in the development of modern sovereignty. In the tribal conditions traces of feudalism are to be found in Polynesia, Tahiti, among the Lampongè and Battocks of Sumatra and the Indians of North America. Feudalism has flourished almost everywhere wherever large states have been formed in ancient Akkad and Elam, in Mexico, in Russia under Varangians, in Egypt after the Mameluke conquest and India and Japan. But it is in Medieval Europe that feudalism flourished at the height of its greatest influence and it is from medieval feudalism that its characteristic features have been deduced. The fundamental idea was that the government was based on property in land and political authority was divided up among a hierarchy of ranks and classes which were brought into direct relationship with land. Political rights and duties are based on the possession of land which was under feudalism the basis of government and social order. Feudalism rendered invaluable service to the societies that put themselves under it. It was feudalism that made land the exclusive bond of union between man and man. "No land without a lord; No lord without a land"—this brought about the establishment of territorial sovereignty as one of the differentia of States. It gave a structure and organization to the large country states. Feudalism fixed wandering peoples to the state. It is the maker of all modern states. It gave the state the characteristic feature of territoriality. It made the land the foundation and stuff of the state. It strengthened the basis of government by distributing government all over the state and dispersing it towards the circumference instead of concentrating it at the centre. It gave a training in Government and administration to all the people of a state by multiplying the centres of authority and Government. All were brought under the aegis of its law—the king, the lord, the serf—all had varying degrees of right to the land which held them together and varying degrees of enjoyment of the political right which this relationship to the land conferred. The classes were bound together by bonds of personal loyalty. Feudalism furnishes the first instance of government based on contract. Feudalism also helped constitutional government. Its idea of distributed and limited authority served the cause of constitutional government in Medieval Europe. It scattered leaders of society all over the country. Feudalism articulated and knotted society in such a way that it was able to bear the shock of great revolutions.

Revenue Administration in the Pre-British Period

The Hindu Period

Thus a comparative study of the land tenures in the different countries of the world brings home to the fact that in the ancient and medieval ages the land tenure was based on a feudal system and India is no exception to this. But the one striking peculiarity of the Indian land tenure is that the village formed the basis of the land system. The village formed the unit of administration. Speaking about the village organization Baden Powell observes, "The only detailed attempt to account for the village constitution I have met is in Mr. Philip's Tagore Lectures for 1874-75. The village referred to in Manu was the well known village community the constitution and position of which are so important in the Hindu land system. In Dr. Field's valuable work on "Landholding in Various Countries" very little is said about the villages; the perfect communities of the Punjab are hardly alluded to and those of

the North West Provinces described only in extracts from some official minutes, which whatever may have been the ability of their authors, still were written when the settlement enquiries under the new system of 1822 had hardly commenced, and when the knowledge on the subject was most elementary. The Cobden Club Essays contain a valuable paper by Sir C. Campbell, but it is too brief to be generalised to be altogether satisfactory. There are, of course, the valuable conclusions as to early forms of property which Sir Henry Maine has made us familiar with his village communities and other work but these do not profess to specially analyse the Indian village or give any detail as to the actual facts of origin, constitution, and history of the different types of village in the various countries of India."

Baden Powell is of opinion that the village institution is the characteristic feature of the plain country—Indo-Gangetic Valley—while on the Himalayan hill sides on the west coast (Kanara and Malabar) and the dry regions of the Punjab there are no village type of institutions but we find individuals or a few connected families with individual holdings as for example on the west coast a few houses are arranged in a group and for Government purposes these holdings are artificially grouped into circles of some kind and that some sort of headman or chief over the circle is recognized partly as a matter of social convenience, partly as a matter of state management with a view to the collection of revenue or taxes. "But over the greater part of India aggregates of cultivators forming regular villages are the rule, the other cases are the exception". According to Baden Powell there are two distinct types of village communities. In the one type the aggregates of cultivators have no claim as a body to the whole estate. Each owns his own holding, which he has inherited or brought or cleared from jungles. The waste surrounding the village is used for growing and wood cutting, but no one in the village claims it as his to appropriate and cultivate without lease still less do the whole group claim it jointly to partition when they please. This is the collective type of villages.

The other type is the landlord of villages. This is a strong joint body probably descended in many cases from a single head or single family has pretensions to be of higher caste and superior title to the tenants who live on the state. The site on which the village habitations, the tank, the grave yard and the cattle stand are, claimed by them; and the others use them only on payment of small dues to the proprietory body.

The first type of village (collective type) is the one mostly connected with Hindu Government and Hindu ideas and the second type (land ownership type) is found strongly developed among the Punjab frontier tribes who were converted into Islam. It is also universal among the Jat, and the other tribe in the Central Punjab as well as among conquering Aryan tribes and descendants of chiefs and nobles in other parts. As for the distinction of these two types of villages Radhakamal Mukherjee in his "Land Problems of India" observes: "The distinction which Baden Powell draws between joint ownership of a village, and the possession of the village commons and the grazing grounds and other traces of original clan or village properties or the custom of a periodical distribution of village lands or the fallow is refuted by economic history which often finds them as inseparable stages in the evolution of property and of early village forms in different countries. To each family a homestead and plots of arable land are parcelled out of common soil to the community to the meadow and the waste —These are the general principle of the village community everywhere, in Japan and Java, in India, Europe, in Fiji and Basutoland."

Again the well known author observes: "Thus the agriculture of an Indian village does not differ perceptibly from that of Medieval Europe. The compact village, the scattered peasant holding, and the communal routine of the open fields still dominate the rural life of India as it dominated the life of Medieval Europe. In Europe, however, the imperial system and feudalism obscured the ancient village communalism, suppressed the right of the peasantry in the common lands, disintegrated village solidarity, and absorbed most of the profits of agriculture so that the tenants were debased. In India the village communalism has been more widespread, and the common pasture, the peasants' right of growing and cutting fuel and the communal woodland and pastures and irrigation channels have survived for centuries."

Thus in the system of land tenure in the ancient and medieval India there are no fundamental differences and its organization is based on both feudalism and village organizations.

Throughout the ancient and medieval periods the village continued to be the unit of administration both in the north and the south. What was the unit of administration in general to the whole of India is specifically applicable to the villages in the Chola Empire. "These communities (village communities) contain in miniature all the materials of a State within themselves and are almost sufficient to protect their members if all their governments

were withdrawn. In the stability and continuity of the village life and organization is to be sought the secret of good things achieved by India in the past in spite of the apparent incapacity to develop political institutions of an advanced character". In modern times the town has come to replace the village as urbanisation is proceeding at a rapid pace. India is a land of villages and towns are very few. As the village population is migrating to these towns in search of employment leaving their hereditary occupation of agriculture and out of mania for the artificial civic amenities we are now being faced with various new social problems as provision of adequate housing facilities, increased water supply and similar problems which the Government of the day find it difficult to solve. Until very recently the village life engrossed the attention of the richest as well as the most cultured Indians in their daily concerns.

From hundreds of inscriptions that have come down to us we learn that the villages of South India were full of vigour and strength and the real centre of social life and the principal nurseries of social virtues. In these villages government by means of primary assemblies comprising the adult males of each village forms the central feature of rural organization. In this connection it is necessary to point out that democracy at work in South India particularly in the Chola times is not of the type of government that is being carried on at present either in the U. S. A. or in Switzerland or in France but it is more or less of the type of constitutional monarchy as kingship was not dispensed with. Of the various forms of government, constitutional or limited monarchy is said to be the best. The South Indian monarchs like the British kings only reigned but did not govern. The actual government was left with these village institutions. In these villages various kinds of tenure came to exist because of the social, political and geographical influences.

Wherever the villages consisted of the loose aggregate of separate cultivators each holding was separately assessed and no holder is responsible for anything else but his own revenue nor has he any common right in an allotted area of waste. Let us call this system as "Ryotwari" in the modern terminology. Where there are landlord villages in the North Western or "Village" system of settlement is followed the waste is given over to the village, the entire estate so made up is assessed to one sum of revenue for which the landlord or landlord body are jointly or severally liable and which they apportion among themselves to pay according to the constitution of the body. Let us call this as the landlord type. Though these two types of villages have some features in common there are certain points in common. The origin of the landlord villages is to be traced to the following facts: —

When the village consists of a number of losely aggregates of cultivating occupants it is very natural that they should choose or recognise some one of their members to be their headman. Possibly this man is or represents the leader of the original settlers or in some other way marked out as a trustee. He is referred to decide local disputes to allot lands when cultivation extends and so forth. And when the village comes under a definite state organization and pays revenue to the headman for the punctual realization of his rights his importance and dignity are then enhanced because he becomes vested with a certain measure of authority and is remunerated by the State. His office is hereditary and the State does not interfere except in some cases of manifest personal incompetence and then probably another member of the family is selected at any rate to the practical functions of the office.

Where the headman is as in Central India allowed an official holding of land his "watan" as it is called the office becomes still more desirable. In these parts it will generally be found that the headman known as "Patel" owns the best land; he is also the owner of the central site of the village frequently an enclosed space of some size fortified perhaps by mud walls; and within this only members of the family all of whom will be addressed as "Patel" resides.

In the landlord village the headman as such did not exist. The proprietory families were too jealous of the equal right to allow any great degree of authority residing in one head. Their system was to manage village affairs by a council of the heads of families called "Panchayat". It is true that in landlord villages either one headman or one headman for each division is now to be found; but that is an appointment of the State for administrative purposes. In former days such headman appointed by the State was called "Mukudan" and at present lambardar. Where a landlord village is united it still keeps its Panchayat and where the institution is falling into discredit and the "Patwari" or some "Lambardar" begins to dominate we may be sure that poverty and decay are affecting that body.

The difference in the types of villages could but be studied by arranging in parallel colums a list of characteristic features: —

Ryotwari or Non-landlord Village (Bombay and Madras)	*Joint or landlord Village* (Punjab, North-West Province, Oudh and Central Provinces)
The revenue is assessed on each field or holding. No responsibility of one man for another's default.	The revenue is assessed on the village as a whole and the burden is distributed by the co-proprietors themselves. Village co-sharers are jointly and severally liable for the whole.
The village site is not owned by any one landlord, except as far as each occupant householder is the owner of his site. The headman has often a central residence.	The village site is owned by the proprietory body who allow residences to i. The artisan class, labourers and menials. ii. The tenantry. iii. The traders, money lenders, etc., These probably pay some dues according to custom; and if they leave the village may have no right to dispose of the site, and only in some cases to remove the roof timbers and other materials.
The waste outside for graveyard, cattle shed, pondgrove is Government land, the area of which is allowed to the villages and this land cannot be diverted from such purposes.	The waste is allotted to the village, forms parts of the estate, and if wanted for cultivation is partitioned among the shareholders.
The waste area is granted jointly to the village. The headman is an *important* functionary and part of the original constitution.	The village government is by the Panchayat or groups of heads of families. The headman is called "Lambardar" and exists chiefly for revenue and administrative purposes.

Constitution of the joint or landlord village

Where there was a landlord claim over the village such as that of a revenue farmer who had become proprietor or some chief or other high caste personages who had many generations ago acquired the superior title they expressed the right by the term "Zamindari". If the landlord were a single person the term indicating the tenure was "Zamindari Khatis"—simple or sole landlord tenure. When, however, the original grantee or acquirer of the village had died and was represented by a family who as yet remained joint they called it "Zamindari mushtarka" the joint or co-sharing landlord tenure. In such joint tenure as long as the body could agree together they would remain undivided. In such cases the land was generally leased out to tenants; or only certain fields cultivated by one or more of the landlord body for which rent was credited to the community. One of the family would act as "manager" and keep an account of the rents received and any other profits and would charge against this the Government revenue and cesses and the charges debitable to the village as a whole-cost of arms, of entertainment of strangers etc.—and finally would distribute the surplus according to shares.

The Pattidari Village

In the majority of the villages the family agreed to divide so that many joint villages are found in a state of division or severally as regards the cultivation and enjoyment of the land. When the family is descended from some single village founder the shares will be mainly those of the ancestral tree and follow the law of inheritance. When this is the case the village is said to be "Pattidari" because the primary division representing the main branches of the family are called "patti". It will be borne in mind that the pattidari properly means not only village held in severally but also held in shares which are wholly ancestral i.e., those of the law of inheritance. The rent is calculated on the basis of the land.

The Baichara Village

One of the curiosities of tribal history in India is that all tribes, clans or families did not adopt the same system indeed it may be the case that different sections of the same tribe adopted different methods. Some tribes had no Rajahs or greater chiefs and all the families were exactly equal under their several heads or elders; and on setting in a new place they adopted different methods of allotting the land. One of the first forms of joint villages to be discovered in Benares was a form of village called "Baichara" held by the custom "achara" of the brotherhood "chai". These villages were held by caste men of the higher orders and that they formed close communities styling themselves as landlords and superior to all other people on the estate but still they did not adopt any system of sharing based on the place in the ancestral tree but started when the village first was founded with an equal division of land,

often adopting curious measures or standards for dividing, which were not the ordinary land measures or "bighors" but were "baichara bighas," measures of larger size. The other distinguishing feature of this tenure was that the holders did not merely undertake the share of the revenue burden which corresponded to their fractional interest in the estate but they distributed so that the payment should always correspond to the holdings and in any of the villages notably in the Buddelkhand districts there was a system of equalisation known as "Chejbarar" which consisted sometimes in exchange of holdings but more especially in a redistribution of the payments according to the actual holdings.

The Proprietor's Sir Land

This type of tenure refers to the home farm or land which the landlord or co-sharer holds directly in his own management either cultivating it himself or by his farm servants or personal tenants.

Present state of the Joint Village

The sentiment of joint-lordship seems to be decaying. Some of the villages were never really joint at all. Hence a strong principle of coherence is hardly to be looked for. Of these that are really joint many are owned by families descended from an ancestor who was once ruler, conqueror, or grantee and a great many from revenue farmers and auction purchasers. None of these had any attachment to land as land since they did not belong to castes who themselves cultivated the soil. The Panchayats and Lambardars have little influence as the landholders apply for leave to pay their own revenue direct to the local treasury instead of through the headman. Perfect partition which not only divides the land but also completely severs the revenue responsibility is allowed. The result is the growth of independent petty proprietors but still more of capitalist landlords who buy up first one field and then of another resulting in absentee landlordism. The village community system prevailed in the ancient and medieval period till the advent of the Muslims. The following are the causes for the decay of the system :—

1. *Creation of an aristocratic class superior to the village communities to whom the assignment of revenue was entrusted.*

The system of collecting the revenue in kind from the headman of each village was possible only when the domain of the sovereign was limited in extent. As petty states were amalgamated by conquest or otherwise and as the country gradually approached the condition of a single government under a single ruler, it became absolutely necessary to change a state of things so primitive and ill suited to further stages of progress. Money was scarce and where it did exist it was limited in quantity. Powerful sovereigns or chiefs to the maintenance of whose power armies or armed followers were necessary were unable to pay their soldiers in money for money did not exist in sufficient quantities. In course of time these leaders assumed a local position of importance and their family taking root in the locality became the source of an aristocracy between the cultivators and the sovereign. Similar grants were made for the support of civil officers for the maintenance of temples and of holy men. Grants were also made to individuals as rewards for public service. The grants of one ruler were often resumed by his successors. In this connection it should be borne in mind that what was assigned in all these cases was not the land itself but the right to collect the government revenue.

2. *The Village headman becoming hereditary.*

Further it became a necessity that some one should undertake the collection of the revenue from the villages as the representative of the king. This task was entrusted with the village headman. The office of the headman assumed a hereditary character. The office of headman became a recognized universal fact of village organization. The headman required the assistance of a person who could write and do sums and keep the account of the collection and register facts regarding the land and its cultivators so that a village "Pawari"—and the "Grama Lekhak" of ancient days became equally a necessary part of the system. The natural land unit of the revenue system being the village, its administration furnished the pattern for all the rest. The village official personnel was, for Government purposes, simply repeated in wider and wider circles first over a smaller area and then again over a still larger area such as we now call a district. As regards the district there are allusions in Manu to "a lord over 1000 villages and we have traces, in parts of India, both of the ancient districts and of the officers who presided over them still remembered in later Hindu dialects as "Sardeshmukh" with him an accountant of the district was also recognized. But the most generally used and best known division was that which was smaller than a district and comprised the charge of 84 villages or some similar group. This is known as "Parghana". It was always

adopted by the Mughal system and the parganas into which the country was then divided are almost every where known to this day. In Maratha country the same system was known by the name of "Taluka". The Pargana or Taluk official staff just repeated that of the village only in the larger jurisdiction. There was the "Deshmukh" or Parghana headman and the "Deshpandia" who kept the Parghana accounts.

Thus it seems that from very early times the village officials as the headman were paid wholly or partly by allowing land revenue free in virtue of their office. Traces of this holding of service lands we shall meet with all over India; it extended not only to the village headman and account keepers but to the watchman, priest and even artisans of the villages. The reason why the official holding as a direct origin of peculiar land tenure survived so in Central and Western India and to a lesser extent in the south and disappeared in the north is that in the former areas the Muslim kings were even more respectful to local institutions than the Mughals and though the Mughal empire at least extended over the Deccan its duration was brief and its hold imperfect. The Maratha rulers who followed the Mughals were imbued with the spirit of the universal Hindu system and were averse to revenue free holdings and hence they did not dare to interfere with such a deeply rooted institution as the Hindu officials' hereditary land holdings.

3. *Petty chiefs becoming independant rulers.*

There were many petty chiefs who had acquired a local position and influence before they came into contact with a stronger power to which they yielded and in which they were absorbed. Though not strong enough to resist absorbtion they were yet able to make terms and retaining their former relation to those below them they acknowledged a sovereign over them by the payment of revenue. The custom of the Rajputs presented some peculiar features. The founder of a State reserved a certain portion of the territory for himself and divided the rest among his relations according to the Hindu law of partition. The recipient of each share owed military service and general obedience to the chief but exercised unlimited authority within his own lands which he divided on similar terms between his relations. A chain of vassal chiefs was thus constituted to whom the civil and military administration was committed. In these and other ways there came to exist between the sovereign and the village Zamindars a class of aristocracy variously known as Rajas and Talukdars the exact nature of whose rights puzzled the first English administrators in the country.

The above were some of the causes for the origin of the Zamindari system in the Hindu period in Indian History.

The Muslim Period

The Muslim conquerors did not carry out much changes in the nature of land tenure though according to the Islamic law the conqueror was considered to be the owner of the soil. The Hindu and Muslim system of taxation were more or less so similar that the new comers adopted the existing tenures with certain modifications. There prevailed among the Hindus a practice sanctioned and regulated by the laws of Manu under which the sovereign received a share of the land. The British only adopted the pre-existing system of land tenure and effected certain modifications. It appears that from very early times there prevailed among the Hindu rulers a practice sanctioned and regulated by the laws of Manu. The Muslim conquerors too had a practice in some respects similar. The produce of land in countries under their control was subject to the imposts as "Ushar" which was payable only by Muslims or true believers, "Theraj" which was payable by infidels generally though in some exceptional cases by believers, "Kheraj" which was naturally levied from the conquered Hindus and the conquerors readily utilised for its collection the previous practice and the pre-existing agency. Under the Muslim rule the peculiarities of the old Hindu institutions were wholly effaced; and the usages and practices which the British found in the country were purely Muslim in character. But one thing is certain and that is the share of the produce which the Muslims took whether in kind or in money was greater than that was taken during the days of the Hindu rule. During the Muslim rule as the State became extended resulting in a complex administration the collection of the whole of the revenue in kind became excessively inconvenient and must have been in the end impracticable. It therefore became highly expedient that some effectual means should be devised for regulating the collections and securing whole or in part a commutation of produce into money. The first systematic attempt to effect this object is to be found in the "Institutes of Timur". He directed that of the produce of the cultivated lands made fertile by the waters of canals or by perennial springs or rivers two-thirds should go to the cultivator and one-third to

the royal treasury. Whoever undertook the cultivation of waste lands or built an acqueduct or made a canal—or planted a grove or restored to culture a deserted district from him nothing was to be taken in the first year, and in the second year what he voluntarily offered was to be received. In the third year the duties were to be collected according to the regulations.

In the Muslim period the name of Sher Shah shines like a firmament in the sky as he made an attempt to introduce a regular system for the assessment and collection of land revenue but he did not live long enough to carry out his plans into general effect. He fixed the share of the State at one-fourth of the produce. "He also anticipated that monarch (Akbar) in a system of land revenue assessment based on the measurement of the land and if he had lived longer he might have enjoyed a reputation equal to that of Raja Todar Mall, Akbar's famous minister". "Akbar's reign was distinguished by the improvement of the internal administration, no less than by its unbroken series of victories". In his reign Land Survey was carried out by Raja Todar Mall. The assessment was one-third of the gross produce.

The Mughal Revenue Organization:

How very generally the Mughals preserved the Hindu system only with some attempt at definition and with the adoption of the Persio-Arabic Official term for every thing is well-known from the monumental writings of Ab-ul-Fazl in his 'Ayin-i-Akbari' and through other historians.

The greater provinces like Bengal, Oudh, Allahabad, etc. were the grand divisions and were designated Subas. Before the Mughal times some of them as Bengal and Jaunpur had been independent Afghan kingdoms and became Mughal Subas. Again in the days of decline the Nawabs or other governors (officially called Subadar) threw off their allegiance and set up as separate States. Oudh and Hyderabad in the Deccan are familiar examples. Each Suba was primarily divided into districts called Sirkar. The Sirkar was divided into Parganas and these for some purposes were aggregated into contiguous groups called "dustad." The northern Sirkar is an example of this. It was suggested that each Suba should consist of 22 Sircars and each Sircar of 22 Parganas but this was only an idea never realised in practice.

In the reign of Shah Jahan another sub-division was recognised. This was "Chakla" and this was a division of the Suba. Thus in

Bengal the Suba was divided into thirty-two Sirkars or into thirteen Chaklas.

In Akbar's time the important revenue officer was the "Amil" who supervised the village collection of his district and adjusted the assessments on the principles of the settlement made during his reign. The Amil's jurisdiction was not determined by area but according to the amount of revenue under his control. Thus it would happen that the charge would be small where the land was well populated and highly cultivated and larger in a poor and barren country. The "Amil" was in after times called "Karori" the officer who collected a crore of "dams" equivalent to Rs. two and a half lakhs. Still later the Karori's duty was restricted to revenue collection, the assessment made by another officer (Amin-faijdar) in subordination to whom the Karori acted. For each "Parghana" there was a district accountant called "Kanungo". The executive officer of the Parghana was called Choudhri, the old Hindu Deshmukh.

The Jagir System:

One other feature of the Mughal system should also be mentioned. Just as the Hindus divided the whole country into royal domains and chiefs' domains so the Mughals apportioned their territory into "Khalsa" and "Jagir" lands. The Khalsa lands were divided into charges and managed by Amils and state officials. The rest was divided out into blocks or estates which were made over for life the grants becoming hereditary at a later stage to certain military commanders, ministers and courtiers who took the revenue for their own support or that of military force which they were bound to maintain. Probably the idea was copied from the Hindu system. Some times vast tracts of land were granted as Jagirs and the Jagirdars very often managed the whole, increased the cultivation, and applied the revenue to their own support and to the expenses of the administration and the pay of the troops. While a strict control lasted the Jagirdar was bound to take not more than the sum assigned and if more came into his hands he had rigidly to account for the surplus to the State Treasury.

Farming or contracting system:

The Mughal rulers had to follow a policy of conciliation with powerful native chiefs. These chieftains who used to enjoy the title of the Rajas were authorised to collect or rather to contract for certain defined sums of revenue required from their territories.

In the days of disorder and feeble rule particularly after the death of Aurangazeeb such a plan of contracting for a fixed sum of revenue saved all the trouble of local control, and so were generally adopted and then, not only old territorial chiefs, but speculators, courtiers and other officials were allowed to become revenue farmers either of the Parghanas or of larger or of smaller areas according to their means and spheres of influence. A Raja, Chaudhri or a speculator with no title at all thus appointed to manage the tract under his influence would be equally designated as the land holder or Zamindar of his territory and would be called in the "Sanad" or official warrant of his appointment. A person allowed a some-what less important tract on the same terms would be called a "Talukdar".

At first the duty of such a land holder was strictly to gather the revenues of the villages and retain only his own recognized share of the total which was usually one-tenth besides making certain other deductions all exactly specified and accounted for. But in time the strictness was relaxed and the Zamindars were simply required to make a good lump sum raised from time to time and partaking more and more the nature of a bargain. Under such a system oppression of the country people was sure to follow. All regular assessments and authorised revisions of land revenues were further and further abandoned. The Treasury authorities of the province merely increased their demands on the Zamindar by adding extra cesses giving them this name or that according to the particular necessity or fancy that originated them. These amounts had of course to be got out of villages—with a good deal more besides. In the days of decline of the Mughal Empire both in Oudh and Bengal some governors occasionally made desperate attempts to grasp at the reigns of revenue control setting aside the village collections through Parghana officials but often without any lasting result. In the days when the Muslim rule was vigorous there was little intermediate tenures between the State and the people but in proportion as the central power declined smaller authorities rose. In the long period of anarchy there was under a nominal imperial rule a partial return in the many parts of the country to native rule and to the Hindu system of petty chieftainship. The origin of the Zamindaris could also be traced to this state of affairs which could briefly be stated as follows:—

(i) Old tributary Rajas who have been gradually reduced to the position of subjects but have never lost the management of their ancient territories which they hold rather as native rulers than as proprietors. They are chiefly found in outlying border districts and jungle tracts.

(ii) Native leaders sometimes leading men of Hindu clans, sometimes mere adventurers who have risen to power as guerilla plunderers levying blackmail, and eventually coming to terms with the Government have established themselves under the title of the Zamindars, Polygars, etc. in the control of tracts of country for which they pay a revenue or tribute uncertain under a weak power, but which becomes a regular land revenue when a strong power is established. This is a very common origin of many of the most considerable modern families both in the north and the south.

(iii) The officers whose business it is to collect and account for the revenue have frequently in disturbed times gained such a footing that their rendering of an account becomes almost nominal and practically they pay the sum which the ruling power is willing to accept and make the most of their charges.

(iv) Mercantile contracts for the dues payable by the ryots held by persons in the position of farming contractors. In the declining stage of the Mughal Empire enterprising bankers and other speculators taking contracts of this kind exercised great authority and handed it down to their successors.

(v) The tendency of everything Hindu is to become hereditary. The son becomes the partner of his father and so the family interest is established in everything. The contracts and other holdings passed from father to son and when war found them well established the holders have passed into the category of Zamindars.

The above are the various causes to which the origin of the Zamindaries could be attributed in the Muslim period.

With the usual tendency of Hindu institution to a feudal character we constantly find under great Zamindars sub-chiefs of the original Raja or inferior officers, sub-contractors and these acquiring performance in a manner similar to their chiefs have sometimes survived when the chief has fallen.

Thus the Zamindari system had become the only one by which the revenues could be secured at least without an entirely new system which would have evolved a survey of the lands and other

steps which were not possible at the time even one had thought of them.

The changes introduced by the post Mughal Hindu states as Rajaput, Maratha, and Sikhs were very slight when we look to the organization of these states as we find them after the time of Akbar whose policy had been to encourage and gain the support of the Rajput princes and we find a number of Persian revenue terms gradually introduced. These terms were also made use of by the British administrators. As in matters of land-revenue and land-tenure there were necessarily many of the local and general terms which have no exact English equivalent; they represent institutions, offices, customs and forms of proceedings which do not belong to anything English or England. The following are some such terms:—

Raiyat: This terms means a subject protected and this indicates the members of the village communities.

Jamabandi: Jama is Arabic in origin and it means the entire revenue assessment exclusive of certain road, education and other cesses separately levied under special laws. To say that the Jama of a village A is Rs. 300/- means that the Government land revenue demand on the village as a whole is Rs. 300/- each year or in a Ryotwari settlement it would be the "Jama" of the single field or survey number (No. 703 is Rs. 16 as. 6).

Inam: This is revenue free land given out generally to temples and educational institutions.

Jagir: This is land let out to persons who have rendered meritorious service to the king.

Zamindar: This is a Persian word signifying literally "landholder".

Fazili: When Akbar began his reign he desired to adopt an universal official year which should correspond to the harvest seasons better than the Hijra year. He began with the tenth September 1555 A.D. and arbitrarily called it Fasili 963 being the Hijira year of his ascending the throne. This era is used for revenue purposes.

III. *The Maratha System:*

The Maratha power rose with Sivaji in the latter half of the 17th Century. Like Akbar Sivaji also carried out several reforms in the land revenue system. The country proper of the

Maratha's was called "Swarajya" as opposed to Moghalai territory over which the Marathas claimed suzerainty. From the Moghalai territory he collected yearly payment leaving the administration in the hands of local rulers. In the Swarajya territory collections were made by the revenue officials of the government directly and were remitted to the State together with accounts. They did not make many state grants of land, but allowed existing revenue—free lands or "watan" holdings sometimes imposing a quit rent on them which was heavy enough. When their power was well established they recognised the advantage of dealing direct with the villagers through their hereditary headman and rarely employed middlemen and farmers, who, they knew, would always manage to intercept a good part of their receipts. No doubt, individual cultivators were ejected and changed but the general customs of land holding were perhaps least affected by Maratha domination. Throughout the Central Provinces where village revenue farmers were employed their families grew into proprietory position and were ultimately recognised as proprietors of the village at the Revenue settlement. The Marathas sometimes continued the use of the Muslim "Sirkar" and "Pargana" and sometimes spoke of the Taluka. The "Tappa" used by them was larger than a "Parghana" and was subdivided into "Zillas."

IV. *The Sikh System:*

When the Sikhs succeeded to the Mughal dominions in the Punjab they followed the Mughal system of land revenue. At first the Sikh Government cared nothing for the land tenure and only for its revenue. Where the village community so universal in the Punjab was strong it paid up the demand and its customs were intrinsically unchanged. During the first short period the confederates and equal chiefs (grouped in what were called "misl") divided the country into multitude of "Talukdar." Soon the genius of Ranjith Singh prevailed and he made the other chiefs "feudal" lords and governors of the districts under him. These governors were called "Jagirdar" or Diwan or Nizam as the case may be. Thus the Mughal system as introduced by Akbar and his successors was in fact the old Hindu model. The Hindu States, as the Marathas and Sikhs, kept it up preferring several of the Persian names that the Mughals have introduced. The fact was that while the early Hindu system had been one without any survey or measurement and without any records to speak of, the Mughal rulers crystallized it into more business like permanance by measuring and recording villages, parghanas and Sirkars; with their revenue assessment once fixed the local hereditary officers became the depositories of the measures, rules and facts. All later governments were glad to avail themselves of these records and the old formal assessment of Akbar's date formed a sort of basis or fundamental assessment remembered with almost superstitious reverence though of course it was altered and increased according to circumstances. Briefly the essential features of all historic revenue management, whether Rajput, Mughal or Maratha or Sikh have been the following under whatever variety of names:—

1. The village with its headman and accountant.
2. Very frequently there was an intermediate grouping of villages forming a "tappa" under a minor civil officer and staff.
3. A larger district forming a parghana or taluka under a district headman and aided by an accountant.
4. Several Parghanas united into a Sirkar under a Diwan or Nizam.

PART II

THE REVENUE ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE BRITISH

Land Holdings in Modern Times

It was during the declining stage of the Mughal rule that the British traders came to India under the name of the East India Company. "The history of the English in India could be summed up in four words. They came to India to trade; to trade in safety, they had to conquer; having conquered they began to rule; having begun to rule they could only rule according to principles of government recognized by them and through the proper agents, the Crown and the Parliament." The East India Company after establishing themselves strongly on the soil of Bengal, as elsewhere, proceeded to acquire the grant of the Diwani from the titular Mughal Emperor Shah Alam in 1765 which was of course readily accorded to them by which the reality or semblance of legitimate authority had been acquired over the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. In the beginning the work of administration as also that of collection of revenue had been mostly done through the native agency supervised through the British officers. Later on the Court of Directors wanted that the East India Company should take up the Diwani. Therefore gradually the entire work was taken by the English officers. The East India Company was a trading corporation till 1765 when as a consequence of the grant of the "Diwani" or right of civil and revenue administration of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was made to the Company on the condition of the payment to the Emperor Shah Alam of a fixed sum of Rs. 26 lakhs annually and for providing for the expenses of the "Nizamet" i.e. the criminal and military administration, it became necessary for the company's servants to undertake the administration of the land and the revenue and they were placed in a delicate situation. "Having been occupied solely in the pursuit of trade they had no previous means of acquiring that knowledge and experience which were necessary in order to enable them to undertake with success the difficult task which now devolved upon them." The servants of the East India Company were then without any experience of civil administration. The district of 24 "Parghanas," Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong which had been previously acquired were at this time under the management of the Company's servants; but they were not in a position to undertake the administration of the whole of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. A native Nawab or Deputy Diwan resident at Murshidabad and under the supposed conrol of the European Resident and a similar officer for Bihar under the control of the European Chief at Patna conducted the collection of the revenue without any change of the former system until 1769 when supervisors were appointed to superintend the work of the native officers employed throughout the country in collecting the revenue and administering justice. Their duties were expressly set forth and defined in a letter of instructions issued for their guidance. They were to prepare a summary of the history of the province "giving an account of the ancient constitution, the rulers, the order of succession, the revolutions in their families and their connections, which could serve to trace their origin and progress." They were to examine the produce and capacity of the lands, the amount of the revenue, the cesses or arbitrary taxes. The appointment of these supervisors was followed in 1770 by the institution of the revenue councils of control one at Murshidabad and the other at Padira. The supervisors were faced with the complexity of the problems concerned with the assessment and collection of revenue.

In 1770 there was a great famine which was said to have destroyed a third of the inhabitants of Bengal. Though the revenue collections for the year 1771-72 exceeded not only those of 1769-70 but those of 1768-69 the President in Council in his letter dated 3rd November 1772 himself admits that the standard of collection was maintained by violence and oppression—collection which fell

with terrible severity upon the survivors of the famine of 1770. "The system of administration which had existed in the country was not a system of written rules and plain principles which could be learned by careful application." In the same letter the President writes:- "Though seven years had elapsed since the company became possessed of the Diwani, yet no regular process had ever been formed for conducting the business of the revenue. Every Zamindari and every taluk was left to its own peculiar customs."

In 1771 the Court of Directors sent out instructions "to stand forth as Dewan and by the agents of the Company's servants to take upon themselves the entire care and management of the revenue." In 1772 it was directed that the servants employed in the managements of the collections should be styled "collectors" instead of supervisors and that a Diwan should be chosen and nominated by the Board who "should be joined with the collector in the superintending of the revenues." The office of the revenue department was removed from Murshidabad to Calcutta. The "Diwani" was composed of two branches: (1) the collection of revenue and (2) the administration of justice in civil cases. The revenue it was observed was beyond all question the first object of government; it was on the revenue that all the rest depended and to which every other should be made subservient. It was also decided that the whole Council should compose a Board of Revenue and undertake the direct management of all matters connected with the revenue and collection. The Treasury was also removed from Murshidabad to Calcutta.

In 1772 Clive took his seat as Diwani or Minister of State charged with the Civil and Revenue administration for settling the revenue held near Murshidabad. That was the beginning of the direct control by the British.

But the idea of a settlement of the proprietory right in the land had not occurred to the Company's government. The whole theory of Indian land revenue was absolutely strange to the English authorities. They could not tell who owned the land and who did not; nor in what category to place the different native officials they found in the districts. Everything has to be learnt by slow experience as the Company's servants knew nothing of land tenures.

The Company's affairs were mentioned in a Royal Speech in Parliament and the result was that the Regulating Act was passed in 1773. The Governor-General and Council in Bengal were invested with the powers of supervision over the other Presidencies. This laid the foundation of a system of court of Justice as well as of a series of written and published regulations for the guidance of authorities in India.

Warren Hastings became the Governor-General and under him reforms were undertaken. The mercantile element in the Company's service was gradually replaced by men who could become civil administrators. It was not to be expected that while such changes were in progress a revenue settlement system could all at once come into view. The first one adopted was to give out the revenues in contract for five years. Each Parghana was separately let out on contract basis. Collectors were first appointed instead of supervisors. The existing Zamindars who managed the revenue under the native rule were not displaced but in the case of some who refused to pay the stipulated sums were replaced by other native farmers. The contract was at the first instance for five years both in the case of the old as well as the newly created Zamindars. Besides the oppressions of the Zamindars the famine of 1770 which necessitated enormous remissions the first system of five years contract ended in a failure.

But Warren Hastings carefully considered the system next to be followed. But he was not able to carry on any reform in the land revenue due to the opposition of some of the members of the Council and the imperfect constitution of the Governor-General's office. Warren Hastings was succeeded by Lord Cornwallis. Lord Cornwallis was surrounded by men of ripe experience and knowledge. Circumstances make men great. Lord Cornwallis was instructed by an Act of Parliament to effect a proper revenue settlement after making an enquiry into the "jurisdictions, rights and privileges" of Zamindars, Talukdars and Jagirdars under the Mughal and Hindu Governments and what they were bound to pay. While such an enquiry was in progress the settlement continued to be annual and Lord Cornwallis was not in a hurry to carry out any scheme of his own. The vast body of opinion collected as a result of the enquiry is published in the celebrated Fifth Report. In the meantime rules for a decennial settlement were being elaborated and Sir John Shore was for a decennial settlement. But Lord Cornwallis was for making the decennial settlement into permanent form which the Court of Directors approved. By a proclamation in 1793 the Permanent Settlement was declared and this proclamation is Regulation I of the Statute Book of 1793.

The Permanent Settlement was first applied to Bengal and it had the following two chief features :—

1. The Settlement was made with the Zamindars and this was not as a matter of chance but as one of the deliberate policies and on administrative grounds. The Zamindars were declared as the proprietors of the areas over which their revenue collection extended. This proprietory right was a limited one; it was subject on the one hand to the payment of revenue to the Government and the liability to have the estate sold out at once on failure to pay.

2. The assessment fixed were declared to be unalterable for ever. Due to the above features the settlement acquired the name of Permanent Settlement.

There were certain disadvantages in the Permanent Settlement. The necessity for the punctual payments involved a severe law for recovery and this would have resulted in oppressive levying of revenue.

Another defect was that the settlement was made without ascertaining the boundaries of the estates and without a survey.

The settlement was for one consolidated sum of revenue which was estimated to be about 9/10 of what they received directly from the Ryots the remaining tenth being allowed to them for their trouble and responsibility. In fact the Zamindars derived all the benefits of extensions of cultivation.

Another defect was that the tiller of the soil was thrown to the background. The Zamindar paid a fixed sum to the Government. Improved agriculture, the cultivation of further portions of waste lands, the discovery of land held revenue-free without right, the imposition of cesses, the levy of customary fees were all the sources which yielded a considerable revenue to the Zamindar.

Another evil of the Permanent Settlement was the subdivision of the rights in land. The Zamindars leased out their interests and the middlemen also leased out in their turn. And thus was created a long chain of rent receivers and rent payers who acted as middlemen and between the state and actual cultivators. This resulted in the decay of village community.

The advantages of Permanent Settlement were summed up by William Muir, the Senior Member of the Board of Revenue of the North-Western Frontier Province as follows :—

1. Greatly increased the value of landed property.

2. Gave contentment and satisfaction among the people.

3. Gave prosperity arising from increased incentive to improvement. R. C. Dutt observes that since the Permanent Settlement in Bengal famines have been rare and there was no famine within the permanently settled tracts causing any loss of life. Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee observes that this theory is economically unsound and historically false for it is the incomparable fertility of the soil of the delta which is an insurance against famine.

The Land Revenue Commission of Bengal, 1940, makes the following observations:—

1. Rendered the Government demand of land revenue inelastic.
2. Expropriated the legitimate rights of the ryots.
3. Given rise to the creation and the growth of a number of intermediaries between the Zamindar and the actual tiller of the soil.
4. Led to immense volume of harassing and expensive litigation.
5. Deprived the Government of the close contact and intimate knowledge of agricultural conditions.
6. Gave unrestricted rights to the Zamindars to exploit the millions of ryots.

Besides it could also be mentioned that the unearned increment due to the growth of towns and the development of trade and industries has also been appropriated by the Zamindars.

The Zamindari System which was introduced in Bengal first was extended to Benares, and then to North-West Frontier Province and Oudh and in Madras in 1802 where the Rajahs of Malabar and the Poligars of the Carnatic were brought under it.

Land Revenue and the British Administration

The land revenue formed the basis of the British administration. The collection of land revenue necessitated a subdivision of the entire country into districts and taluks. All other administrative phases were based on such a division. The backbone of the British administration is the District officer known as the Collector in the Regulation Provinces and the Deputy Commissioner in the Non-Regulation Provinces. Every officer of every department is brought into communication with him. Even education is not unconnected with the land revenue system.

(To be continued)

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