

Ed (191⁵) Department.

Ins' SERIES.

G.O. No. 743

DATED 6-7-15

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[Despatch Abstract.]

Cost of Govt. education

Recording office notes on the
question of the high ———

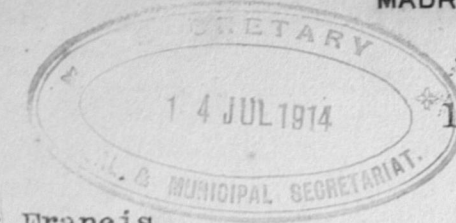


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MADRAS GOVERNOR'S CAMP,
INDIA.



11th July 1914.

My dear Francis,

Will you please see page 657 of the enclosed magazine, on the subject of Government Colleges and Government Secondary Schools, and have prepared for His Excellency's information a short note on the comparative cost to Government of aided and Government education?

Yours sincerely,

Bliss

The Hon'ble Mr. W. Francis, I.C.S.,
Ag. Secretary to Government,
Educational Department,
Stonehouse Hill, Ootacamund.

CA.
Loon
CA
14/7

page 18

The figures quoted in the article are taken from General Table No. (2) appended to the Report on Public Instruction for 1912-13. The points brought out are --

(i) that the State expends comparatively a *much* ~~very~~ larger amount on the education of each student in its own institutions than in ~~aided schools~~ ⁱⁿ ~~aided schools~~ and

(ii) that as the latter give as good ^{an} education as ~~that~~ ^{schools} under Government at one-tenth or one-fifth of the cost to the tax-payer, it would be well if Government realized this fact and encouraged by every means in their power ~~aided~~ education.

The following statement compares the cost borne by Government in educating each pupil in a Government and in an aided institution (not the total cost of education in the latter, but only the portion provided by Government):-

Cost of educating each pupil.						
	Govt. Institution			Aided Institution		
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Colleges ... (Arts)	260	1	8	25	0	1
Do. (Professional)	140	9	4	..	..	..
Secondary Schools	42	10	8	4	12	1
Elementary Schools	10	0	5	2	1	5

Naturally Government have to bear almost the entire cost in a Government institution and only a portion in an aided institution; and this accounts for the disparity in the two sets of figures. No doubt it would be a saving to Government, if well-managed aided institutions come into existence and relieve

Government of the charge of maintaining costly institutions themselves. The main questions therefore are

(a) Are proposals for starting aided institutions, especially of the collegiate grade, forthcoming? and

(b) Are they being discouraged by ~~action~~ on the part of Government? // Before, however, referring to them it seems desirable to examine the following preliminary questions :-

(i) how far Government have entered the field of direct education,

(ii) how far such action is justifiable, and

(iii) how far aided education has suffered thereby.

2. Government now maintain the following colleges and secondary institutions :-

First grade colleges { Presidency College ✓
Kumbakonam College ✓
Rajahmundry College ✓

Second grade colleges -2- { Mangalore College ✓
Madras College for Women ✓

Secondary Schools	{	High Schools- Boys	{	(1) Madrasa-i-Azam
				(2) Rajahmundry College-Secondary school
				(3) Teachers' College-Secondary school
				(4) Mangalore College-Secondary school
				(5) Shadrachalam school
				(6) Georgetown Muhammadan incomplete school

Secondary
Schools

High Schools -
Girls.

- (7) Vizagapatam Queen Mary School
(8) Presidency Training School for Mistresses
(9) Triplicane Secondary School
(10) Coimbatore Girls' School
(11) Cannanore Girls' School

The object of Government maintaining colleges and secondary schools is --

(a) to furnish models for aided institutions to emulate and

(b) to provide for certain special classes or localities which are not otherwise reached or adequately served by aided or other agencies.

The institutions mentioned above fulfill one or the other of the above objects and those intended for girls serve the additional purpose of creating material for the staff in girls' schools. The necessity for establishing model schools has long been accepted; and the following from the Quinquennial report published in 1904 gives a clear idea of the policy:-

"The progressive devolution of primary, secondary and collegiate education upon private enterprise and the continuous withdrawal of Government from competition therewith was recommended by the Education Commission in 1885; and the advice has been generally acted upon. But while accepting this policy, the Government of India at the same time recognise the extreme importance of the principle that in each branch of education Government should maintain a limited number of institutions, both as models for private enterprise to follow, and in order to hold a high standard of education."

cf. para 4(2) of Summary
Memorandum on page 7 of
papers with Memo.
No. 2339 of 2
20.6.16

The Secretary of State has also accepted the policy of providing model high schools, subject to a close regard for economy of educational effort and of expense, and of regarding these institutions as being an integral part of a general policy of reliance on grant-aided private secondary schools.

The Missionaries have themselves agreed to the establishment by Government of a limited number of institutions as models - paragraph 4(2) of the Memorandum by the Secretary of the World Missionary Conference (continuation committee) on page 9 of papers with Memorandum No. 2359-2, dated 20th June 1913. Their objections had been directed to the increasing number as contemplated in the Model High School Scheme, and not to the existing few. Even the number proposed under the above scheme has been considered both by the local Government and the Government of India as not in any case too numerous to interfere with aided education, (please see paragraphs 2 and 3 of Government of India's letter on page 2 of G.O. No. 621 Edl., dated 8th September 1911 and paragraph 2 of this Government's letter No. 622 of the same date) though the Secretary of State doubted it on the further representations of Missionary bodies.

It will thus be seen that the number of colleges and secondary schools maintained by Government is in no measure higher than that required to serve as model institutions and to remove special disabilities.

In order mainly to secure that the Presidency College by its position among a number of aided institutions in the City does not interfere with them

please see p. 12 of c.f. in memo no 2339-2 dated 20.6.13. (G)

paragraphs 6 to 9 on page 3 of papers with memo no 2339-2 dated 20.6.13. (G)

please see para. 5 of resolution (K)
on page 7 and of Lp no 271 Edl and
21.5.10
paras. 2+3 of the order

Col. 2 of Table no (31)-page 20 of
Public Instruction Report for 1912-13

6
7
then, it is already laid down, chiefly at the instance of Missionaries, that the scale of fees levied thereon should be $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. higher than that prescribed for other colleges. That by the establishment of Government Secondary Schools the existing aided schools of similar grade have not been neglected has been clearly explained in paragraphs 7 to 10 of letter to the Government of India No. 652, dated 8th September 1911; and since then also grants to aided secondary schools have largely been increased with the aid of Imperial and Provincial ~~grant~~ funds. (Attention is also invited to the notes on this point on pages 12, 19 and 20 of notes with G.O. No. 190 Edl., dated 16th March 1908).

RR
Q
3. As regards elementary schools, there are comparatively very few of them under Government, that number being 175 for boys and 196 for girls in 1912-13. These schools are established not as model schools, but only to serve special localities and special classes. Most of the schools for boys are situated in the agency tracts and the remaining are for Muhammadans or similar backward classes. Indigenous schools for girls are few and those under the management of Missionary bodies are not generally very popular. These circumstances justify the intervention of Government in this direction.

4. There does not seem to be any cases which have come to notice in which private endeavour to open colleges has been discouraged by Government, ~~and~~ ^{so}. The demands ~~and~~ of the new University regulations have been generally felt

7
8

felt by some of the aided colleges as beyond their means. The Government have largely contributed from Provincial funds by way of special grants for equipment, building and furniture to meet those demands. In spite of this assistance, a few had found it necessary to close their institutions - e.g. Wardlaw College, Bellary, St. Josephs' College, Cuddalore, the Church of Scotland Mission College, Madras - please see paragraph 50 of the Madras Quinquennial Report for 1911-12. To help further such institutions to continue, ~~might~~ obviously have had almost the effect of maintaining them as Government institutions. Taking the case of the ~~above~~ ^{first} of the examples quoted above, there has not arisen any proposal from other private sources to take the place till lately filled up by the Wardlaw College. Absence of such efforts has induced the public of that part of the Presidency to apply to Government to open an institution at ^{Govt.} ~~their~~ cost. It cannot in any way be said that this invoked intervention on the part of Government has discouraged private enterprise. It will not be difficult to show that other Government institutions which have been established have come into existence only under similar ^{Circumstances} ~~auspices~~.

5. The necessity ^{for} of the existing Government institutions being conceded, the next question is whether the state is extravagant in its expenditure on them. A comparison between the total cost per pupil in a Government and an aided institution (calculated on the expenditure from all sources except fees) may be useful. The figures below are for 1912-13:—

9

	No. of insti- tutions	Average no. pupils attending	Total Expenditure	Receipts from fees	Net total Expendi- ture	Cost per pupil	allott. from Prov. funds	allott. from other sources	Percentage of Govt. allot to total exp.
			Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	
Colleges - Govt	4	1013	3,64,294	98,090	2,66,195	262	2,63,483	2,712	
" aided	22	4074	6,04,090	3,43,554	2,60,536	64	91,344	1,69,192	14
Sec. School Govt	12	2146	1,21,694	28,914	92,780	43	91,563	1,217	
" aided	325	90120	27,25,827	16,54,578	1,071,249	12	4,28,670	6,42,579	15
El. Schs. Govt	369	30393	3,16,635	11,782	3,04,853	10	3,04,441	412	
" aided	15,227	598112	26,65,420	4,48,982	22,16,438	4	12,33,352	9,83,086	46

It will be seen from the above that ~~the~~ a larger scale of expenditure is incurred in Govern-
ment institutions than in aided ones. This
disparity is not peculiar to this Presidency.
Attention is invited to paragraphs 153, 187 and 244
of Mr. Sharp's Quinquennial report from which it
will be seen that generally the cost ~~of~~ in
Government institutions is comparatively higher
everywhere. Various causes contribute to this.
The primary reason is the pay of the staff.
In the Missionary and indigenous institutions
teachers accept lower salaries ~~at~~ ^{and} often
on account of philanthropic motives; and the
scale of equipment and the standard of efficiency
is superior in Government institutions ^{by} being
models.

Taking first the colleges, it is observed
that Government arts colleges are affiliated
in much larger ^{number of} subjects than aided ones, as will
be seen from the statement below. The Presidency
College, for example, undertakes to teach pupils

Slip ①

in all the subjects except languages. In connection with proposals for remedying this defect, the Hon'ble Member (Sir Murray Hammick) observed that it was improper "that the leading Government College should not be able to teach the subject "of group VI" (languages) and that it was a just reproach to Government as long as their college was not affiliated in this subject.

Further the college has a larger number of students in the Honours Course and for post-graduate study than any other, and these naturally require higher scale of equipment and better qualified staff. In 1912-13, there were 130 students in the Honours Course in the Presidency College or more than half the total number in all colleges (203) and 38 post-graduate students against a total of 70. Science teaching, involving large expenditure on laboratories, is more widely given in the Presidency College than in others. Chemistry in the Honours Course and Botany, Geology and Physiology for the Pass Course are only taught in the Presidency College. These and other reasons justify the large average expenditure of Rs. 302 per pupil in that college, as against Rs. 211 in the Kumbakonam College and Rs. 172 in the Rajahmundry College and Rs. 64 the average for aided Colleges, Rs. 105 the average for the Christian College. It is also observed that the Calcutta Presidency College gives an average of Rs. 304 per pupil.

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14-8-24

Dr. P.S.G., w. 18/4/24

Page 29 of 157-12 (I)
22-2-12

para. 5 (8) on page 5 & 6 of
the Public Instruction Report
for 1912-13.

Page 2 of part II of Vol II of
P.S. Report for 1912-13.

Page 61 of the Principal's Annual Report.

Edw. Sec.

Return with thanks for the present.
His Excellency will very possibly call
for some papers again later.

By.

22.7.14.

[Signature]
24.9.14

For orders whether the ^{notes} ~~file~~ may be
recorded with the approval of H. E. the Governor

[Signature] CA
1.7.15. 1.7.15

[Signature]

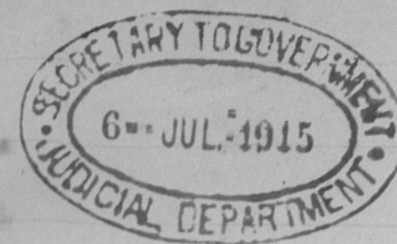
May I recuss the
notes? They will of
course be available
for reference when
called for.

[Signature]
3/12/15

S.A.

Please keep the
file in tact
CA
24.9.

Barnes
3.7.15



*Mr
Oster*

743 Edwin

6.7.15

Recorded

P.R

6.7.15

THE MADRAS



"They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three."

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METHODIST PUBLISHING HOUSE, MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS.

Registered.]

1914.

[Price Eight Annas.

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BINNY AND CO., LTD., *Agents in Madras*

14
The July number of the Magazine will be sent as usual by V.P.P. to those whose subscriptions are due in advance for the year from July 1914 to June 1915.

THE MADRAS
Christian College Magazine.

VOL. XXXI.

JUNE, 1914.

No. 12

*THE SILENCE OF JESUS IN THE PRESENCE
OF HEROD.*

BY THE REV. F. J. RAE, M.A., ABERDEEN.

When he (Pilate) knew that He (Jesus) was of Herod's jurisdiction, he sent Him unto Herod, who himself was also at Jerusalem in these days. Now when Herod saw Jesus he was exceeding glad : for he was of a long time desirous to see Him because he had heard concerning Him ; and he hoped to see some miracle done by Him. And he questioned Him in many words but He answered him nothing.

LUKE XXIII. 7-9.

It was because of Pilate's weakness that Jesus came to be before Herod at all. Pilate was searching round for some expedient to lift the responsibility of condemning Jesus from his own shoulders. And when a chance phrase revealed the fact that Jesus came from Galilee, Pilate seized the opening. "Perhaps" he said to himself "Herod will take the matter off my hands as the prisoner belongs to his jurisdiction."

Herod on his part was delighted at the chance of seeing Jesus. Jesus had become the sensation of the hour. His name and doings filled the land. There was something out-of-the-way in all that was told of Him. And Herod was glad to see Him and glad also to have the chance of discussing religious questions with Him. Accordingly, when Jesus appeared Herod plied Him with such questions. The strange thing in the incident is that, not only did he get no satisfaction, he did not get even a reply. Jesus refused to say anything at all. And so the pleasant chat Herod had looked forward to came to nothing, and his interest changed to brutality and cruelty. As a great

* A sermon preached in Beechgrove United Free Church, Aberdeen.

jest on the prisoner's claims, He was arrayed in a gorgeous robe and sent back to Pilate with the polite intimation that Herod could make nothing of Him.

It is a strange scene—the eager questions of the great man on the bench, the sombre silence of the prisoner, the mockery and cruelty of the soldiers. How is this scene to be accounted for, and what did it mean? There are several Herods mentioned in the New Testament. Herod the Great, who slew the children at the birth of Jesus; his sons Archelaus, Antipas, and Philip; and his grandsons Agrippa first and second, both mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles. The best known of them all is Herod Antipas, our present subject. At the death of his father he was left ruler of Galilee and Perea. He seems to have inherited some of his father's ability and much of his aesthetic taste. For he ruled well and he adorned his dominions with fine cities and beautiful buildings. He had been trained in the Jewish religion and appears to have kept to the end some of the influences of this training. He married a daughter of Cnetas, a neighbouring petty king, and might have gone on in the way of all the Herods (who, as a family, tried to combine a certain homage to religion with the most pronounced "worldliness"), but the current of his life was suddenly deflected by an ominous incident. During a visit to Rome he fell in love with Herodias, the wife of his brother Philip, and induced her to come and live with him. His own wife fled to her father, and Herod openly married Herodias. This was the decisive hour of his life. For into his life came at this very time another influence which might have rescued him from his fatal entanglement. He was deeply impressed by the personality and the words of the Baptist. He had arrested John, perhaps, as Josephus tells us, in fear of what his influence might lead the people to do. But once face to face with him Herod was moved and disturbed. He went often to listen and talk to him and so great was John's influence that he was really swayed towards good and was in two minds about what he should do. But the evil influences triumphed through the astuteness of Herodias. While he was half-drunk he was induced to speak the fatal word which destroyed the good angel of his life and left the bad angel in full possession of the field. This step was not only morally fatal but disastrous also to the worldly

prospects of the pair. It was at the instigation of Herodias that Herod went to Rome to pursue his ambitious course, and while he was there, accusations against him led to his banishment to Gaul, where he died. Long before this, however, the inward ruin of the man had gone far towards completion. John's death had left him a prey to remorse. The shadow of his crime dogged him constantly, so that when Jesus appeared to him He seemed only the re-incarnation of the Baptist. But by and by this haunting memory faded, and remorse was deadened. Even the shadows of the past that used to trouble his conscience and which showed at least that it was still alive, were laid, and he became the man we see in this trial incident, a man who is described by a careful writer as "brutal and cruel, light and insincere, utterly base and rotten to the core."

We can now understand the scene in Herod's palace and we can understand the Lord's silence. The facts are explained by two things: (1) Herod's moral condition, (2) Herod's attitude to truth.

(1) HEROD'S MORAL CONDITION.

The explanation lies first in Herod's moral condition. The Lord's silence was not due to the fact that Herod was a sinner, even a great sinner. The woman taken in adultery was a great sinner but Jesus spoke to her kindly. The woman who washed his feet had been a notorious sinner but Jesus won her to goodness. The Lord spoke to the thief on the cross, but He was silent to all Herod's questions. Why? I think it was because there was nothing to speak to.

Herod had reached a condition of moral insensibility. He had silenced the voices that had spoken in his soul for God. Under the influence of a sin chosen and indulged in, under the influence of an evil companionship constantly at work, through the fatal rejection of light and opportunity when these were within reach—in all these ways and under all these influences Herod had gone steadily downwards. He could not retain even the moral sensitiveness he once possessed. Once he had been "perplexed" (to use Mark's word) and swayed this way and that. But that time was long past and he was not now open to such impressions.

In most lives, even sinful lives, there is a chord that can be touched. Tolstoi tells of an experience he once had in a common lodging house in Moscow. He had said something that somehow appealed to the degraded creatures there. Over the top of a partition in the room, one woman's head appeared, and then another, looking at him with strained attention. 'I had not expected' he said 'that a casual word would produce such an impression. It was like the field of battle seen by Ezekiel on which the bones began to move. I had uttered a chance word of love and pity and it produced upon these women such an effect that it seemed as if they had been waiting for it, to cease to be corpses and become alive again.' This response to good which Tolstoi found is latent in many who have sinned from weakness and who have sunk unwillingly into the slough of despair. But Herod's was a different case. There are voices that speak to all of us when life is fresh and pliable. Conscience and the memory of parents and books, and the House of God—all these speak to us. But we may silence them as Herod did. We may silence them so that they cease to be heard at all.

The conscience in a man may become numbed. It is not that God is not speaking. His presence, His goodness, His patience, His blessings are all uttering themselves "uneasily minstrelsy, then only heard when the soul seeks to hear; when all is hushed and the heart listens." But they may not speak to us because we cannot hear. It is possible to drift away out of the reach of these voices and when anyone rejects light and opportunity and hardens himself against the pressure of the divine hand, there may come a time when he is incapable of receiving any impression. Dante at least believed that, for the lowest depth of his hell is a place where the sinners are frozen in and incapable of change or movement. Was that what Herod had come to? Did Jesus remain silent because there was nothing to speak to or because He could not be heard, or because the very severity of His silence was Herod's last chance in this life?

I wish to avoid all exaggeration when I speak of this. But I am bound to point out that such a tendency as I have described exists in us all. The continuous rejection of good influences tends to harden the soul against them. Does anyone feel in himself the truth of this? Once you easily heard God

17
speak, now you can hardly hear Him at all. The influences that were once vivid and real are now little more than words and names. This may be a temporary lapse from a healthy religious life but it may be the sign of a numbing of the soul. There is an eternal silence into which a soul may enter when it chooses the evil and refuses the good. It is not fancies I am speaking of or theories or speculations. It is one of the dreadful facts of existence, and it bears in itself a very solemn warning, while the lamp holds on to burn, in that it is not quenched by evil or by godlessness. It is possible to drift from God and from goodness so far as to be out of reach of them. Therefore let us listen to God's voice and let us strive to obey it faithfully lest this come upon us. "Unto Thee will I cry, O Lord my rock: be not silent to me, lest if Thou be silent to me, I become like them that go down into the pit."

(2) HEROD'S ATTITUDE TO TRUTH.

The scene before us is explained secondly by Herod's attitude to truth. He was very anxious to discuss things with Jesus. He questioned Him on many points but got no answer. This silence is pointed by the contrast of the Lord's behaviour on other occasions. How patient He was with Nicodemus and how ready to answer his questions. How ready He was to answer the young ruler and the lawyer who asked Him about the greatest commandment. With Pilate He had taken real pains to be explicit and even to Caiaphas He spoke freely. He was always accessible to the sincere enquirer. He was always patient with mere error. But Herod's attitude to truth was not mere error. There was nothing serious about it at all. It was at the best simply curiosity, and at the worst simple levity. Jesus was to him the sensation of the day. He almost expected Jesus to do some trick of magic. He had no serious desire for truth at all. And therefore Jesus had nothing to say to him.

There are people who treat this Gospel and the Christ of the Gospel as a mere intellectual problem. And curiously enough there are people who take this attitude to religion who are themselves, like Herod, people of evil lives. It is a strange fact, but in my experience those who have been readiest to discuss religion as a problem have been people who had no thought

of being influenced by it in their lives. It is a strange but common conjunction—a bad life and religious curiosity. To persons of this type there is no use in presenting religious truth. They have not the desire for it as truth to be believed and obeyed. They are merely curious and Christ has nothing to say to their attitude. They are incapable of coming at the truth because they lack what alone opens the heart to truth, the desire to be guided and ruled by it. Christ is not a problem but a Saviour. Religion is not a mere intellectual riddle. It is God present to help and to rule men's lives.

I do not say the intellect has no place in the apprehension of religious truth. It has. But the truth of religion appeals to the whole man,—conscience, heart, and will, as well as mind. The gift of God is life, and this gift comes easily to those who are really wanting it. When any one does not want God and God's will but only to talk about God, God has nothing to say to him.

But this truth has a bearing on another class of people, whose attitude is slightly different. There are many people who have all Herod's interest in a religious sensation. Their religion consists largely in a kind of busy curiosity.

Anything that is new, anything that is sensational draws them like a magnet. They are great sermon tasters. They like to hear anybody unusual. They are attracted by what is bizarre or striking or novel in the religious world. What is religion to them? Is it the saving of the soul? Is it nearness to God? No. It is a distraction, a thing to talk about, something that gives a filip to life. And what is public worship to them? Is it an occasion for drawing near to God, for confessing their sins, for getting help, for learning more of God's will for them, for receiving strength for the daily task? Not at all. Not any of these things. It is an occasion for hearing something spicy, for sitting in judgment on a preacher's delivery or the musical performance. It is simply a distraction in the week. Their interest in religion is purely of the mind. It goes no deeper.

What has God to say to such people? What can He say? What does He say? They do not wish to hear Him, and He has nothing to say to them. He is silent to them in worship and in their life. It is not for comfort or cleansing or help that they go to His House. Is it a wonder that they do not hear His

voice? I venture to say that there is something for us all to ponder in this. How easily may religion and worship especially become a performance to which we listen without any kind of reference to our own relation to God. The sermon is something to interest. The worship is something to gratify aesthetic feeling. I do not undervalue the intellectual and aesthetic elements in worship. But all this is sheer waste unless the worshipper draws nigh to God to listen to Him and to speak to Him. If we draw near to God to get help, to learn His will, to pour out our hearts before Him, then He will speak to us. If not, He will be silent. The living God and the great eternity are not matters to be played with as so many play with them. God is known not when people are merely interested in things about Him, but when they come to His feet to learn this call and to obey it. To whichever of these causes it is due, moral insensibility or intellectual animosity, surely God's silence is a terrible judgment on any life. When His voice is easily and often heard then life is safe and the best things are open to us. Therefore while He is near let us listen to Him and follow His guiding hand so that as life goes on we may grow in sensitiveness to His will and so at every white corner of the road of life our eyes will look on Him and our ears will hear His voice.

TELUGU CHRISTIAN LITERATURE, ITS STYLE.

BY P. T. SRINIVASA IYENGAR, M.A.

THE REV. W. TAYLOR, writing in 1837, in his preface to the *Oriental Historical Manuscripts* speaks of the language of the manuscripts as "the simply native Tamil, as distinguished from the modern dialect, technically termed 'Christian Tamil', which from its arbitrary use of various words, is not intelligible to natives without some previous definition of terms and some practice; and also as distinguished from the 'college style', which, though grammatically right, has not yet the sanction of general custom, and is adapted as such chiefly to the learned, though there can be no doubt that, in a few years, it will have all sanctions in its favour. But under lately past and present circumstances, a missionary who should confine his attention to either or both of

the modern usages referred to, would not be in the least degree qualified for colloquial or written intercourse with natives of an ordinary rank or class in society." If in this extract, the word Telugu be substituted for Tamil, it will describe quite accurately the situation in the Telugu country, both in 1837, when Taylor wrote, as well as to-day. Only speaking about present conditions, we must add that Taylor's predictions have not been fulfilled and that what he aptly calls 'college style' (a term which I shall use in this essay, for reasons to be explained later) has not yet "all sanctions in its favour;" and both 'Christian Telugu' and 'college style Telugu' are not yet "qualified for colloquial or written intercourse with natives of an ordinary rank or class in society."

The history of the rise of 'college style Telugu' and of 'Christian Telugu' deserves a little consideration here. The first appearance of Telugu, so far as there is evidence, is as the medium of the translation of the *Mahabharatam* by Nannayya, the court-poet of Rajaraja Narendra of Rajahmundry. Narendra was the last of a line of kings founded by Kubja Vishnuvardhana in the seventh century A. D. at Vengi, near Ellore. Vishnuvardhana was the brother of Pulakesi, the Chalukya King of Badami, who conquered the Vengi country and installed his brother as sovereign there. Soon after this event, the Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsiang visited this country, he says, "The language and arrangements of sentences differ from Mid India." * The language here referred to must have been the Dravidian dialect that was the precursor of Telugu for an inscription in old Telugu characters of the ninth century, recently discovered by the Archaeological Department in this part of the country, is in a dialect which can neither be described as Tamil or Telugu or Canarese, but as Telugu, in the formative stage. The Chalukyas of Badami declined in power in the middle of the eighth century and the eastern Chalukyas, as the rulers of Vengi are called, merged in the Telugu population and hence Telugu became the vernacular of those kings, at the court of the last of whom the Telugu *Mahabharatam* was composed by Nannayya; whether the language of this poem was the actual, living tongue of the Telugus of the day or a conventionalized literary dialect, we have no means of deciding. I presume it was the latter, for, in India, thanks to the enormous influence over its culture of Sanskrit, (itself, as its name implies, a polished dialect, as opposed

* Rev. S. Beal *Bud. Rec.* ii, p. 217.

to Prakrit, or natural), the living idiom has always been believed to be unfit for purposes of high literary art. While Nannayya's dialect continued to be used for poetical purposes, the spoken dialect of the cultured classes was employed for all court and other purposes, as is proved by the records of the great houses in the Telugu land, one of which was published by C. P. Brown, as the *History of the Anantapur Rajahs*. The idea of using prose for literary or scientific purposes never dawned on the minds of the people, because in this country all knowledge was esoteric and confined to the learned caste, who again used poetry for all such purposes. The first considerable Telugu prose book was the translation of the *Bible*, which still remains the only considerable Telugu prose literary work. This was one * of the versions of the Bible in thirty-three languages published by the Serampore missionaries early in the last century. I have not seen this early Telugu Bible and do not know what it is like. At about the same time was founded, at the instance of Sir George Barlow, the college of Fort St. George for the purpose of popularising vernacular studies. A. D. Campbell, one of the members of the Board of Superintendence of the College signalized his connection with it by writing a *Telugu Grammar* and giving vogue to the 'college style.' He was helped by two Brahmin pandits, Venkatanarayanayya and Pattabhirama Sastri. They taught him to believe that the dialect of poetry was the only 'correct' Telugu and the 'living' idiom was 'vulgar.' What happened to Campbell, happened also to the missionaries who also learnt Telugu from Brahmins and superintended its translation into Telugu.

Hence arose the first use of the archaic, poetical dialect of the eleventh century as the 'correct,' 'grammatical,' 'respectable' dialect for purposes of prose in the last century. This is the story of the birth of the 'college style Telugu' and 'Christian Telugu'. Taylor, who knew this story, says, in the preface already referred to, that any manuscript in the college style was worthless for historical purposes because the style showed that it was not more than fifteen years old!

The dialect of Nannayya was probably even in its own day divorced from the language of the people and his poem was

* Long before the Serampore Telugu Bible was published, Benjamin Schultze, the indefatigable Tranquebar Missionary translated the Bible into Telugu, between 1727 and 1782 and wrote a Telugu grammar. Nothing more is known of the Schultze's work.

obscure to them. Obscurity is the mark of all Indian literature since the seventh century onwards and many Indian authors composed commentaries on their own works! Since Nannayya's day, the Telugu, like every other language under the sun, has changed in response to the influences brought to bear on it and the alterations in the thought-habits and speech-habits of the Telugu people. This has created quite a gulf between the old dialect and modern Telugu. This change is a natural phenomenon; but the pandit, who believes that orthodoxy or correct behaviour was fixed once for all for him in the remote past in the ceremonial of his worship, in dress, in methods of eating and drinking and in language, thinks any deviation from such orthodoxy as sinful. If it is pointed out to him that the modern man, however cultured he may be, does not speak the orthodox Telugu dialect, the pandit considers it as a peccadillo like the modern man's not wearing silk clothes during dinner or drinking soda-water, a peccadillo which he must be blind to. But as he will not permit such sins during ceremonial occasions, if he can help it, so he will not permit the unorthodox modern Telugu in writing.

* I am not now pleading before an audience of Brahmin pandits but of the preachers of the message of Him who scolded the Pharisees and taught the sinners and I refer to the Pharisaism in the language of pandits, because Christian missionaries have not only unknowingly fallen victims to it but have perpetuated it in their translation of the Bible, and given such a vogue to the old Telugu dialect that reformers, who wish to write modern Telugu and throw knowledge wide open to the common people, find their path blocked. This, if even there is nothing more, is sufficient reason for a retranslation of the Bible in the modern language which alone, in Taylor's words, is "qualified for colloquial or written intercourse with natives of an ordinary rank or class in society."

But there is more. We must, again, turn to the pandit cast of mind and consider another of its characteristics. The pandit's literary conscience is satisfied if he uses the case and tense forms of a grammar a thousand years old. What the Germans call *sprachgefühl* never disturbs him. This is because his brains are moulded on Sanskrit culture; Sanskrit was never a spoken tongue and what Sanskrit the pandit speaks is a dead, wooden language, a make-shift without a single finite verb in any sentence,

* This paper was read at a Missionary Conference in Guntur.

(nouns and participles taking its place), deprived of the pretty turns of phrase and subtle *nuances* which living idioms possess. Instead of these the pandit revels in yard-long compounds of which later degenerate Sanskrit became capable. And as Sanskrit is to him the language of the gods, the more Sanskrit he uses in his Telugu, the more orthodox he thinks he becomes. Therefore his Telugu is charged not only with Sanskrit words but also with Sanskrit constructions absolutely foreign to the genius of Telugu. And being dead to a sense of idiom, his ideal of translation is not that the spirit of the original ought to be presented in easily intelligible and idiomatic Telugu but that the translation should be a word-for-word one. Over and above other differences between Telugu on the one hand and English and Sanskrit on the other is this, that the former abhors, as the latter revel in, abstract terms. Abstractions are against the genius of the Dravidian languages. So when one who has been trained on the lines of the pandit meets such a phrase as 'The importance of the acquisition of wealth lies in the power it gives over men,' he straightway renders it, *Dhanarjanamu yokka Mukhyata narulu mida adhikaramu kaligintsukonutalone yunnadi*. A proper translation would be *Dabbu ekkuva gadinchinavadiki andaru lobadutaru*.

I have dwelt so long on the linguistic sins of the pandit, because they are found in profusion on every page of the Telugu Bible. In the Appendix, the existing version of some verses of Chapter V of Matthew, *i.e.* a part of the Sermon on the Mount and a new one by Mr. Cetti Lakshminarasimham, one of the senior lecturers in my college and a Telugu author, both on the old and the new lines, are written side by side for consideration and comparison. The dialect used is of course the modern one; but I should like to draw attention to the fact that a common Telugu man will on hearing it understand the message of the Sermon. This is because wanton use of Sanskrit words is avoided and the ideas are presented as the Telugu mind (for behind every language there is a particular cast of mind of which it is the expression) would conceive them and, therefore, as would be easily grasped by Telugu people.

I shall now discuss a few bad translations, as I take it, of some phrases of the Sermon on the Mount in the Telugu Bible of 1912. The first word is 'blessed.' I believe 'blessed' does not mean 'consecrated' or 'revered', but means 'fortunate', or 'sure

to be rewarded.' When it is said, "Blessed are the poor in spirit; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven", I believe the idea in that 'humble men will be rewarded by God by being taken to heaven after death.' The word 'blessed' is here translated into *dhanyulu*. *Dhanya* is a Sanskrit word, used only by very learned pandits and not known even to the ordinary Brahmin. It means 'wealthy' but is used, in very learned conversation, in the sense of 'thanks.' If God or a King or a High Priest confers a great favour on a man, he expresses his gratitude by saying 'I am *dhanya*'. Thus it refers to a past favour, not a future one. "The poor in spirit" has been translated into *atma vishayamai dinulainavaru*. This is an example of a reckless substitution of word for word, and conveys no meaning whatsoever to a Hindu. *Dina*, in Sanskrit, means 'indigent, needy, afflicted, distressed, ruined, miserable, wretched, dejected, downcast, melancholy, frightened.' The above phrase is equivalent to 'indigent with regard to the subject of the soul,' which is of course a nonsense-phrase and can never suggest the idea of 'humble'; 'spirit', in the phrase, 'poor in spirit' does not mean *atma* or the soul; if so, 'poor in spirit' would mean 'without spirituality', which it does not. *Paralokarajyamu varidi*. To a Hindu, *paralokamu* means 'the world of death,' where *yama* reigns. I do not see why *svargamu* should not be used for 'Heaven.' In old, old times, *svargamu* would have suggested ideas of physical joys but in modern usage, *svargamu* is the land of future bliss. *Rajyam varidi* is again a bad translation, for it means 'they shall become kings of the (future) world' and not 'they shall enter it'. *Duhkapaduvaru dhanyulu*. I have already pointed that *dhanya* is used as an expression of thanks for past favours. Hence this sentence sounds very queer. *Satvikulu dhanyulu*. Only after turning to the English Bible, I found that *satvikulu* meant 'the meek.' *Satvika* has various meanings, the chief ones being 'real', 'essential', 'honest', 'virtuous', 'amiable', 'energetic', 'pure', but it does not mean 'meek', *Varu bhulokamunu svatantrintsukonduru*. This is literalism run mad. Many sentences which begin in English with the pronoun in the nominative case 'I' or 'he' will in Telugu begin with the dative, e. g., 'He will get it' *vadiki adi doru-kutundi*. The translator here has begun his sentence with *varu* and so has to invent a word for 'inherit' which can at the same time be used as the predicate of 'they.' So he boldly coins a word

and does not care whether or not it can convey any meaning to a Telugu man; *Bhulokamu*, again, suggests 'the whole of the earth', which surely the 'earth' in the original does not connote. *Nitikoraku akali dappulu galavaru dhanyulu*. *Niti* is 'law', rather than righteousness; hungering and thirsting for righteousness is a good English idiom, but translating it literally into Telugu has made it ridiculous. I shall illustrate my point by translating a Telugu idiom literally into English. *Vadu pata ante chevi kosu ko 'adu*; will an English man understand this if rendered, 'If you say song he cuts his ear', and guess that it means 'he is madly fond of music.'? *Kanikaramuponduduru* is not a Telugu idiom, but if it means anything, it suggests the idea, they will feel mercy, mercy will get into 'their hearts.' The translation of 'great is your reward in heaven' into *paralokamandu mi phalamadhika magunu*, is bad idiom because an abstract noun is the subject of the sentence. It ought to begin with *miku*. This sentence is quite as bad as *dani patu goppadi* for 'great was the fall thereof.' In the next verse I read *miru lokamunaku uppaiyunnaru*; this no Telugu man can hear without smiling. Such a sudden transference of a figure of speech from one language to another cannot but lead to absurdity. This sentence would be as intelligible to a Telugu man as the following to an Englishman:—'He spoke as if he broke a stick,' *karra virchinattu matladinadu*, meaning 'he spoke without considering the feelings (of the man he spoke to);' 'He gave advice to (his) leg,' for *kaliki buddhi cheppinadu*, meaning 'he ran away;' 'He went away with his cloth on his head,' *netti mida gudda vesikoni poyinadu*, meaning 'he went away disgraced.' One more bad translation and I shall have done. *Tattudi, miku tiyabadunu*. In English, 'knock and it shall be opened,' the word 'door' is suggested; not so in Telugu. Again *miku* in *miku tiyabadunu* is meaningless. The proper Telugu will be *tattite talupu tistaru*.

I shall now discuss a few individual words badly rendered. 'Repentance' is turned into *maru manasu*, which in Telugu means 'change of mind for better or for worse;' the Sanskrit word *paschattapamu* is ordinarily used for 'repentance' and fairly well known; but if it is felt that the Sanskrit word is pedantic and a locution which every man can understand is wanted, we may say, *tappuku notsukovadam*. 'Baptism' is called *gnanasnanamu*. First there is no *snanam*, i.e. 'bathing' in the ceremony except

among the Baptists and not *gnanam*, i.e. 'wisdom' but 'grace,' leading to the cancellation of original sin is obtained by it. The corresponding Hindu rite is called *jatakarma*, meaning 'birth-rite' but the English word itself may be used in Telugu. 'Transfiguration' is rendered *rupantaramu*, i.e. 'another form,' whereas it ought to be *divyarupamu*. 'Prophet' is turned into *pravak-ta*, which means in Sanskrit, 'announcer,' 'teacher,' 'orator,' 'divyagnani,' 'one who has divine vision' is a better rendering. 'The Holy Ghost' is called *parisuddhatma*. *Atma* signifies 'soul' in contradiction to a 'body.' The idea of 'that aspect of God which inspires men and things cannot be derived from *parisud-dhatma*, which merely means a pure soul. *Devasakti* is much nearer the idea of 'the Holy Ghost' and suggests also the idea of personality, which the Holy Ghost as the third person of the Trinity possesses.

Luther translated the Bible into the ordinary speech of the German of his day; the English Bible was translated in a style, grand in its simplicity and yet calculated to convey the spirit of the original. The impulse behind this work is the same as the modern impulse to burst asunder the iron walls within which, in the Dark Ages of Europe, knowledge was jealously guarded from the people. And Jesus spoke not to the elect few, but to the publican and sinner in a language that they could grasp, and died on the cross rather than join with the Pharisee. Why, then, should the preachers of His Gospel play into the hands of the Pharisee in India and bury in an incomprehensible dialect, His teachings which have, to some extent, 'blessed' and elevated those who, ground under the heels of a pitiless, age-long tyranny, have been perforce made 'meek' and 'poor in spirit?'

APPENDIX.

MATTHEW, V.

Existing translation.	Proposed translation.
3. ఆత్మ విషయమై దీక్షలైనవారు ధన్యులు; పరలోక రాజ్యము వారిది.	3. బిడ్డి ఉండేవారికి మేలు కలుగుతుంది; వారికి స్వర్గము వస్తుంది.
4. దుఃఖిపడువారు ధన్యులు; వారో దార్చబడుదురు.	4. కష్టపడేవారికి మేలు కలుగుతుంది; వారి కష్టములను (దేవుడు) తీరుస్తాడు.
5. సాత్వికులు ధన్యులు; వారు భూలోకమును స్వతంత్రించుకొందురు.	5. సాధువులైనవారికి మేలు కలుగుతుంది; లోకము వారి హక్కు.
6. నీతికొరకు ఆకలి దప్పలు గలవారు ధన్యులు; వారు తృప్తిపరచబడుదురు.	6. ధర్మమందు ఆతి విస్తారముగా ఆసక్తి గలవారికి మేలు కలుగుతుంది; వారి కోరిక (దేవుడు) పూర్తిగా తీరుస్తాడు.
7. కనికరముగలవారు ధన్యులు; వారు కనికరము పొందుదురు.	7. కరుణగలవారికి మేలు కలుగుతుంది; (దేవుడు) వారిని దయతో చూస్తాడు.
8. హృదయ శుద్ధిగలవారు ధన్యులు; వారు దేవుని చూచెదరు.	8. చెడుతలంపులు లేనివారికి మేలు కలుగుతుంది; వారికి దేవుడు కనిపిస్తాడు.
9. సమాధానపరుచువారు ధన్యులు; వారు దేవుని కమారులనబడుదురు.	9. చెబ్బలాటలు మాన్పేవారికి మేలు కలుగుతుంది; వారికి దేవుడి కొడుకులన్న పేరు వస్తుంది.
10. నీతి నిమిత్తము హింసింపబడువారు ధన్యులు; పరలోక రాజ్యము వారిది.	10. ధర్మము కోసము బాధలు పొందేవారికి మేలు కలుగుతుంది; వారికి స్వర్గము వస్తుంది.

Existing translation.	Proposed translation.
11-12. నా నిమిత్తము జనులు మీయి నిందించి హింసించి మీ మీద అబద్ధముగా చెడ్డమాటలెల్ల పలుకునప్పుడు మీరు ధన్యు లు. సంతోషించి ఆనందిం చుడి, పరలోకమందు మీ ఫలమధికమగును. ఈలాగున వారు మీకు పూర్వమందుం డిన ప్రవక్తలను హింసించిరి.	11-12. నా కోసము మీరు తిట్లు, కొట్లు, అనేక విధముల అప నిందలు, పడినట్లయితే మీకు మేలు కలుగుతుంది. సంతో షించండి; ఎక్కువ ఆనందము పొందండి, స్వర్గములో ఎక్కువ ఫలము మీకు కలుగుతుంది; మీకు పూర్వమందుండిన దివ్య జ్ఞానము ఈలాటి బాధలే పొందివారు.
13. మీరు లోకమునకు ఉప్పుయి యు న్నారు. ఉప్పు నిస్సారమైతే, అది దేనివలన పారము పొందు ను? అది బయట పారవేయబడి మనుష్యులచేత త్రొక్కబడుటకే కాని మరి దేనికిని పనికిరాదు.	13. మీరు లోకమునకు ఉప్పు (వంటి వారు). ఉప్పు రుచి పోతే, దానికి తింగీ ఉప్పుదనము దేనివలన వస్తుంది? ఆ పైని అది పెంటపాలు కావ లసినదే గదా? నలుగురి కాళ్ళ కిందను పడి నలగవలసినదే గదా? అంతే కాని మరి గుడ్డి గవ్వకై నా పనికిరాదు.
14. మీరు లోకమునకు వెలుగైయు న్నారు; కొండమీదనుండు పట్ట ణము మరుగై యుండనేరదు.	14. మీరు లోకమునకు వెలుగు (వంటి వారు). కొండమీద కట్టియున్న పట్టణము కనబడక మానదు (గదా?)
15. మనుష్యులు దీపము వెలిగించి కుంచ ము క్రింద పెట్టరు కాని అది ఇంటనుండువారి కందరికి వెలు గిచ్చుటకై దీపస్తంభము మీదనే పెట్టుదురు.	15. వత్తిని వెలిగించి కుంచము కింద మనుష్యులు ఉంచరు; దీపపు పెమ్మమీదనే ఉస్తారు. (అలా గైతే) అది ఇంటిలోనివారి కంద రికీ వెలుగుగా ఉంటుంది.
16. మనుష్యులు మీ సత్క్రియలను చూచి పరలోకమందున్న మీ తండ్రిని మహిమపరచునట్లు మీ రును వారియెదుట మీ వెలుగు ప్రకాశింప నీయుడి.	16. మీ మంచి పనులను చూచి స్వర్గ ములోని మీ తండ్రి మహిమను మనుష్యులు పొగిడేటట్లు, మీ లోని వెలుగును వారి యెదుట మీరు వెలగనియ్యండి.

Existing translation.	Proposed translation.
17. ధర్మశాస్త్రమునైనను ప్రవక్తల వచన ములనైనను కొట్టివేయవచ్చుతినని తలంచవద్దు; నెరవేరుటకే కాని కొట్టివేయుటకు నేను రాలేదు.	17. ధర్మశాస్త్రాని గాని దివ్యజ్ఞానములు వ్రాసిన వ్రాతలను గాని రద్దుచేయ డానికి నేను వచ్చినానని మీరు అనుకోవద్దు; రద్దుచేయడానికి నూరు (వాటిని) స్థిరపరచడానికి వచ్చినాను.
18. ఆకాశమును భూమియు గతించి పోతేనే కాని ధర్మశాస్త్రమంత యు నెరవేరువరకు దానినుండి యొక పొల్లయినను ఒక నున్నయొ నను తప్పిపోదని నిశ్చయముగా మీతో చెప్పుచున్నాను.	18. ఆకాశము భూమి ఉన్నంతవరకు ధర్మశాస్త్రములో ఉన్నదంతా జరగవలెను; ఒక మక్కయినా తప్పుకూడదు.
19. కాబట్టి ఈ ఆజ్ఞలలో మిగుల అల్ప మైన యొకదానినైనను మీరి, మనుష్యుల కాలాగున చేయ బో ధించువాడెవడో వాడు పరలోక రాజ్యములో మిగుల అల్పుడన బడును; అయితే వాటిని గైకొని బోధించువాడెవడో వాడు పర లోక రాజ్యములో గొప్పవా డనబడును.	19. కాబట్టి ఈ ఆజ్ఞలలో అన్నిటి కంటే తక్కువ దానినైనా తాను మీరి, మీరమని ఇతరులకు నేర్చే వాడిని స్వర్గములో అందరికంటే తక్కువవాడంటారు. ఆ ఆజ్ఞల ప్రకారము తాను నడిచి, ఇతరు లకు నడవమని నేర్చేవాడిని స్వర్గ ములో గొప్పవాడంటారు.
20. శాస్త్రుల నీతికంటెను పరిసయ్యుల నీతికంటెను మీ నీతి అధికము కానియెడల మీరు పరలోక రాజ్యములో ప్రవేశింపనేరరని మీతో చెప్పుచున్నాను.	20. శాస్త్రులు, పరిసయ్యులు, వీరికంటే మీరు ఎక్కువ నీతిగా ఉంటేనే తప్ప మీకు స్వర్గము రానేరదు. ఇది నేను మీకు చెప్పేమాట.

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE PANDYA COUNTRY—PART IV.

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR, B.A., M.R.A.S.

AFTER the death of Parantaka I and up to the time of Rajaraja I, even the Chola chronology becomes obscure. The large Leyden plates state that Parantaka I had three sons, *viz.* Rajaditya, Gandaraditya and Arinjaya. Though the account given about them would make us believe that these princes reigned one after another, there are reasons for thinking that the eldest of them did not survive his father and that the reign of the other two did not last long. It is fairly certain that Sundara-Chola *alias* Parantaka II (son of Arinjaya) ascended the throne with the title of Rajakesarivarman about A.D. 954-5 and reigned up to A.D. 970, when he was succeeded by his eldest son Aditya II, who appears to have held the reins of government along with his uncle Madhurantakan Uttama-Chola. This is suggested by the fact that both of them figure as Parakesarivarmans. It may be remarked that Aditya II did not reign as long as his co-regent Uttama-Chola but died five or six years after his accession in A.D. 970.

The next Pandya king about whose actions we get a glimpse in Chola inscription is Vira-Pandya. There are also stone records of this sovereign. The large Leyden grant states that at a place called Chevur a fierce battle was fought between the Chola king Sundara-Chola *alias* Parantaka II and Vira-Pandya. It resulted in great bloodshed and in the complete defeat of the Pandyas who, on this occasion, lost a large army. The Chola prince Aditya II *alias* Karikala is said to have fought valourously against the Pandyas and won laurels in the field, though he was quite a youth. The defeated king Vira-Pandya was forced to flee and take shelter in a forest. The victory on the side of the Cholas gave Sundara-Chola the occasion to assume the title "Pandiyanaï-suram-irakkina" *i.e.*, 'who drove the Pandya into the forest' which we find mentioned in his stone records discovered in the Tanjore District. As the event appears to have happened in the 9th year of the reign of Sundara-Chola, it may be assigned roughly to A.D. 964. The Singhalese

chronicle states that there was a Chola invasion of Ceylon in the period A.D. 964-72 when Udaiya III was reigning. We are here given to understand that the Chola king, having heard that Udaya was a drunkard and a sluggard, "his heart was well pleased and as he desired to take to himself the whole of the Pandu country, he sent emissaries to him to obtain the crown and the rest of the apparel that the King of Pandu left there when he fled. But the king refused to yield them. Whereupon the Chola king who was very powerful, raised an army and sent it to take them even by violence." The result of the invasion was a complete success. The Singhalese general lost his life in the battle and the Chola king took the crown and the other things and proceeded towards Rohana which he was not able to enter. So the Cholas returned to their own country. The period ascribed to Udaya falls in the reign of Sundara-Chola. Accordingly we may suppose that during his reign, this invasion was made, perhaps as a consequence of the defeat inflicted on Vira-Pandya. So far we have not found any Chola inscriptions which relate to this event but it is hoped that future researches may bring to light some corroboration of it.

After the death of Sundara-Chola and when Aditya II and Uttama-Chola were reigning together, Vira-Pandya appears to have again risen up in rebellion against the Cholas. Now an alliance was formed between the Chola, the Kodumbalur chief Vikramakesari and Parthivendravarman whose records are mostly found in the Chingleput District. As all these claim to have taken the head of Vira-Pandya, it may be presumed that in the battle which took place between the allied forces and Vira-Pandya, the latter lost his life. The date of the event may be placed about A. D. 972-3, because this fact is mentioned even in the records of Aditya's second year of reign.

The earliest conquest of the Chola king Rajaraja I (A. D. 985-1013) seems to be that of the Pandyas, as the Tiruvalangadu plates mention this event first and state that the king seized on this occasion the Pandya sovereign Amarabhujanga. The Tanjore inscriptions record that Rajaraja I defeated the Cheras and Pandyas together in Malai-nadu and carried away immense booty. It is worthy of note that the booty mainly consisted of gold and pearls and a small quantity of silver. Jewels were

made out of these treasures and presented to the Tanjore temple. From the above account of the Chola inscriptions, we learn the name of the Pandya king of the period and how he fared at the hands of Rajaraja I. There are reasons to suppose that the conquest of the Pandyas took place in the tenth year of Rajaraja's reign (A. D. 995). On this occasion the whole of the Pandya country was re-named Rajaraja-Pandinadu after the conqueror. That the Pandyas now acknowledged the over-lordship of the Cholas is fairly established by the existence of Rajaraja's inscriptions in the Madura and Tinnevely Districts. The Tamil poem *Kalingattupparani* registers the fact that the fortress of Udagai was stormed.

Rajaraja I was succeeded by his son Rajendra Chola I who reigned from A. D. 1011 to 1045. He was no less a powerful monarch than his father and added greatly to the dominion of the Cholas. Like his father he had a wide scheme of conquests and during his lifetime the Chola arms were carried into distant lands both in and out of India. For him who was a proved soldier that conducted successfully the war against the western Chalukya Satyasraya during the days of his father, success was assured in all his endeavours. For the first time we hear of an Indian king setting out with a brilliant army to conquer the several small islands in the Indian ocean and even distant Burmah. In India itself the king's authority spread as far north as the Ganges and the Singhalese bowed before the proud conqueror. One striking feature about this king is that he was the first to notice that the Pandyas proved ever refractory in spite of several crushing defeats inflicted on them by successive Chola sovereigns from the time of Aditya I down to his own. To the credit of Rajendra-Chola it must be said that his clear eye did not fail to perceive the need for keeping under check the subdued provinces. It was he who for the first time invented the means of effectively preventing insurrections, by appointing his relatives as viceroys of the conquered territories. As soon as he was given the independent control of the Chola empire, *i.e.* in the third year of his reign (A. D. 1014), he directed his arms against the Pandyas and Keralas, subdued them and left them in charge of his son Sundara-Chola on whom he conferred the title of Chola-Pandya, which indicated that he was a Chola prince ruling

the Pandya territory in the name of his father. None of the inscriptions of Rajendra-Chola I mention the names of the Pandya and Kerala sovereigns overcome by him. One of the Tiruvisalur records, dated in the third year of the king, registers gifts made by the queen of the Pandya Srivallabha and we may presume for the present that he was one of the Pandya kings whom he subjugated. Besides this Srivallabha, there were more Pandya princes ruling over parts of the Pandya territory. There are sufficient grounds to suppose that the simultaneous rule of five Pandya kings commenced about this period. Though this system came into vogue now, we do not find their inscriptions, because they had no real power, the country having been directly under the sway of Chola-Pandya viceroys. But from the inscriptions of Rajadhiraja I whose nominal accession to the throne took place in A. D. 1018, *i.e.* seven years after that of Rajendra-Chola I, and who appears to have conducted the military operations of the latter so long as he was ruling the Chola country, we learn the names of the other Pandya princes of the day. It is said (1) that Rajadhiraja I cut off on the battle field the beautiful head of Manabharana which was adorned with large jewels and which was inseparable from the golden crown; (2) that he seized in battle Virakerala whose ankle-rings were wide and whom the Chola was pleased to trample down under the feet of his furious elephant called Attivarana; (3) that he drove to the ancient Mullaiyur, Sundara-Pandya of endless great fame, who, having lost in a hot battle the royal white parasol and his throne, ran away,—his crown dropping down, his hair being dishevelled and his feet getting tired. The prince Manabharana here referred to has left his mark in such names as Manabharana-Chaturvedimangalam, a village near Ambasamudram in the Tinnevely District. One of the inscriptions in the temple at Tenkarai near Sholavandan refers to Virakerala-Vinnagar, which must be a Vishnu shrine built by the Pandya prince Virakerala. By the way, I may point out that the names of two Chera sovereigns belonging to this period are preserved in the inscriptions of Mannarkoyil (Tinnevely District). They are Rajaraja and Rajasimha. The latter built the Vishnu temple of Gopalakrishnasvamin and called it Rajendrasola-Vinnagar after his Chola overlord. Sundara-Chola-Pandya's rule of the Pandya

and Kerala dominions lasted from A.D. 1020 to 1044. This shows that he died in the very year of his father's death. In the Tamil grammar *Virasoliyam* I found a reference to this king. That he was not unmindful of the interest of the people entrusted to his care may perhaps be gathered from the fact that he built the temple of Sundara-Chola-Pandisvaramudaiyar at Perundurai in the Pudukkottai State. His inscriptions are met with throughout the ancient Pandya and Kerala dominions, i.e. in the Madura and Tinnevely Districts and in Pudukkottai and Travancore States.

Two of the successors of Rajendra-Chola I followed the latter's plan of governing the Pandya country by appointing their relations as Chola-Pandya viceroys. It is said that Parakesarivarman Rajendradeva (A.D. 1052-64) conferred on his younger brother Mummadisolai, the title of Sola-Pandya and that Rajakesarivarman Virarajendra (A.D. 1062-70) granted Pandimandalam, whose crown of jewels is exalted in this world, to his royal son Gangaikonda-Solan along with the title Sola-Pandiya, the leader of very tall elephants. One of these two Chola-Pandya viceroys might be Vikrama-Chola-Pandya whose inscriptions have come down to us and show that he is not far removed in point of time from Sundara-Chola-Pandya. These were really very humiliating days for the Pandyas. From about A.D. 1014, they seem to have lost all power; their country wrested from them and themselves placed under the surveillance of princes of the Chola family. Such being the case, they could not even contemplate gathering a small force and rising up in revolt. This state of things continued as shown above till A.D. 1070. But the time was not far off when they were enabled to shake off their bondage. Within a few years there was anarchy prevailing in the Chola country and the confusion caused by it gave the Pandyas an opportunity to rise up once more mustering all the strength they could gather. The dearth of princes in the Chola family threw open the vast Chola empire to the Chalukya Chola chief Rajendra Chola II, who caught hold of his grandfather's throne and ruled from Kanchi. The freshness and vigour of the kings of the Vijayalaya line were completely wanting in the sovereigns of the Chalukya Cholas who now took possession of the Chola territory. To pursue the policy of

Rajendra-Chola I towards the provinces, there was not in the new line a number of princes who could be appointed to the several viceroalties. Thus the procedure of governing the Pandya country by Chola-Pandya viceroys started by Rajendra-Chola I and followed by his successors Rajendradeva and Virarajendra, was abandoned. This gave opportunities for the almost dying Pandya power to revive; but it must be said that they could do nothing of note for nearly one hundred years. We hear of them in connection with the war of succession which, as will be shown below, was waged principally in the Madura District. The details of this war are recorded in two inscriptions of the fifth and twelfth years of the reign of the Chola king Rajadhiraja II and they corroborate to a large extent the account given in the Singhalese chronicle *Mahawamsa*. Rai Bahadur Venkayya has fully described the events of this war in his *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1899 and Prof. Hultzsch speaking on the date of this war notes: As Rajadhiraja II ascended the throne in A.D. 1163 (*Epigra. Ind.*, Vol. ix, p. 219), his fifth year began in A.D. 1167 and his twelfth year in A.D. 1174. According to the *Mahawamsa* (Ch. 76-7) Lankapura's expedition would have taken place after the sixteenth year of Parakramabahu I, i.e. after A.D. 1168-9. The Arppakkam inscription of Rajadhiraja II suggests that there must be a slight chronological error here, and that Lankapura had invaded South India already before A.D. 1167. (*J.R.A.S.*, July 1913, p. 519.)

Parakrama-Pandya having been besieged in his capital Madura by his rival Kulasekhara, applied to Parakrama-Bahu, the King of Ceylon for aid. Thereupon the latter sent his general Lankapura-Dandanatha to go and destroy Kulasekhara and establish Parakrama in his kingdom. The general was directed not to return without accomplishing his object. When he went as far as Mahatitha, the news arrived that king Kulasekhara had taken the city and killed Parakrama-Pandya, his wife and children. Parakramabahu then ordered Lankapura to seize the kingdom and give it to one of the offspring of the dead king. Lankapura set out with a large army, got on board a ship at Talabbilla and after a sail of one day and one night, he reached the opposite coast near a port of the same name when he found the army of the enemy ready to give battle. They

rained their arrows on the Singhalese who successfully warded them off and landed in the place and seized it. Encamping here, the general fought four battles. The five chieftains Vadavalat-tirukkadi-nadalvar, Kudayamutturayar, Villavarayar, Anjukottai-nadalvar and Narasihadeva, who fought with him, were defeated. A number of Tamils was slain and their horses seized. Ramissaram was captured after five more battles were fought. Encamped at this place, the general fought nine battles. In the tenth he defeated the chiefs Silamegha, Narasinga-Brahmarayar, Ilankiyarayar, Anjukottairayar, Paludiyarayar, and the five already mentioned. He proceeded to Kundukala, a place midway between the two seas and four leagues distant from Ramissaram. The men seized on this occasion were sent to Ceylon to repair the Ratnavaluka Chaitya which was breached by the Tamils. At Kundukala, Lankapura built a fortress with three huge walls and three trenches and named it Parakramapura. While he was stationed here, he defeated Kadakudaiyaraya, Chologanga and others. Kulasekhara now sent Sundara-Pandya and Pandiyadhiraja against the Singalese but these were also defeated in three battles. Charukatta was then taken and one other battle was fought in which the Singhalese gained victory over Alavanda-Perumal. Koluvura and Maruthupa were taken and the army of Marava soldiers of the countries of Kangundiya and Kolura was subdued. Lankapura then marched against the territory of Viraganga, laid waste Kunappunallur and other villages and brought under subjection Malavarayar. On his return to Parakramapura he fought with Alavanda and slew him at Vadali.

Kulasekhara finding it of no avail to send his chiefs to attack the enemy, determined to take the command himself. Collecting under his standard Malavachakravarti, Malavarayar, Paruttikkudaiyarayar, Tondamarayar, Tuvradhipavelar, Viraperiyarayar, Sengundiyarayar, Nigaladharayar, Kurummalattarayar, Nakularayar, Pangunda-nadalvar, Karambarayar, Kandiyanadalvar, Thalandur-nadalvar, Kangaya-nadalvar, Viragangannadalvar, Vimuvayarayar, Alattur-nadalvar, the three Manniyarayar, Kalavandiya-nadalvar, Keralasimhamuttara, and others and gathering a large army from the two Kongu countries that belonged to the two brethren of his mother and his own forces in Tirunavali

(Tinnevely) and with many more chieftains such as Nichchavinoda-Manavarayar, Pattirayar, Tenkuttarayar, Tompiyarayar, Alavanda-Perumal, Solakonara, Tangapperumal, Alagiyarayar, Manabharanaraya, Avandiyarayar, Mundiyyarayar and Vittara, he set out to Parakramapura to try issues with Lankapura-Dandanatha. He fortified the villages Erukotta and Idangalissara. Fifty-three battles were fought and in all these the Pandyas were defeated. The Singhalese general pursued the army of the enemy up to Kurumpandankali which he made his stronghold. Thereupon a fierce battle was fought which resulted in the loss of many Pandya chieftains and in the retreat of Kulasekhara. The Singhalese general proceeded to Erikkavur which he burnt, then to Vadali, thence to Deviyapattana, (Devipatnam) which he took and afterwards to Siriyala. Capturing Koluvukotta and burning twenty-seven villages, Lankapura stopped at Dantika and laid siege to Kotta and Vukka. Remaining at Kundanneka, he brought under subjection many a Pandya chief and captured Vikramasolapper and Kamandakkotta. He then fought the battle of Maruttukkotta. Taking Kangakottana, he proceeded to Paniyakotta which he captured and returned to Kangakottana. He then went to Anivalakkotta where he fought a battle. Then he took Nettur and sent a messenger to fetch Virapandya, the son of Parakrama who, fearing Kulasekhara, was staying in the Malaya Hills. This done, he defeated Malavaraya at Mundikkara and subdued Kilmangala and Melmangala. In the battle of Manamadhura, he defeated some chiefs, took the fortress of Patapata, set fire to some villages, went to Anivalakkotta, captured Tondi and Pasa (Pasippattanam in the Ramnad Zemindari), went to Kurundankundi and thence to Tiruvekambana. From there he proceeded to Semponmari, which he took after a fierce battle, fought against the determined opposition of several forces. He gave the place to Malavachakravarti who now submitted to him. When the general was at Mundikkara to fight a second battle, Malavachakravarti revolted and took possession of Siriyala, Tiruvekambana and Semponmari. Lankapura captured the last place once again and bringing Malavachakravarti to terms he went to Nettur. By this time Kulasekhara collected the forces of Tinnevely, those of the two Kongus and others and was ready to give battle.

Jagad-Vijaya now arrived from Ceylon and was met by Lankapura at Arivalakkotta. The latter moved from Nettur to Maddrannadhana, fought two successful battles at Mangala and Orittiyur-Tondama, burnt Siriyala and proceeded to Tirukkannapper. Jagad-Vijaya meanwhile destroyed the fortress of Manaviramadhura, Pattanallur and Sorandakotta and returned to Nettur. By an arrangement, the two generals met to confer on the future plan of work. Battles at Tiruppali and Ponnattukotta were then fought and the Singhalese gained the day. At Rajina, Kulasekhara was defeated and forced to flee to the fastnesses of Tondamana and several chiefs were reduced. The general went to Tiruppattur and thence to Pon-Amaravati, three leagues from it, and after doing great havoc he returned to Madura. Now an order was received from Parakramabahu that Vira-Pandya's coronation should be celebrated in a fitting manner and it was so done.

Meanwhile Kulasekhara joined Tondamana and gathering a large force attacked Mangala and took it from the chiefs who had submitted to the Singhalese. Leaving Madura, Lankapura-Dandanatha went to Mangalakotta, seized Vellinabha and Srivilliputtur. Kulasekhara occupied the fortress of Santaneri with a large army. When Lankapura and Jagad-Vijaya proceeded to attack him he caused a great tank to be breached but this did not daunt the generals who, having rebuilt the bund, marched straightway, burnt Sirimalaka where Parakrama-Pandya was previously slain and went to Solantaka. Now Kulasekhara went to Palankotta with all his forces. He was here joined by certain Chola chiefs. The generals then proceeded to Palamcottah and took it. But Kulasekhara escaped to Madura and the generals pursued him thither, subduing on their way Nigaladharaya at Adharatteri. On hearing of their approach, Kulasekhara ran away to the Chola country out of fear. Stationing Jagad-Vijaya at Pattanallur, Lankapura went to Tirukkanapper. Now Kulasekhara received a large force from the Chola king and this he sent to Tondi and Pasa. Jagad-Vijaya moved to Madura while Lankapura marched from Tirukkannapper to Kila-Nilaya, where he defeated the Chola forces, burnt Vada-Manamelkudi, Manamelkudi and Manjakkudi and arrived at Velangudi. By this time Kulasekhara went to Pon-Amaravati

whither Lankapura followed him and after a great battle, put him to flight. Finally giving to Vira-Pandya the whole of the possessions which the generals conquered and ordering the use of the Kahapana coins in the Pandya country, they appear to have returned to Ceylon. The king of the island built a city called Panduvijayaka to commemorate the conquest and gave it to Brahmanas.

Though the above narrative of the *Mahawamsa* cannot be thought to be incorrect, there are good grounds to presume that it is one-sided in its account. It does not even once admit that the Singhalese ever sustained defeat throughout this long protracted war. In all probability when the Cholas began to help the Pandya king Kulasekhara, the latter grew very powerful; the reverses of the Singhalese followed and finally resulted in their evacuation of the Southern peninsula. *Mahawamsa* is silent as to how and when the Singhalese generals left for Ceylon. When we look at the help which Kulasekhara was obtaining from all sides *viz.*, from his own chieftains and the Cholas and Kongus, in spite of the innumerable defeats inflicted on him, we are inclined to believe that his cause was better than Vira-Pandya's. There are several instances where chiefs who had been subdued and brought to terms by the Singhalese generals, had taken to arms soon after the pressure was withdrawn. Unremittingly they helped Kulasekhara. Vira-Pandya is described as being left without even a single supporter.

Confirmation of the general issues of this war is found in two stone inscriptions, one found at Arppakkam and the other at Tiruvalangadu. The first epigraph states that Edirilisola-Sambuvarayar, the father of Pallavarayar, hearing that his son had defeated the generals Lankapura and Jagad-Vijaya and rid the country of the enemy, presented a village to a Brahmana. The second inscription gives the additional information that a certain Srivallabha, probably a Pandya, played the traitor in this war.

The war against Vira-Pandya was continued even after the Singhalese left India. Kulasekhara died and the cause of his son Vikrama-Pandya was taken up by the Chola king Kulottunga III. His Tirukkollambudur record states: "The Singhalese soldiers had their noses cut off and rushed into the sea. Vira-Pandya himself was compelled to retreat. The town of Madura was captured and made over to Vikrama-Pandya."

The Pandya kings, whose achievements are discussed in this section, are Vira-Pandya, Amarabhujanga, Srivallabha, Mamabharana, Virakerala, Sundara-Pandya, Parakrama-Pandya, Kulasekhara, Vira-Pandya and Vikrama-Pandya.

In the next section we shall make an attempt to trace the Pandya expansion and therefore it will be useful to note here the names of a few of the sovereigns that held sway over the Pandya territory during the latter portion of the twelfth century A.D., though much is not known about them.

The latest king of this period is Jatavarman Kulasekhara-deva who, according to Professor Kielhorn, ascended the throne in A.D. 1190. He was for some time a contemporary of Maravarman Sundara-Pandya I. The historical introductions of this king begin with the words *Purin Kilatti*.

Inscriptions of these two sovereigns refer to an earlier member of the family, viz. Jatavarman Srivallabhadeva (*vide* Nos. 683 of 1905 and 110 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1907). At Tenkarai and Kurivitturai in the Madura District, there are a number of stone records, engraved in the Tamil characters of the twelfth century A.D. and dated in the regnal years of Jatavarman Srivallabha, who may be identical with the king of the same name mentioned just now. The historical introduction prefixed to his inscriptions does not reveal any events connected with his reign; but the large collection of his records discovered so far, clearly prove that his reign was a prosperous one and that it was a time when attention was paid to the improvement of the internal administration of the country such as opening new irrigation channels, repairing other works that had already been in existence, building of temples and the like. That this king was close in point of time to Jatavarman Kulasekhara I, may be inferred from the fact that a certain Srivallabha-achari figures as a signatory in a record of the latter dated in his third year. The irrigation works mentioned in the Kurivitturai inscriptions are: (1) Parakrama-Pandiyapperaru, (2) Parakrama Pandiyan-Kallanai, (3) Vira-Pandyan-kal and Srivallabapperaru.

The first three of these disclose the names of two other early sovereigns, viz. Parakrama-Pandya and Vira-Pandya, who were in all probability contemporaries of Jatavarman Srivallabha, at least during the latter portion of their reigns. Dewan Baha-

dur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai, in his paper on 'Some New Dates of Pandya Kings' contributed to the *Indian Antiquary*, gives the date of accession of a certain Jatavarman Vira-Pandya as A.D. 1189-1190. This result has been arrived at from the calculation of the astronomical details furnished in two records, one from Piranmalai (Madura District) and the other from Kudumiyamalai (Pudukkottai State). The details in both of them are not quite regular. We hope that future researches may bring to light a few records of this king giving correct data for verification. At all events Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai's calculations prove that there was a Vira-Pandya at this time and we may suppose that he was the one referred to above. Parakrama-Pandya after whom the channel and dam referred to in the Kurivitturai records were called, is represented in the collection of inscriptions from Tenkarai, Kurivitturari and Vikkiramangalam. As one of the inscriptions of Parakrama-Pandya found at Vikkiramangalam introduces a general of Vira-Pandya, the contemporaneity of the two is in a way established.

SECTION IX:—PANDYA EXPANSION FROM THE 13TH CENTURY TO THE MIDDLE OF THE 14TH.

We have hereafter to trace the expansion of the Pandya dominions. Maravarman Sundara-Pandya I, whose accession took place in A.D. 1216 is said to have burnt Tanjore and Uraiyur, defeated the Cholas and taken possession of their country and made a present of it. He proceeded as far as Chidambaram in the South Arcot District where he worshipped the god (Nataraja) and performed the anointment of heroes at Mudikondasolapuram in honour of his triumph. His inscriptions are found not only in Madura and Tinnevely but also in Trichinopoly, Tanjore and Pudukkottai State. The existence of his records in the last three places shows the extent of his dominions and it also proves that his claim to have conquered the Cholas is not a mere boast. The latest regnal year found for him is in a record which gives his characteristic title "Sonadu-Valangiyaruliya", and this is dated in his twenty-first year which corresponds to A.D. 1237-8. * In

* Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai assigns three inscriptions to Jatavarman Kulasekhara II, and finds that the date of accession of this new king took place between 16th June and 30th September 1237.

this year Maravarman Sundara-Pandya II ascended the throne and reigned up to A.D. 1251, which was the year of accession of Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya I. This last mentioned sovereign may be regarded as the greatest of the Pandya kings of Madura for it was during his rule that the kingdom reached the utmost limit of expansion, as will be pointed out presently. *Koyilolugu* states that he defeated the Chera, Chola, Vallala and others, assumed the *biruda* 'who took every country' and made munificent gifts from the immense booty which he obtained from the vanquished kings. He constructed several *tulapurusha-mandapas* and other structures in the temple of Ranganatha, presented ornaments made of gold and the nine gems to the god. He is said to have expended eighteen lakhs of gold pieces for covering the temple with gold plates and another eighteen lakhs for other purposes and thus acquired the name *Koyil-pon-meynda-Perumal* 'he who covered the temple with gold.' One of his inscriptions states that he was the ornament of the race of the moon, *i.e.* the Pandya, the Madhava of the city of Madura, the uprooter of the Kerala race, a second Rama in plundering the island of Lanka, the thunderbolt to the mountain, *i.e.* the Chola race, the dispeller of the Karnata king, the fever to the elephant Kathaka king *i.e.* (the Gajapati king of Cuttack, in Orissa), the jungle fire to the forest Vira-Gundagopala, the lion to the deer Ganapati (*i.e.* the Kakatiya king Ganapati), who was the lord of Kanchi, who performed the anointment of victors at Vikramasingapura, *i.e.* Nellore. He is said to have taken Srirangam from the moon of the Karanta, which means the Hoysala Virasomesvara. Still another record registers the following facts about this Sundara-Pandya. He destroyed the Chera king and his army in a battle; levied tribute on the Chola; by the strength of his arm he inflicted defeat on the Hoysala king in the country which is watered by the Ponni (*i.e.* the Kaveri) and cut off his powerful cavalry and infantry together with many commanders, such as Singana, who were renowned for their valour; killed the Chera king who offered protection to the Hoysala sovereign when the latter fled from the field; captured Kannanur; received a tribute of elephants from the Karnata; not accepting the tribute sent by the King of Ceylon, he seized him. He laid siege to Sendamangalam which was protected by strong fortifications; fought several battles

which made the Pallava (Perunjinga) tremble, took the country which yielded rich produce of paddy, heaps of gold and innumerable huge elephants and horses and gave them to him (*i.e.* the Pallava Perunjinga). He worshipped the two feet of the god Siva who performs the sacred dance at Tillai (*i.e.* Chidambaram). In order to enrich the temple at Tiruvarangam (*i.e.* Srirangam) which shines in the land enclosed by the Kaveri, he performed there the *tulabhara* ceremony several times. He was pleased to cover this temple with gold so as to make it appear like a golden mountain.* Sundara-Pandya's conquest of the Hoysala Virasomesvara and the capture of his new capital Kannanur must have left him in possession of the Kongu country and what surrounded Trichinopoly. The victory over the Cholas and Gandagopala must have brought almost all the rest of the Tamil districts under his sway. The subjugation of the Gajapati king of Cuttack in Orissa and the Kakatiya sovereign Ganapati must have secured the Telugu country for the invincible conqueror. His performance of the anointment of victors at Nellore is of great significance in history as it shows that not only the southern portion of the Presidency but the north as well acknowledged his supreme power. We may note here the remark made by the Muhammadan historian that 'Mabar (the name by which the Pandya country was known to the Muhammadans) extends from Qulam *i.e.* Quilon to Nilawar (Nellore), nearly three hundred pharasangs along the sea coast; and in the language of the country, the king is called Dewar which signifies that he is the lord of the empire.' Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya I seems to have issued coins bearing several legends. Some at least of those with the inscription Sundara-Pandya are his. Prof. Hultzsch has adduced grounds to show that coins bearing the legend Ellandalaiyana belong to him. Mr. Tracy has secured a coin which contains the characteristic emblem of the Pandyas *viz.* the double fish on the obverse side, while the reverse bears the legend *Kodandarama*. There are reasons to suppose that this coin is one of Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya I. In his historical introduction, the king calls himself a second Rama in plundering the island of Lanka. There are also stone epigraphs of the same sovereign

* The details above given are recorded as an inscription published in Sentamil.

which provide for festivals called *Kodandaraman-sandi* and these declare that the festivals were called after the king himself. Nothing could be more convincing than the two grounds here set forth for the identity of the *Kodandarama* of the coins with Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya I.*

It remains to make clear one point in the last extract from Sundara-Pandya's records, which is liable to be mistaken. It is this. Sendamangalam was the place where the Pallava Kopperunjinga kept the Chola king Rajaraja III in prison. The Tiruvendipuram record states that the Hoysala Narasimha II,—who, I have elsewhere stated, must have been the father-in-law of the captive Chola sovereign,—came to rescue him. He is said to have defeated the Pallava and re-instated the Chola sovereign. In the account given in the previous paragraph it is recorded that Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya I laid siege to Sendamangalam and fought many a fierce battle which made the Pallava tremble; and that as a final result of the undertaking, we are told that Sundara-Pandya took the country together with immense wealth and numberless elephants and horses and bestowed the kingdom on Perunjinga. My point here is that we are not to suppose that Sundara-Pandya fought against the Pallava, which the record seems to admit at the outset by the use of the phrase 'which made the Pallava tremble.' The battle must be taken as having been fought against the Hoysalas and the words 'which made the Pallava tremble' should be interpreted to mean that he was a witness to the fierce battles which the Pandya fought for him. This is made clear by the last statement that Sundara-Pandya bestowed the kingdom on Perunjinga. In favour of what I have said here, I beg to point out that this Pallava chief figures as a feudatory of Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya I in many a record.

One word more before we close our account of this illustrious Pandya sovereign. The last year of his reign takes us to A.D. 1271. During the major portion of his reign, his co-regent was Jatavarman Virapandya † who ascended the throne in A.D.

* I have extracted this account from my paper on Koyelolugu contributed to the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XL.

† Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai was the first to arrive at the date of accession of this king and of another of this period, i.e. Maravarman Srivallabha to whom he gives the initial date A.D. 1257. There was also a Maravarman Virapandya reigning at this time. His accession took place in A.D. 1253.

1254, i.e. three years after the accession of Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya I and ruled until at least A.D. 1271 like the other. He claims to have conquered Kongu, Ceylon and Chola-Mandalam and to have performed the anointment of victors at Perumbarra-Puliyur, i.e. Chidambaram. Since he was a contemporary of Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya I, there can be little doubt about the conquests claimed for him in his inscriptions. It is very likely that he distinguished himself in the wars undertaken by Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya I and assumed the titles which he bears. His records are mostly met with in the Pudukkottai State and Tinnevely District and are totally absent in other parts of the country. This might be taken to indicate the country that was under his direct rule.

Maravarman Kulasekhara I was anointed king in A.D. 1268 which falls about the close of the reign of the two previous sovereigns and his latest year takes us to A.D. 1310. He is believed to be the Kales Dewar of the Muhammadan historians. This Kales Dewar is alleged to have been murdered by his eldest and legitimate son Sundara-Pandya, i.e. Sunder-Pande of the Muhammadan accounts. In the period between A.D. 1270 and 1310 there were several Pandya kings as will be seen from the list appended. Chief among them may be mentioned Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya whose accession took place in A.D. 1270 and another of the same name who ascended the throne in A.D. 1275-6.* The latter king is styled Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya II by Prof. Kielhorn. We may mention that there were no Chola kings ruling at the time. They having become extinct, the Pandyas were left undisputed lords of the ancient Chola and Pandya territories. In fact Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya's records are met with in the Madura, Tinnevely, Tanjore, Chingleput and South Arcot Districts and those of the second king of this name are found as far north as Cuddapah District. In A.D. 1292 Marco Polo found a Sundara-Pandya ruling at Madura and we have the evidence of the Muhammadan historian Wassaf that this king died in A.D. 1293.†

* The initial date of the first was made out by Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai and that of the second by Prof. Kielhorn.

† The dates of accession of all these were fixed by Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai except the one for Mar. Kulasekhara II and he also thinks that Sundara-Pandya of the Muhammadan historians is he who ascended the throne in A.D. 1302.

The Singhalese chronicle *Mahawamsa* states that when Bhuvanekabahu I (A.D. 1277-88) was reigning, there were certain Tamil foes in the island. Choda Ganga, Kalingaraya, and others were among them. These had landed from the opposite coast, having been driven out by the Pandya King. "Then there was a famine in Ceylon and the five brethren who governed the Pandyan kingdom sent thither, at the head of an army, a great minister of much power who was a chief among the Tamils, known as Aryachakravarti, albeit he was not an Aryan. And when he had landed and laid waste the country on every side, he entered the great and noble fortress, the city of Subbhagiri (*i.e.* Yapuva). And he took the venerable tooth relic, and all the solid wealth that was there, and returned to the Pandyan country. And there he gave the tooth relic unto king Kulasekara, who was even like unto a Sun, expanding the lotus-like race of the Pandyan king." Of Parakrabahu III (A.D. 1288-93), we learn from the same source that he went to the Pandya country with a certain number of crafty men, and recovered the sacred tooth relic, which was afterwards enshrined in a big temple built by Parakramabahu IV.

From the above account two points are specially worthy of mention, *viz.* (1) that the principal monarch of the Pandya country was a certain Kulasekhara who was one of five brethren, and (2) that the Pandya minister, though called Aryachakravarti was not an Aryan. It is not difficult to find out, from the materials available to us who this Kulasekara was. There was but one king of this name reigning at the time and this is Maravarman Kulasekara I who ascended the throne in A.D. 1268, and had a highly prosperous reign of forty odd years. His verified dates carry his reign to A.D. 1308, and it is not unlikely that he lived for two years more, *i.e.* till A.D. 1310, when he was murdered by his eldest son Sundara-Pandya, as the Mohammadan historians inform us. The name Aryachakravarti is more a title than a proper name. It is a general appellation which a south Indian would have used to denote a king or a potentate of northern India. Let us see if this was so. The statement of the *Mahawamsa* that he was not an Aryan strongly suggests that he belonged to a different nationality. The writings of the Venetian traveller Marco-Polo make us believe that this Pandya general was a Muhammadan. Now turning to the pages of the Muhammadan historians, who have sketched the conquests of

the various kingdoms of Southern India by Malik-kafur, the general of Alla-ud-din Khilgi, we find that, at the time of which we are speaking, there were Muhammadan ministers employed under the Pandya kings.

We are informed that the eminent prince, the Margrave of Hind, Taki-uddin Abdur Rahiman, son of Mohamadut Tibi, whose virtues and accomplishments have, for a long time, been the flame of admiration among the chief inhabitants of that country, (*i.e.* Ma'bar, a name by which the Pandya territory is referred to by the Muhammadan writers) was the Dewar's (Pandya king's) minister and adviser and was a man of sound judgment. In the year H. 692 (A.D. 1293) the Dewar (*i.e.* the ruler of Ma'bar), died and left behind him much wealth and treasure. His brother succeeded him. He had for his minister Malikia'zam Takiuddin. The reference here given completely corroborates the accounts of the *Mahawamsa* and Marco-Polo, that the Pandya general and minister was a Muhammadan. The title Aryachakravarti applied to him in the former is thus appropriate to the minister, he being a potentate of Hind (*i.e.* Hindustan).

From the Muhammadan writers again, we learn that during the time of rule of Maravarman Kulasekara I (Kales Dewar), no foreigner dared enter his country, and that he knew naught of any sickness which confined him to bed. The wealth of his dominion is described in glowing terms. He had two sons of whom the elder, called Sundara Pandya, was legitimate, while the younger Tira-Pandya (*i.e.* Vira-Pandya), though illegitimate, was remarkable for shrewdness and intrepidity. Kulasekara having nominated the latter as his successor, Sundara Pandya was enraged, and in anger rashly killed his father towards the close of A.D. 1310, and was quickly crowned in the city of Madura. The army supported his cause and helped him to carry away a portion of the treasure found in the capital to Mankul (Namakkal).

Vira-Pandya, having resolved to avenge his father's blood followed Sundara, and met him in battle on the banks of the lake called Talachi. The result of the encounter was that Vira-Pandya, being wounded, fell into the hands of his enemy. Seven elephant loads of gold were taken by Sundara-Pandya, and he straightway obtained possession of the kingdom. Now Manar Barmul (Manabharana) the son of a daughter of Maravarman-Kulasekara, who was then at Karamatti (*i.e.*, Paramatti) near

Kalul (*i.e.*, Karwe), espousing the cause of Vira-Pandya, helped him with men and money. Collecting a large army, Vira-Pandya advanced against Sundara-Pandya, who now fled from his native country, and took refuge under Allauddin Khilgi of Delhi, leaving Vira-Pandya in undisputed possession of his hereditary kingdom, where he was now firmly established. When these events were taking place Malik-Kafur marched against Dur Samundar (*i.e.* Dwara Samudra) and soon after, the Pandya country itself was thought of for an invasion. In A.D. 1310, the appointed leaders, accompanied by a select army, got possession of some of the towns, owing chiefly to the animosity that had lately arisen between the two brothers Sundara and Vira. But finally, a large army attended by numerous elephants of war was sent to oppose the Muhammadans which forced Malik-Nail to retreat. In April 1311, just at the time when Sundara-Pandya had vacated Madura, and fled away with all his queens, the Muhammadans reached that place and took hold of the two or three elephants left in the temple of Jaganar, *i.e.* Chokkanadha.

The Sundara-Pandya reported in the above account as having died in A.D. 1293, appears to be Jatavarman-Sundara-Pandya II, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1276. Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai has, with much sagacity, identified the parricide Sundara with Jatavarman-Sundara-Pandya IV., who ascended the throne in A.D. 1303, and his illegitimate brother Vira with the one of that name whose accession took place in A.D. 1296; and this, I think, once for all settles the question satisfactorily. Many of the records of this Vira-Pandya, who had successfully withstood the Muhammadan invasion and lived for a comparatively long period, naturally speak of the reconsecration of temples destroyed and defiled by the Muhammadans.

Of the other Pandya princes of this period, Maravarman Vikrama-Pandya's records range between A.D. 1283-1291, Jatavarman Srivallabha 1291-1316, Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya, 1302-1318, and Maravarman Kulasekhara II, 1314-1345. Maravarman Vikrama-Pandya's inscriptions have been found in the Tanjore, South Arcot and Chingleput Districts, while those of Maravarman Kulasekhara II are met with in Madura, Pudukkottai, Tinnevely and Tanjore Districts and indicate roughly the portions of territory which were under their sway. The former of these claims to have conquered Vira-Gandagopala and Gana-

pati and this shows that there was probably some revolt on the part of the northern powers to throw off the Pandya yoke shortly after Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya I passed away and that Vikrama-Pandya had to quell them. So far, with the help of the dates given for these Pandya kings by Prof. Kielhorn, and Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai we have followed, though briefly, their career up to the middle of the 14th century A.D.

LIST OF PANDYA SOVEREIGNS OF THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES*

(1) Jatavarman Kulasekhara I,	A.D. 1190-1216.
(2) Maravarman Sundara-Pandya I,	1216-1237.
(3) Jatavarman Kulasekhara II,	1237-1260.
(4) Maravarman Sundara-Pandya II,	1238-1255.
(5) Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya I,	1251-1271.
(6) Jatavarman Vira-Pandya,	1254-1271.
(7) Maravarman Kulasekhara I,	1268-1310.
(8) Jatavarman Sundara-Pandya	1270-1310.
(9) Do. II.	1276-1292.
(10) Maravarman Vikrama-Pandya,	1283-1291.
(11) Jatavarman Srivallabha,	1291-1316.
(12) " Vira-Pandya,	1296-1342.
(13) Maravarman Kulasekhara II,	1314-1345.

SECTION X :—CHRONOLOGY OF THE LATER PANDYAS.

A number of inscriptions belonging to the Pandya kings of the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries have in recent years been discovered. As some of them furnish both the regnal years of the kings and the corresponding Saka dates, it has been possible to fix the years of their accession. A few others contain astronomical details from which also the initial dates could be ascertained. Two copper plates belonging to the dynasty have been obtained. These give the genealogy of the family with some details about the reigns of a few of them. The following account is based on the inscriptions registered in the appendices to the *Annual Reports on Epigraphy of the Madras Circle*.

* Beside the kings given in this list there appear to have been several others and the calculations of Dewan Bahadur Swamikkannu Pillai have brought to light five of them. These are Mar. Vira-Pandya (1252-3), Mar. Sundara-Pandya (1294), Jat. Vira-Pandya (1296), Jat. Parakrama (1315) and Jat. Sundara (1318).

The earliest king for whom dated inscriptions are found is a certain Parakrama-Pandya. He appears to have ascended the throne in A.D. 1384. The latest regnal year for him is his thirty-sixth which corresponds to A.D. 1415. This is gathered from a stone inscription (No. 203 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1895) which comes from Kuttalam in the Tinnevely District. The next king is a certain Jatilavarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulasekharadeva whose accession took place in A.D. 1395 i.e. eleven years later than that found for Parakrama-Pandya. A record of his seventh year coupled with Saka-Samvat 1324 corresponding to A.D. 1402 has been copied at Karivalamvandanallur. The date given to this king shows that he was co-regent with Parakrama for some time. It is not possible to say how long both these sovereigns reigned and whether their reigns extended up to the date of accession of the next king Maravarman *alias* Tribh. Virapandya which took place in A.D. 1420-1. Inscriptions of the last mentioned king have been found in the Madura, Tinnevely and South Canara Districts and they range in date between A.D. 1420 and 1440. The king who reigned as co-regent with Virapandya is Jatilavarman Arikesarideva *alias* Parakrama-Pandya whose accession also took place in the same year i.e. in A.D. 1420-1. He had a highly prosperous reign of nearly forty-two years extending up to A.D. 1463, when he is reported to have died. The principal work of his time was the construction of the big tower in the Tenkasi temple and certain repairs and additions to the latter. The religious teacher Tattvaparakasa was the recipient of rich gifts from the hands of this sovereign. His inscriptions are mostly found at or near Tenkasi, which he seems to have made his principal place of residence. One of these records states that the *Olakka-Mandapa* in the temple of Visvanatha, which is perhaps identical with the exquisitely sculptured porch in front of it, was built by him. These sculptures which are worked in the huge pillars display a boldness of design, powerful skill, elaborate ornamentation, minute and detailed workmanship of the various parts and a high degree of polish and are admirable specimens of Indian art and sculpture of the fifteenth century A.D. They appear to be superior in quality to the work of a similar nature found in the Tinnevely and Krishnapuram temples. Of the sculptures in the *mandapa* referred to above, two represent Nataraja, one the goddess Kali, the fourth Virabhadra, the fifth Manmatha with his characteristic weapons

viz. the sugar-cane bow and the lotus arrow, the sixth Ratidevi, the goddess of beauty, seated with ease on the peacock vehicle and the seventh is a similar form to Virabhadra's but with the representation at his feet of the demon Musalakan whom he kills with a sword. Another figure in the same group which is almost like Manmatha, has a flute applied to his lips and it is believed to represent the god Krishna. There are also two other female images which perhaps represent attendant deities.

Another king who was also co-regent with Arikesari Parakrama, was his younger brother Alagan Perumal, Kulasekharadeva. He appears to have ascended the throne ten years later and continued to hold the reins of government for forty-four years till A. D. 1473. His reign was more prolonged than that of his elder brother Parakrama. He completed the work in the big *gopura* at Tenkasi, which was left unfinished by his brother when he died in A.D. 1463. During his time a Vishnu shrine was built in the Visvanathasvamin temple by a brahmana officer of the king named Tiruvali-Srirangaraja-Brahmadhirajan. This shrine is the one (now found closed) to the left of the principal shrine in the temple. This has also a fine porch with some sculptures popularly believed to represent the Pandya heroes.

The next king for whom a dated inscription has been found at Tenkasi is one who bears the double name Parakrama Kulasekhara. He was a Jatilavarman and ascended the throne in A. D. 1479. His fifteenth year corresponded to Saka-Samvat 1416 (A. D. 1494) and the twentieth year fell in Saka 1421 (A. D. 1499.) It is not known who the Pandya king was that ruled during the six years that preceded the accession of this king and there is also an unexplained gap after the time of this sovereign and the next king Maravarman *alias* Sundra-Pandya, whose accession took place in A. D. 1530-1. Of this last named king only a single record has so far been copied. It is dated in his twenty-fourth year coupled with Saka 1479 (A. D. 1555) and comes from Ganguikondan in the Tinnevely District. Contemporary with him there reigned (1) Jatilavarman *alias* Srivallabha who ascended the throne in A. D. 1534 and reigned until at least A. D. 1544 and (2) Jatilavarman *alias* Tribhuvana-chakravartin-Konerinmaikondan Perumal Kulasekharadeva who revived the old times. To this king must be attributed an inscription dated in Saka-Samvat 1458 (A.D. 1536) which

Mr. Sewell notes in his *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 306. The third co-regent was Perumal Parakrama whose fourth year fell in Saka 1469 corresponding to A.D. 1546 and this yields for his accession A.D. 1542. One of the Tenkasi inscriptions calls him Perumal-Kulasekharadeva-Parakrama-Pandya and states that he was the son of Jatilavarman Abhirama-Parakrama-Pandya. A record of this king found at Karivalamvandanallur mentions Jatilavarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Konerinmaikondan Tirunelveliperumal born in the constellation Asvati, as his son. He is perhaps identical with Jatilavarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Konerinmaikondan Kulasekhara also called Dharma-Perumal and Tirunelveli-Perumal. His inscriptions are found at Sankaranainarkovil, Tenkasi and Karivalamvandanallur. He ascended the throne in A. D. 1550-1 and reigned until A. D. 1563. In his honour a poem called *Vira-venbamalai* was composed. In his sixth year (A. D. 1557), Ativirarama *alias* Srivallabha was crowned king and he reigned till A.D. 1596. He is said to have ordered the return of certain taxes wrongly collected, to the temple at Tenkasi. A record in the Tenkasi temple states that Alagan Sivalavel, *i.e.* Srivallabha was crowned king in A.D. 1564 *i.e.*, seven years later than the accession of the one last mentioned. It is, therefore, evident that he must be different from Ativirarama Srivallabha. This king receives the name Jatilavarman *alias* Ativirarama *alias* Srivallabha in several records. The latest known date for him is A.D. 1583-4 and it was in his reign that the Pudukkottai grant was issued. Prince Abhirama Varatungarama is mentioned in No. 528 of the *Collection* of 1909 and he is perhaps identical with Jatilavarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Abhirama-Varatungarama *alias* Vira-Pandya, whose record of the tenth year corresponding to Saka 1517 (A.D. 1595) was found at Karivalamvandanallur. According to this, his accession should have taken place in A.D. 1585-6. He appears to have ruled jointly with Ativirarama Srivallabha mentioned above. One other king for whom dates are known is Gunarama *alias* Kulasekhara also called Sivalamaran. His thirty-seventh year corresponded to Saka 1574 (A.D. 1552), which yields for his accession A.D. 1615.

In the above pages we have noticed briefly the part played by the Pandyas in the early history of the Dekhan from some centuries prior to the advent of Christ up to the 17th century A.D.; the commercial intercourse that existed between the Pandya country

and the western world; their contention with the several powers of southern India; the expansion of their dominions and their final decline. This history has much to teach us in the several aspects which it presents and these will be evident to the reader as he peruses their account. I have but shortly touched on some of the important features at the beginning of each section. As I propose to sketch the history of the Nāyakas separately, I have not dealt with them here.

NOTES OF THE MONTH.

ONE of the most expensive luxuries in India is a Government Arts College, that is, a college for general education. A study of the abstract return of expenditure on public instruction in the Madras Presidency for the official year 1912-13 is rewarded by interesting results. The cost to Provincial Funds *per annum* of educating each student in a Government College is Rs. 260-1-8 while the cost to Government of educating each student in an Aided College is Rs. 23-0-1, or less than a tenth. It may be supposed that this extraordinary disproportion is due to great expenditure on the Presidency College, but the figures for secondary schools reveal the same disparity. The cost to Government of educating a pupil in a Government Secondary School is Rs. 42-10-8 while the cost to Government of educating a similar pupil in an Aided Secondary School is Rs. 4-12-1, again about a tenth. The divergence in the case of Elementary Schools is naturally not so great but even there it is sufficiently marked to be striking. The cost to Government of educating a pupil in a Government Primary School is Rs. 10-0-3, while a similar education in an Aided Primary School is Rs. 2-1-3, or about one-fifth. Multiply these figures by the number of students and pupils respectively, and the result will give the cost to the country of Government education as compared with aided education. Let us take the number of students in Government Colleges at 1000. The number was actually 1013. A simple arithmetical sum gives us $260 \times 1000 = \text{Rs. } 260,000$. Take the same number educated at an aided college, and the sum is $23 \times 1000 = \text{Rs. } 23,000$. The figures need no comment and we need not pursue the calculation. Another interesting fact is that a student in a Government Arts College costs Provincial Funds nearly twice as much as one educated in a Professional College. A student in a Professional College costs the Government Rs. 140-9-4, as against Rs. 260-1-8 in a college for

general education. These facts are not new, but they are not realised. Their significance has never been appreciated. Otherwise, the Government would welcome with enthusiasm aided education, and would encourage it by every means in their power. Representatives of higher and secondary aided education claim that they give as good education as that imparted by Government, (some say better, some say, not so good) and they give it at one-tenth of the cost to the tax-payer. The matter deserves at least very serious thought by all concerned with education.

IN urging attention to the above facts we make no accusation of extravagance or of unnecessary expenditure. That may or may not be the case, but even where economies are carefully practiced there would be a similar disparity in the expenditure. It is due to the system. If we turn to the Mysore expenditure, we find that the actual sum spent by Government for educating each student in the Mysore Government Colleges is greater than in the Madras Presidency. This increase is doubtless due to the small number in the colleges. The cost to Government of each student in an aided college in Mysore is also much greater than in Madras, also doubtless due to the same cause. It is the system that is expensive. In alluding to the Mysore Report for 1912-13 we are glad to note and to emphasise the following passage:—"The number and strength of private institutions (which are outside the control of the Department) decreased during the year, owing apparently to the want of financial support. Their existence in any village proves that the inhabitants attach some value to education, and they serve the needs of places which are not served by Government institutions, and their decrease is on that account rather to be regretted. Government would therefore be glad to consider favourably any proposals made for increasing the number of such institutions, and encouraging their growth by means of special grants-in-aid or other help."

IN the discussion of the Budget proposals in April, the Hon'ble Sir Harold Stuart made a statement which should be widely known. "Every Municipal Council knows now that for any scheme of water-supply or drainage it will receive from the Provincial Government a grant equal to half the cost and a loan for the other half. There is, therefore, in connection with schemes of that nature no element of uncertainty. Municipal Councils can proceed to develop their schemes and arrange for their execution with every certainty as regards the financial factor. We can perhaps extend that principle to some of the other works that come before us for grants-in-aid. We have indeed already extend-

ed it to the construction of bridges by local boards. We can, I think, extend it to medical buildings for which this year we have given 10 lakhs and also to minor sanitary works, for which this year we have given 25 lakhs. We can say in future that if a local body wishes to build a medical building or execute a minor sanitary work, the Provincial Government are prepared to give it a grant equal to half the cost. I think we should be quite safe in undertaking that liability; and in my opinion that is a proper method of developing the grant-in-aid and at the same time obtaining an element of certainty. We have it in the case of education. I would like to make here an observation that is perhaps of some importance on that subject. Formerly, the element of certainty was absent in regard to education grants, and it frequently happened that the Director found at the end of the year that the applications for grants exceeded the amount of money which was at his disposal, and the grants were cut down by one-eighth or one-tenth or one-twelfth whatever the sum may be, and the unfortunate schoolmaster or manager who confidently looked forward to his full grant was given only a portion of it. The element of certainty was wanting. Your Excellency's Government are prepared to undertake to meet all these grants in full in future. The element of certainty there also will be maintained. That is a liability that properly falls upon us and we shall be prepared to meet it."

It need hardly be said that this assurance is of the utmost value to managers of aided institutions.

ANOTHER statement of the Hon'ble gentleman in the course of the same speech is a remarkable testimony to the work accomplished by settlements for criminal tribes, which are carried on largely by the Salvation Army and other missionary agencies:—"There is one feature in connection with the police work of the year which I should like to mention. That is that in the districts where we have established settlement for criminal tribes there has been a gratifying decrease of crime against property, such as dacoity, robbery, and house-breaking. Dacoity has fallen from 135 to 75 cases, robbery from 265 to 91 cases. Housebreaking is not quite so satisfactory, the number having fallen from 2,106 to 2,095. That is after this reclamation work has been in force in several of the districts only for a part of the year. I look forward with great confidence to this treatment of habitual criminals resulting in a very marked decrease of this class of crime against property. I do not think, as one Honourable member suggested, that we should be well advised in putting further official control over these settlements. "My experience—and this is the experience common to

every province in India—is that an official settlement is a failure. What we want is to get some non-official who will devote himself or herself to this work. I would leave the reform of the prisoners to an agency of that kind. We may get an official who is of the right type and he may do admirably for a year or two. Then he is transferred and somebody else is put in who has no inclination in that direction. That is why we must leave work of this kind to people who have a distinct vocation for it."

We are grateful to the Hon'ble Sir Harold Stuart for this clear enunciation of a policy which commends itself to common sense. It is a principle which has a very wide application, and we venture to think not least in the sphere of education.

THE retirement of Dr. Wardlaw Thompson from the office of Foreign Secretary of the London Missionary Society is an event of no ordinary importance. His is probably the best known name among the Secretaries of the Societies. He has a special link with Madras as he was born at Bellary. His life for a third of a century has been the L.M.S., and all through these years he has brought to bear on the work of the Society an unflagging enthusiasm, a lofty vision, and a far-seeing wisdom which made him an exceptionally forceful personality. But he was not only forceful, he was singularly loveable, and many men to-day on the field value their intimacy with Thompson as a cherished possession.

WE hear so much of decreasing church membership that it is well sometimes to look at the other side of the shield. A correspondent of the *British Weekly* gives a number of cheering statistics regarding the condition of the United Free Church of Scotland. The yearly income shows an increase of £52,778, and makes a total of £14,000,000 since the union in 1900. The average income for the past three years is about £45,000 more than in the three years after the Union. After meeting the loss of £525,000 of capital funds caused by the Lords' decision, the accumulated funds at the end of 1913 were fully £100,000 more than after the Union.

In Foreign Mission Work the home income of £106,520 in 1901 has grown to £167,918 in 1913, and the income abroad has grown from £63,294 to £120,187. The membership of the church has increased during the year by 2174, the total being 507,075. The total is 323 short of the maximum reached, though the population of Scotland has gone back 27,000 in the last two years.

LITERARY NOTICES AND NOTES.

First Principles of Hygiene: by W. D. Sturrock, D.M. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

THIS is an excellent little book on the subject and it shows, throughout, evidences of careful thought and impressive presentation of this important subject. The chapters of the book that deal with pure hygiene are admirably written with a clear mastery of the subject and a genial style that is bound to impress the reader, and we recommend the book to the attention of all engaged in teaching the young.

Books dealing with such an important subject as hygiene had, we venture to think, better steer, as far as possible, clear of entraneous matter likely to draw away the attention of the reader from the subject itself. Chapters II and III of this book dealing with physiology and chapter IV, with physics and physical geography, may well be removed from it. No doubt a preliminary knowledge of physiology is essential, as the author says in his preface, to a sound understanding of what is to be learnt in hygiene. But to one who is already familiar with the allied sciences, such information is unnecessary and to one who is not, it is likely to be inadequate and confusing. The rules of hygiene may far better be taught as empirical rules of conduct where time and space do not admit of the students being led up to it through sister sciences.

A Commercial Geography of the World by O. J. R. Howarth, M.A., Clarendon Press, Oxford.

THIS is one of the Oxford Geographies edited by Professor Herbertson, who has done so much during recent years to make the study of Geography interesting by treating it on the rational method of considering "life in its relation to the land, air, and ocean" and thus emphasising the human interest of each topic. Any book belonging to the series edited by him is sure to be accurate and interesting.

A Commercial Geography of the World is an attempt to explain why the various vegetable and animal products are found in the different natural divisions of the world. Adopting Professor Herbertson's division of the world into its natural divisions, Mr. Thompson proceeds to explain where the different products are found and why they are found there. He also indicates the importance of the chief trading centres and the various means of transport

throughout the world. The book is very interesting and well illustrated. We have pleasure in recommending it to the student of Geography and also to the general reader who may be interested in the trade of the world.

LITERARY NOTES.

A BOOK of interest to students of Shakespeare is that entitled *Shakespeare Personally* (Smith, Elder and Co., 6s. net.) It represents the lectures regularly given by the late Prof. Masson as part of his work at Edinburgh University, and has been prepared for the press by his daughter. Critics may dissent from some of the views expressed; but the opinions of so distinguished a scholar, revised from time to time through a long course of years, have obvious value for both teachers and students.

THE economic side of medieval history continues to receive fresh illumination. Among recent books we may mention *The History of the Grain Trade in France, 1400—1710*, by an American author, published jointly by the University Presses of Oxford and Harvard (8s. 6d. net); a posthumous work of Mr. Seebohm's, a series of unfinished essays on *Customary Acres and their Historical Significance* (Longmans, 12s. 6d. net); and *A Select Bibliography for the Study, Sources, and Literature of English Medieval Economic History*, compiled in connection with the work of the London School of Economics (P. S. King and Son, 6s. net).

A HISTORY of *The English People Overseas*, by A. Wyatt Tilby, has now been completed by the publication of the sixth volume, which deals with *South Africa, 1486—1913* (Constable and Co., 7s. 6d. net.) The historian pays a tribute to the work of Lord Milner, and also to the high character and capacity of the well-known leaders in contemporary South African politics, General Botha and Sir Starr Jameson.

LAWYERS and legislators, as well as historical students, should take note of the two volumes on *Jurisprudence*, by Prof. E. C. Clark, recently published by the Cambridge University Press (£1. 1s. net). Though ostensibly an instalment of the author's *History of Roman Private Law*, the book has independent value as an exposition of jurisprudence at large, touching incidentally on such subjects as constitutional and international law, to illustrate the sources from which law emanates, and the influence exercised by famous writers of text-books.

SCIENCE NOTES.

By the tragic death of Sir John Murray the world loses one of its foremost naturalists. He was one of the chief founders of the modern science of Oceanography, and worked for the advancement of this science up to the day of his death. He was a member of the famous Challenger expedition, and to him was entrusted the editorship of the scientific results of the cruises of the Challenger. He was chiefly interested in the study of deep sea deposits and his book is the leading manual on the subject to-day. Wealth came to him by the exploitation of the phosphatic deposits on Christmas Island, and this wealth was generously used to support scientific investigation in many directions.

A REMARKABLE collection of Greek surgical instruments has recently been discovered at Kolophon in Ionia. Their type of workmanship surpasses that of any other extant specimens and reveals the high progress in surgery which the ancients must have achieved. The instruments, with two exceptions, are of bronze, and in the case of those made from steel a piece of bronze is added, apparently for ceremonial reasons as a sacred metal. The collection includes polypus pincers for the removal of growths, an elevator for raising a piece of depressed bone in the skull, and a drill-bow for trephining the skull, thus producing an exit for evil spirits which were supposed to cause madness and epilepsy. The whole of the collection has been secured for the Johns Hopkins University.

IN the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* Mr. J. J. Stevenson concludes a lengthy monograph on the formation of coal beds. Whether geologists accept his views or not—and undoubtedly many will—all must be grateful to him for gathering together the opinions of others on this most important and much discussed subject, and for his pains in collecting evidence from modern deposits of carbonaceous material and from coal measures of all ages in all parts of the world. He concludes: "The coal beds and associated rocks are of land origin; the detrital deposits are those made by flooding waters on wide-spreading plains; the coal beds, in all essential features, bear remarkable resemblance to great deposits, sometimes to the treeless moor, more frequently to the waldmoor." But as he truly says many matters still await explanation, such as the presence of huge blocks of transported rock in coal and the associated rocks, and

the immensely long periods of stable conditions as indicated by the thickness of some beds. In these cases geologists must be content with probabilities until the topography and geography of the coal measures land have been fully worked out.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE May number opens with an article on 'The Army Crisis and Home Rule' by Mr. Arthur Ponsonby. On the question of the position of the army which the Home Rule controversy has brought to the front, Mr. Ponsonby says there can be no manner of doubt that during the last two years an insidious propaganda has been surreptitiously undertaken with a view to effectively preventing the Army from being used for the quelling of disorder and resistance in Ulster. It has been hinted, he says, that the intention was to select the moment when the Home Rule Bill received the royal assent as the signal for wholesale resignations. But the pistol that was to be aimed at the heads of the Government went off too soon. This is fortunate, for the situation would have been much more difficult to meet if the intention hinted at had been carried out. It is a very great mistake, however, to suppose that the danger that has been revealed can be met by democratising the Army. A standing army is one essentially anti-democratic institution, and once officers or men begin to examine their consciences, making choice of the causes for which they will fight, a standing army will become an anachronism.

As regards the effect which the army crisis had on the debate over the second reading of the Home Rule Bill, Mr. Ponsonby believes that it did much to make the House of Commons realise its responsibility and attempt with sincerity and determination to find some solution of a problem which had for a generation been the bone of acutest contention between parties. On the back benches especially a conciliatory spirit was shown, the suggestion hinted at by Sir Edward Grey of a federal solution was more definitely formulated. The setting up of a federal system is undoubtedly a momentous change in Britain's method of government, and no one pretends that it is a solution of the whole difficulty presented by Ireland. But if the leaders on both sides can be induced to meet again and can agree to consider the larger problem, meanwhile allowing the Home Rule Bill

to pass without any organised outbreak of disorder, this would mean that the House of Commons was prepared to seek the good of the nation rather than the predominance of a party. The dilemma presented by Ireland is not exclusively one affecting the Liberal party. If the Unionists were returned to power, they would be faced with a situation in some ways more difficult than that in which the Liberals are now placed. Mr. Ponsonby is hopeful that the views of the moderate men of both parties will prevail, and that a satisfactory solution on federal lines will be arrived at. The elements in the present Bill which are said to be anti-federal can be modified and adapted, he says, to fit in with a general scheme. At present, however, it is not details that need to be considered. The immediate object to be aimed at is the formation of a sufficiently large body of opinion in favour of the desirability of devising an improved system of government for the United Kingdom and so helping to stem the tide of the present animosity and antagonism.

MR. A. G. C. HARVEY discusses the Navy Estimates. He maintains that Britain has at present a naval force amply sufficient to protect her from attack, and that her present superiority can be maintained at a much smaller cost than the Estimates of the present year indicate. He says the way in which the 16 to 10 ratio has been altered and expanded and finally practically abandoned cannot fail to shake confidence abroad in Britain's intentions; and he criticises the public utterances of the First Lord of the admiralty as indicative of a state of mind most unfavourable to reduction. He also condemns the tendency shown lately by Mr. Churchill to enlarge the scope of his office so as to cover the field of Foreign and Colonial Policy.

MR. J. M. ROBERTSON contributes a paper on 'The Taxation of Land Values.' It seems quite clear, that the basis of rating on the United Kingdom requires revision; but it is not easy, he says, to find a principle of rating that shall be practicable and theoretically logical. He thinks it will be finally conceded when it comes to action, that the Single Tax, however formulated, is not yet within the pale of practical politics any more than the rival principle that all taxation should itself be conceived as economic rent. He is of opinion that the rating of site values is good in principle, but he is opposed to the rating of buildings and machinery, and he would drop it altogether.

The rating of site values should be adopted but this might be balanced by rating on income on the basis of the existing income-tax assessment.

SIGNOR ROMOLO MURRI writes on 'The Political Aspect of the Religious Problem in Italy.' He says that Hegel's dictum that religious and political revolutions are inseparable and that a people which accomplishes only one of the two leaves half of its task undone finds its exact application in Italy. The great Franciscan reform of the thirteenth century, the Revival of Learning a century later, and the great Lutheran reformation all failed in Italy because each gave use to an antagonism fatal to healthy progress; and in more recent times Anticlericalism and Socialism have been too one-sided in their purpose and influence. Signor Murri is hopeful that out of the ferment that is going on at present there will emerge an awakened and renewed religious consciousness, and with it a true and sincere political conscience.

IN an article entitled 'The External Side of London University' Mr. Holford Knight deals with certain proposals made by the recent Royal Commission regarding that side of the work of the University which has up till recently been the characteristic feature of this institution. The effect of these proposals would be to restrict the area from which external students are drawn and to impose a system of checks and exclusions which in Mr. Knight's opinion are entirely alien to the spirit and achievement of the University. This, he holds, would be a very great mistake. He adduces figures to show that in the eyes of the public the degrees granted to candidates who take the examinations on the external side are as highly valued as ever; and he maintains that judged by their records the graduates of London will hold their own with those of the residential Universities. The Royal Commissioners themselves, although they came to the conclusion that external examination is inconsistent with the true interests of University education, admitted that they had received a great deal of evidence as to the enthusiasm and admirable work of many evening students, that there are in London a good many men and women rather older than the average student, with a keen desire for learning but whose circumstances prevent their devoting the whole day to study, and that for these the University should make provision. If, says Mr. Knight, the external side is abolished, as the Royal Commissioners seem to contemplate such persons would be denied the privilege which so many of them have hitherto valued so highly. He does not set so much store as the Commissioners do on the "atmosphere" which is said to be the most valuable characteristic of residential Universities, and he denies both that these universities have the monopoly of "learning" and that Uni-

versities like London have the monopoly of "cramming." He holds that education is essentially a matter of learning and only secondarily a matter of teaching.

Mr. Knight puts well the case for the retention of the external side of London University; and his article will be read with interest in this country by those who have been taking part in the reform of the Indian Universities.

DR. DILLON in his article on 'Foreign Affairs' deals with 'Militarism in Europe' and more particularly with the recent outburst of Militarism in Sweden. The crisis through which that country is passing is due, he says, to several causes—party, national, dynastic and international, but at bottom it is an effect of militarism. Its origin was a conflict of opinion between the two principal political parties as to what constitutes the minimum of military and naval strength sufficient to protect the country from a sudden attack by a powerful foe and at the same time commensurate with the united resources of the nation. In Dr. Dillon's opinion there is no good ground for Sweden's mistrust of Russia; and he says that every enlightened friend of Sweden must regret the alarmist utterances of Professor Fahlbeck and M. Sven Hedin. He thinks the Anti-Russian agitation has made a deep impression on the minds of Russian statesmen and politicians, and that one of the results will be that the development of commerce between the two nations will be retarded. With regard to the King's interference he is of opinion that at the next election the Liberals will obtain a working majority and find means of obtaining recognition for their constitutional theories.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

FOR some months past the Home Rule question in ever-changing phases has commanded the attention of the public and provided materials for the writers of articles in the Reviews. This month wider issues are raised by the discussion on the action of the officers stationed at the Curragh in resigning their commissions when ordered to go to Ulster. Mr. J. H. Morgan, a lawyer and a Liberal, contributes *The Army and the Civil Power*, a careful statement of the legal relationship between a man's duty as a soldier and as a civilian. Unfortunately the special application of this general thesis is palpably partizan. Mr. Morgan seems not to realize that it is always open to an officer to tender his resignation until either martial law or a state of war has been declared. No such proclamation had been issued by the Government. It therefore follows that the officers were not guilty of any impropriety

in tendering their resignations. But Mr. Morgan argues quite correctly that no resignation by an officer can take effect until it has been accepted by the King. It was open to the War Office to order the Cavalry Brigade to go to Ulster even though its officers had offered to resign. This they did not do. Their probable reason was that the work which the Brigade would have to do was of such a nature that it would need the most absolute confidence between officers and men, a confidence which could only be based on long association. Perhaps the most serious side of the question is that raised by Sir William Knox in his very short article *The Army and the Politicians*. No one can doubt that the blow struck at discipline is a very severe one. We have no wish to see the British Army playing the role that some years ago was played by some continental armies. The Army is not a party organization, but if it is used as an instrument of party it will sooner or later become so.

THE Feminist Movement is as ubiquitous as Home Rule just now. It is represented this month by Mrs. W. K. Clifford's *A Woman Alone: A Modern Play*. Certainly, it is 'modern' in its setting, but the subject is surely the oldest in the world. The object of the play is merely to show that woman has not changed her nature, that still the one essential thing for every woman is the love and companionship of one man. Even the excitement of a 'salon', Mrs. Clifford thinks, is not capable of suppressing for long the primitive instincts.

It is quite clear that the play is so much 'a play with a purpose' that it need hardly be criticized as a 'play' at all—it is a tract, not a play. It would be insufferable on the stage; the male characters are inhuman, wooden or bores, the women are perilously near sentimental caricature. But this hardly matters. The play could never have been meant to be acted, it was meant to be read by women, and perhaps by some men, in their homes. A dramatic tract may make more converts than some sermons but it is an abuse of the drama to use it as a tract, and is it not rather a waste of time to write a tract to teach something which nobody ever seriously doubted?

DR. R. H. MURRAY contributes the first instalment of a paper on *Addison in Ireland*. It is a valuable part of research to work at and reconstruct portions of the lives of interesting people, and Dr. Murray has done a real service both to the history of letters in England and to the history of the eighteenth century society in Dublin. One or two points seem to need comment however. Addison's post was not identical with that held at the present moment by Mr. Birrell; it was,

however, approximately that held by Spencer. Its duties are by no means clear, but apparently in Addison's time it had control of a considerable amount of patronage, this does not appear to have been the case in Spencer's day. The Chief Secretary in Ireland was a personal Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant and not a Secretary of State, but between the time of Spencer and Fynes Moryson, who were what we should now call Principal Private Secretaries to the Lord Deputy, and Addison's day the office had increased considerably in importance. Addison had the power to dismiss the Under-Secretaries apparently, which Spencer and Moryson most certainly had not.

Dr. Murray gives us a good picture of the currents of political feeling in Ireland and rebuts, by the way, the assertion of Froude that the Irish Parliaments of 1707 and 1709 were Jacobite in their sympathies. But the chief interest of the article is personal, not political. The personal friendship of Addison and Swift and its gradual decline is described for the most part, in their own words.

It may be doubted whether the cold unemotional nature of Addison was capable of sustaining an affection for the passionate Dean of S. Patrick's. Of the two, Swift was infinitely the greater man, but Addison was the more successful. He had a certain air of superiority which, if it ever obtruded itself in Swift's presence, was bound to be the death-knell of their friendship. But from whatever cause Addison was unfortunate enough to lose the friendship of the two greatest men of his age, while they, in spite of their violent tempers managed to remain close friends between themselves and with a select few others. Apparently Addison needed to be a benefactor if he were to remain a friend. Such friendships are not of the highest order.

AMONG other articles there is a first instalment of an account of the Baghdad Railway enterprise, under the title *A New German Empire*, by M. André Gérard. It is extremely interesting, though not yet completed, though it breathes, as is natural in a French writer, extreme suspicion of Germany's every move in the matter.

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

THE *Fortnightly* for May gives some attention in various articles to the great modern movement which is touching life in many spheres and expressing itself in a renewed interest in psychology, in science and in philosophy. The barriers which formerly marked off one de-

partment of thought from another are apparently yielding to a great living impetus which would bring the categories of the mind into the realm of the material and the ideals of ethics into the sphere of science. It is a revolt against the restrictions of language and the mechanism of thought; it is a desire to include in the search for truth even those things for which laws have not yet been formulated. Only as an expression of such a movement can we imagine that Thomas Hardy's poem "Channel Firing" has any right to a place in a Journal whose standard is that of the *Fortnightly*. Henry Newbolt too in his "Futurism and Form in Poetry," exposes the same spirit in poetry. Here it is thought that our artists have become slaves to form; the moulds from which the poems have been turned out are growing old; let them be broken and let the creative spirit flow where it listeth in channels new. From Futurism as expressed by Marinetti we would expect nothing less, for to him it is not only "a revolt against the oppression of the present by the past" but a new movement which will direct the lines along which the three arts of painting, poetry and music must develop. But Mr. Newbolt does not take the Futurist seriously; he is grateful because it is an exhortation to greater freedom and independence in expression, but he is cynical about its destruction of form which is the breath of life to poetry. Nevertheless, we think that while Futurism is extravagant it is an emphatic announcement of a great movement which will leave its mark deep in the life of civilisation.

THE situation in Ireland has lost none of its interest. Each stage in Ulster's struggle for freedom has brought to light some point of national constitutional import. Mr. Asquith speaking at Ladybank recently said, "The army will hear nothing of politics from me, and in return I expect nothing of politics from the army." But Mr. Pollock dealing with the Government and the army, while repudiating anything suggestive of a "plot" on the part of the Liberal administration is insistent on the fact that in this case politics permeate the whole situation. The army exists by the will of the people; year by year it is, so to speak, voted into being; the army must therefore obey; but it can only obey the unanimous will or at least something approaching thereto. Now in the question of Home Rule none but the blindest partisan will admit that the country is agreed on this subject. Hence, the officers of the army are in a dilemma and it is difficult to persuade a loyal army to make war on behalf of those who have trampled the Union Jack under foot, against those who have fought and will fight to see it proudly floating on the breeze of liberty and freedom.

In accord with this spirit is Spencer Campbell's article on "The Real Mind of Ulster." He refers to the utterly wrong notion of the Ulster question held by those whose knowledge of the conditions are limited by the opinions of the radical press or even by those (Anglicans) who, refusing to identify Protestantism and Conservatism, insist that the Ulsterman in Scotland or England would be a pronounced Liberal. "The question is not parochial, Irish or British. It is imperial and Ulster's attitude is an expression of true loyalty to the unity of the Empire. We believe that Mr. Campbell is sincere in his interpretation but the situation is not so simple, involving as it does motives and issues as material and selfish as his are ideal and imperial."

MR. CHATTERTON-HILL contributes a delightful article on Bruges-la-Morte. It is difficult to say whether it is the charm of the ancient city of Bruges, the mystical spirit of Pessimism or the art of Georges Rodenbach that pleases him most. Apparently he knows Bruges well, he has caught the atmosphere that pervades her ancient streets, he feels not only her restfulness that heals the shattered nerves and hushes the voice of passion, but her melancholy that instils the venom of sadness and creates the spirit of pessimism. He loves this city that has withstood throughout the centuries the onslaught of industrialism and mercantilism and retained her ancient walls, her venerable churches, the memories and the spirit of the past.

Georges Rodenbach chooses her for the scene of Bruges-la-Morte and Le Carillonneur. In the former Hugues Viane comes to Bruges after the death of his young wife which has paralysed and disabled him. In such condition he becomes the slave of the seductive environment; it surrounds him with its sadness, it instils the venom of melancholy which knows no antidote. He cherishes every relic of the sweet but dead past; he encourages every thought that brings a pang so bittersweet; he marries a third-rate actress in whom he sees the "other self", the double of his wife; sacrilege follows; ruin and murder come quickly in its train for the "other self" is strangled with the fair-haired tress of Hugues Viane's first and only love.

Georges Rodenbach has found in Bruges, the city that he loves, fertile soil for the growth of an invincible pessimism. His art lies in the remarkable fusion of character, mood, and background.

We may not have a big place for literature of this sort in these days of haste and activity and yet "the pessimists in literature have, with all their faults, rendered the great and lasting service of deepening our spiritual life, of enriching the store of our innermost feelings and sensations, of enabling the soul to vibrate to the sound of wou-

drously beautiful melodies. They have sung in verse and in prose the oldest song known to humanity—the song of human grief.

JOHN F. MACDONALD has an exceedingly clever and racy article on "English Life and the English Stage." The company at "high-tea" in Suburbia has two topics of conversation, Lloyd George and Bernard Shaw. The contest is keen; it is difficult to decide which is to be stoned, and which is to be "hugged." On the whole Bernard Shaw captures the votes for his impossible situations, his ridiculous characters and for the "language" which in "Pygmalion" he introduces to the stage and Mr. Macdonald's conclusion is "Yes, a brilliant play; and the production brilliant, the acting brilliant. It has everything in it almost. Any amount of sunshine, the sunshine of early spring, but the wind's in the east, and between one's teeth, well—dust."

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